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GENERAL SIR CHARLES WAT[illegible]

*From a Photograph by Elliott.*



GENERAL SIR ARCHDALE WILSON, BART. K.C.B.

*From a Photograph lent expressly for this Work.*

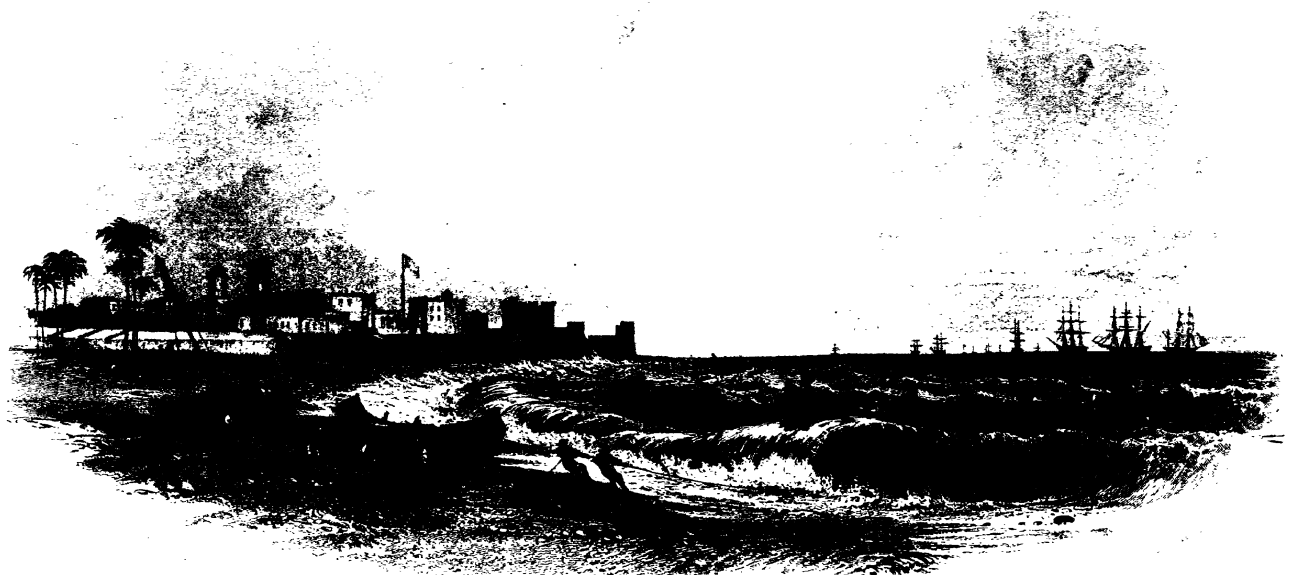
LONDON: JAMES F. HOGG





LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B.

*From a Photograph in the Possession of the Queen.*




THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY.
Bunnoo
LAHORE
BHAWULPORE
DELHI
ROHILCUND
Bikaneer
Jeysulmere
Great Desert
RAJPOOTANA
Jeypoor
Kishengurh
Ajmere
Aravelli Hills
Chittore
Rutlam
Oodeypore
Neemuch
Mhow
Indore
GWALIOR
Bhopal
Oojein
Sehore
Hoshungabad
Ellichpore
Nagpore
NAGPORE
Amrawutty
Aurungabad
HYDERABAD
(NIZAM'S DOMINION)
Beder
Kurnoul
Cuddapah
Gulf of Cambay
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Benares
Mirzapore
Jubbulpore
Rewah
Sohagpore
Sumbulpore
Ruttunpore
Sirgooja
Ramgur
Moorshedabad
Rajemahl
Bullasore
Cuttack
Pooree
Chilka L.
BAY OF BENGAL
Gurrows States
Cooch Behar
BHOOTAN

the American imports. Last year (1857) the short crop in America raised the price in India to such an extent as to bring 220,000 bales more than ever had been known. This arises from the dirty state of the samples brought from India. To remedy the evil and secure a good supply, the late agent of the Honourable East India Company, in his last publication on cotton,* was of opinion that the establishment of agencies in India by the Lancashire merchants would obviate the difficulties, and obtain a regular and clean supply, adapted to the English market. In a report† on the subject of the cotton culture in 1836, the company intimated what the work of Dr. Royle confirms in 1857, that the better adaptation of the machinery used in the spinning-mills of the north of England to the short staple of the Indian species would much promote the importation of this product at the English ports.

Mr. Mackay, a talented and enterprising gentleman in Lancashire, visited India on behalf of the cotton trade some years ago, and reports made by him to the various chambers of commerce in Lancashire substantially bear out the opinion conveyed in these pages, that the hope of improvement is in proper attention being paid to the commerce rather than the cultivation. A Lancashire merchant, in a letter dated the 18th of March, 1858, thus expressed himself on this subject:—"Since Mr. Mackay made his report to the chambers of commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, and Glasgow, no improvement has appeared; the Indian cotton is still irregular in quantity as well as inferior in quality. Several steps, however, have been taken since Mr. Mackay's visit to India towards a right knowledge of what is to be done. It is now admitted that attention must be directed to cotton commerce more than to cotton culture. The Indian cultivators must be left to grow their own native cotton in their own way. The attempt to cultivate the American species of cotton in India has proved a failure. British enterprise must be confined to getting the native cotton in better condition, and at a cheaper rate to the home market, where the supply will thus be both larger and more regular. The government has its part to do in improving the means of transit in India to the coast, and in, by better police, giving protection to Europeans. The chambers of commerce have their part to do in establishing agencies in the cotton-growing districts, for managing every operation after the growing of the crop, which is now carelessly collected, carelessly cleaned, carelessly housed, and carelessly packed. Native money-lenders and middlemen carry off immense profits, besides injuring the commerce by systematic frauds and adulterations. All this would at once be remedied by establishing European agencies for the purchase of cotton. Many years would not pass before the English market would obtain half its supply from the free labour of British India, instead of being so dependent on the slave states of America. At Liverpool in one week 1340 bales of American sold from $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8\frac{1}{4}d.$ per lb., and 300 Surats from $4\frac{3}{4}d.$ to $6d.$ per lb. These Surats are suitable for spinning any hefts under No. 40, although some Indian cotton is only fit for No. 16 yarn. Indian cotton of all kinds can be sold at a profit in Liverpool for the average of $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.; so that, with the improved quality which the establishment of agencies in the East would insure, there is ample margin for a vast increase of Indian cotton commerce, independently of any improvements in its culture, to which attention has hitherto been chiefly turned."

The opinion of Dr. Royle as to the prospect of prices in England remunerating the enterprise of culture and exportation on the part of Indian ryots and English agents, and the connection of such a speculation with the probability of a total failure of supply from America through war or other causes, is thus published in his work issued in 1857:—"Alarm is justly excited in the great manufacturing district of Lancashire, and wherever much cotton is employed, at the disastrous consequences which would ensue in case of a complete deprivation of the raw material, should war, or any other difficulty, occur with or among the present great sources of cotton supply. As this is not likely to occur without some premonitory notice, directions might be sent, and the ryots induced to increase their cultivation of cotton at almost any time, because sowing takes place in some part or other of India at all seasons of the year; but few planters or merchants would venture to enter upon so extensive a speculation unless they had some security that the state of things which required their exertion would be permanent enough to reward their labour, the more especially if they knew of or had studied the disastrous results to Indian merchants in former years. Thus, in the year 1818 there were imported from India 86,555,000 lbs. of cotton, but the imports fell to 6,742,050 lbs. in the year 1822. But the

* *Review of the Measures which have been adopted in India for the Improved Culture of Cotton.* By J. Forbes Royle, M.D., F.R.S.

† *Reports and Documents connected with the Proceedings of the East India Company in Regard to the Culture and Manufacture of Cotton, Wool, Raw Silk, and Indigo in India.*

prices had risen from 7½*d.* to 20½*d.* in the former, and ranged from 5½*d.* to 8½*d.* in the latter year. Though these prices would be considered favourable enough to encourage exports in the present day. Indeed, they have ranged, in the year 1856, from 4½*d.* up to 8*d.* per lb. in the London market for Indian cotton." The quantity of cotton imported from India during 1856 was 466,781 lbs.; but in 1857 (from the 1st of January to the 16th of October) the imports increased, amounting to 564,666 lbs.

Some of the Lancashire manufacturers urge colonization as the best remedy for the difficulty in procuring the proper cultivation and cleaning of the commodity. Mr. Carpenter, an eminent London journalist,* meets the objection urged to colonization on the score of climate in these lines:—"We have more than once said that it is utterly absurd to talk about the climate of India as forbidding European emigration, just as if men who settle unhesitatingly at Sierra Leone, Hong-Kong, or Belize, would shrink from a residence in Bahar or the Punjaub, or as if men could not live at their own discretion, where others are only too glad to live, in virtue of official appointments. Thousands of Englishmen take service under the company without being deterred by any considerations of climate; thousands more are now serving in the country under the royal flag. To say that independent residents could not accept the same terms is ridiculous. If British colonists cannot live in India, they will not go there, but no harm can be done by giving them the option. The true obstacles have consisted, first in the policy, and afterwards in the administration of the company, which looked upon independent settlers as the Jesuits of Paraguay would have looked upon a congregation of Baptists. At one time they succeeded in closing India to all but their own retainers, and Bengal was as absolutely inaccessible as Japan. At later periods, after the interdict had been removed, there was still the exclusiveness of a service as formidable as the caste of Hindoos themselves. An independent resident in India found himself outside a select club, which club, over and above other privileges, had the privilege of governing him. These were the conditions which made Indian colonization distasteful, and which it is now so desirable to abolish."

It is very unlikely that the company would not now feel the same objection to English settlers as cultivators of cotton, or for any other purpose, that they formerly did, the considerations which then influenced them being no longer applicable. The climate, however, is unsuitable to vigorous exertion on the part of Englishmen as planters; but the difficulty is not altogether insurmountable, as has been shown in the indigo plantations. The presence of adventurers and determined colonists, wherever the climate would allow, would certainly promote the object, for the Brahmins oppose innovations of all sorts, however in the interest of the people, and it requires the presence of Europeans of a resolute will and vigilant circumspection to defeat their violence and intrigues. In the cases of indigo planters this has been extensively exemplified.

Whatever may be said in favour of other fields of cultivation, India, on the whole, is for England the fairest, but it is difficult to resist the conviction, that, as soon as Indian imports reduce the price of American cotton in any marked degree, the enterprise of the United States will find means of competing successfully for the market, so as to drive out the Indian produce, and, if possible, again obtain a monopoly. As a question for the English manufacturer, this is precisely the state of things he would desire; but as a question for those whose capital might be in Indian cotton fields, such a prospect is calculated to create hesitation and doubt, and will deter many from that bold speculation so characteristic of English colonists.

Indigo is an article of Indian commerce of considerable importance. It is indigenous to India, and is supposed to have derived its name from that circumstance, its ancient appellation having been *Indica*. It was well known in a remote antiquity as a product of the neighbourhood of the Indus. The first, or "London East India Company," made large profits by this commodity, purchasing it at Agra at a shilling, and selling it in London at five shillings per pound. In consequence of the British colonists in the southern provinces of North America and in the West Indies successfully competing with the company, the latter abandoned the trade. Almost a hundred years ago the Anglo-American planters relinquished the cultivation, and the French and Spanish colonists took it up, from whom the English bought what they required.

After the revolution of the British North American provinces, the company's territories in India extending, the trade was once more revived. The directors made surprising efforts to encourage its production, purchasing large quantities from the native growers, and selling it in London at considerable loss. This was continued until the culture of the plant, and the manufacture of the dye, were understood in India, and the one could be grown

* Editor of the *Sunday Times*.

and the other manufactured with profit. It is certain that, but for the sacrifices of the company, the trade could not have taken root in the country. The directors procured information on the cultivation from every quarter, transmitting it to India to serve as a guide for the cultivators. For a great many years the result of this diligence and expenditure has been that India produces the best indigo in the world. When the manufacture became firmly established, the company ceased to have any direct connection with it.

The plantations are now in the hands of European speculators, whose success enables them in about twelve years to realize considerable fortunes. Frequently, however, failure is the result, for it is a most adventurous enterprise. Sometimes the crop is entirely destroyed by drought; at other times, by those tremendous rain-falls common to India, which, at intervals, sweep away the labour and capital of the planter beyond hope of recovery; insects occasionally destroy the plants; but the chief impediment is the villany of the zemindars, who, jealous of the planter's success, hire gangs of natives to destroy his crops; the planter hires others to defend them, and bloody conflicts ensue, sometimes disastrous to the planter, but oftener to the zemindars. It is the general belief of planters that if there were not on the part of the magistrates undue sympathy for the natives as against the planters, the zemindars would never venture thus openly to set law and order at defiance. They complain that when these instigators of aggression are sued in the courts of justice, the company's judges invariably side with the natives, and that literally there is no redress for the injured planter but such as he can find by his own hand and his own weapon, and the hands and weapons of those whom he hires at a rupee apiece to fight in defence of his property. On the other hand, the company's officers assert that the planters generally are carried away by pride of race, are ruthlessly grasping, arrogant, and violent, and ever prone to take the law into their own hands; that, therefore, it is the duty of the company's officers to protect the people from the spoliation and ill treatment of those settlers. It is difficult to determine on which side the truth lies. There can be no doubt of the cunning, fraud, and violence of the zemindars, and that the poor ryots are goaded by them to aggressions upon the planters that are unprovoked. That the planter is not defended by the police, but left by the government to his own resources, is too frequently the case. The general sympathy of the company's officers with the natives rather than with European settlers admits of as little doubt. During the great mutiny of 1857, the strong sympathy of the civilians with the natives was frequently a subject of complaint, as leaving the wrongs of Europeans unredressed, and affording impunity to evil doers. This arises from the jealousy entertained by the company's officers of a European element in India which might compete for power and influence with them. Such a spirit has in times past given birth to injuries towards European settlers which created discontent in England, and gave occasion to those opposed to the company to denounce the injustice of its rule.

Indigo seems to a great extent to be a forced production in India. The planters generally buy up the interest of the zemindars, and compel the ryots to grow indigo. The zemindars have no equitable right to hand over the interests of the ryots along with their own, whose position to them legally, and consequently to the indigo planter, is similar to that of a farmer in England who rents under a lease. The law on this point is disputed, the planter maintaining his right to treat the ryot as a tenant-at-will, the latter regarding himself as having "a tenant-right" so long as he pays his rent, and demanding liberty to sow or plant the land he occupies with whatever he thinks may best enable him to live. The indigo planters, like the zemindars, rule with a high hand; and whatever be the law of the case, the unfortunate ryot is too feeble to insist upon the adjustment of his claims according to that standard. In this way he is subjected to much hardship.

An Indian periodical, in an able article, places the present condition of this produce, and the relation of the planters and ryots to each other, and of both to other parties concerned, in the following aspect:—"The cultivation of indigo originally was stimulated chiefly by the East India Company, which made very large advances on the produce. Mr. Bell states that the exports in 1786 were 245,011 lbs., and that it was by means of these advances that the quantities had advanced to 5,670,824 lbs. in 1810. The average amount now exported is probably about 9,000,000 lbs., the factories having been increased by the great houses, and many of them having been afterwards kept up at a heavy loss by the Union Bank—in both cases, we venture to think, at the ultimate cost of the unfortunate creditors of those houses and that bank. The current outlay now, in the purchase of seed and in labour, is, doubtless, large, and the annual average export value of the article may be henceforth stated at about two and a half millions sterling. But the export of rice from Calcutta and Arracan last year,

we believe, was much more than this, and it was raised with far less difficulty, and the profit on it to the people was vastly greater. The cultivator of indigo knows that he is engaged in a hazardous speculation, and that it is as likely as not, at the end of the season, that the yield of his land, instead of clearing off his advances, and leaving a balance of profit, will leave him in debt to the planter. Then, further, he is in the hands of middlemen, who notoriously defraud him. The number of his bundles is most probably counted amiss; and in settling accounts he has to give all kinds of 'customs' into the intervening hands. He is, in fact, 'in the books' of the factory, and is likely to remain there, *nolens volens*, for life. On the whole, then, there is a great deal in the indigo planting system as practised in Bengal, which demands inquiry, and which suggests difficult and embarrassing questions. That it is connected with a great deal of severity and injustice appears very evident; and that this must *necessarily* be the case (as is usually said) is a conclusion which, in our minds at least, does not excite either satisfaction or contentment. At any rate, inquiry ought not to be refused from the fear of injuring 'class interests,' and of exciting 'class animosities,' if the fact be that the opposed 'classes' are a few indigo planters on the one hand, and myriads of suffering and oppressed people on the other; or, if this ground be tenable, it must be also conceded that all the measures preliminary to the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies were objectionable, and that emancipation itself was unjustifiable."

The indigo planters have also their grievances. It appears that they have formed an association to agitate for redress. An Indian magazine thus describes the party and its claims:—"The Indigo Planters' Association numbers among its members many determined and enterprising individuals, and has the sympathy of the mercantile community. They want the permanence of their rights as Britons; facilities for collection of their rents as farmers of estates; summary processes against faithless cultivators, who receive advances for indigo, and refuse to sow; speedy justice; improved communications; bridges that will bear hackeries and elephants; and roads that shall not 'melt away.' They stand up boldly for their interests; and however impartial men may differ with them as to the remedies they demand, all must admit there is no sham in them; there can be little difference of opinion as to their straight-forwardness." The *Calcutta Review* of September, 1857, draws a strong contrast between the planters and the zemindars in favour of the former, alleging that the latter, having formed an association to look after their interests, had presented in all their proceedings an absence of generosity and justice, and established themselves (as probably Lord Cornwallis intended in his famous settlement they should do) as the landed interest and *protectionists* of Bengal.

The exportation of rice has become a vast trade within a few years, as may be seen from the reference made in the foregoing extract, and this branch of commerce is likely to enlarge upon a scale never hitherto contemplated. The consumption of rice in Europe is increasing very much, especially in the British Isles and France.

The friends of India also hope that wheat will become a source of profitable export. The wheat-producing districts of India have not yet felt the advantage of superior cultivation, nor of good roads and railways, when those portions of the country are opened up by such means, wheat will become an important export, for India may produce much of the quantity which the importing countries of Europe require.

Linseed, mustard, and other seeds, form together not only an important item in Indian commerce, but an increasing one, and at a ratio which justifies the conclusion that at a period not remote this will become a far more valuable export. This is the more likely, as the trade is altogether modern.

Coffee, although at present grown to more advantage in Ceylon, is becoming gradually an important export from continental India. It will, however, be a considerable time before the trade on the mainland in this commodity rivals that of Insular India.

The tobacco plantations are extending, and an export of the produce has been established, but there is no prospect of the quality competing with that of America. Several of the company's civil servants have given attention to its improved culture.

Borax is imported extensively into India from Central Asia, and is exported again to Great Britain, to other parts of Europe, and to the United States.

When noticing the natural productions of India, it was shown that tea is indigenous, and that the plants imported from China under the auspices of the East India Company have thriven. Since writing that chapter reports have reached London of the extension of the tea plantations in the Punjaub, and of the favour with which the natives of India regard that grown at Kumaon. It will be very long before India is prepared to export tea on a very large scale,

notwithstanding the extraordinary progress of its culture, and the probability that it will speedily become one of the most valuable articles of Indian produce. The natives, especially in the tea-growing districts, are acquiring a taste for it which will create a home market for all that is likely to be grown for a long time, however rapidly the plantations may be extended. The Kangra tea is in great request for native use, selling at a rupee, and even more, per lb. The cultivation of the good qualities is at present so profitable, and the desire to procure it, both in India and from foreign countries, is so great, that there can be no doubt of a widespread extension of the plantations. An acre of tea plants at present yields an average return of 300 lbs., which, at a rupee per lb., would bring £30 per acre. The imports of all kinds, taken together, fall very lightly upon the cultivator, the East India Company nourishing the cultivation by every practicable indulgence. The capital at present required for a tea plantation is comparatively very small. At some period, perhaps less remote than at present seems likely, India will be a competitor with China in the growth of the plant, even if not so soon a rival in the exportation of the leaf. Should war with China, the progress of civil strife in that country, a blight upon the Chinese tea-fields, or any other unexpected event, occur to interfere with its exportation thence, the production of the plant in India would be so greatly stimulated, that it might soon become an exporting country on a considerable scale.

The reports which reached England by the April arrivals in 1858 indicate that interruption to the tea trade, or diminished production in China, are not such improbabilities as a few years ago might be supposed. The following is a review of the trade made at Hong-Kong in the middle of March :—

| | lbs. |
|---|---|
| Export from Hong-Kong, Macao, and Amoy, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 10th, 1858 | 6,400,000 |
| Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 7th, 1858 | 18,850,000 |
| Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1857, to March the 5th, 1858 | 21,850,000 |
| Total | 47,100,000 |
| Canton, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 10th, 1857 | 17,400,000 |
| Fouchow, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 7th, 1857 | 19,300,000 |
| Shanghai, from July the 1st, 1856, to March the 5th, 1857 | 15,900,000 |
| Total | 52,600,000 |

In the *Times'* city article of the 8th of May, 1858, the following statement appeared, throwing additional light upon the subject of Indian tea exportation :—"The annual meeting of the Assam Tea Company took place this morning, Sir W. Baynes in the chair, when the report was adopted unanimously, and a dividend declared for the past year at the rate of nine per cent., being one per cent. more than in 1856. The report mentioned that during the late disturbances in India it had been deemed advisable to insure the company's tea, at one period worth £50,000, at a high premium, to cover all risks. Active assistance was afforded to the naval and military force sent to restore order in the province, and it is stated that, while the native servants cheerfully assisted in promoting that object, the independent contractors for cultivating the lands uniformly held aloof, or sympathized with the disaffected.* The crop of the season 1857, estimated at 700,000 lbs., has produced 707,101 lbs., which is expected to realize £64,817. The crop of the present season will probably amount to 765,000 lbs., which, at a similar valuation, will yield about £70,125."

In a previous chapter, treating of the productions of India, sufficient was said of sugar, both in its relation to cultivation and general trade. The free admission to England of American sugars checks the Indian exportation. Although the British public set a higher value upon the latter than formerly, yet they have not acquired a taste for Indian sugar, and the richer saccharine produce of the cane of the West Indies commands the market.

The magnitude of the opium production, and of the traffic, have been referred to elsewhere, both in this chapter and that which states the productions of the Indian soil. Its commercial effects in relation to China, its influence upon the exchanges, and upon the European silver drain, have been incidentally noticed. The following occurs in a recently published number of an Indian magazine :—"The trade in opium has grown, and is likely to grow on. The question of government connection with it is much misunderstood at home, and is sometimes argued, as though the government here could, if it chose, suppress its cultivation by prohibitory laws. This, however, we fear, is impossible, and the government monopoly therefore, in so far as it operates as a restriction, both on the cultivation, and the use of the drug in this country, is a very important

* It may here be observed, *en passant*, that the spirit displayed by the zemindar class throughout India towards the British government is illustrated by this experience of the Assam Company. The commerce and productions of India will no doubt be influenced by the general disaffection of this class.

benefit. The case in China wears a very different aspect. The smuggling of opium in armed vessels, in connivance with the Chinese officials, who are bribed and corrupted, and the consequences to myriads from the use of the drug, render the traffic only second to the slave trade (if, indeed, it be second even to that) in iniquity and cruelty. But whether it could be suppressed, save by such a combination of all nations as is directed against the slave trade, is very doubtful. The only practical remedy that we know in our own country, and among ourselves, is for public opinion to deal with these opium traders as it does with pests and nuisances to society, who are living by pandering to the vilest passions, and accumulating wealth, by means on which the curse of God must certainly rest for ever. But very different has been our conduct. We have boasted of our enlightenment, and of our 'forbearance' to the Chinese, and have sneered at their barbarism and folly; while our Christian gentlemen, honoured and exalted in society, have been using means to poison them by thousands for filthy lucre's sake; and not a few, who have called themselves Christians and Englishmen, have been parties to that atrocious system of slave dealing, which annually consigns thousands of entrapped Chinese as hopeless slaves to Cuba, and as worse than hopeless slaves to the Peruvian guano islands. In truth, no offence more disgraceful than the conduct of multitudes of English traders to the people of China has been committed in the annals of commerce.

"The present war with China is likely to end as the first did, in an enormous increase of smuggled opium, or perhaps the traffic will be still further stimulated by the importation being legalized.* Since the last war the import of opium into China has increased from twenty to more than seventy thousand chests, and this war will doubtless lead to a further expansion of the traffic."

The following statements in reference to the opium trade are correct, and will furnish the reader with a general view of its character commercial and morally:—

Opium, which in Europe is one of our most valuable medicines, but which in China feeds a depraved taste, is manufactured from the juice of the white poppy, a small quantity of which is grown in Turkey and Persia, and also in China, but it is cultivated to the greatest extent in India, both in the British dominions and in the independent native states. The process of cultivation and manufacture may be shortly described. The finest soil is required for the plant. The seed is sown in November. The preparation of the ground, and the subsequent weeding and watering, require much attention. The time for collecting the juice is in February and March. The poppy heads are then cut or scratched with a sharp instrument, and a milky juice exudes, which becomes brown in colour and thick in consistency by exposure to the sun and air, and is carefully collected by the farmer and his family. This is the crude opium. In Bengal this is delivered by the small farmer to the agent of the East India Company. It is then prepared under the inspection of these agents for the China market. The principal districts in which the poppy is grown are Patna, Benares, Bahar, and Malwa, from which the different kinds of drug derive their names. In Bengal it is grown exclusively for the government, under severe penalties for any infraction of the laws. It is understood also to be a forced production, which could not be entered upon with profit to the farmers but for advances in money made by the government. This point is disputed; but the poppy has undoubtedly occupied some of the finest land formerly used for indigo, sugar, and other produce.

The opium is prepared by the government agents for the China market by rolling it into large balls, covered with a coating of opium paste and poppy leaves, so as to exclude the air; it is then packed in chests (forty balls to a chest), and transferred to the government warehouses at Calcutta, where the drug is put up to auction at the government sales, of which there are four each season, at intervals of a month, commencing with December or January. At these sales the drug sells at prices varying from seven to sixteen hundred rupees a chest, containing 116 lbs. weight, and yielding a profit to the government of from £40 to £120 per chest. Their total revenue from this source, including a transit duty on the Malwa exported from Bombay, has now reached £4,000,000 sterling, and is estimated in Lord Dalhousie's minute at £5,000,000 sterling for the year 1857. Malwa opium is that grown in the independent native states. It must all pass through Bombay, where, in order to keep down its production, it is charged with a duty of four hundred rupees (£40) per chest.

The merchants in India purchase the opium either on their own account, or for mercantile houses in China or elsewhere, and it is then shipped in fast-sailing vessels capable of carrying from five hundred to a thousand chests. Of late years the monthly steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company have carried cargoes of the drug to China.

* Virtually, it is legalized already; opium is as freely imported, and almost as openly, as if a proclamation of the emperor sanctioned it.

The quantity thus imported into China from both sides of India now exceeds seventy-five thousand chests, roughly estimated at £8,000,000 sterling. A portion also goes to Singapore for consumption throughout the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

On arrival in China (say at Hong-Kong), the opium was at one time transferred to large receiving ships stationary in the harbour, but of late years it has been stored largely on shore with the permission of our authorities. From thence supplies are forwarded in small schooners and other fast-sailing craft to different points on the coast, according to the demand.

At those coast stations there is no other trade carried on but that in opium. The drug is transferred from the small schooners to ships permanently anchored there, and the local Chinese government makes no attempt whatever to interfere, as it is enriched by the bribes or fees of the native dealers. These dealers come off in boats to purchase the opium, bringing silver in payment; but if the station be the outer anchorage of one of the free ports,—such as Shanghai, Fouchow, Amoy, or Canton,—the sale is usually made on shore in exchange for silver or Chinese produce, and an order given on the ship for delivery of the quantity sold.

The opium being thus conveyed into the country by the native dealers, it undergoes a process of boiling down to fit it for smoking. This reduces the weight one-half, so that one chest of the drug yields only half a chest of the smokeable matter. It is then retailed at smoking-shops, or purchased by the wealthier classes for use at home. The laws against smoking are now so completely in abeyance, that the smoking-shops in the free ports are almost as numerous as our own public-houses. Although this freedom from legal restraint exists, there is no question that the moral feeling of the Chinese government and people is against the indulgence, and it is this which contributes in some measure to keep down the consumption.

Let us now trace, as shortly as possible, the course of this trade. Before the year 1800 only a small *legal* trade in opium was carried on with China, but in that year the drug was made *contraband* by the Chinese government. This was done in consequence of a memorial from a leading statesman, who makes it a "subject of deep regret that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of requests that "the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment." In spite of this, the annual importations rose gradually from two thousand chests in 1800 to five thousand n 1820. Till 1820 opium had been mixed up with the legal merchandize at the port of Canton, but in that year the authorities again became alarmed at the extent of the traffic, and obliged the merchants to give security that no opium was on board before the ship could discharge her cargo at Whampoa; this led to the storing of it in receiving ships at Lintin, at the mouth of the Canton River, and this system continued to the year 1834, when the importations exceeded twenty thousand chests. During the period from 1820 to 1834 occasional collisions took place between the native smugglers and the Chinese authorities, arising out of disputes as to the amount of fees, but none occurred between that government and the British receiving ships.*

In continuing this narrative we quote from Williams' *Middle Kingdom*:—"Towards the close of the East India Company's charter, in 1834, the contraband trade in opium, off the Bogue and along the coast eastward, had assumed a regular character. The fees paid for connivance at Canton were understood, and the highest persons in the province were not ashamed to participate in the profits of the trade. The attempts to sell it along the eastern coast had been mostly successful, and almost nothing else could be sold. . . . . The increasing demand at Namoa and Chinchew (on the coast), led to the frequent dispatch of small vessels, one taking the place of another, and finally to stationing receiving ships there to afford a constant supply. The local authorities, finding their paper edicts quite powerless to drive them away, followed the practice of their fellow-officers at Canton, and winked at the trade for a consideration. It is not, however, right to say that the venality and weakness of these officers invalidated the authenticity of the commands they received from court; however flagitious their conduct in rendering the orders of none effect, it did not prove the insincerity of the emperor and his ministers in issuing them. By the year 1834 the efforts of the local authorities to suppress the trade resulted in a periodical issue of vain prohibitions and empty threats of punishments, which did not more plainly exhibit their own weakness in the eyes of the people than the strength of the appetite in the smokers."

The opium vessels are all well armed, but

armed, however, was doubtless calculated to deter and overawe the contemptible Chinese navy, had the mandarins been disposed to attack them; but although there has been more than one serious tragedy in conflict with pirates, there does not appear to have been any actual encounter between the opium vessels and the authorities *on the coast*.

During the years 1837 and 1838, however, attempts were made by some British merchants to smuggle the drug into Canton, which led to serious collisions and disturbances *on the river*. Captain Elliot, her majesty's superintendent of trade, took measures, along with the Chinese authorities, to put a stop to these highly irregular proceedings on the part of a few, and these measures proved effectual. But meanwhile the imperial court at Pekin was organizing plans of a much more extensive kind to annihilate the whole trade, and to stop the smoking of the drug. A Chinese statesman of the name of Heu Naetse sent up a memorial to the emperor, praying that opium might be legalized, as the best method of dealing with an unavoidable evil. Two other statesmen, Choo Tsun and Heu Kew, memorialized the emperor in favour of an opposite course, requesting that the existing laws should be put in force with the utmost rigour.*

The prohibitory councils prevailed with the emperor; and although these measures utterly failed, it has been well said by a writer in the *North British Review*—"No man of any humanity can read, without a deep and very painful feeling, what has been reported of the grief, the dismay, the indignation of men in authority, and the emperor, on finding that their utmost efforts to save their people were defeated by the craft and superior maritime force of the European dealers, and by the venality of their own official persons, on the coast."

The prisons were soon crowded with victims, and death by strangling was inflicted in several instances on smokers and native dealers. An imperial commissioner, Lin, was sent to Canton to proceed against the foreign merchants. On his arrival there, in March, 1839, he immediately put the merchants under arrest, compelled them, through her majesty's superintendent of trade, to deliver up the whole of the opium then on the coast, amounting to 20,283 chests, and formally destroyed it by mixing it with lime and salt, and casting it into the sea. For some months after this opium was almost unsaleable, and the prohibitory measures against smoking it were so effectual, that the consumption fell to less than a tenth of what it had been.

The war which ensued, although it arose out of the seizure of the opium as the immediate cause, really sprung from one more deep-seated and more remote in point of time. This was "the arrogant assumption of supremacy over the monarchs and people of other countries claimed by the Emperor of China for himself and for his subjects, and our long acquiescence in this state of things." The war thus commenced in 1840, and concluded in August, 1842, however, decided not only the superiority of the British arms, but convinced the imperial court that further attempts to put down the opium trade were vain. Thenceforward the laws against smoking became more and more lax, whilst the trade, nominally contraband, went on with fewer restrictions than before. At the present time the trade has assumed all the importance of an established recognised traffic, and the merchants engaged in it, including nearly the whole foreign community in China engaged in commerce, shelter themselves under the plea of the sanction given to it by the British government, and the alleged insincerity of the Chinese in desiring to prohibit it. In China itself also the growth of the poppy has been extending, with the connivance of the local authorities. The quantity thus grown is not positively known, but it was stated on good authority as ten thousand chests so far back as 1847. It is inferior to the Indian drug, and is used for mixing with it.

Of late years the fibrous plants of India have been extensively cultivated, under the auspices of government, for purposes of commerce. Several new species have been discovered, admirably adapted either for export as raw produce, or being first subjected to certain processes of manufacture. Assam is particularly prolific in these descriptions of commodities. In Bijnore, Upper Assam, hemp is made by the natives from the *sunn* and *sunny plants*. Good flax has been gathered near Meerut. Gunny bags, in which cotton is exported, has of late been made from this fibre. The upper provinces of India are peculiarly adapted for the growth of flax; that of Seharunpore has been pronounced equal to the produce of the north of Ireland. From time immemorial flax was grown in India for the purpose of expressing oil from the seed; but of late attention has been directed to it for the fibre. Still India exports rather substitutes for flax and hemp than those commodities.

The extent to which we have hitherto been dependant upon Russia for these fibres may be

* *What is the Opium Trade?*

judged of from the fact that the average annual importation during the ten years, from the beginning of 1844 to the end of 1853, was—

| | From Russia. | From all other Places. |
|---|---|---|
| | cwt. | cwt. |
| Hemp, dressed . . . . . | 620,519 | 387,098 |
| Flax and tow or codilla of hemp and flax . . . . . | 1,013,565 | 466,417 |

Or the supplies we have drawn from Russia have been about twice as great as from all other countries put together. On the other hand, the hope we have of making India available for all our wants, is shown by the very rapid rate at which the importation of fibrous materials from that country has increased during the last twenty-five years. Thus, at three successive periods, there were imported into the United Kingdom:—

| | 1831. | 1847. | 1851. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | cwt. | cwt. | cwt. |
| Hemp from Russia . . . . | 506,803 | 544,844 | 672,342 |
| Fibres from British territories in the East Indies | 9,472 | 185,788 | 590,923 |

Thus, while the import of hemp from Russia increased in twenty years only one-third, that of fibrous materials from India increased sixty times, and even between 1847 and 1851, increased three times! A further increase of three times, which, from Dr. Royle's statements, appears not only possible, but easy, would make us altogether independent of the hemp and flax of Russia. This possible independence of Russia arises from the circumstance that though the fibres hitherto imported from India include neither any real hemp nor any true flax, yet they include materials which may be usefully substituted for both, while for many of the purposes to which hemp and flax are severally applied they are superior to either.*

It may interest the reader to be informed why hemp fibre should be comparatively little grown, and should not be at all imported from India, although the true hemp plant is described as a native of that country. There appear to be two reasons for this apparent anomaly. The first is, that the low country of India is so rich in other fibres, which are either more rapid in their growth, more easily prepared, more beautiful to the eye, or more durable, that the natives for home use prefer them to hemp. The second is, that hemp is cultivated largely and widely for the sake of the *churrus* and *bhang* which it yields. The churrus is the well-known resin of hemp, or the inspissated juice of the leaves obtained from the plant by rubbing between the hands; and bhang is the name usually given to the dried leaves and twigs. Both of these are extensively used as soothing and exhilarating narcotics. The former is swallowed in the form of pills or boluses, the latter is smoked either alone or mixed with a certain proportion of tobacco. It will give an idea of the extent to which the hemp plant is cultivated for this luxurious purpose if we add from another authority that the use of it, as a narcotic, prevails in Asia and Africa among not less than two or three hundred millions of men!*

But what becomes of the fibre, it will naturally be asked? The resin and the leaves and the twigs being removed, why should the hemp fibre not be made use of also? The reason of this is, that the mode of culture best suited for the production of bhang, and usually followed in Lower India, is not adapted to the growth of a valuable fibre. All plants when grown thickly together, shoot up in height, branch little, and, if the soil be rich and moist, are of a looser and more spongy texture. If fibrous plants be so raised, they yield finer, softer, stronger, and more flexible threads. Hence, both hemp and flax, when cultivated for their fibres, are sown more or less thickly, and are pulled up about the season of flowering, and usually before the seeds are permitted to ripen. But in India, when cultivated as a narcotic, the seed of the hemp plant is not sown thick as it ought to be when intended for cordage. The natives first sow it thin, and afterwards transplant the young plants, placing them at distances of nine or ten feet from each other.†

Rheea fibre rope has been manufactured under the auspices of government; this fibre has of late years become an export. It exceeds the best hemp in strength, and rivals in fineness superior flax. It is cultivated in Rungpore, Dinapore, Assam, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and in the Straits' settlements: four to five crops of fibre can be obtained in the year from the same plants, and the price is as cheap as Russian hemp. This plant seems identical with the China grass, from which their celebrated grass cloth is made. Various prizes were awarded at the Great Exhibition of 1851 for the manufactures produced from this commodity. Excellent ropes have been made in England from this substance.

Varieties of paper, some of rather a fine quality, have been made from Indian fibres, both in India and in the British Isles. Notwithstanding the rude implements employed by the native manufacturers, some paper of a good quality, resembling that used for foreign

* *Edinburgh Review.*

* Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. ii. p. 183.

† *Edinburgh Review.*

correspondence in England, has been produced.

Jute has become a material of commerce very extensively shipped from India. It is the substance from which the gunny bags are generally made, although as stated in a previous paragraph, they are sometimes manufactured from flax. Jute is often marked as hemp in the customs returns, and it is difficult to state with precision their relative quantities.

A trade in gunny bags has sprung up between England and the United States of America. These articles are sent to the Union, where they are used for the packing of cotton. In the year ending 1855 the value of this export was 18,09,540 rupees; in the year ending 1856 it had risen to 27,03,326 rupees.

Dr. Forbes Royle represents the importations in England of fibres from India in weight as follows :—

| | 1854. | 1855. |
|---|---|---|
| Hemp . . . . . | 125,951 cwts. | 69,464 cwts. |
| Jute . . . . . | 443,558 „ | 520,741 „ |
| Other fibres . . . . . | 741 „ | 963 „ |
| Total . . . . . | 570,250 | 591,168 |

Bast is a commodity of Indian commerce for which there is a growing demand in India. This article had been almost exclusively derived from Russia in the form of mats, used by gardeners for protecting fruit-trees and plants, and covering pit frames, and afterwards, when pulled to pieces, for tying up fruits and vegetables. Cabinet-makers and upholsterers use it for packing their manufactures. Russia exports three and a half millions of mats to this country. The Russian basts are made from the bark of the lime or linden-tree, which is also made into shoes, cordage, sacks for corn, &c. The linden-tree is not a native of India, but there are trees of that family which yield similar products. Several of these were introduced to Chiswick Gardens some years ago, and received there considerable attention from Dr. Lindley; he was instrumental in pointing out the commercial adaptations of several of the specimens.

Gutta percha has become a valuable importation in England, and has been imported from the Straits' settlement of Singapore. The forests where the tree grows from which it is drawn are rapidly being exhausted, and attention has been turned with success to provide the means of supply from India. The tree has been found on the Malabar coast, and its discovery in India will probably preserve the supply of so valuable an article.

The country is also rich in tanning substances, for which there is a good market in England, such as terra japonica, or gambir. This is an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria Gambir*. Our supplies all come from Singapore, whence we imported 6847 tons in 1856. Cutch is another tanning substance. The best, which comes from Pegu, is an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the *Acacia Catechu*. In 1856 we imported 1689 tons. Besides those substances from the Straits' settlements and Indo-Chinese peninsula, we derive myrobolams from Bombay. These are the dried fruit of several species of *Terminalia*, imported from India. They are of a dingy yellow, oval, and about the size of an olive.

The trade in pepper, cloves, and other spices, and in ebony, saul-wood, teak, and other timbers has been increasing rapidly: references have been made to these so frequently when describing the places where they are chiefly produced, as not to require any particular notice here. The vegetable products peculiar to India, adapted to food or manufactures, are likely to be much more in request by European nations.

The commercial productions of India noticed in the foregoing pages are drawn from vegetable sources; the animal world supplies India also with numerous materials for home consumption and for export. Among the most prominent of these is silk, the secretion of the worm of the silk moth (*Bombyx Mori*), whose favourite food is the leaf of the mulberry-tree. The *Bombycidæ* includes the largest of all the moths yet known, the *Saturnia Atlas*, the extent of whose wings measures between eight and nine inches. The ground colour is a fine deep orange-brown, and in the middle of each wing is a large subtriangular transparent spot: each of these transparent parts is succeeded by a black border, and across all the wings run lighter and darker bars, exhibiting a very fine assortment of varying shades. The upper wings are slightly curved downwards at their tips, and their lower wings are edged with a border of black spots on a pale buff-coloured ground. The antennæ are widely pectinated with a quadruple series of fibres, which have a very elegant appearance. This moth is met with in Southern India, and the Chinese Tussah silk has been said to be obtained from it. Among the various moths found in Assam and other parts of India, are the *Bombyx Mori;* the Tussah (*Saturnia Paphia*); the eria, or arindy (*Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*); the moonga (*Saturnia Assamensis* of Helfer); the jooree (*Bombyx religiosa*, Helfer); and the *Saturnia Silhetica*, Helfer. Another species of *Saturnia* (*S. Se-*

*lene*), the posterior wings of which are prolonged into a tail-like process, is common in Southern India. Its chrysalis is enveloped in a silky covering, so like that of *S. Paphia*, that it would probably be found to yield a strong and useful thread. The Cossimbazar produces a large cocoon; but this worm will only produce silk annually. Dessee is the small indigenous or native silkworm of Bengal, which may be produced nearly throughout the year. It yields silk of a bright yellow colour. The eggs are hatched and formed into cocoons in from fifty-five to sixty days in the November or March *bunds*, or seasons; from forty to forty-five days in the October, and from twenty-eight to thirty-two days in the April and June bunds. The nistry tribe of silkworms comprises three species—the madrassie, the soonamooky, and cramee. The soonamooky are the best: like the madrassie, they are very hardy, requiring little care, and not being at all choice in their food. The madrassie or foreign cocoons rank next. They produce silk of a greenish hue, much inferior to the dessee or soonamooky, but the produce is large. The worm is distinguished from the dessee by a black mark under the throat. The Tussah silkworms are reared in all the western forests, and there are three different kinds of the *goottees*, or cocoons, collected in September—namely, the moonga, the most common, which produce a coarse thread, easily wound; the teerah, a smaller cocoon, with a firm thread, but not so wound, nor so much valued by the weavers; and the bonbunda, the largest of the wild silkworms, the thread being coarser, runs easier, and is, therefore, in more estimation by the weavers.*

The *Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*, is the eria of Assam and the eastern districts of Bengal. It has engaged the attention of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India for many years.† With the view of bringing the substance prepared by the worm into use as an article of commercial value, the society, in conjunction with Captain (now Colonel) Jenkins, the commissioner of Assam, offered, in 1849, the sum of £60 and a gold medal to the discoverer of an effectual and cheap solvent for the adhesive material which attaches to the cocoon. Though this prize was before the public for seven years, no claimant for it appeared, and the amount was diverted to another purpose.‡ At the close of the year 1855 Sir William Read, the governor of Malta, presented to Dr. Templeton a sample of silk produced in that island from the cocoons of the *Bombyx Cynthia*. Dr. Templeton sent the specimen to India, alleging that Signor Salteria, an Italian, succeeded in winding this silk, that the quality was peculiarly fine, and that an Englishman at Malta had succeeded in producing a pair of beautiful silk stockings and some lace-work from it. The castor-oil plant is that upon which this species of worm feeds. Since then the worms have been bred, and silk wound off, at Malta, Piedmont, Tripoli, France, and in the Island of Granada, but the worm thrives nowhere so well as at Assam, unless possibly in the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal.*

At the close of 1855 and beginning of 1856, Captain Hutton, in a correspondence with the Calcutta Horticultural Society, enumerated nine different species of worms indigenous to the Himalayas—seven Saturnia, one Actias, and one Bombyx. One species of the Saturnia the captain found feeding upon the quince-tree. Two of the Saturnia species only throve in the warmest valleys of the Himalayas; the others prospered at great elevations. One species of Actias he found at elevations from five to seven thousand feet. The Bombyx (*Bombyx Huttoni*, West) he found feeding on the wild mulberry, from the base of the hills to the height of seven thousand feet. The captain, during the year 1855, reared a number of the caterpillars of the *Actias selene*, in order to ascertain the value of the silk, which he was unable to wind from the cocoons. These creatures thrive on the shrub *Coriaria Nipalensis*, *Andromeda orealifolia*, the walnut, and occasionally upon the *Carpinus bimana*.

The Tussah silkworm is found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal, and the adjoining provinces, as to have afforded to the natives, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark-coloured silk, which is woven into a kind of cloth called *Tussah dooties*, much worn by Brahmins and other sects of Hindoos. This worm cannot, however, it is said, be domesticated.

The arrindy silkworm is peculiar to the interior parts of Bengal, in the districts of Dinajpore and Rungpore, where the natives rear and breed it in a domestic state, as they do the silkworm. The food of this kind consists entirely of the leaves of the castor-oil plant (the *Ricinus communis*), which the natives call arrindy, or arundi, and is abundantly reared over every part of India on account of the oil obtained from the seed.

* Indian Department, Exhibition 1851.

† *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

‡ *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

* *Report of the Entomological Society.*

Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white, or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk; it is, therefore, spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of great durability. When made into clothing for men and women, it will wear constantly for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It is likewise used as a baling material for wrapping packs of fine cloths, silks, or shawls. It must, however, be always washed in cold water; for if put into boiling water, it makes it tear like old rotten cloth.*

It will make the foregoing remarks more intelligible to the reader interested in the productions and commerce of India, but imperfectly acquainted with the technicalities of the silk trade, and cultivation, to give a few statistical and general facts in connection with the production and sale.

From 250 to 400 cocoons go to the pound. To compose an ounce of eggs of the largest breed of silkworms of 4-casts, it would require 37,440: if each of these eggs produced a worm, and they all lived, from one ounce of eggs 373 lbs. of cocoons would be obtained. One ounce of worms consume in the—

| | lbs. | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st age | 6 | of leaves. |
| 2nd „ | 18 | „ |
| 3rd „ | 60 | „ |
| 4th „ | 180 | „ |
| 5th „ | 1,098 | „ |
| Total | 1,362 | lbs. of leaves from the hatching to the formation of the cocoon. |

During the life of the silk-worm there has been excrement to the amount of 745 lbs. 8 ozs., and uneaten leaves or fragments, 155 lbs. odd. 458 feet 4 inches of spun silk extracted from a common cocoon of 4-casts weighs one grain. A cocoon yields 1760 feet of spun silk: the ounce of this spun silk is 264,000 feet long. We may conclude, on an average, that the silkworm, in forming its cocoon, draws a thread of half a mile in length. The full-grown worm is three inches long. After four, five, or six days each moth will have laid on an average 510 eggs, and 68 eggs weigh one grain: 180 female moths lay 91,800 eggs, weighing 2½ ozs.

The size or substance of a silk thread is usually estimated by deniers, and Italian and French weight, the comparative proportion of which will be understood by the specially prepared and appended figures, which will enable the reader the better to judge of the Indian silk trade relatively to that of other countries.

* *Report of the Society of Arts.*

*A Comparative Table of the Weights used for testing Silk in England, France, and Italy.*

The ounce troy and the ounce "poids de marc" of Lyons, by the latter of which silk is tested in France and Italy, are equal in weight, but are differently subdivided. The ounce Troy in England is divided into 20 pennyweights × 24 = 480 grains; the ounce of Lyons, poids de marc, into 24 drams × 24 = 576 deniers. The denier is therefore one-sixth less than the English grain, or as the decimal 0·8334 is to 1·000.

| | Deniers. | | Grains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Therefore | 1·000 | = | 0·8334 |
| „ | 1·200 | = | 1·000 |
| „ | 6 | = | 5 |
| „ | 100 | = | 83⅓ |
| 1 dram, poids de marc | 24 | = | 20 |
| 1 pennyweight, troy, about | 28¾ | or | 24 |
| 1 dram, avoirdupois „ | 33¼ | or | 27¾ |
| 1 oz. avoirdupois (16 drams of 27¾ grains) about | 532 | or | 437½ |
| 1 oz. troy (20 pennyweights of 24 grains) | 576 | = | 480 |
| 1 oz. poids de marc (24 drams of 24 deniers) | 576 | = | 480 |
| 1 lb. troy (12 oz. of 480 grains, or 576 deniers) | 6912 | = | 5760 |
| 1 lb. avoirdupois (16 oz. of 437½ grains) | 8512 | = | 7000 |
| 1 lb. poids de marc (16 oz. of 576 deniers) | 9216 | = | 7680 |

The pound troy is to the pound avoirdupois as 14 to 17, nearly.

The pound avoirdupois is to the pound poids de marc as 10 to 11, nearly.

The pound poids de marc is to the pound troy as 4 to 3.

The pound and ounce apothecaries' weight are the same as troy.

The English silk reel is 818 bouts of 44 inches = 1000 yards.

The French 400 ells, or 475 metres, of 39,371 inches = 520 yards.

The custom of the trade is to reckon 32 deniers to a dram. This has probably been adopted from ease of subdivision, but when carried out creates much error.

The standard of silk measure is about 400 yards; that length of a single filament from China cocoons will weigh 2 deniers, and from French or Italian 2½. A 10-denier silk will thus be the combined thread of four or five cocoons.

In the chapter devoted to China, notice was taken of the cultivation of the mulberry, and the production and exportation of silk in connection with that country. India imports Chinese silks, and exports them again, but this trade is not carried on to any great extent. The perfection to which the cotton manufacture has been brought both in India and England has interfered with the silk manufacture wherever it existed—even in China the cottons of India and England are little by little checking the consumption of silk; yet, although thus retarded by the competition of cotton, the silk manufactures of Europe have increased greatly.

The people of this country pay enormous sums of money for the foreign manufactured

* *Report of the Hyde Park Exhibition of* 1851.

silk which they wear, although much is made here. We cannot, however, obtain all the supplies of the raw material our manufacturers require, owing to the competition of other countries, the precariousness of the silk crop, and the increased consumption in Europe, which is now more than threefold what it was at the beginning of the century.

Our imports of silk in 1856 were derived from the following quarters:—

| | bales. |
|---|---|
| China | 56,561 |
| Bengal | 13,820 |
| Persia | 1,858 |
| Brutia | 143 |
| Italy | 2,784 |
| Total | 75,166 |

In the provinces east of Bengal, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, silk is produced, and the home consumption is very great. Upon the borders of Thibet and Bhotia, throughout Upper Assam, the silkworm finds suitable food in shrubs indigenous to those regions, and is in most parts carefully tended. In the independent territory of Monypore, and the quasi-independent territory of Tipperah, the use of both silk and cotton prevails; the higher classes using muslins brought from lower India, and silk and calico made in their own lands. There is no great quantity of silk produced for exportation, but there is an exchange of silk and silk manufacture with Birmah. English cotton goods are gradually making encroachments upon the silk manufacture of both the independent and subsidiary states to the east of Bengal. Within the Thibet frontier silk fabrics from China and Birmah are used, and cotton goods from Bengal and England. The Bhotians, Siamese, and Nepaulese, also consume the silk goods of China and Birmah, but the consumption is checked by the cottons of India proper, and of England. In Nepaul, Persian silks, brought by caravans through Cabul and the Punjaub, are worn, but only by the higher classes. Silk is spun in all these countries in some degree, and portions of it sent down to India, where it is manufactured into cloth, or exported as India silk. In Chittagong (Islamabad), Arracan, and Martaban, the mulberry-tree is carefully planted for the sake of the worm, and the native consumption of silk cloth is considerable. The cultivation of the worm in those provinces is on the Pegu and Birmese frontiers, on the higher lands; and much of the silk spun is sent into either of those countries. Silk thread, called Birmese and Peguan, and exported from these places, has been spun in the adjoining provinces of Martaban, Arracan, and Chittagong.

In the district of Prome, in Pegu, worms are bred amidst the hills and highlands by the same class of persons who grow cotton. The worm is there fed on mulberry leaves. The plants are allowed to grow three or four years, after which they are cut down, and a new plantation is made, fresh soil being cleared for the purpose. The silk thread sold before the Birmese war—that is, up to 1851—was about seven rupees a *viss*, which is the designation given to a weight of 365 lbs.* In 1855 the price was raised to nine rupees for that amount, but again declined during the year 1856-7. The dress of the better classes of the Peguans and of the Birmese, both men and women, being chiefly silk, the commodity is not likely to fall below seven rupees a viss. This silk, which is at so low a price in Prome, is unfit for the European market, or its cost would be soon greatly raised;† it is, however, exported in small quantities to the neighbouring provinces. Pegu is not likely to contribute to the Indian silk exports to Great Britain, for which purpose the chief object of the silk-breeder is to get cocoons made of long, strong, fine, even, lustrous, and white thread.

The silk trade of England may perhaps rank next to that of cotton, since silk now forms one of the most important articles of consumption for the purposes of dress, furniture, decoration, and luxury. Silk, it has been well remarked, is both an agreeable and a healthy material. Used in dress, it retains the electricity of our bodies. In the drapery of our rooms and furniture covers it reflects the sunbeams, giving them a greater brilliancy, and it heightens colours with a charming light. It possesses an element of cheerfulness of which the dull surfaces of wool and linen are destitute.

The quantity of silk now consumed in Europe is threefold what it was at the beginning of the century. The stiff brocade, the massy velvet, the slight gauze, and the beautiful blonde, are alike produced by the labour of the little silkworm.

Our imports of raw silk in 1856 amounted to 7,383,672 lbs.; of thrown or spun silk, 853,015 lbs.; of waste knubs and husks, 17,994 cwt. Of silk manufactures of Europe we received 905,013 lbs., and of Indian silk 597,752 pieces.

The declared value of the exports of British manufactured silks, which, in 1820, was but £371,755, had increased, in 1856, to close upon £3,000,000.

In the commercial department of the South

* *Memorandum on Silk produced in the Northern Portion of Pegu.* By Major Phayre, commissioner.

† Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Kensington Museum, and the new museum of the India-house, Leadenhall Street, specimens of oriental silks in every form may be seen, which cannot fail to interest those concerned in our Indian commerce. In the former place will be found catalogued—

Case of wild Indian silks, containing:—
- Yarns and cloth from the arca, or wild silk moth of Assam.
- The eria cocoons reduced to a floss, presented by Captain F. Jenkins, commissioner of Assam, in 1837.
- Yarn and thread from the silk of the mango-tree silkworm (see *Transactions of the Linnean Society*, vol. vii. p. 47).
- Arca silk thread of four qualities, from Captain Jenkins.
- Arindeh silk thread, dyed red, from the Marchioness of Hastings, 1818.
- Spun silk from the Tusser worm, ditto.
- Wild Indian silk, dyed yellow.
- Thread made by the Eas Pato (*Phalœna Cynthia*), on the castor-oil plant, Central Assam.
- Various cloths made from Arca silk in Assam.
- Silk thread and cloth made from the mango-tree and castor-oil tree silkworms, 1809, Dr. Roxburgh.

Cocoons of the Moongha Lata and of the Tussah, or wild forest silkworms.
- Specimens of raw silk from the smaller "pat pato" (*Bombyx mori minor*), and from the larger pat pato (*Bombyx mori major*), Central Assam.

The following is from the list of Chinese and Indian thrown silks:—

China (Tsatlee) organzine.
The same, "boiled off"—*i. e.* after the gum is extracted.
The same, stained, for making lace.
China (Tsatlee) tram.
China (Tsatlee) sewings.
The same, "boiled off."
China (Taysaam) hosiery, for making stockings.
The same, "boiled off."
China (Taysaam) fine sewings.
China (Taysaam) coarse sewings.
China (Taysaam) hard sewings.
China (Taysaam) sewings, "boiled off."
China (Yu-un-fan) lace cord.
China (Yu-un-fan) floss, or "no-throw."
China (Canton) sewings.
China (re-reeled Canton) sewings.
Bengal best floss, or "no-throw."
Bengal common tram.
Bengal organzine.
Bengal organzine, "boiled off."
Bengal sewings.
Bengal coarse sewings.
Bengal coarse sewings, "boiled off."

The general inquirer will receive some general idea of Indian silk cloths from the following specimens to be seen in the South Kensington Museum:—

Counter-case of manufactured Indian silks from the Mezankurree, Moongha, or Moorghie, Assam.
- Tussah silk, bought in Calcutta in 1839.
- Mezankurree, Moonga drab silk cloth, with red striped border, from Assam, 1839, from the Calcutta Museum.
- Drab Moongha silk from Assam, 1837, by Captain Jenkins.
- Finer white silk cloth, bordered with red stripe, from the Mezankurree Moonga silk of Assam, 1839. Presented by Captain Jenkins.
- Cloth from the Moonga silkworm, in an embroidered state, manufactured in Assam in 1836; shown by Dr. Wallich, from the Calcutta Museum.
- Moongha muslin silk cloth, from Assam; obtained by Captain Jenkins in 1837.
- Moongha silk from Assam, 1836, Dr. Wallich.

The silk manufactures of India imported into England in 1856 amounted to 597,752 yards.

The fleeces and raw wools exported from India are more remarkable for their variety than for the magnitude of the commerce which is maintained in them. These commodities, although of Indian export, are frequently brought from Affghanistan, Cashmere, Thibet, and other Asiatic nations; they are, however, articles of Indian commerce, if not of Indian produce; indeed, it is impossible to form a full and clear estimate of the trade transactions between British India and the nations beyond, and the independent states within the boundaries of the territory called India. The following specimens of articles of Indian commerce in fleeces and raw wools may be seen in the compartment allotted to them in the museum of the Society of Arts:—

East Indian, first white quality.
Ditto, superior quality.
Common grey East Indian.
Good East Indian.
Coarse grey East Indian.
East Indian, worth about 7*d*.
Good yellow East Indian.
Middling white quality.
Ditto, white East Indian.
East Indian mixed, a hairy kind.
Low and kempy East Indian.
East Indian coarse wool, mixed.
Mixed kempy, black and white.
Bengal wool.
Wool of the Himalaya mountain sheep.
Calcutta sheep's wool, mixed.
Wool from one of Lord Western's flock, raised in Mysore.
Good white thorough-bred Merino, from Mysore.
Ditto, quarter-bred, from Mysore.
Good white quality, half-bred—Mysore.
Ditto, three-quarters-bred—Mysore.
Ditto, seven-eighths-bred—Mysore.
Good white coarse country wool—Mysore.
White cleaned, from Beckouret.
Clean black Gujerat.
Cleaned white Gujerat.
Uncleaned Gujerat.
Black and white Gujerat.
Wool from a yearling lamb, a cross between a Patna ewe and a Southdown ram.
Ditto, cross between a Cape Merino ram and a country ewe (eight bottles).
Highland sheep's wool, from Thibet.
Highland lamb's wool, from Thibet.
Bang Bal Valley wool, from Thibet.
Wool from black sheep of Thibet.
Black Highland wool, from Thibet.

Thibet wool, picked.
Kula Yako Dorin.
Wool from Spite.
Wool from the Punjaub.
Black Punjaub wool, from Kussore.
Mixed Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.
White Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.*
Wool from Lahore.
White wool, from Shung.
Himalayan mountain wool.
White Ferozepore, Loodiana district.
Black wool, from Loodiana.
White wool, from Cashmere.
Cashmere shawl wool.
Calmuck, Russian wool.
Wool from Shanghai sheep, *vid* Chittagong.

There are also some specimens of Indian broadcloths, which are unsuitable to Europe.

The woollen cloth carpet of Nepaul may also be seen in the museum, but it is not imported to Europe.

The hair of the Thibet goat, and of the Cashmere shawl-goat, are articles of export from India to Europe, as are the shawls manufactured from these materials. The hair of the Cashmere goat is also imported to France *vid* Russia for the manufacture of shawls.

The skins of the tiger and leopard are to a small extent exported, chiefly to England. The chief supply of tiger skins is from Bengal. From Madras between two and three millions of goat skins are annually shipped.

Isinglass is exported to Europe, especially to England.

Leather is an Indian manufacture, for which a foreign market is found, but it is chiefly sent to the countries of Asia beyond India, or used by the natives themselves. The skins of the rhinoceros, cheetah, hyena, and antelope, are all tanned and dressed in different parts of our Indian empire. In Guntore, and other parts of India, the skins of the guana are tanned and curried for ladies' and gentlemen's shoes, and are also black grained. The tanning substances used are tanghedi, huldi, and myrabolans. The skins are thin, even, soft, tough, elastic, and granular or shagreen-like in external appearance. From the absence of gloss, the appearance of this leather is not much in its favour; but it bids fair to be a durable article for light slippers, and a good covering for the commoner kinds of instrument boxes, such as are still done over with shagreen. The supply of the skins can never, however, be large. As covers for various Indian toys, curiosities, and carvings, it frequently comes to England.

Bone and ivory carved ornaments are favourite imports of Europe from the East. As shown in the chapter set apart to China, that country is the most famous for productions of this kind, but India also, more especially Bombay Island, has also obtained a superior reputation.

The horns of the Indian buffalo, the ox, the bison, and the antlers of various species of deer, are all important to commerce. About twenty-six thousand pairs of horns are annually shipped from Siam. The Bombay buffalo horns are very useful for the manufacture of handles of knives and dressing-combs, and fetch in the market from fifteen to twenty shillings per cwt. From Madras about a million buffalo horns were shipped in 1856. Both from Calcutta and Madras stag horns of a beautiful description have been exported, and also from the Island of Ceylon. The Calcutta buffalo horn is much used by the English opticians. The horns exported by the Siamese are excellent for combs and other useful articles.

The difficulty of giving definite information on this branch of Indian commerce with England, and the value of the commerce itself, is evident from the following statement:—"It is impossible to give very accurate details as to the import of the several kinds of horns, for since 1847, when the duty was abolished, they have been all aggregated together. The imports of horns and tips and pieces of horn in 1855 amounted to 3110 tons, valued at £88,386. The hoofs of cattle imported in that year were valued at £4183. The import of buffalo horns and tips was probably about 1400 tons (as 1869 tons of horns of all kinds were received from the British East India possessions). The value of buffalo horn varies from £25 to £35 per ton. From six to eight hundred tons are annually worked up in Sheffield, chiefly for cutlery handles and umbrella and parasol handle-tops, machete or cutlass-handles, scales, snuff-boxes, horn-stirrups, sword-handles, drawer-handles, dressing-combs, &c. Taking the average at fourteen hundred horns to the ton, the mortality among buffaloes in the East to supply our manufacturing demands must be nearly a million a year, besides what may be required for continental and American use."*

The stag horns used in Sheffield for cut-

* Measures have lately been taken to improve the quality of the Punjaub wool, in which there is now a large export trade *vid* Kurrachee, reaching from thirty to forty thousand maunds of about 75 lbs. It has increased about ninety per cent. over previous years. The wool-staplers of Khorassan, and the producers of wool on the hills north of Cabul, Ghuznee, and various parts of Central Asia, bring it down by caravans to the frontier; and as the navigation of the tributaries of the Indus becomes developed, a further increase of the produce brought down may be looked for.

* *Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of* 1851.

lery purposes are chiefly supplied by Hindoostan and the Island of Ceylon. Madras, Bombay, and Colombo (Ceylon), export to England annually over four hundred tons of stag-horn. These are much valued. The horns dropped on the hills and plains of India and Ceylon are very heavy, and almost as solid as bone. The horns shed by more than a quarter of a million head of deer are gathered in India for the manufactures of Sheffield. The value ranges from £25 to £50 per ton.

Tortoiseshell is brought to Europe chiefly from the Eastern Archipelago, and beautiful specimens of manufactured articles in that material both from India and China.

India sends to Europe great variety of shells and of marine animal products suitable for manufactures. Large quantities of the calcareous plate (commonly called bone) which strengthens the back of the cuttle-fish are brought from the Persian Gulf to Bombay, and thence shipped to Europe.

We receive from India about a thousand tons of cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) yearly, chiefly for transmission to the west coast of Africa, where a string of about forty is worth 1*d.* or 2*d.**

Of black-edged mother-of-pearl shells about a hundred tons are annually shipped from Bombay.

There is a shell which, although not much sent to Europe, forms an important item in the coasting trade of India; and in the trade of Ceylon figures as an export to the Indian continent. It is called chanks (*Turbinella pyrum*), and is a solid porcellaneous fusiform shell, used for cutting into armlets, anklets, &c., known as "bangles" in the East Indies, which are often highly ornamented. More than 4,300,000 of these shells are sometimes shipped in a year from Ceylon to the ports of Calcutta and Madras. Chanks, also called *kauncho rings*, are cut out by means of rude circular saws into narrow slips, which, when joined very accurately, give the whole an appearance of being formed from the most circular part of the shell. There is a small process, or button, at the base of each shell, which is sawn off, and, after being ground to a shape resembling that of a flat turnip, is perforated for the purpose of being strung. When so prepared, these receive the name of *krantahs*, of which two rows, each containing from thirty to forty, are frequently worn round the necks of sepoys in the East India Company's service as a part of their uniform —a substitute, indeed, for their stocks. The city of Dacca, so famous for its muslins, receives a large number of these shells, which are used for beating the finer cloths manufactured in that populous and rich emporium of cotton fabrics. The jawbone of the boalee fish is also used for carding cotton for the Dacca muslins.*

The Island of Ceylon is famous for its pearl fisheries, as has been shown in the chapter treating of that island. In the chapter on China the skill of the Chinese in producing artificial pearls has been noticed. These are articles of export to Europe. The pearl-shells, as well as their precious contents, are imported into England from Ceylon.

From the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coral is chiefly procured. Bombay is the chief depot for this commodity for shipment to Europe. Large coral deposits have been lately found on the coasts of Oran, and a bank on the southern coast of the Island of Ceylon.

Wax is a valuable article of Indian foreign trade. From China the best description is obtained, but India is rich in this product, which is also of excellent quality. About 300,000 lbs. of beeswax are annually shipped from Madras.

It has already been shown that the vegetable dyes of India are valuable, especially indigo; pigments and dyes yielded by animals form also an important element of Indian export trade.

Cochineal is only exported in small quantities to Europe. India has not done justice to herself in this branch of trade, for the Punjaub possesses the insect abundantly;† and certain writers allege that the dyers of Lahore have from time immemorial used the dye which it produces. This, however, is denied by naturalists in the service of the East India Company. From observations and experiments made in the Punjaub, it has been established that the wild cochineal of that district will produce the most beautiful dye known under that name.‡ The supply of the English market is chiefly from America, but the Dutch have gathered the insect abundantly in Java;§ and although attempts to introduce the American insect to India failed, no proper attention was paid to that which was in-

* The shells of *Cypræa moneta*, *Cypræa annulus*, and some small white shells of the genus *Marginella*, were formerly employed occasionally in European medicine. In Scinde they are at the present day calcined, and the powder sprinkled over sores. Sixteen hundred and twenty-five hundredweight of cowries have been imported in one ship from Ceylon for this country.

* *Shells and their Uses.* By P. L. Simmonds.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, vol. vii. part 1.

‡ *Observations on the Wild Cochineal of the Punjaub and the North-Western Provinces.* By Dr. Dempster.

§ Dr. M'Cleland, of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.

digenous to India.* The attention of the governor and secretary of the north-western provinces was directed to the subject in 1855–6, and the probability is that this article of commerce will be brought to command more attention in the European markets.

The lac dye is a product peculiar to India using the term in the more extended signification. It reaches us from India in the various shapes of stick-lac (deposited round the branches of trees), seed-lac, thread-lac, melted down into a resin, forming the basis of sealing-wax and lackers or varnishes; and the red colouring matter, in cakes, known as lac-dye, which forms a dye-stuff. Lac is obtained chiefly on the hilly parts of Hindoostan, on both sides of the Ganges, and in Birmah. From the port of Calcutta upwards of 4,000,000 lbs. are annually shipped.

Lac insects (*Coccus lacca*) are found in enormous numbers in the mountain forests on the sides of the Ganges, and line the branches of various trees, as the *Ficus Indica, Ficus religiosa, Croton lacciferum*, and others. When about to deposit their ova, these insects puncture the young shoots and twigs of the various trees: the branches then become encrusted with a reddish-coloured resinous concretion, which consists of the inspissated juice of the plant imbued with a peculiar colouring matter derived from the insect: the insects, when attached to the branches of the trees, soon become enveloped in the layer of resinous matter, which hardens on exposure: this is the stick-lac of commerce. The insect dies, and the body shrivels into an oval bag, containing a minute drop of red fluid: this is extracted from the lac, and when formed into small masses becomes the lac-dye of commerce. It is extensively used as a substitute for cochineal.

Stick-lac, which is chiefly obtained from Siam and Bengal, is the basis whence lac-dye and shell-lac are manufactured. These are the stick-lacs of commerce, the resinous substance mentioned above.

After the lac-dye has been separated from the stick-lac, the preparation of which is usually carried on in India, the substances remaining are formed, and become articles of commerce.

Ruby, garnet, and orange shell-lac are exported from India; the darker qualities are used in the manufacture of spirit varnish or French polish, and all the three qualities are used in the stiffening of the bodies or shapes of hats. Ruby and orange button-lac are used by sealing-wax makers and hat manufacturers. The quality is similar to shell-lac, but stronger in body.

* Dr. M'Cleland.

Ruby seed-lac and orange seed-lac are also articles of commerce, being used in the manufacture of spirit varnishes, lac-wax, white and yellow. Bleached lac is extensively used in the manufacture of the finer sorts of sealing-wax, and the wax which separates during the purification of the lac is called lac-wax, and comparatively little known. This substance is readily fused, and may be well employed in taking casts, which it does with great sharpness. It is probable, also, that it might be advantageously used to mix with other and more fusible materials in the manufacture of candles.

Lac is found encircling the branches of many trees in India in the form of a tube, half an inch to an inch in diameter. The broken branches, with incrustations at various distances, is called in commerce stick-lac, and it ought to be semi-transparent. The lac is formed by the insect into cells, somewhat resembling a honeycomb, in which the insect is generally found entire, and owing to whose presence stick-lac yields, by proper treatment, a red dye, nearly if not quite as bright as that obtained from cochineal, and more permanent.

The colouring matter exhibited by grinding stick-lac, and then treating it with water, constitutes seed-lac. The crude resin is abundant in the jungles of India: the best is produced upon the koosumba (*Schleichera trijuga*), which yields the colouring matter twice a year.

We import upwards of 1500 tons annually of crude shell-lac and lac-dye, of the value of £88,000.

The native process of making the lac-dye in cakes* is as follows:—The lac having been carefully picked from the branches, is reduced to a coarse powder in a stone hand-mill, and is then thrown into a cistern, covered with two inches of water, and allowed to soak for sixteen hours. It is then trampled by men for four or five hours, until the water appears well coloured, each person having about ten pounds' weight of lac to operate upon. The whole is then strained through a cloth, a solution of hot alum water is poured over it, and the decoction is drawn off, remaining a day to settle. It is subsequently passed into other cisterns, the water is run off, and the colouring matter deposited is taken up, and placed in a canvas strainer to drain. It is then passed through a press to remove all remaining moisture, and the cakes

* Lac-dye usually comes into commerce in the form of small square cakes, or as a reddish black powder, and contains, in addition to a considerable quantity of resinous matter, a carmine-like pigment, employed in dyeing scarlet, for which purpose it must be dissolved in sulphuric acid or in a strong acid solution of tin.

of dye are made up with the distinguishing letter or mark of the manufacturer.*

The lac-dye imported into England during 1856 weighed 18,123 cwt. In 1857 the importation was less.

Various animal substances used in pharmacy and perfumery are exported from India.

Civet, the odoriferous substance produced by the civet cat, is brought from Calicut and other parts of the East Indies. Musk is derived from Eastern and Central Asia as well as from other places.

Bezoar is a name given to a concrete substance found in the stomachs of animals, and to which many valuable properties were formerly ascribed. It had the supposed virtue of being an antidote to poison, and was considered an absorbent.

There are several kinds of bezoar met with, but the oriental is most esteemed, which is brought from Borneo and some of the seaports of the Persian Gulf. It has a smooth glossy surface, and is of a dark green or olive colour. Varieties of this concretion are found in the stomach of the wild boar of India, in the gall-bladder of the ox, common in Nepaul, and in the gall-bladder of the camel; this last is much prized as a yellow paint by the Hindoos. The Persian bezoar is said to be procured from the chamois, or wild goat (*Capra gazella*). Cow bezoar will fetch about 40*s.* per lb. in the Indian bazaars, and bezoar stone from the ghauts 6*d.* per lb. According to Frezier, bezoars have been found in guanacoes.

Specimens of the Indian blistering beetles, *Mylabris pustulata*, and *Mylabris punctum*, a smaller species, were shown at the Madras Exhibition by Dr. Collas of Pondicherry, accompanied by a full interesting report on their blistering properties and careful researches into their natural history, which he published in the *Moniteur Official*, at Pondicherry, on the 2nd of March, 1854. Both insects are found in large quantities at certain seasons all over Southern India. Some other blistering flies are also met with in India, such as the meloe (*Mylabris cichorii*), the *tilini* of the Hindoos, common about Dacca and in Hyderabad. It yields, according to Dr. O'Shaughnessy, on an average, one-third more of cantharidin than the Spanish fly of the European shops.†

Of late fresh efforts have been made to make these insects articles of commerce for medical purposes, and with every prospect of success.

The following statement for 1856, in reference to Bengal alone, of the measure and value of particular articles, the exportation of which are upon the increase, will set forth the importance of the export trade of the chief presidency:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Castor-oil, 12,435 maunds* | 16,748 |
| Raw cotton, 173,908 maunds | 173,853 |
| Lac-dye, 27,985 maunds | 81,591 |
| Lac (shell), 47,974 maunds | 43,458 |
| Lac (stick), 1606 maunds | 1,263 |
| Gunny cloths and bags, 20,221,016 pieces | 430,732 |
| Hides and skins, 4,788,129 pieces | 368,888 |
| Jute, 1,194,470 maunds | 327 476 |
| Linseed, 2,538,225 maunds | 507,824 |
| Mustard-seed, 1,307,115 maunds | 261,541 |
| Poppy-seed, 114,526 maunds | 22,932 |
| Opium, 44,937 chests | 3,638,917 |
| Rice, 9,187,259 maunds | 1,047,133 |
| Wheat, 950,036 maunds | 100,469 |
| Other grain—including paddy, grain, dholl, and peas, oats barley, with flour and bran, 665,558 maunds | 59,420 |
| Safflower, 15,495 maunds | 30,765 |
| Saltpetre, 737,273 maunds | 423,406 |
| Silk, 18,229 maunds | 703,822 |
| Sugar, 1,221,393 maunds | 1,134,154 |
| Total | 9,374,392 |

The value of hemp from Bengal in 1855 was £38,000.

The export trade of certain non-regulation provinces in connection with the Bengal government has also greatly increased. Thus, Arracan was a swamp when, thirty years ago, it was wrested from Birmah. In 1856 its exports exceeded in value a million sterling, rice being the chief commodity. Its imports were almost exclusively silver.

The following is a view of the imports and exports of the three presidencies during the year 1856:†—

MERCHANDIZE.

IMPORTS.

| 1855-6 | British. | Foreign. | Total. | Treasure. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Bengal | 6,692,294 | 1,664,523 | 8,356,717 | 6,011,225 |
| Madras | 981,231 | 1,132,156 | 2,313,387 | 1,371,669 |
| Bombay | 2,999,420 | 3,704,502 | 6,603,923 | 4,973,380 |
| | 10,672,945 | 6,501,181 | 17,274,027 | 12,356,274 |

EXPORTS.

| 1855-6 | British. | Foreign. | Total. | Treasure. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Bengal | 4,943,547 | 8,689,483 | 13,633,030 | 255,361 |
| Madras | 975,221 | 1,941,869 | 2,917,090 | 441,875 |
| Bombay | 3,413,780 | 5,529,113 | 8,943,893 | 1,349,016 |
| | 9,332,548 | 16,160,470 | 25,494,018 | 2,046,252 |

The following is a memorandum of some of the items included in the trade from Bengal to other countries than Great Britain:‡—

* *Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum.*

† Dr. Hunter, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society.*

* A maund is 80 lbs.

† The value is computed at the rate of two shillings the rupee.

‡ Bonnaud's *Commercial Annual of Calcutta.*

MERCHANDIZE.

FRANCE.

| | Imports. £ | Exports. £ |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 139,494 | 437,975 |
| 1855-6 | 249,496 | 753,772 |

NORTH AMERICA.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 120,154 | 876,508 |
| 1855-6 | 89,548 | 1,033,840 |

CHINA.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 240,395 | 3,306,621 |
| 1855-6 | 201,562 | 3,284,884 |

NEW HOLLAND AND SYDNEY.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 51,483 | 116,178 |
| 1855-6 | 34,796 | 148,786 |

SINGAPORE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 81,958 | 501,793 |
| 1855-6 | 80,830 | 572,158 |

ARABIAN AND PERSIAN GULFS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 75,136 | 106,457 |
| 1855-6 | 65,517 | 108,467 |

MADRAS AND COROMANDEL COAST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 125,510 | 221,282 |
| 1855-6 | 104,547 | 185,574 |

BOMBAY AND MALABAR COAST.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 207,644 | 472,781 |
| 1855-6 | 210,576 | 456,657 |

PEGU.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 102,064 | 305,926 |
| 1855-6 | 95,131 | 378,810 |

MAURITIUS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 5,377 | 202,279 |
| 1855-6 | 3,923 | 193,409 |

BOURBON.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | 5,097 | 87,206 |
| 1855-6 | 3,918 | 171,478 |

The importance of Bombay as a port of export has already been asserted. The following is a comparative view of the export of cotton during 1856 from the three presidencies: *—

MERCHANDIZE.

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

| 1855-6. | lbs. | £ |
|---|---|---|
| Bengal | 12,028,480 | 150,356 |
| Madras | 4,792,388 | 58,899 |
| Bombay | 165,380,930 | 2,320,454 |
| *Total Export.* | | |
| Bengal | 13,912,640 | 173,353 |
| Madras | 21,013,464 | 252,134 |
| Bombay | 217,487,413 | 3,074,089 |

Of the large quantity exported to other countries than Great Britain, the average export to China from Bombay alone in the last five years was 54,450,579 lbs., of the annual average value of £812,380. Indeed, cotton to Great Britain, and cotton and opium to China, constitute a very large portion of the aggregate exports of Bombay. The opium exported in 1854-5 was valued at £2,540,000, and in 1855-6 at £2,560,000.

The *Calcutta Review* gives an elaborate statement of the imports and exports of each presidency up to 1856 inclusively from 1853. The following are extracted from these details. These estimates take no cognizance of re-exports, and state the import and export of each presidency to all places out of that presidency, whether in India or in places beyond its limits. The exports from port to port of the same presidency are not stated. The statement for 1855-6 is alone given in the extract.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 8,186,162 |
| Company's ditto | 170,555 |
| Treasure | 6,011,225 |
| Total | 14,367,942 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 13,633,030 |
| Treasure | 255,361 |
| Total | 13,888,391 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 14,367,942 |
| Exports | 13,888,391 |
| Total | 28,256,333 |

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bills on Bengal by the court of directors | 1,232,633 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1529 | 864,227 |
| Native craft | 514 | 56,005 |
| Total | 2043 | 920 232 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1555 | 861,546 |
| Native craft | 593 | 61,958 |
| Total | 2148 | 923,504 |

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,313,387 |
| Treasure | 1,371,669 |
| Total | 3,685,056 |

* Mr. G. S. Porter.

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,917,090 |
| Treasure | 441,875 |
| Total | 3,358,965 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 3,685,056 |
| Exports | 3,358,965 |
| Total | 7,044,021 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1221 | 356,641 |
| Native craft | 4439 | 213,918 |
| Total | 5660 | 570,559 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 1633 | 463,736 |
| Native craft | 4875 | 231,829 |
| Total | 6508 | 695,565 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 6,529,663 |
| Horses | 74,260 |
| Treasure | 4,973,380 |
| Total | 11,577,303 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 8,940,639 |
| Horses | 2,260 |
| Treasure | 1,345,016 |
| Total | 10,287,915 |

*Total Trade.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 11,577,303 |
| Exports | 10,287,915 |
| Total | 21,865,218 |

SHIPPING.

*Arrivals*, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 320 | 229,403 |
| Native craft | 5845 | 223,524 |
| Total | 6165 | 452,927 |

*Departures*, 1855-6.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Square-rigged | 324 | 231,496 |
| Native craft | 4372 | 167,824 |
| Total | 4696 | 399,320 |

This return, however, thus far applies only to the port of Bombay. The returns for the other ports of the Bombay presidency are as follows:—Alibaugh, Bassein, Broach, Bulsar, Caringah, Dholarah, Gogo, Ghurbunds, Jumbosur, Kurrachee, Mahonu, Oolpar, Omergun, Panwell, Rajpooree, Rutnaghur, Soovendroog, Surat, Tarrapore, Tromboy, Unjunwell, Vingorla, Vizradroog, Waghra, Warree, exhibiting in detail the imports and exports, appear in the report of the external commerce of Bombay for 1855-6. The amounts given by these returns are:—

IMPORTS.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 286,930 |

EXPORTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 285,643 |

But we have not the means of presenting a comparison with former reports, and therefore will omit them in the aggregates which we shall have to present.

The report of the administration of the province of Pegu affords some considerable information of its external trade, both by sea and the rivers. The returns (deducting £200,000 annually, as the fair estimate of imported government treasure) may be stated as follows for the aggregate of the four ports of Rangoon, Dalhousie, Toongoo, and Thyat-Mew:—

PROVINCE OF PEGU.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 1,267,071 |

*Exports*, 1855-6.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 663,783 |

The following is the estimate of the review for 1857 (the statement does not exactly agree with the parliamentary returns):—

CALCUTTA.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 7,841,730 |
| Treasure | 6,638,685 |
| Total | 14,480,415 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 13,618,626 |
| Treasure | 1,003,676 |
| Total | 14,622,302 |

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,305,898 |
| Treasure | 1,613,515 |
| Total | 3,919,413 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 3,717,380 |
| Treasure | 344,186 |
| Total | 4,061,566 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

*Imports*, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 7,629,221 |
| Treasure | 8,248,361 |
| Total | 15,877,582 |

*Exports*, 1856-7.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 10,983,008 |
| Treasure | 1,588,873 |
| Total | 12,571,881 |

The parliamentary return for Indian commerce is as follows:—The total value of the merchandize and treasure imported into the several presidencies of India in 1856-7 amounted to 28.60.82.855 rupees, against 25.24.89.453 in 1855-6, and 14.77.09.286 in 1854-5. Bombay figured for 11.89.50.606; Madras for 2.54.07.396; and Bengal for 14.17.24.853. The exports from India in 1856-7 amounted to 26.59.18.811, against 23.64.04.451 in 1855-6.

Upon his own statements the reviewer makes the following observations:—

The foregoing results, it must be observed, are afforded (as to all but the Straits' settlements) by the official values. It then becomes an important and interesting question how far these official estimates are true criteria of the real value. That the official value, on the whole, affords a correct index in the case of the imports appears to be admitted: being, it may be, erroneous, in respect of some articles, by too high a valuation, and erroneous by too low a valuation in respect of others, but, on the whole, affording a fair estimate of the aggregate value of the imports, at least in Bengal. But this is not so at present in respect of the exports, as we shall proceed to show.

These results, too, recall Lord Grenville's most masterly and noble speech in 1813—the greatest speech ever delivered on Indian affairs. At that time the aggregate of the trade of India with Great Britain was not £2,500,000 a year (exports and imports), and the evidence given for the East India Company, by its witnesses, went to show the improbability of any extended demand for European goods. Such was the doctrine gravely propounded by eminent witnesses in defence of the monopoly—Warren Hastings, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and others. But said Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, "To what extent this trade of India may be carried, presumptuous indeed would be the man who would now venture to pronounce. On what evidence, what conjecture, would he found his judgment? What present knowledge, what past experience of India, could possibly decide that question? 'No commerce,' Trebatius or Quintus Cicero, returning from a campaign in Britain, would probably have informed the Roman senate—'no commerce can ever be carried on with that uncivilized uncultivated island, divided absolutely from the whole world by tempestuous, unnavigable seas, and inhabited only by naked and houseless barbarians.'—'No commerce,' some sage counsellor of Henry and Elizabeth might, with equal authority, have assured those monarchs, 'can ever be opened with the dreary wild of North America, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions the folly might be palliated by inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say to those who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels, who tell us that the trade we now carry on with India, must, in all future times, be limited to its actual amount? Strange and unprecedented necessity, which has thus set bounds to human industry and enterprise, arresting the progress of commercial intercourse, and by some blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural increase of social improvement! With full and confident assurance may we repel these idle apprehensions. By commerce commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the Great Creator of the world has not exempted India from this common law of our nature. The supply, first following the demand, will soon extend it. By new facilities new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither climate nor religion, nor long-established habits—no, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native population of that empire. They will derive from the extension of commerce, as every other people has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new employments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise." So spake the statesman; and history records the begun fulfilment of his prediction, and encourages the confi-

dent belief that larger anticipations than even that illustrious man himself probably ever entertained will be realized before a century has past from his delivery of that magnificent oration. The point to which we have already reached will be now ascertained by an inquiry into the value of the exports of the year we have last reviewed, 1855-6. The question of gradual progress will then next engage our attention.

It is at all times difficult to fix the value of goods for duty, but of course particularly so in a fluctuating market, and when the articles to be valued vary much in quality. Probably the best plan in large ports is to issue, yearly or half-yearly, tariffs of values, based on fair averages. If this be not done, there must always be much uncertainty, and great loss to the revenue from under-valuation, or complaints of restrictions on commerce from excessive duties. In the one article of sugar, for instance, the prices of the various sorts of one kind ranged, in 1855-6, from nine rupees eight annas (nineteen shillings) a maund to five rupees four annas, and the combined average price for all sorts of that one kind of sugar was seven rupees, or fourteen shillings; for the various sorts of another kind the range was from seven rupees to four rupees, the general average being five rupees ten annas; and for the third kind the range for various sorts was from six rupees fourteen annas to three rupees twelve annas, the combined average for this kind being five rupees two annas. This was the range of market for Benares, Date, and Dummah sugar. But this affords very little guide in now estimating the real value of this article, which is exported free of duty. Much less will any returns of this description afford an accurate guide for articles on which there is a duty levied on the real value, it being evidently anything but the interest of the exporter to assist the custom-house in assessing the utmost value. Moreover, while the returns afford evidence of the gross quantities shipped,—and it is easy to ascertain the range of prices for any particular descriptions of an article,—it is almost impossible, when the fluctuation of prices has been considerable and frequent, when there is no mode of testing the relative amounts and proportions of the different sorts of such an article shipped, to determine absolutely what the real value of any past year's shipment has been. It is clear, however, that if there has been a decided general rise in prices, and that the chief activity in shipping prevailed at the time when prices were highest, then any return of values based on precisely the same data as to prices as were used under the lower standard of the previous year must be erroneous. And such was precisely the case with the Bengal exports of 1855-6. We have seen one calculation, by a very competent person, which makes the real value of the exports of 1856 to be £19,922,803, but this high estimate includes packing and shipping charges, duties, commissions, &c. &c.: this plan having been adopted in that table with reference to other calculations respecting the exchanges. Our own impression, from careful consideration and attentive examination of the subject, certainly is that the real Calcutta market value of the exports of the year 1855-6 (the official year), which were valued at £13,888,391, was nearly £16,500,000. But as the value of the imports is based on the invoices, which include the charges, insurance, and freight, the comparison between this 16,500,000 as our market value with the value of imports will be delusive. We need not, indeed, add the freight of exports, as it is not usually paid in India, but other charges, to the amount of more than ten per cent., must be added, making the aggregate value of exports, to be repaid in India by merchandize, or bullion, or remittances of the company's bills for our tribute, probably £18,000,000. But it is to be remembered that not all the imports can be set off against the exports, for some certainly come to this country for permanent investment. Such is the case with importations of railway materials.

A very brief examination of details will illustrate our position as to the market value as contrasted with the official. Taking linseed for example, the official value at two rupees for 2,538,225 Indian maunds (about 900,000 tons) was £507,824; but it may be questioned if four rupees a maund was too high an average for the whole of the linseed shipped in that year. This would give £1,015,648. The difference in saltpetre was not so remarkable, but still the real value exceeded considerably the official. In the case of jute the official value for 1,194,470 maunds was £327,476, at ten rupees a bale of three hundred pounds; but a very careful calculation gives an average of at least twelve rupees eight annas, or twenty-five per cent additional. In the case of rice the official value of 9,187,259 maunds (328,000 tons) was £1,047,133, but we believe that at least one rupee a maund may fairly be added to this estimate, giving a result of upwards of £900,000 additional. On this article there is a fixed duty of one anna and a half a maund, and there is consequently no reason for concealment of the value; and now steps are being taken, by monthly returns from the chamber of commerce, to ascertain the value accurately. In the case of raw silk the duty is three annas and a half per seer

(or two pounds), and in this case also the real value probably could henceforth be easily ascertained. The official value given for 18.229 maunds in 1855-6 was £703,822—that is, for 729,160 seers—an average of somewhat less than ten rupees (£1) a seer. It is difficult now to form an opinion on the subject with any confidence, from the varieties of silk that were in the market, but on the whole it may probably be stated with tolerable confidence that twelve rupees eight annas would be a fair average, giving in this case also an increase of twenty-five per cent. The proportionate increase in mustard seed, of which 1.307,115 maunds were shipped, and were valued (at two rupees a maund) at £261,511, may be taken to be equal to that in linseed, or a hundred per cent. In the case of opium 44,937 chests are valued officially at £3,638,917, and this is doubtless correct, and the official value of sugar may also be correct, if it does not indeed exceed the real value. But taking a long series of articles—indigo, cotton, wheat, and other grain, castor-oil, gunnies and gunny cloth, hides, lac, poppy seed, provisions, rum, safflower, tea, &c.—it may be fair to say that from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on the average might be fairly added to the official value. The rise of prices in the course of the official year was undoubtedly very great, and continued almost up to its termination. The news of the peace was entirely unexpected, and did not reach Calcutta in a definite and authentic form till March.

The rise in the prices in the other presidencies probably was not so great, and the consequent temporary disparity between the real and the tariff value, not so great as in Bengal. But if it be stated generally that the real market value of exports from the three presidencies, Pegu, and the Straits, was thirty-six or thirty-seven millions sterling, instead of £32,199,056, as previously calculated from the official returns, or nearly *forty millions*, with the duties and charges, few perhaps will question the accuracy of the supposition.

The general subject of prices in India is one of much interest and importance, but at present it is too early to reach any definite conclusion. In the interior it is notorious that prices of produce, of labour, and of boat hire, have risen greatly. Shippers, the railway company, and the government, alike feel it.

In consequence of a return lately moved for in the British House of Commons by Mr. H. Baillie, the tariff now in force in British India has just been published as a parliamentary paper. The import duties are principally *ad valorem*. Coffee pays an import duty of 7½ per cent. in all the presidencies; coral, 10 per cent.; cotton and silk goods, 5 per cent.; foreign cotton and silk goods, 10 per cent.; camphor and cassia, 10 per cent.; foreign books, 3 per cent.; alum, 10 per cent; marine stores, 5 per cent., and foreign stores. 10; British metals, 5, and foreign, 10 per cent.; opium, 24 rupees a seer of 80 tolas (the export of the drug is prohibited); beer, ale, porter, &c., 5 per cent.; salt, 2 rupees, 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas per seer in Bengal, 14 annas per maund in Madras, and 12 annas per maund of 3200 tolas in Bombay (if not covered by a pass); spirits 1 rupee 8 annas per gallon; sugar (prohibited, if "not the growth of a British possession into which foreign sugar cannot be legally imported"); vermillion, 10 per cent.; British and foreign woollens, 5 and 10 per cent.; wines and liquors, 1 rupee per imperial gallon; tea, 10 per cent.; tobacco, 5 per cent. in Madras (export duty, 10), and 1 rupee 8 annas per maund in Bombay (the same export duty).

Some of these imposts are obviously made only for the purposes of revenue, but others are incompatible with the doctrines of free trade. It cannot be for the interests of India or England, or for the general advantages of commerce, to prop up the trade in sugar or in any other commodity by artificial means. The indirect operation must in such cases always be the restriction of the industry proper and peculiar to the country where such tariff regulations exist.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCE OF OUTLYING SETTLEMENTS.

THE commerce of what may be termed the outlying posts of our Eastern empire must receive much more attention from the public and legislature of Great Britain than has yet been given to it. The trade of some of these settlements has increased in a ratio greater than that of the old possessions on continental India; and others are adapted to a great commerce if the government of India, or the imperial government, only perform their duty. The neglect of the latter in some of these settlements has been such as seriously to reflect upon its credit and patriotism, and upon the intelligence and independence of a people who, being free, permit the like.

The settlement of Aden, from its geographical position, is one of the most favourable in the world. It is on the new highway between the East and West, formed by "the overland route." A carrying trade may be established from that port of a most extensive kind. From thence to Kurrachee, Bombay, Madras, the Island of Ceylon, Calcutta, the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and the Straits' settlements, all goods which are not necessarily brought round the Cape may be borne, and an important passenger trade established. Aden may be pronounced, in travellers' phraseology, the "half-way house" between England and her Eastern empire. As at present governed it is a pest-house. The European troops die off in great numbers, and so do the sepoys. The Aden ulcer and a species of dropsy, both fatal, and alike arising from the impoverishment of the blood, carry off great numbers; many also die of scurvy. The chief causes of the horrible mortality which prevails, are want of vegetables, and the labour imposed upon the troops in a climate perhaps more enervating than any other where there is a British garrison, not even excepting Trincomalee. Vegetables are easily procured, and the relentless imposition of labour is unnecessary. Yet while so much is heard about the errors and misdeeds of the East India Company, here is a place under the direct control of the imperial government, where the neglect of human life amounts to atrocity. Of course these circumstances must bear upon the commerce of the place, as the ratio of deaths will give it a bad reputation as to health, and check all foreign enterprise there. The cruelty of the government is not confined to the soldiery under its care, who are permitted to "rot off" at a fearful ratio. Coolies from the Indian continent have been employed on public works, and treated with the same inhumanity. In the *Bombay Daily Times and Journal of Commerce*, so recently as December 10, 1856, it is related that a vessel had ten days previously arrived from Aden, being a month on the voyage, and landed sixteen coolies, "the pitiable remains of a party of forty-one she had taken on board,—twenty-five of whom had died on board. True, they were only coolies who had gone in the public service, they had no status beyond that of children in the commonwealth, and therefore nobody minded them. But they were human beings not the less, whose lives and sufferings must be answered for by those who have been the means, directly or indirectly, of sending them from the world before their time." It appears that these coolies proceed in large numbers from Bombay for employment in Aden; they are the subjects of injustice from the time they embark for that purpose until they return, or are sent to their long home by the atrocious neglect and cruelty to which they are subjected. The advances made to them upon engagement are so regulated as to prove a snare and a mockery. On the voyage they are badly supplied with water, and rarely at all with vegetables. Their arrival at Aden is followed by the imposition of an amount of labour which is merciless, and under which many of them sink. They are supplied with food so inappropriate, that if the intention of government was to destroy them by rapid degrees, it could not be more effectually performed. Vegetables are seldom supplied because they are not produced on the spot; consequently scurvy, or the Aden ulcer, or the fatal *beri-beri*, a peculiar dropsical disease, soon set in and drain the life of the wretch left by his unpaternal government to die, or as is more usually the case, he is sent away to die on the passage, or, if he reach his home, there to perish. Hardly any of the poor coolies reach Bombay without scorbutic disease, aneurism, or affections of the heart, lungs, or bowels, if they are not dying of beri-beri, or Aden ulcer. When men are sent on board ship for Bombay in this deplorable condition no report is made of it, they are accounted for in the returns as having gone to their homes, although the officials know that they are sent away with death upon them, and in many cases destined to be thrown

overboard as rotting carcasses. Yet all this cruelty saves nothing in a pecuniary way, on the contrary, it is an expense as well as a reproach. The pension list is heavily encumbered by the want of humanity characteristic of the British government in Aden. There is no difficulty in procuring labour at Aden, but government humanity is very scarce. The character of the climate seems, however, adverse to extensive settlement, as well as local peculiarities. The author has been favoured with an original report on this subject, in a correspondence between Mr. Coles, the acting secretary of the Bombay medical board, and Dr. Collum, whose experience and intelligence peculiarly qualify him to offer an opinion on the subject. The publication of this opinion will be of use to travellers and commercial men, to officers of the army, and persons having either Europeans, sepoys, or coolies under their charge.

*To the Secretary of the Medical Board, Bombay.*

*Aden, May 12th*, 1856.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 1103 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following information.

2. The climate of Aden consists of two seasons only, the hot and the cool, the former commencing towards the end of April, and terminating about the middle of October. These two periods correspond severally with the south-west and north-east monsoons, which distinctly mark their setting in and duration. Nevertheless it is to be remarked that for the space of a month between the two seasons the wind and weather are very variable, but the atmosphere is generally sultry, and not unlike the climate of Bombay in May and October.

3. With regard to the *hot* season it may truly be so called, the weather is then very hot; but the *cool* is only so termed comparatively, inasmuch as the sun appears to be equally powerful all the year round, and the only abatement to its effects during the day is produced by the wind, hence, sheltered from the wind, the atmosphere in Aden is always warm, and there is no period throughout the year when even gentle exercise does not produce profuse perspiration.

4. The effect of the wind in cooling the atmosphere is fully borne out by the metereological statistics collected from the hospitals in camp, and that at Steamer Point, during the year ending March 31st, 1856. From these it appears that the average mean temperature on the lowest ground in camp, but which is quite open to the north-east monsoon, is from November to April 77°, whereas at the Hospital Steamer Point, which though on an eminence is sheltered from that wind, it reaches 80°. On the other hand during the south-west monsoon, *i. e.* from May to October, when the Point is open to the wind and the camp shut in, the average mean temperature is 80°, and at the latter 85°.

5. It is principally on account of this evident influence of the prevailing winds in keeping down the heat of the climate, and of the established superiority of an elevated position in effecting the same result, that I have lately recommended Marshag as the most eligible site for the proposed new barracks and hospitals at Aden. That promontory which is distant only about one mile from the present cantonment, and rises to an elevation of from five to six hundred feet, is open to the prevailing winds at both seasons of the year, and is decidedly the coolest available locality, besides offering from its contiguity from the camp and town many other advantages not to be met with in any other part of the peninsula.

6. Strictly speaking there is no rainy season in Aden itself, though abundance of rain falls periodically in the interior and neighbourhood twice during the year, viz. during two or three months from the breaking out of the south-west monsoon, and again for a similar period, beginning from December. It is only rarely, however, that Aden partakes in this benefit, which I attribute mainly to the peculiar construction of the peninsula. It is observable that whenever rain falls the wind is always from the north-east, and consequently blows directly into the circle around the crater formed by the high hills of Shumshum, and its offshoots, finding no escape except through one or two narrow passes, the wind collects in the valleys, and rushes upwards in a compact volume, thus dispersing the clouds which had been attracted by the mountain peaks. Consequently it is only when the clouds are too heavily charged to be dispersed by this agency, or when the wind is very high, that any rain falls in Aden. This phenomenon, moreover, accounts for the great variation in the falls here in different years. Thus, some years the fall of rain has been excessive, whereas during the year ending March 30, 1856, it was only 1·50 inches. The descents, moreover, are very variable in these periods, but usually they occur in April and August, and again in November, December, and January. The falls during these latter months generally partake of the nature of showers, whereas in the former they are more like the heavy rains of the tropics, and huts and cattle have been washed away by the torrents which have descended furiously from the mountains.

No statistics of past years have been preserved by the civil or political authorities, nor in any of the medical establishments at this station, excepting the jail, and from the information supplied in my returns 3 inches 92 cents. appears to have been the average fall of rain for the last five years.

I have the honour, &c.,

R. COLLUM, M.D.,

*Jail Hospital.* *Superintendent Medical Department.*

When describing the Straits' settlements, notice was taken of their commerce, as some reference to it was inseparable from an account of those places, and the social condition of the people.

PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 581,239 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 93,061 |
| Total | 674.300 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 689,002 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 179,945 |
| Total | 868,947 |

MALACCA.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 84,162 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 1,040,306 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 845,133 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 25,339 |
| Total | 870,472 |

In chap. x. a general account of these settlements will be found, and there certain statistics are given in connection with the commerce of Singapore, and the reason assigned for furnishing them in that place. The trade with countries using the dollar as a monetary medium, and also with those using the rupee, is respectively stated for the years 1852-3 and 1853-4. The following was the general value of the commerce of Singapore for 1853-4:—

SINGAPORE.

*Imports*, 1853-4.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 2,389,788 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 1,018,017 |
| Total | 3,407,805 |

*Exports*, 1853-4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Merchandize | 3,191,546 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 4,147,690 |

*Total for the Straits' Settlements.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports | 5,862,296 |
| Exports | 5,147,215 |

This is exclusive of the intermediate trade.

The report of the administration of the Straits' settlements, during 1855-6, does not give any detailed statement of the trade, but it contains the following remarks:—"While the trade of Penang and Malacca has but little increased since 1850-1, that of Singapore has experienced a very remarkable rise, and is now nearly seventy-five per cent. greater in amount than in 1850-1, showing an extent during the past year of ninety-five millions of rupees (£9,500,000)."

A caution is then added against entire reliance on the returns of trade, as the port being a free port, no check exists on the values and estimates of the traders; and it is then said:—"The position of Singapore, in a commercial point of view, is so admirable, that little surprise is felt at the great and annually increasing amount of trade that has there developed itself. Its harbour is open, accessible from all quarters, and free from all dangers of winds and waves. Every ship between India and China must, it may be said, go through the harbour, while it becomes a depot for the produce of the whole of the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago, of Borneo, of Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, which it attracts with double force, by its freedom from all the annoyances and vexatious interference of a custom-house and its myrmidons. Such freedom is peculiarly grateful to the sensitive and jealous Malay, not on account of the absence of all money payments, but that he has no apprehension of being meddled with, cheated, and perhaps ill-treated; and so long as that freedom continues, so long may we look forward to a perennial augmentation of a trade that is already almost unexampled in its growth and magnitude."

A paper is then annexed, which, without distinguishing merchandize and treasure, gives us the following aggregate of exports and imports for Singapore alone:—

SINGAPORE.

| | Imports. | Exports. |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| 1854-5 | 3,974,624 | 3,339,037 |
| 1855-6 | 5,144,167 | 4,427,229 |
| Increase | 1,169,543 | 1,087,292 |

It is stated in the report for 1853-4 that the total number of square-rigged vessels which had imported into the Straits in the preceding year was 1124 of 382,032 tons; the number that had exported was 1152 of 380,688 tons, exclusive of 1605 vessels of 189,115 tons, trading between the three stations. Of native craft, 4559 vessels, aggregating 115,619 tons had imported, and 5384 aggregating 112,187 tons had exported, exclusive of 1273 vessels aggregating 46,768 tons, trading between the three stations.

The following statement is given by the commissioner as an illustration of the value of these settlements to the mother country, and of their relations to the Dutch colonies, demonstrating "the judicious selection of Singapore, as an emporium, and its advantages as a free port":—

*Trade of Penang with Great Britain.*

| | £ | £ |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 103,572 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 83,610 | |
| Increase | | 19,962 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 174,533 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 132,027 | |
| Increase | | 42,506 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 62,468 |

*Trade of Singapore with Great Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 1,184,333 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 790,610 | |
| Increase | | 393,723 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 564,142 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 407,696 | |
| Increase | | 156,446 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 550,169 |

*Trade of Singapore with the Australian Colonies.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 118,249 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 27,922 | |
| Increase | | 90,327 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 167,633 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 115,809 | |
| Increase | | 51,824 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 142,151 |

*Trade of Singapore with Java, Macassar, Rhio, Bally, Somback, and Sambawa.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 491,552 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 274,393 | |
| Increase | | 217,159 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 347,535 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 211,856 | |
| Increase | | 135,679 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 352,838 |

The articles principally imported in the last mentioned year were cotton goods chiefly from the United Kingdom, valued at about £850,000, grain, China petty goods, cheroots, silk and silk goods, opium, sugar, tea, tobacco, and spices; and the exports were cheroots, birds' nests, cotton goods, rice, gums, metals, opium, silk goods, spices, sugar, and timber.

Of the vessels that arrived at Singapore in 1853-4, the following is the list:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austrian | 1 | Native (Flag) | 20 |
| American | 47 | Portuguese | 14 |
| Arabian | 9 | Peruvian | 2 |
| Belgian | 3 | Prussian | 3 |
| Bremen | 8 | Russian | 2 |
| Danish | 9 | Siamese | 25 |
| Dutch | 179 | Swedish | 15 |
| French | 18 | Spanish | 6 |
| Hambro | 21 | British | 644 |
| Norwegian | 2 | | |

The cosmopolitan character of Malacca and of Penang (the port of Prince of Wales' Island) is very similar.

The use of opium in the Straits' settlements is very demoralising. This is especially the case at Singapore. Dr. Little states that in 1847 there was in Singapore a population of forty thousand Chinese, male and female, of whom about fifteen thousand of both sexes smoked opium: the average quantity being about twenty grains' weight per day for each person, although ranging from ten to two hundred grains (the latter in rare cases) per day. In the course of his investigations he visited eighty licensed smoking shops, and examined six hundred and three persons who smoked opium. The rate of wages for a labourer there is about six dollars per month, or one shilling per day, and this sum is also about the average sum daily expended on opium by the Chinese in that settlement: the poorer victims in some cases expending their whole earnings. Some of these had been addicted to the vice for twenty-five years; but a much shorter period produced sickness and emaciation. He states, as the result of his experience, that "the habitual use of opium not only renders the life of the man miserable, but is a powerful means of shortening that life." He adds, "I cannot suppose, after what has been written, that one individual can be found to deny the evil effects of the habit, the physical disease it produces, with the prostration of mind and the corruption of morals."

In the *Singapore Bi-monthly Circular and Prices Current*, printed at the office of the *Straits' Times*, March 6th, 1858, there is the following statement of port regulation and of weights:—"The port of Singapore is free from import or export duties; the only dues levied being three cents. of a dollar per ton (for defraying the cost of the Horsburgh, Floating, and other lights in the Straits of Malacca), payable by all square-rigged vessels. The usual credit given is three months for European articles. Native produce is always sold for cash. Weights:—1 catty = 1⅓ lbs. avoirdupois; 84 catties = 1 cwt.; 1 picul = 100 catties, or 133⅓ lbs.; 16 piculs 80 catties = 1 ton; 40 piculs = 1 coyan; a bunkal, or 2 dollars weight = 835 *a* 836 grains troy. The corge consists of 20 pieces." The prospects of this settlement, from the most recent commercial intelligence, is very encouraging. The British flag was hoisted at Singapore on February 1st, 1819, and ever since the place has grown in political importance and commerce.

Among the most important of the outlying settlements are those on the coast of Borneo.* Although a brief description has been already given in the appropriate place, it is pertinent here to observe that it is one of the most fertile islands in the world. It is crossed by the equator, and therefore the climate is very hot, but the geological peculiarities of the country mitigate the intensity of the heat, and in some places it is alleged to be as temperate as the south of Europe. The advocates of the settlement affirm that it is more important, rich, and salubrious than Australia, and altogether better adapted for a British settlement. Borneo is rich in animals, whereas Australia is in that respect deficient. There are not many plants proper to the tropics which do not grow in the former. Its minerals are more varied than those of Australia. A few years ago a diamond was found which it is asserted is the largest in the world. The gold gathered by the people amounts in value to half a million sterling yearly. It is reasonably presumed that Europeans would be able

* For description see chap. x. p. 203.

to obtain much larger quantities. In the geographical description of the country reference was made to its extensive coal mines; according to accounts which have reached the author since writing that chapter he has reason to believe that the coal-fields of Borneo, are even more extensively diffused than he then supposed. Both the commercial and political value of Borneo are increased by that circumstance more than if its gold regions were as productive as those of Australia or California.

In the historical portion of this work justice will be done to Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, to whose enterprise England is indebted for any interest she has at present in the island. The author of this history is aware, on the authority of that distinguished man himself, of his willingness to sacrifice his own interests to the interests and honour of his country, and to surrender the fine regions, over which he is the actual sovereign, to the queen of these realms. The apathy of the government of this country is unaccountable, unless some political game is to be played in the interests of Holland, as the Dutch are eagerly watching their opportunity to seize the island, and place it under the sovereignty of their flag. To permit this would be cruel and unjust to Sir James Brooke, impolitic on the part of our government, and injurious to the interests of the people of the United Kingdom generally, and especially in the great Eastern Archipelago. Now, in May, 1858, while these pages are passing through the press, Sir James Brooke is appealing to the people of England, to impress upon their government the folly and detriment of any longer dallying with this subject. It is to be feared that the prominent political members of the legislature are more intent upon party debates and victories than upon the assertion of their queen and country's interests and honour. Manchester, which, as a great commercial community, has so often taken the lead in questions of political economy, and of commercial policy, has already moved in this matter. Sir James Brooke has been welcomed to a public entertainment among the citizens, and a petition has been numerously signed by bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and public men of the liberal professions, for presentation to parliament, which will probably be attended to, as Manchester is generally heard in the legislature when the voice of justice and truth, unless thus supported, is unheeded. The petition of the Manchester citizens places this question, as a commercial one, upon grounds that are wise and discreet, and at the same time just and spirited; and it presents the commercial importance of Borneo in its full proportions before the parliament and people of England:—

"That your petitioners are deeply interested in the development of the foreign trade of this country. That it is an essential condition to the progress of this trade that public faith should be observed and enforced on all sides. That, in seeking fresh fields for our commerce, and opening out new markets for our manufactures, the safety of the lives and properties of the British subjects concerned must be secured, and their rights protected against aggression, by the support of the home government. That the outlying dependencies of the present East India Company in the Indian and China seas are of the first importance to British commerce, and that it is the paramount duty of the government to secure such a hold in those distant waters as shall maintain an efficient control of their navigation, and guarantee the free working of our ships. That at present one link is wanting in the chain of British influence which shall attain those ends. That this desired position is to be found in the territory on the north-west coast of Borneo, now under the rule of the Rajah of Sarawak. That the energy, enterprise, and administrative ability of that ruler—a British subject—have won this important position to England's use and benefit, if she chooses to avail herself of it. That, with the north-west coast of Borneo under the direct control of the crown, England would practically hold the gates of the only great highway to China, the trade with which empire, in your petitioners' judgment, is destined to be one of vast extent. That a grievous injury would be inflicted on this trade, and a blow be struck at England's supremacy, if, unfortunately, the position in question were allowed to pass into the hands of the Dutch, or any other European power. That it appears to your petitioners that the time for action has now come; that further delay will prove fatal to great interests involved, while it may jeopardize the lives and properties of Englishmen who have been induced to embark upon distant enterprises in full reliance upon the good faith and justice of England, and her respect for the obligations of treaties. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honourable house will adopt such measures as to your honourable house in its wisdom may seem most fit:—1. To bring the future government of the Straits' settlements under the direct control of the colonial department of her majesty's government. 2. To secure for the benefit of British commerce the manifold advantages, natural and geopraphical, of the Sarawak country. 3. To urge upon the executive government

at once to conclude arrangements with Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., the present Rajah of Sarawak, for the cession of his rights and powers, either by making that country at once a British settlement, or by bringing it into direct dependency upon the new Straits' government."

Sir James Brooke must know more of the capabilities of Borneo than any other living man, and his opinion in reference to the desirableness of occupying it is before the public. The claims of the Dutch seem to stand in the way of any decisive action on the part of our government. The correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and M. Dedel, the Netherland's minister, in 1844-5 *, will inform those desirous to look closely into the subject, how the case stands as to what Sir James Brooke properly and expressively describes as "British rights *versus* Dutch claims." The British rajah maintains that the Netherlands never exercised, and never had sovereignty on the north-west coast of Borneo beyond their present limits; the English have positively asserted their right to form settlements on that coast wherever their interests required. There can be, therefore, no delicacy on the part of the British government as to the conflicting interests of a friendly power, and no difficulty in the way of adopting Sir James Brooke's views. Labuan has been for ten years past a British settlement. Sarawak, which was once countenanced and protected by the British government, is now abandoned by it, and (in the opinion of all who know the circumstances) most faithlessly. The Europeans and natives there hold this opinion, and among the latter the prestige of British truthfulness and honour has been lowered. It remains to be seen whether the British people will uphold their government in thus acting, or compel a course consonant with integrity and justice to the intrepid and gifted rajah, to the settlements, and to British interests.

The *Sunday Times*, a journal better informed on oriental questions than probably any other in London, has put the arrival of Sir James Brooke, and the connection of Borneo with British interests, in a sound and intelligent point of view in the following article:—"Sir James Brooke, we are told, offers to put the sovereignty of the north-west coast into our hands. Sir James Brooke makes no such offer, for the very sufficient reason, that he himself is not the sovereign of the north-west coast of Borneo. He possesses upon that coast a splendid principality, and it is of that principality that he offers to cede the sovereignty to the British government. It appears, meanwhile, to be forgotten, that for upwards of ninety years the whole northern division of Borneo has belonged to Great Britain, having been regularly made over to us by the Sultan of Sulu, in whose possession it was at that time. If the country would listen to Sir James Brooke, he would enable it to direct its commercial and political energies into several profitable and grand channels, in that distant part of the world, to which his genius, courage, and enterprise have forcibly directed the attention of mankind. We hear much of the cotton-mills of Lancashire working only half time, and of prodigious heaps of capital lying idle; but they who suffer from these circumstances richly deserve all the losses they sustain. Numerous and vast fields lie open before them, which they refuse to enter upon. If even a moderate portion of that capital were employed in developing the resources of Borneo, it would very speedily work wonders. There is scarcely any article of tropical produce which the plains and uplands of that immense island would not supply abundantly, together with numerous materials which are found nowhere else. We think the manufacturers of Manchester should form themselves into an association to work out the Indian Archipelago—to civilise its inhabitants, to give them a taste for shirts, chemises, trousers, and petticoats—to prove to them, practically, that, by employing themselves a few hours every day, they may render themselves masters of all sorts of fine things—swords, battle-axes, rifles, great guns, if they like; with houses, boats, beads, blue bottles, and turbans. At every step we take eastwards, the materials of opulence thicken around us; but we are timid—not through moderation, as some of our contemporaries would fain persuade the world, but through gross ignorance. The English are an ambitious people, fond of conquest, when it can be rendered profitable, commercially as well as politically. This, however, has been the case with all great nations. None has ever been so puerile as to desire to extend its dominions merely for the sake of extending them. All conquerors have had an eye to profit; if any one could be found who had not such an idea, he would, unquestionably, be the most ridiculous of them all. If the English conquer, or otherwise extend their dominion, they at once benefit themselves and the populations they receive within the circle of their rule. In Borneo there would be no need of war, since the natives are willing to become our fellow-citizens, and, indeed, would only be too happy to be protected from the evils of outrage and anarchy by our

* Blue-books.

strength. To explain what advantages would accrue to the British people, from admitting them into political fellowship with us, Sir James Brooke ought to deliver a speech like that which he delivered at Manchester, to the inhabitants of every great town in the kingdom. Whatever may be pretended, a majority of persons in this country, educated or uneducated, look upon Borneo as something very much like a myth. They see it, indeed, upon the maps, where it occupies a few inches of paper, and is scratched over with two or three uncouth names; but they do not realise to themselves that it is nine hundred miles long — that it contains mountains little inferior to Mont Blanc in height — that it abounds with great rivers, with extensive forests, with beautiful hills, with rich plains— that its bowels teem with gold, silver, diamonds, antimony, and coal, still more precious than all—that cotton, coffee, and a thousand admirable productions might be obtained from it, in exhaustless plenty—and that Sir James Brooke has it in his power peaceably to throw open to us the door of this magnificent country. But let us give Sir James himself a piece of advice, which is, that nothing is to be done in England without eternal repetition. What people hear every hour in the day they end by believing."

The whole question of English interests in the Straits' settlements and the Archipelago must be thoroughly ventilated. The Dutch have done great injury to our commerce by their restrictive measures, and their aggressions are contrary to the treaty of 1824. The Java Sea, from Torres Straits to the Natunas, from Anjer to Sulu, is wholly in their power, and the telegraphic communication between Singapore and Australia, by whatever route it may ultimately be carried out, will be entirely in the hands of our astute neighbours, who will be able at any time to interrupt it. Acheen, and the greater part of Sumatra, have submitted to their rule, and from thence we are excluded; and the same may be said of the greater part of Borneo, Sambawa, Flores, Timor, the Spice Islands, and New Guinea. The Spaniards, on the other hand, have seized upon Sulu, abandoned by us to their rapacity, and they threaten still further irruptions on the north-east coast of Borneo; while the French openly covet the mineral riches of Cochin China; and the Americans do not disguise their inclination to annex, as best they may, some portion of the Archipelago. To the eastward and southward of Singapore, with the exception of the much-neglected colony of Labuan, no British settlement exists between it and China or Australia. The Honourable East India Company, too much occupied with its vast possessions, has overlooked imperial interests in those most important seas. We find, therefore, our predominance everywhere undermined, if it can be said to exist; and if the present want of system is permitted to continue, we shall shortly find the Chinese Sea as closed to England as to the Javanese. This subject is certainly one which should be deeply interesting to the Singapore merchant, and one which should engage his earnest consideration; and now that the Straits' settlements are about to be placed under the crown, not only should their political position be determined, and the proposed form of government ascertained, so that their entire freedom of trade may be maintained in all its integrity, but British influence in the East should be resuscitated, and our national and commercial interests vindicated by a bold, straightforward, and liberal policy. The plan which the Singapore merchants urge upon the government are:—

1. The transfer of the Straits' settlements to the crown, including them and Labuan in one government.

2. The formation of a naval station at Singapore.

3. British influence maintained, so as to promote commerce, and check native misrule.

4. Authority vested in a proper officer to watch and report on the territorial extensions and commercial aggressions of the Dutch, Spanish, French, or Americans.

5. The suppression (effectual) of piracy.

6. A protectorate granted to Sarawak, or its annexation as a country of national importance, from its valuable supply of coal, and as commanding an influential position in the China Sea.

These points are of an importance which admit of no delay.

The reasons already adduced render Singapore far superior to Trincomalee, or any other place, for a naval station. It is undoubtedly the key of the Eastern seas politically and commercially, and its interests are in every way imperial, and not Indian.

The protectorate on the north-west of Borneo would connect Labuan with the other British possessions, and the rapidly increasing demand for coal, already exceeding 100,000 tons per annum, would be supplied from this settlement and the coast. Let any man of sense consider the consequences to our position, our communications, and our commerce, should an interruption of the supply of coal from England occur. And yet this is what we risk, and what will certainly happen from another war, another Australian emigration, or any other of the many causes which

may excite a large demand for tonnage. Why, then, are the ministry so blind to the vast national advantages offered for their acceptance? Why do they turn a deaf ear to the prayers of those resident on the spot, and to the voice of the influential classes in England, and refuse to entertain those simple measures by which alone British influence can be made complete and permanent in those seas, and our power and commerce placed upon a secure and prosperous footing?

Having described the general commerce of India, with many of its especial features, it is unhappily necessary to refer to some circumstances and transactions connected with the debt of India, which has an effect upon commerce not only in the indirect way with which it is affected by whatever shakes public confidence in government, but as directly influencing the trade in money, upon the soundness of which in any country the healthy operations of general commerce must much depend. Mr. Crawford moved in the imperial parliament, in the spring of 1858, for certain returns as to the debt of India, which were published on the 27th of April. These show the total liabilities of the territorial government up to the beginning of the present year. All the various notices issued by the authorities during the last twenty-four years in connection with the opening of new loans or the redemption or conversion of old ones are likewise included in the return. Among these the most important is the notification put forth for the reduction of the five per cents. into four per cents. in April, 1854, to which the holders were led to assent by certain flourishing representations of the condition and prospects of the treasury, and which was followed in less than twelve months (March, 1855) by a new proposal from the government to borrow £2,750,000 at the old rate of five per cent. This fresh loan was called the Public Works Loan, and is not redeemable until 1870. It excited great indignation, since the fact of the government again coming into the market to borrow on such terms of course caused a terrible depreciation in the property of those who had believed any such prospect to be far distant, and who, under that impression, had expected the four per cents. to be maintained at or above par. This transaction has been shown to have had a serious effect in damaging the financial prestige of the company; and although an attempt was made to repair the mischief in July last by an announcement that the four per cent. paper would be received to the extent of one-half in all subscriptions to a five per cent. loan, which was then and still is open, the recollection of it even at this time is thought to exert a prejudicial influence. Annexed is an abstract of the aggregate debt:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Loan bearing 10 per cent interest . . . | 715 |
| " " 8 " " . . . | 14,437 |
| " " 6 " " . . . | 345,725 |
| " " 5 " " . . . | 3,744,141 |
| " " 4 " " . . . | 39,392,844 |
| " " 3½ " " . . . | 530,730 |
| | 44,028,592 |
| Temporary loans . . . . . | 219,656 |
| Treasury notes . . . . . | 967,711 |
| Deposits, including the Carnatic and other funds . . . . . | 5,267,410 |
| | 50,483,869 |

In addition to the above there have been loans opened since the 1st of May, 1856. One at four and a half per cent., which was opened on the 30th of August, 1856, and closed the 16th of January, 1857, to which—

| | | £ |
|---|---|---|
| The subscriptions were . . . . | | 368,137 |
| And one at 5 per cent., opened January 16, 1857, to which, up to the 20th of February last, there had been subscribed in cash . . . . . | 3,788,788 | |
| And in paper of the 3½, 4, and 4½ per cent loans . . . . . | 1,877,959 | |
| | | 5,666,747 |

This is exclusive of the £6,000,000 of India stock at home, as well as of the £7,000,000 which the company are authorized to raise here on bonds (an authority believed to have been exercised to within £1,000,000 of its full extent), and also of the £4,397,000 four per cent. debentures just issued. The company are likewise under guarantee to pay interest on the following amounts of railway capital, which raise their total liabilities to little short of £100,000,000:—

| | £ |
|---|---|
| East Indian Railway . . . . . | 10,731,000 |
| Eastern Bengal . . . . . | 1,000,000 |
| Madras . . . . . | 4,000,000 |
| East Indian Peninsula . . . . . | 8,833,300 |
| Scinde and Punjaub . . . . . | 2,500,000 |
| Bombay, Baroda, and Central India . . | 1,750,000 |
| | 28,314,300 |

These statistics show the debt of India to be nearly £100,000,000, but it is necessary to remark that more than one-fourth of the whole, £28.000,000, consists of guarantees upon railways. This seems to be a safe source, for, according to present experience, the lines in course of formation are likely to yield a higher rate of interest than the guarantee, while they enrich the country through which they are instrumental in opening up communications, so as to enable it to pay an increased revenue, and still more increase the

value of the particular property concerned Another amount of £6,000,000 consists o capital of the company, which in 1874 wil be paid at the rate of £200 for every £10( stock by a sinking fund now in operation.

The policy of contracting a debt *in India* for the purpose of public works there is politic on the part of the government, as well as beneficial to the country, for the more extensively the natives of India subscribe to loans, the more hold the government has upon their loyalty. The subscriptions of the railway enterprises went upon another principle—that of securing to the people of the United Kingdom the property in those roads; the result is that should we be driven from the country, the people of India would have all the benefit of the outlay, and the money would be lost to the British subscribers.

There is rather an extensive impression that if the imperial cabinet assume the government of India, the people of England will become responsible for the debt. This will not be the case; the same security which now exists will continue, whatever form the government of India may assume, and with that security the holders of India stock must remain content. Since these lines were written returns have been made to parliament, which further illustrate this subject. A return to the House of Lords (in further part) shows that the total estimated net produce of all the revenues of India for the year 1856–7 amounted to the sum of £21,196,894, including £14,317,805 from the land revenue, subsidy, and tobacco; £1,961,124 from customs, £1,833,411 from salt, £3,177,242 from opium, £528,293 from stamps, and £157,418 from mint, &c., receipts. The charges of collection altogether amount to £7,137,501. Upon this net revenue of £21,978,364 there was an estimated total charge of £22,931,721, so that there would be a deficit in 1856–7 (the last year of the returns) amounting to £953,357. The charges include £3,288,819 for the civil and political establishments, £2,472,336 for judicial and police establishments, £10,945,224 for military and war charges, and £2,155,301 for the interest on the debt; there is also a charge of £2,623,744 for territorial payments in England.

As the progress of railways so much influences the state of the money market, and thereby indirectly the course of trade, as well as the development of the resources upon which commerce relies, it will also assist the reader in judging of the prospects of the trade of India to offer the following statistics of reports made since the foregoing lines were written. The report of the *East Indian* states that the works on the South Beerbhoom district are making good progress, and that the first twenty-four miles will probably be opened by the 1st of June; the construction of the other parts of the line is also being actively carried on. Arrangements have been made for the immediate recommencement of the Soane Bridge. Beyond the Soane, nearly up to Allahabad, the state of the country in February has not permitted operations to be proceeded with to any great extent. About sixty miles of railway are open between Allahabad and Cawnpore for the conveyance of troops, &c., and every exertion will be made to complete the whole of the hundred and twenty-six miles in the course of a few months. From considerations arising out of the mutiny, it is contemplated by the government to change the route of the line above Cawnpore, and the terminus will probably be at Meerut instead of Delhi. The number of passengers during the past half-year was 522,360 (of whom 488,904 were third-class), and the tonnage of goods and minerals was 70,355 tons, showing in the latter case an increase of 25,660 tons over the corresponding period of 1856. The total receipts in 1857 were £132,434 against £96,100 in the previous year; and the interest paid or payable to the proprietors to the 31st of December last amounted to £349,417. The net profits for the past year on the portion open between Calcutta and Raneegunge are estimated to be equal to a dividend at the rate of six and five-eighths per cent. The sum of £1,881,426 has been disbursed by the government of India on account of interest upon railway capital from the commencement of operations n that country up to the present time—viz., £1,800,748 in England, and £80,678 in India. The capital raised by the six railway companies, and paid into the treasuries of the company, amounts to £16,073,584, and of this only £576,979 was raised in India.

Notwithstanding the struggle which rages n India while these pages are being written, all evidence concurs in leading to the belief that a brighter future awaits that wondrous and. Although such writers as Bayard Tayor, Train, and other correspondents of the American press, have decried the labours of missionaries and philanthropists, these high moral agencies are telling upon the community quietly and decisively wherever they are at work. It is not improbable that a perception of this urged many of the fanatics of 1857 to their war of extirpation against the English. But God does not work moral and social changes by direct moral agencies only; 't pleases him to use material media for effecting the great moral revolutions which subserve his grand and benevolent designs.

There are no material changes which have not their moral relations and aspects. Commerce is not simply a material process, carried on under intellectual guidance; it is always associated with the inner life of communities. It creates and develops moral as well as intellectual tastes, and both as strikingly as it promotes material civilization. Man cannot meet man without interchange of thought. The products of one country cannot be spread upon the lap of another without exciting new desires, and suggesting trains of reflections which even the most thoughtless cannot wholly dismiss. The heart as well as the mind of a people is left upon the works of their hands. Every such work is a cardiphonia, by which those who look upon it are addressed. The good and evil that are in us spread with our commerce in proportion as the stronger mind and will obtain in all things mastery over the weaker. He must be little gifted with an observing habit and philosophic temper who cannot see that upon the hard mental and moral types of oriental character our intercourse and commerce are telling as well as our direct spiritual agencies; just as the most colossal and durable idol, exposed to the sun and the monsoon, will at last bear obvious and lasting impressions of their effects. The day of oriental seclusion is gone; the highway is open in the desert; the footfalls of the busy throng of traders, soldiers, and politicians, resound to far-off Eastern nations; and already the swarthy children of the sun are learning to descry other visitors, and to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who bring the gospel of peace!" It were a blindness to the ways of Providence, and cowardice as to our own mission, not to hope for India, and for the honour of performing there a great and noble work; and among the bonds which shall bind that glorious region to this ruling country shall be the golden chain of commerce, graced and strengthened by the links of many a realm between.

The commerce of India, as well as of the Straits' settlements and Hong-Kong, will be promoted by the present satisfactory relations with Siam. There are various avenues of profit which a well-established and well-regulated trade with that country would open up. The hostility of the Indo-Chinese nations to the intercourse of strangers has hitherto shut up this field of enterprise even more than others in Eastern Asia. By a return presented to both houses of parliament, by the command of her majesty, in the session of 1857, the public have been put in possession of a treaty of friendship and commerce between her Britannic majesty and the kings of Siam, signed on the 18th of April, 1855, the ratifications being exchanged on the 5th of April, 1856.

The first article of this treaty affirms perpetual peace and amity, and the reciprocal protection "and assistance" of Siamese and British subjects within their respective dominions.

ARTICLE II.

The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the control of a consul at Bangkok. The consul, in conjunction with Siamese officers, to hear and determine all disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects; but the consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic majesty.

It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British consul at Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this treaty, nor until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of this treaty.

ARTICLE III.

If Siamese in the employ of British subjects offend against the laws of their country, or if any Siamese, having so offended or desiring to desert, take refuge with a British subject in Siam, they shall be searched for, and, upon proof of their guilt or desertion, shall be delivered up by the consul to the Siamese authorities. In like manner, any British offenders resident or trading in Siam, who may desert, escape to, or hide themselves in Siamese territory, shall be apprehended and delivered over to the British consul on his requisition. Chinese, not able to prove themselves to be British subjects, shall not be considered as such by the British consul, nor be entitled to his protection.

ARTICLE IV.

British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of two hundred *sen* (not more than four miles English) from the city walls until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese government to enable them to do so; but, with the exception of this limitation, British residents in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel. In order to obtain possession of such lands or houses, it will be necessary that the British subject shall, in the first place, make application through the consul to the proper Siamese officer: and the Siamese officer and the consul having satisfied themselves of the honest intentions of the applicant, will assist him in settling, upon equitable terms, the amount of the purchase money, will mark out and fix the boundaries of the property, and will convey the same to the British purchaser under sealed deeds. Whereupon he and his property shall be placed under the protection of the governor of the district and that of the particular local authorities; he shall conform in ordinary matters to any just directions given him by them, and will be subject to the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects. But if through negligence, the want of capital, or other cause, a British subject should fail to commence the cultivation or improvement of the lands so acquired within a term of three years from

the date of receiving possession thereof, the Siamese government shall have the power of resuming the property upon returning to the British subject the purchase money paid by him for the same.

All British subjects intending to reside in Siam shall be registered at the British consulate; they shall not go out to sea, nor proceed beyond the limits assigned by this treaty for the residence of British subjects, without a passport from the Siamese authorities, to be applied for by the British consul: nor shall they leave Siam if the Siamese authorities show to the British consul that legitimate objections exist to their quitting the country; but within the limits appointed under the preceding article British subjects are at liberty to travel to and fro under the protection of a pass, to be furnished them by the British consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the government stations in the interior may, at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain those persons who, by travelling without a pass from the consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters, and such detention shall be immediately reported to the consul.

ARTICLE VI.

All British subjects visiting or residing in Siam shall be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities as shall be consented to by the Siamese authorities. The Siamese government will place no restrictions upon the employment by the English of Siamese subjects as servants, or in any other capacity; but wherever a Siamese subject belongs or owes service to some particular master, the servant who engages himself to a British subject without the consent of his master may be reclaimed by him; and the Siamese government will not enforce an agreement between a British subject and any Siamese in his employ, unless made with the knowledge and consent of the master, who has a right to dispose of the services of the person engaged.

ARTICLE VII.

British ships of war may enter the river, and anchor at Paknam, but they shall not proceed above Paknam, unless with the consent of the Siamese authorities, which shall be given where it is necessary that a ship shall go into dock for repairs. Any British ship of war conveying to Siam a public functionary accredited by her majesty's government to the court of Bangkok, shall be allowed to come up to Bangkok, but shall not pass the forts called Pong Phrachamit and Pit-patch-nuck, unless expressly permitted to do so by the Siamese government; but, in the absence of a British ship of war, the Siamese authorities engage to furnish the consul with a force sufficient to enable him to give effect to his authority over British subjects, and to enforce discipline among British shipping.

ARTICLE VIII.

The measurement duty hitherto paid by British vessels trading to Bangkok under the treaty of 1826 shall be abolished from the date of this treaty coming into operation, and British shipping and trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be three per cent., payable, at the option of the importer, either in kind or money, calculated upon the market value of the goods. Drawback of the full amount of duty shall be allowed upon goods found unsaleable and re-exported. Should the British merchant and the custom-house officers disagree as to the value to be set upon imported articles, such disputes shall be referred to the consul and proper Siamese officer, who shall each have the power to call in an equal number of merchants as assessors, not exceeding two on either side, to assist them in coming to an equitable decision.

Opium may be imported free of duty, but can only be sold to the opium farmer or his agents. In the event of no arrangement being effected with them for the sale of the opium, it shall be re-exported, and no impost or duty shall be levied thereon. Any infringement of this regulation shall subject the opium to seizure and confiscation.

Articles of export from the time of production to the date of shipment shall pay one impost only, whether this be levied under the name of inland tax, transit duty, or duty on exportation. The tax or duty to be paid on each article of Siamese produce previous to or upon exportation, is specified in the tariff attached to this treaty; and it is distinctly agreed that goods or produce which pay any description of tax in the interior shall be exempted from any further payment of duty on exportation.

English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the interference, in either case, of any other person.

The rates of duty laid down in the tariff attached to this treaty are those that are now paid upon goods or produce shipped in Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks; and it is agreed that British shipping shall enjoy all the privileges now exercised by or which hereafter may be granted to Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks.

British subjects will be allowed to build ships in Siam on obtaining permission to do so from the Siamese authorities.

Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the Siamese government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles.

Bullion or personal effects may be imported or exported free of charge.

ARTICLE IX.

The code of regulations appended to this treaty shall be enforced by the consul, with the co-operation of the Siamese authorities; and they, the said authorities and consul, shall be enabled to introduce any further regulations which may be found necessary, in order to give effect to the objects of this treaty.

All fines and penalties inflicted for infraction of the provisions and regulations of this treaty shall be paid to the Siamese government.

Until the British consul shall arrive at Bangkok, and enter upon his functions, the consignees of British vessels shall be at liberty to settle with the Siamese authorities all questions relating to their trade.

ARTICLE X.

The British government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in any privileges that may have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Siamese government to the government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE XI.

After the lapse of ten years from the date of the ratification of this treaty, upon the desire of either the British or Siamese government, and on twelve months' notice given by either party, the present, and such portions of the treaty of 1826 as remain unrevoked by this treaty, together with the tariff and regulations hereunto annexed, or those that may hereafter be introduced, shall be subject to revision by commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide on and insert therein such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XII.

This article referred to formalities as to the time of taking effect, interpretation, signatures of plenipotentiaries, &c.

After the articles follow general regulations, under which British trade is to be conducted in Siam. The general drift of these is the protection of the Siamese government from the arrival of armed ships, under pretence of trade, nearer to Bangkok than Paknam, and the preservation of Siamese authority in reference to such vessels. Then follows a tariff of the export and inland duties to be levied on articles of trade, which shows the nature and variety of our commerce with Siam.

SECTION I.

The undermentioned articles shall be entirely free from inland or other taxes, on production or transit, and shall pay export duty as follows:—

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ivory | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Gamboge | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Rhinoceros horns | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Cardamums, best | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, bastard | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Dried mussels | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Pelicans' quills | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Betel-nut, dried | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Krachi wood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Sharks' fins, white | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, black | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Lukkrabau seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Peacocks' tails | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100 tails. |
| Buffalo and cow bones | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | per picul. |
| Rhinoceros hides | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Hide cuttings | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Turtle shells | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Soft ,, | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Bêche de mer | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Fish-maws | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Birds' nests, uncleaned | 20 per cent. | | | | |
| Kingfishers' feathers | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100. |
| Cutch | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Beyché seed (*Nux Vom.*) | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Pungtarai seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Gum benjamin | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Angrai bark | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Agilla wood | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Ray skins | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Old deer horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Soft, or young deer horns | 10 per cent. | | | | |
| Deer hides, fine | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 100 hides. |
| ,, common | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Deer sinews | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Buffalo and cow hides | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Elephants' bones | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Tigers' bones | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Buffalo horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Elephants' hides | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Tigers' skins | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | per skin. |
| Armadillo skins | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Stick-lac | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Hemp | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Dried fish, *Plaheng* | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| ,, *Plasalit* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Sapan wood | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | ,, |
| Salt meat | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Mangrove bark | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rosewood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Ebony | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Rice | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per coyan. |

SECTION II.

The undermentioned articles being subject to the inland or transit duties herein named, and which shall not be increased, shall be exempt from export duty.

| | Ti-cal. | Sa-lung. | Fu-ang. | Hun. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sugar, white | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| ,, red | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | ,, |
| Cotton, cleaned and uncleaned | 10 per cent. | | | | |
| Pepper | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Salt-fish, *Platu* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per 10,000 |
| Beans and peas | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Dried prawns | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Tilseed | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Silk, raw | One-twelfth. | | | | |
| Beeswax | One-fifteenth. | | | | |
| Tallow | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per picul. |
| Salt | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | per coyan. |
| Tobacco (bundles) | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | per 1000. |

SECTION III.

All goods or produce unenumerated in this tariff shall be free of export duty, and shall only be subject to one inland tax or transit duty, not exceeding the rate now paid.

JOHN BOWRING.

(L.S.)

(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese plenipotentiaries.)

On the 13th of May, 1856, a supplementary agreement to this treaty was signed with the Siamese authorities, by Harry Smith Parkes, Esq., on behalf of the British. The object of this supplementary agreement was two-fold: first, that such articles of an old treaty, made in 1826, as were abrogated by the new, should be distinctly mentioned; secondly, that any clause of the new treaty, not sufficiently clear, should be fully explained. The only article of this supplementary agreement which need be stated is the following:—

ARTICLE I.

*On the old treaty concluded in* 1826.

The articles of the old treaty not abrogated by the new treaty, are I, II, III, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, and the undermentioned clauses of Articles VI and X. In Article VI the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:—

"If a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell, without inquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a good or bad character, and if he meet with a bad man, who takes the property and absconds, the rulers and officers on either side must make search and endeavour to produce the property of the absconder, and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay; but if he does not possess any, or if he cannot be apprehended, the authorities cannot be held responsible."

Of Article X, Mr. Parkes desires to retain that clause relating to the overland trade, which states:

"Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Birmese, Peguans, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese domi-

nions, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenesserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates."

Mr. Parkes, however, desires that all British subjects, without exception, shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade. The said royal commissioners therefore agree, on the part of the Siamese, that all traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenesserim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.

The commercial agreement annexed to the old treaty is abrogated by the new treaty, with the exception of the undermentioned clauses of Articles I and IV.

Of Article I the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:

"British merchants importing fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, are prohibited from selling them to any party but the government. Should the government not require such fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them."

Article IV stipulates that no charge or duty shall be levied on boats carrying cargo to British ships at the bar. The Siamese desire to cancel this clause, for the reason that the old measurement duty of 1700 ticals per fathom included the fees of the various officers, but as this measurement duty has now been abolished, the Siamese wish to levy on each native boat taking cargo out to sea, a fee of 8 ticals 2 salungs, this being the charge paid by Siamese traders; and Mr. Parkes undertakes to submit this point to the consideration of her majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the court of Siam.

In the treaty of Sir John Bowring, it was stipulated that British subjects should have the right to buy and occupy houses and lands, under the conditions specified, but their right to sell them again was oddly overlooked. Mr. Parkes inserted a clause in the new agreement giving them that right.

The Siamese government insisted on the powers of prohibiting the exportation of rice, salt, and fish, in seasons of famine. Mr. Parkes consented to this on the condition that a month's notice should always be given before the prohibition should be enforced. By the seventh article of the treaty, bullion may be exported or imported free of charge. With reference to this clause, the Siamese royal commissioners agreed, at the request of Mr. Parkes, that foreign coins of every description, gold or silver, in bars or ingots, and gold leaf, should be imported free; but manufactured articles of gold and silver, plated ware, and diamond or other precious stones, must pay an import duty of three per cent.

One article of the supplementary agreement was eminently absurd on the part of Mr. Parkes. The Siamese commissioners requested that whenever the Siamese government deemed it to be beneficial for the country to impose "a single tax or duty" on any article not then subject to a public charge of any kind, it might do so without infraction of the treaty, so far as non-duty articles were concerned. Mr. Parkes considered that he had kept clear of this trap by adding, "provided that the said tax be just and reasonable."

The indefinite article of the treaty, allowing British residents to travel a journey of twenty-four hours' distance, was made more satisfactory by clear definitions of distance by actual measurement or mutual agreement.

Rates of assessment upon English plantations, established in Siamese territory, were to be the same as those paid by the native planters or gardeners.

The neighbourhood of Bangkok, especially some distance in the interior, is admirably adapted to the growth of valuable fruits and timber; such as betel-nut, cocoa-nut, siri vines, mango, maprung, darian, mangosteen, langsat, orange, jack-fruit, bread-fruit, makpai, guana, laton, and rambuton trees. Excellent pine apples are grown in every direction around the capital; also tamarinds, custard-apples, plantains, and pepper vines.

From various causes this treaty and the supplementary agreement, failed to give that satisfaction in India which, from its terms, generally might be expected. It was alleged that Sir John Bowring was outwitted; that a consciousness of this led to the mission of Mr. Parkes, to amend the treaty; that the mender had done no better than the original maker; that the treaty with Siam was practically a nullity; and that the opening up of the commerce of that country is yet a *desideratum*. It is certain that several of the stipulations are useless, and others mischievous, laying the foundation for future disagreements; but on the whole the treaty and its supplement must appear to those, not initiated in the tricks of Eastern trade and the subterfuges of Eastern diplomatists, as fair and reasonable. Better terms would have been desirable; but so far, something considerable was accomplished by her majesty's negotiators, which may lead, and is likely to lead, to more intelligent and liberal arrangements. It is well that some of the best organs of public opinion, both in England and in India, appreciate what has been done. One of the best edited publications in India, *The Bombay Quarterly** expresses its approval in no measured terms:—"It establishes a just and reasonable scale of duties, destroys monopoly, and offers every inducement to increased cultivation and enterprise on the part of the Siamese. It is very creditable to their present monarchy to have so freely overthrown the previously existing system of

* July, 1857.

taxation, and to have adopted a liberal policy before unknown to the country. The innovation was startling, and it required considerable foresight and faith in principles to introduce it without preliminary experience. In taking this step, the kings abandoned their former sources of revenue, and trusted entirely to the effect of a moderate tariff, and to the rapid increase of transactions under its fostering influences. The abolition of the corn laws, and the reduction to penny postage—measures forced out of our own government—in no way adequately represent the comparative magnitude of the reform now freely accorded by the sovereigns of Siam."

The same writer again expresses himself in his review of the treaty, and of the spirit and policy of the Siamese government, in these hopeful terms:—"We are inclined to believe that the measure, concluded by the moderation and good management of Sir John Bowring, may be but the first stride of a people rapidly and continuously proceeding up the scale of civilization." That there are good grounds for such a hope must be evident to all who look into the circumstances of that country, and who consider the spirit of its rulers. The climate is one of the finest in the East, although the mean temperature is as high as 84°. It is a healthy country, there being few places in the world where instances of longevity are so frequently met with. The American missionaries, who have been the benefactors of the country, say that it is not at all uncommon to meet with persons whose age exceeds a century.

The productions of the country may, as already observed, be seen from the list of commodities in the tariff appended to the treaty. The articles which form the grand staple of Siamese exports, are, sugar, pepper, cotton, hemp, rice, metals, gums, cardamums, gamboge, ivory, horns, hides, silks, sapan-wood, &c. The cotton of Siam is of the finest quality yet discovered, and in the growing demand for this commodity, and the slowness of America and India in approaching the pace of that progress, Siam may become a grand mart for its production. Soil, climate, facilities of river navigation, and the enlightened character of the government, all combine to justify this prospect. There are other valuable productions capable of vastly enlarging its commerce: the finest and purest copper exists in great abundance; there are also tin, lead, zinc, antimony, and iron. It is alleged that there are auriferous districts in Siam rivalling any existing elsewhere; certainly gold has been obtained there by the natives in quantities which sustain such an opinion. Silver, it is supposed, will yet be obtained there in sufficient quantities to re-adjust the relative value between it and gold. Precious stones are also abundant in districts much resembling those in which they are found in Ava. A French gentleman, travelling in a hilly district for a short distance, gathered in the course of his progress two handsful of rubies, topazes, garnets, and sapphires.

The rice and sugar exports might be vastly increased by British merchants and capitalists settling in other places as well as Bangkok.

The chief import of Siam is, unhappily, opium. This, however, is consumed in a great proportion by the Chinese, who are very numerous at Bangkok and elsewhere, and who serve the country by their industry. The religious belief of the majority of the Chinese being identical with that of the Siamese, and the habits of the two people being similar in many respects, the Chinese are allowed to settle in the country, where, as usual, they work hard and thrive well.

The time which has elapsed since the signatures of the plenipotentiaries were attached to the agreement supplementary to the treaty has been so very short, that it is difficult to gather from its events the probabilities of the future. By way of China it is reported that the effect has been surprising. During a decennial period, previous to the treaty, the average number of vessels entering the river of Bangkok from foreign parts was *ten;* since the treaty the number has increased twenty-fold, a progress unparalleled in any part of the Asiatic world.

The area of the country is not less than two hundred thousand square miles, well watered by mountain streams and by undulating rivers, which enrich a large portion of country suitable for rice and other tropical commodities. Besides the great distance which the navigable rivers enable ships to pass to the interior, there are innumerable canals suitable to boat navigation, in which art the people are very expert. There is a very important consideration connected with the commerce between India and Siam, which has not yet sufficiently engaged the attention of engineers and scientific persons acquainted with the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is alleged that water communication could easily be opened between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam across the isthmus, so as to save the comparatively long voyage round by the Straits of Malacca. By an examination of Wyld's maps, with scale, the reader will perceive how considerable a space might be saved by a ship canal, so as to avoid the *détour* of the Straits. The direct distance

across the isthmus is about fifty miles. A ship-canal would not be required for the whole of this distance, as there are navigable rivers which might be united by a few miles being cut for the purpose. The chief river, the Meinam, on the banks of which the capital is built, fertilises a vast extent of country, which is at once extremely rich and very beautiful. The area of the valley of the Meinam has been computed at upwards of twelve thousand miles. From such a country what may not be expected for British commercial enterprise? Should a ship-canal connect the existing water-ways, so as to open up a connection between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam, it would be important not only as to the trade of the latter country, but also with Cochin China and China. The expectations entertained as to the future commercial intercourse are justified by past experience. Calcutta and Canton were at one time the only superior ports to Bangkok in the Eastern seas —there were more than sixty British ships engaged in the trade.

The chief causes of the decline arose from the misgovernment of the monarchs and the tyranny of the nobles. The former adopted a policy exclusive and barbarous, and especially jealous of foreigners; the latter ground down the people by the heaviest oppression. This class is still inimical to all improvements as dangerous to its privileges; it regards foreign commerce with hostility, and those who profit by it, natives or strangers, with envy and dislike. The nobles are especially hostile to the settlement of European planters, or the travels of Europeans within the interior. It is a pleasing and encouraging circumstance that the kings* are opposed to the nobles in those illiberal ideas, and that the premier—who is the most influential man in the kingdom—is decidedly adverse to the policy of the prejudiced and selfish sections of the people. There is no Eastern country which presents three such men as the two kings of Siam and their vizier. The kings are brothers, the sons of the chief queen of a former monarch, and occupy the throne legitimately according to the laws and regal usage of Siam. A son of their father by an inferior queen possessed himself of the throne, and one of the present occupants was for twenty-seven years an inmate of a Buddhist monastery. There he devoted himself to the study of European science, and of the English language, of which he is master, but writes it quaintly, after the old models. The reception given by this monarch to Sir John Bowring, and afterwards to Mr. Parkes, was enlightened and cordial. The second king is a more accomplished man than the first, and writes much more accurate and agreeable English than either her majesty's plenipotentiary Sir John Bowring, or his diplomatic adjutant Mr. Parkes. The second sovereign is, like the first, liberal and enlightened, and favourable to the English. Both are authors, and have written works, not only in Siamese, but in other oriental languages, and in English. These works are of a practical nature, such as geography, topography, Siamese history, law, and government. They have also written some modest scientific books. They are especially fond of astronomy, in which science they have made considerable progress, and when they dispatched, in 1857, two ambassadors to Queen Victoria, they especially enjoined upon them to procure them scientific instruments, models of steam engines, telescopes, and various optical instruments, &c. From such monarchs good government is to be expected, and a friendly feeling towards our merchants. The nobles are adverse to the policy of their sovereigns, on the ground that if the English gain a footing within their dominions they will increase their acquisitions of land until they become masters of the whole country. The kings entertain some timidity on the same ground. The missions of Sir John Bowring and Mr. Parkes were calculated to dispel this alarm, and the advent of the ambassadors here from their Siamese majesties, and the impressions they derived during their sojourn, are still more conducive to the like results. The chief minister, however, appears to be the mainstay of Sir John Bowring's hopes for the stability of his treaty, for in a work* recently published by the learned doctor and gallant knight, he represents this dignitary as one of the most remarkable men he ever met. In the journal of Sir John the following references relating to this minister occur:—"His excellency also pressed much the necessity of opening the trade with Cochin China. Again and again the *kalakon*† said he wished that the treaty should benefit the people; that the government could make the sacrifice of revenue for two or three years, and wait for the beneficial results which trade would bring with it. He insinuated more than once that if there were difficulties they would be from other quarters. He again and again told me that if my policy is to save the people from oppression, and the country from monopoly, he shall labour with me, and if I succeed my name will be blest to all

* There are two—called First and Second, who, however, act together in one government.

* *The Kingdom and People of Siam; with a Narrative of a Mission to that Country in* 1855. London, J. W. Parker.

† Designation of the minister.

ages. He unveils abuses to me without disguise, and often with vehement eloquence. If he prove true to his profession, he is one of the noblest and most enlightened patriots the world has ever seen. To him Siam owes her fleet of merchant ships. They* urged the conclusion of the treaty, so that the *Rattler* might get away by the next tide. They wished to have them one after another,† in the hope that the whole may be concluded to day. Inshallah! Such promptitude was, I believe, never before exhibited in an Asiatic court. It is mainly due to the Phra kalakon's energetic influence; he has a great work to accomplish, and he is working while it is day, aye, and by night as well." However excellent the dispositions of this friendly court and government towards the English, and however hospitable towards her majesty's representative, it is obvious that they were very desirous to see the last of the negotiator, and more especially of his war steamers. This desire may have been in part dictated by the impatience of the nobles, and even of the highest courtiers, at the presence of the plenipotentiary, and the vicinity of the men-of-war; and it is not impossible that more than a spark of oriental suspicion glimmered in the breasts of the monarchs and their ministers, that some evil purpose might lurk behind those British guns, for although Bangkok contains four hundred thousand inhabitants, a large portion of them are Chinese, and the city would probably prove even more helpless for defence than Canton.

As no description was given of Siam in the geographical part of this work, no portion of it being under British sovereignty, and it having never been a theatre of battle to our forces, it seemed desirable to dwell more at length, under the head of commerce, upon the resources of the country, and the character of its rulers, as connected with the prospects of future commercial intercourse with it.

The character of commercial men and commercial dealings in India have been the subject of much animadversion of late years. This subject might properly come under the head of the social condition of India, but it is still more appropriate in this place. The character of the East India Company as traders has already come up incidentally, and will in the historical portion of this work be frequently brought before the reader; it is therefore unnecessary here to point out in what respects the monopoly had a moral influence, favourable or otherwise, upon those who profited by it, or upon others. When the trade became free, and in proportion as it became so, speculators from England, especially from London and Liverpool, embarked in Indian commerce, which, through their instrumentality, soon assumed new features. Many of the adventurers had little capital, and their enterprises were undertaken upon the principle of making such an appearance as to gain credit, and so trade upon the capital of others. The nature of their resources gave a character to their dealings, which were a series of desperate risks, sometimes successful, far more frequently otherwise, bringing ruin upon all who had trusted to them. There was nothing in the nature of the trade essentially to make it perilous, but those engaged in it of the description here referred to were uneducated men, ignorant of the principles of political economy, and the laws of finance, and who, by sharp practice, specious appearance, and a thorough intimacy with the usual dodges of corrupt trade, were enabled to find creditors, and to impose upon them. The respectable capitalist and merchant was often robbed and sometimes destroyed by this class, in his personal dealings with them; besides, he sustained injury by a competition based upon capital extensively and fraudulently obtained; upon credit procured by the cleverly sustained-appearances of noted resources.

In the year 1830-1, a monetary and commercial crisis occurred in the great trading cities of India. The gambling which had taken place in all East Indian commodities, had reached a degree of desperation which precipitated a convulsion. There was a general crash. "Houses" had been trusted by old officers, civil servants, and their widows. Those establishments had been the banks of the non-trading classes for the custody of their savings; the poor soldiers, who had saved a little to purchase discharge, or send home to wife or child, had placed it in the hands of those "great merchants," whose philanthropy was as ostentatious as their benefactions were large, and their style of living magnificent. The hollowness of the system, and the faithlessness of those who, through its instrumentality, practised such extensive imposition, became at once apparent amidst the loss and pecuniary destruction of all the confiding classes who supposed that the mansions and charities of "the merchant princes" were indices of their wealth and magnanimity. It would be difficult for description to convey the extent of the disaster which the overthrow of the great Indian trading establishments caused at that time.

* The kings and minister, and the minister of foreign affairs, also an able and enlightened man.

† Sir John here refers to the articles of the treaty, but his style of writing is so loose and inaccurate, it is often difficult to determine his meaning.

Many begged their bread, whose deposits in the hands of the speculators had amounted to a handsome fortune. Upon them the desolation permanently rested; but the traders, after passing the ordeal of failure, of composition, or bankruptcy, began again, and soon lived in the same splendour, and easily found fresh victims—so credulous and ignorant were the respectable classes from whom this plunder was gleaned. Calcutta obtained an unenviable notoriety in this species of piracy. One house there failed for a sum which would have been incredible, if named beforehand—amounting to four millions sterling! The assets were a little more than a shilling in the pound. It must not be supposed by the astonished reader that this illustrious "house" stood alone; it was surrounded by others almost as great. One of these failed for only £300,000 less than the amount of the liabilities of the former; another for three millions six hundred thousand sterling; a fourth for three millions; a fifth for two millions and a quarter: but these houses paid on an average a fifth of their obligations. More than eleven millions sterling was lost to the community by the failure of six houses, after all their assets were valued and applied.

The individuals who entailed all this misery by means so palpably culpable, did not "lose caste" (as the natives would say); they were treated by the officers of government, and by the commercial world more particularly, as unfortunate; but the moral effect upon the European and native communities, as well as upon the character of English commerce, was soon obvious. The civil and military functionaries did not so generally leave their money in the custody of these houses. The native capitalists, themselves frequently dishonest, had been outwitted and lost much; they therefore became more timid of trusting their money in the hands of Englishmen. The traders succeeded in regaining the confidence of European officials, or at least of gaining new victims in that class, long before any considerable number of natives were caught in the same trap. Credit slowly revived; by degrees officers, and the families of deceased officers, civilians, and Europeans in the humbler walks of trade, were again ensnared, to form a renewed illustration of the fraudulent system which had so largely obtained in banking and commercial transactions in the East.

One of the consequences of these failures was the establishment by the civil and military servants of banks, in which they could have confidence. The first of these was at Agra, whence branches were formed in various other great cities and stations. This institution was followed by the Bank of Bengal, which started with a capital, or nominal capital, of five hundred thousand pounds; other establishments of a like kind, on a great scale, were speedily placed in competition with the first two, and all appeared to prosper. The nature of these banks was very peculiar; they have been with propriety described as "Loan Societies," as their business consisted in lending money, chiefly to civil servants, on personal security; in cases of large advances some collateral security was taken, but not generally of a more substantial nature. Many of the shareholders were unable to pay "the calls" when the great custom (for there were plenty of borrowers) of the banks rendered it necessary to make them. These shareholders being civil servants were allowed to hold over their shares, the amount of the calls being treated as debts to the banks, and as the shares were at a premium, the holders were soon able to dispose of them, and after remitting the debt thus incurred, enjoyed a profit. The progress of the new banking establishments was as iniquitous as that of the old; and, finally, as disastrous. The very classes who had been plundered by the bankers of a former period, became in their turn fleecers of others. All the disclosures in the case of the British Bank, and other banking institutions in England, in 1857–8, appear to those acquainted with Indian banking incidents, from 1847 up to a recent period, as a mere repetition of what was so well known in Calcutta. Planters and merchants were befriended, until the entire capital of the banks were absorbed; indigo factories were jobbed on private account with bank funds; bank post bills, at a heavy discount, were received from directors as cash; paper of all descriptions was floated; liabilities of presidents and secretaries were transferred to the bank in the company's books; young civilians were accommodated with loans at a heavy interest; all ordinary precaution and proper management were neglected; bills sent them for sale and remittance, on account of others, were disposed of, and the proceeds applied to stop a momentary gap;—although the directors must have known that they were insolvent, and that a month or two at most would witness the termination of their fictitious existence. The new houses of business were unable to obtain credit on the same facile terms as their predecessors, and were obliged to lean almost wholly on the banyans, a native class described in a former page. Many sircars, or native accountants, who had saved or gained money were now lenders; and the business of Calcutta more especially fell, so far as the capital was concerned, chiefly into native hands. These men bear them-

selves with intolerable insolence; they treated all Europeans, but especially those not engaged in the direct service of government, with most insulting contempt. They displayed the same spirit, in their own degree and opportunity, which the sepoy revolters showed in 1857. The bitterest dislike and scorn for Europeans were openly avowed whenever the natives had a money power over them. The roguery of the banyans is more systematic and secure than that of his European customer, or servant, as he may almost be termed. The banyan cheats his English confederate in every conceivable way. He alleges that a higher price is paid for a commodity than is actually given, and he ships off an article inferior to the sample, entailing loss and financial and commercial disarrangement on the part of the English branch of the firm. The merchant in India in vain remonstrates, upbraids, denounces; the banyan only reiterates his innocence, and alleges that the evil doing has been in England, not with him; and, as he is a heavy creditor, disposes of the subject with one of those impudent and caustic sneers which the native has always at his command for a European in his power. A gentleman, well acquainted with the morality of Indian commerce, thus describes the course of trade as it proceeds in the present day:—

"Formerly all the London houses acting as agents for Calcutta and Bombay firms were possessed of ample means, and to a limited extent this is still the case. It was then the practice for these agents or correspondents to purchase or make advances against consignments of manufactured goods, either on their own account, or jointly with their Indian friends, who sold the invoice on arrival, and remitted home the proceeds in bills of exchange or in some article of produce. Under the new *régime* this is no longer the case. The London firm have a little credit and less money; but they cannot accept bills drawn against goods to be shipped either on the manufacturers' or their Indian friends' account. This done, the bills are discounted, and so the manufacturer is reimbursed. The goods—grey cloths from Manchester perhaps—are shipped; and then the London merchant, who has not paid a farthing for them, is enabled to draw against them on his India correspondent, through a bank, who takes the bill of lading for security; and in this way the shipper obtains hard cash, with which he buys another parcel of goods—metals, possibly—ships these, draws against them, and with these fresh means repeats the operation, which, it is clear, may be thus carried on to a large extent. Before the first parcel of goods can be sold at Bombay or Calcutta, the manufacturer's bill upon the shipper falls due, and is met by a renewal; that is, by another bill drawn in a similar manner, and understood to be for the purpose of being discounted, to enable the accepter of the first bill to take it up, in other words, to pay it when presented.

"Meanwhile the goods arrive at their destination. The agent of the London bank who advanced money upon them holds the bills of lading; and to get these, and consequently the goods, the 'Calcutta correspondent' applies to his banyan, who at once does the needful, redeems the grey goods from their bondage, and sells them for his principal. The proceeds are now remitted home in sugar, or silk, or indigo, the bills of lading for which are forwarded to the London house, which at once draws against it, in order to meet the 'renewals' of the Manchester bills then falling due; finally, the produce-broker in Mincing Lane makes an advance to the importer on the arrival of the sugar or indigo, which enables him to redeem the bills of lading from the strong box of the bank, and the goods are sold.

"So long as the selling prices at both ends leave a shadow of profit over and above the amount of commissions and other charges, all goes on well. The shipper, the banker, the correspondent, the banyan, the London broker, the Manchester manufacturer, all are content. The operations are extended considerably, the commercial wheel is kept moving, money is made, the houses at both ends obtain the reputation of doing a large stroke of business, the partners are looked upon as sharp, shrewd men, and although there may be a few bad debts, a few losses, and now and then a heavy year, the books show a large amount of commissions earned. Still the banyan is a large creditor, though by interest, per centage, &c., he has cleared off more than the amount of their liabilities to him. One or two bad seasons follow rather rapidly; the house has invested largely in estates, an operation popularly termed developing the resources of the country; the banyan becomes rather more troublesome and overbearing than of wont; the senior partner takes alarm, withdraws with a hundred thousand pounds, and twelve-months afterwards the firm suspend payment for a million and a half sterling, at which nobody is in the least degree surprised, except the banyan, who wonders how they managed to keep up so long. This, reader, is a faint, and no doubt an imperfect sketch of the course of operations of an Indian commercial house of the present time; and it deserves a place in these pages, as illustrative of that Saxon energy of character, that fine spirit of enterprise which so distinguishes the

men of Liverpool and Glasgow, and by means of which they rear gigantic fabrics out of literally nothing. Here we have seen how a fortune of a hundred thousand, and an insolvency of a million and a half, had their first origin in nothing more than a few bales of Manchester 'grey goods.'" *

It is alleged that within the last two or three years an improvement has taken place; that more capital is embarked in commercial undertakings; that the finance of commerce is conducted on sounder principles; and that the commercial morality of bankers and merchants stands higher than at any previous time.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### SCIENCE AND ART OF THE HINDOOS.

LITTLE acquaintance can be had with the condition of any people, and a very imperfect opinion can be formed of their prospects, unless information be possessed concerning their progress in science and art. Of late years the state of the ancient Hindoos in these respects has been investigated with pertinacious inquisitiveness; their ancient writings have been ransacked for the purpose by scholars whose capacity was equal to the self-imposed task. The state of the people of Hindostan as to science, and to a great extent even as to art, is now what it was two thousand years ago, notwithstanding the invasions which have swept over portions of their country by peoples more advanced in these particulars. The colleges and schools established by the English for the advantage of native youth, both of the higher and lower classes, have effected but little,—except so far as the religious influence extended. The number of educated natives of the wealthy classes who have a knowledge of European science, and a perception of the fine arts as cultivated in Europe, is, however, steadily increasing.

The progress both of science and art among all ancient peoples seems to have run a similar course. The science of astronomy seems universally to have been the first cultivated; and the natives were familiar with the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, and philosophised concerning them, long before sublunary subjects of investigation engaged their attention. This is not difficult to account for. A philosopher, to whom economical science in Great Britain owes much, has thus given the rationale of the fact:—

"There are various causes which render astronomy the very first of the sciences which is cultivated by a rude people: though from the distance of the objects, and the consequent mysteriousness of their nature and motions, this would seem not to be the case. Of all the phenomena of nature, the celestial appearances are, by their greatness and beauty, the most strikingly addressed to the curiosity of mankind. But it is not only their greatness and beauty by which they become the first objects of a speculative curiosity. The species of objects in the heavens are few in number; the sun, the moon, the planets, and the fixed stars. All the changes, too, which are ever observed in these bodies, evidently arise from some difference in the velocity and direction of their several motions. All this formed a very simple object of consideration. The objects, however, which the inferior parts of nature presented to view, the earth and the bodies which immediately surround it, though they were much more familiar to the mind, were more apt to embarrass and perplex it, by the variety of their species, and by the intricacy and seeming irregularity of the laws or orders of their succession. The variety of meteors in the air, of clouds, rainbows, thunder, lightning, winds, rain, hail, snow, is vast, and the order of their succession seems to be most irregular and inconstant. The species of fossils, minerals, plants, animals, which are found in the waters and near the surface of the earth, are still more intricately diversified; and if we regard the different manners of their production, their mutual influence in altering, destroying, supporting one another, the orders of their succession seem to admit of an almost infinite variety. If the imagination, therefore, when it considered the appearances in the heavens, was often perplexed and driven out of its natural career, it would be much more exposed to the same embarrassment, when it directed its attention to the objects which the earth presented to it, and when it endeavoured to trace their progress and successive revolutions." *

The admirers of everything Indian have praised the attainments of the Hindoos in the science of astronomy. Sir William Jones has given them credit for an amount of erudition in this direction, only to be accounted for by his kindly feeling to the people begetting a

* *Rise and Progress of the British India Possessions.*

* Dr. Adam Smith's *Essays*, pp. 97, 98.

generous credulity of anything alleged in their favour, and of their own pretensions to an enlightened antiquity. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, seldom credulous when the glory or greatness of the Indian race is concerned, unsparingly decrys the claims which their panegyrists urge on their behalf. Professor Playfair, of the University of Edinburgh, who, in his good opinion of early Indian science, was, according to Mill, a disciple of Monsieur Bailly, the distinguished French mathematician, gives the following estimate of the Indian astronomers of modern times:—

"The astronomy of India gives no theory, nor even any description of the celestial phenomena, but satisfies itself with the calculation of certain changes in the heavens, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and with the rules and tables by which these calculations must be performed. The Brahmin, seating himself on the ground, and arranging his shells before him, repeats the enigmatical verses that are to guide his calculation, and from his little tablets and palm-leaves, takes out the numbers that are to be employed in it. He obtains his result with wonderful certainty and expedition; but having little knowledge of the principles on which his rules are founded, and no anxiety to be better informed, he is perfectly satisfied, if, as it usually happens, the commencement and duration of the eclipse answer, within a few minutes, to his prediction. Beyond this, his astronomical inquiries never extend; and his observations, when he makes any, go no further than to determine the meridian line, or the length of the day at the place where he observes." *

Professor Wilson of Oxford, reviewing the different opinions entertained, thus sums up the evidences adduced:—"As compared with the state of astronomical science in modern times, Hindoo astronomy, of course, is far from excellence, as Schlegel remarks, 'Il n'est pas besoin de faire de gros livres pour le prouver;' it is, perhaps, inferior to the astronomy of the Greeks, but it exhibits many proofs of accurate observation and deduction, highly creditable to the science of Hindoo astronomers. The division of the ecliptic into lunar mansions, the solar zodiac, the mean motions of the planets, the precession of the equinoxes, the earth's self support in space, the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, the revolution of the moon on her axis, her distance from the earth, the dimension of the orbits of the planets, the calculation of eclipses, are parts of a system which could not have been found amongst an unenlightened people. That the antiquity of the Hindoo astronomy has been exaggerated is no doubt true, but there is no reason to conceive that it is not ancient. Even Bentley himself refers the contrivance of the lunar mansions to B.C. 1424, a period anterior to the earliest notices of Greek astronomy, and implying a course of still earlier observation. The originality of Hindoo astronomy, if this era be granted, is at once established, but it is also proved by intrinsic evidence, as although there are some remarkable coincidences between the Hindoo and other systems, their methods are their own. 'If there be any resemblances,' says Professor Wallace, 'they have arisen out of the nature of the science, or from what the Indians have borrowed from the Arabians, who were instructed by the Greeks, rather than from anything borrowed from the Indians by the Arabians or the Greeks.' * There is no occasion to suppose the Greeks were instructed by the Hindoos, but the Arabians certainly were. Their own writers affirm that Indian astronomers were greatly encouraged by the early caliphs, particularly Haroun-al-Reschid and Al Mamun; they were invited to Bagdad, and their works were translated into Arabic. The Hindoos were, fully as much as the Greeks, the teachers of the Arabians."

The divisions of the zodiac among the Birmans, as well as among the Brahmins, are the same as among Europeans; and Dr. Buchanan, as well as Sir William Jones, ascribes to them a Chaldaic origin. Much of the reputation of the Hindoos for early astronomical knowledge, founded upon ancient writings, is accounted for by Dr. Buchanan by the fact of the necessity for renewing the writing at short intervals, because of the fragile quality of the paper. Upon every such renewal the learned doctor opines that such additional knowledge as had gained access into India would, by the Brahminical transcribers, be linked with the original, in order to support the authority of the caste for ancient learning, and so sustain their power over such portions of the people as would be likely to be reached through such media of influence. This view is reasonable, for the Brahmins arrogated the exclusive possession of learning; and, as Mr. Mill well observes, in promoting an admiration of it among the people, they were promoting an admiration of themselves.

Forming an impartial judgment upon the arguments of the Philo-Indians, and those who are unfavourable to the extravagant claims set up by them, it must be pronounced

* *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Playfair on the *Astronomy of the Brahmins*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.

* *An Account of British India.*

that astronomy was at a very remote period cultivated by the Hindoos, and that the probability is that they derived it, with the elements of their religion, from the Chaldeans. For very many centuries the Hindoo philosophers made no progress; and since the first settlement of Europeans on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, any scientific progression is due to what has been learned from them.

The works transmitted to the present time are scientific treatises and tables. The principal among the former is called the *Surya Siddhanta*, upon which those of the latter description have been based. The pretensions made for the extreme antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta* have vanished before proper investigation. Of the tables based upon this book there are four, known to Europeans as the *Tirvalore Tables*.

It has been observed that the Hindoos divided the zodiac, and designate those divisions, in nearly the same manner as the Arabs, from whom the European mode is derived. The signs are thus noted:—

*Mesha*, the Ram.
*Vrisha*, the Bull.
*Mit'hunna*, the Pair.
*Carcota*, the Crab.
*Sinha*, the Lion.
*Canya*, the Virgin.
*Tula*, the Balance.
*Vrischica*, the Scorpion.
*Dhanus*, the Bow.
*Macara*, the Sea-monster.
*Cumbha*, the Ewer.
*Mina*, the Fish.

The imperfect notion of the planetary system from which our days of the week were originally taken is the same with theirs, showing also a common origin of their ancient system and our own. *Addita*, the sun; *Toma*, the moon; *Brahaspati*, Jupiter; *Mangala*, Mars; *Bonta*, Mercury; *Soucra*, Venus; *Sanni*, Saturn. Their week begins on Friday, and the days are thus named:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Soncravaram* | or day of | Venus . . . . | Friday. |
| 2. *Sanivaram* | ,, | Saturn . . . | Saturday. |
| 3. *Additavaram* | ,, | the Sun . . . | Sunday. |
| 4. *Somavaram* | ,, | the Moon . . | Monday. |
| 5. *Mangalavaram* | ,, | Mars . . . . | Tuesday. |
| 6. *Bontavaram* | ,, | Mercury . . | Wednesday. |
| 7. *Brahaspativaram* | ,, | Jupiter . . . | Thursday. |

To find the latitude of a place, the Hindoos observe the length of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon when the sun is in the equator, and compute the angle which their instrument makes with the line drawn from its top to the extremity of the shadow. The longitude is found by observations of lunar eclipses calculated from the meridian of Lanca, which passes through Ongein, in the Mahratta country.

A glance at the chronology of the Hindoos will appear in the opening chapter on their history. The claims made for their nation by the Brahmins, to an antiquity beyond the existence of man according to the Scripture account and the chronologies of Archbishop Usher, and Hales, are too absurd to require confutation. Those claims have been submitted to every test applicable to the subject, and the result has been irrefragable proof that they are spurious: the astronomical tests by which they have been tried have especially furnished a complete and obvious confutation, and a confirmation of the Christian Scriptures, wherever such could incidentally arise.

Closely connected with astronomy, mathematical science must of necessity be found; and accordingly the Hindoos, at a very remote period, had made progress in that science. They demonstrated the properties of triangles; they understood that of the area being expressed in the terms of the three sides; they were aware of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle. The *Surya Siddhanta*, already referred to, contains a treatise on mathematics as well as astronomy. Interwoven with many absurdities, this book contains a rational system of trigonometry, which differs entirely from that first known in Greece or Arabia. In fact, it is founded on a geometrical theorem, which was not known to the geometricians of Europe before the time of Vieta, about two hundred years ago. And it employs the sines of arcs, a thing unknown to the Greeks, who used the chords of the double arcs. The invention of sines has been attributed to the Arabs; but it is possible that they may have received this improvement in trigonometry, as well as the numeral characters, from India.*

The supposition of Professor Leslie (of the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh), that the Arabs derived their trigonometrical science and their numeral characters from India, is generally disputed; and some maintain, notwithstanding the high and well-grounded claims of the Hindoos to considerable attainments in geometery, that the Arabs had been their teachers, and that both had received their knowledge from a more ancient race. The invention of some signs by which to record and preserve the results of arithmetical computations seems almost as necessary as language itself, and would be undoubtedly coeval with, if not anterior to, written language. According to Prescott, the Mexicans had from time immemorial signs for numbers; Humboldt also affirms this. Algebraic signs have given rise to similar discussion, arising

* *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—Geometry.

from the facts, that we have received these signs from the Arabians, and that their neighbours, the Hindoos, possessed the like from an extreme antiquity. It seems a palpable *non sequitur* to affirm that the Arabians derived this invention from the Indians; but the admirers of the latter very energetically maintain it on no better evidence. The algebraic forms which Europe obtained from Arabia were little better than signs for *words;* they were rather stenographic than scientific. Mr. Colebrooke, the great Sanscrit scholar, attributes to the Arabians a knowledge of algebra anterior to that possessed by the Hindoos, but he considers it next to certain that they derived it immediately from the Greeks. He, however, gives the Hindoos credit for an independent progress, displaying superior mental endowments, perseverance, and discriminating study, and indicating a high degree of very early civilization. Mr. Mill, who is extremely jealous of the claims of that race to any considerable civilization at a remote period, takes advantage of an admission of Mr. Colebrooke, that the object for which the Hindoos studied mathematics was to aid them in astrology, and that astronomy was pursued for astrological purposes. Upon this acknowledgment Mr. Mill founds a decision, so far as Mr. Colebrooke's evidence goes, that the civilization of the Hindoos must have been inferior when sciences of such value were prosecuted for objects so worthless and foolish. Professor Wilson, whose edition of Mill is more properly a confutation than a continuation of that work, makes the following remarks:—"The authority of Professor Wallace is recognised by Mr. Mill, and his conclusions from Mr. Colebrooke's publication are of a very different complexion from those of the text. The *Surya Siddhanta*, he states, contains a very rational system of trigonometry. In expressing the radius of a circle in parts of the circumference the Hindoos are quite singular. Ptolemy, and the Greek mathematicians, in their division of the radius, preserved no reference to the circumference. The use of sines, as it was unknown to the Greeks, forms a difference between theirs and the Indian trigonometry. Their rule for the computation of the lines is a considerable refinement in science first practised by the mathemetician Briggs. However ancient a book may be in which a system of trigonometry occurs, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of the science. Geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Surya Siddhanta*. The age of Brahmagupta is fixed with great probability to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, a period earlier than the first dawn of Arabian sciences. Aryabhatta appears to have written as far back as the fifth century, or earlier; he was therefore almost as old as the Greek algebraist Diophantus. The *Lilavati* treats of arithmetic, and contains not only the common rules of that science, but the application of these to various questions on interest, barter, mixtures, combinations, permutations, sums of progression, indeterminate problems, and mensuration of surfaces and solids. The rules are found to be exact, and nearly as simple as in the present state of analytical investigation. The numerical results are readily deduced; and if they be compared with the earliest specimens of Greek calculation, the advantages of the decimal notation are placed in a striking light. In geometry, though inferior in excellence to the algebra, there is much deserving of attention. We have here the celebrated proposition that the square on the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle, and other propositions, which form part of the system of modern geometry. There is one proposition remarkable—namely, that which discovers the area of a triangle when its three sides are known. This does not seem to have been known to the ancient Greek geometers. In algebra the Hindoos understood well the arithmetic of square roots, and the general resolutions of equations of the second degree, which it is not clear that Diophantus knew—that they attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree—which it is certain Diophantus had not attained—and a method of deriving a multitude of answers to problems of the second degree when one solution was discovered by trial, which is as near an approach to a general solution as was made until the time of La Grange. Professor Wallace concludes by adopting the opinion of Playfair on this subject—'that before an author could think of embodying a treatise of algebra in the heart of a system of astronomy, and turning the researches of the one science to the purposes of the other, both must have been in such a state of advance as the lapse of several ages and many repeated efforts of inventors were required to produce.' This is unanswerable evidence in favour of the antiquity, originality, and advance of Hindoo mathematical science, and is fatal to all Mr. Mill's references and conjectures. We have also historical evidence that the Arabs derived their mathematical sciences in part from the Hindoos; and we have every reason, from the differences of method, and in some instances superiority of progress, as well as from the absence of all evidence to the contrary, to conclude that the

Hindoos were as little indebted to the Greeks. A people who had pursued for ages researches of this nature could not have been merely upon the threshold of civilization. The test of civilization proposed by Mr. Mill, and the school to which he belonged, 'utility,' will not be generally admitted in the restricted sense in which he employs the term: but even that is inapplicable, for in the estimation of those nations amongst whom astrology was credited what could, in their eyes, be more useful than rules of conduct derived from astrological calculation? It is not true, however, that the mathematical sciences of the Hindoos were applied to astrology alone, as the greater number of the results which their arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, and even their astronomy, afford, have no relation to that kind of knowledge, but are indispensable to the ordinary purposes of social life."

Although the bias of Colebrooke and Wilson, in common with nearly all the company's officers, civil or military, who have served in India, in favour of the Hindoos, is obvious throughout the arguments they maintain in favour of the early possession by that people of a civilization of a superior type, and although the jealousy entertained by Mr. Mill of the statements and arguments of the writers of that school however learned and honest, was wise and necessary—yet, in this case, the impartial reader cannot refuse the weight of evidence to be on the side of the Philo-Hindoos. The early mathematical knowledge of the Indians, wheresoever derived and whatever the objects for which they prosecuted it, was very extensive; so as to excite surprise when the little improvement made afterwards, through so long a period, is considered. Notwithstanding the allegation of Professor Wilson, in reply to Mr. Mill, as to the social and practical purposes for which the Hindoos studied mathematics, the assertion of the latter gentleman is not invalidated. The *main object* for which such studies were valued, was their supposed subservience to astrology; and upon this, in all its absurdity, the time, talent, and energies of the scientific Hindoos were wasted. There is little evidence of any extensive application of the science of Hindostan to practical and social purposes; while it must be obvious to Professor Wilson, that astrological practices and studies were intensely followed.

The ancient natives of India had made less progress in geography than in any other science. This surprises the student of Indian history, when he is told of a people so far skilled in mathematics and astronomy, as authorities quoted in the foregoing pages allege. So far as the geography and topography of India were concerned, or at all events portions of India, there was an accurate knowledge, but beyond India little was known. Allusion is made to a people called Chinese, who resided in the north-west, who it is supposed were the early occupiers of the vast land to the east now called China, or who overrun that country, conquering an earlier race of inhabitants. The country of China was known to them, and something of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Scythians and Greeks made themselves known on Indian soil, and are spoken of as the Sacæ, and the Yawans, or Javans. A very imperfect knowledge was formed of the direction of the countries from which these warlike intruders came. The Persians and Egyptians were known to the Indians from the connection maintained with India by these people, as noticed on other pages. Some have maintained that the Egyptians themselves are an Indian race.

In the eighth century a Hindoo writer, describing the different languages spoken in the world, says that there are four barbarian tongues. The Parasica (by which the Persians are evidently meant); the Yavana (intended for the Greek); the Raumaen (obviously the Roman or Latin); the Barbera, a generic name for the languages which they could not characterise.

Of chemistry, or any other of the natural sciences, they had no knowledge, but practised a rude alchemy, without appearing to have stumbled by its instrumentality upon any important discoveries.

Botany was less studied, and so far as it was studied, was less systematically and successfully pursued than would be readily supposed of an ingenious people, such as the Indians are represented to be, and in a country prolific in the produce of the soil.

The arts, and especially those most intimately connected with science, evidently did not flourish so much as the Philo-Indians love to represent, and are themselves so ready to believe, upon slender evidence.

Agriculture is not one of the earliest attainments of man, although the cultivation of the soil is a necessity to them, unless when the nature of their country, and the scantiness of the population lead rather to the wild and unsettled life of the hunter and fisher. Probably no ancient people equalled the Egyptians in the knowledge of proper cultivation of the soil, except the Jews, who acquired from them their knowledge. The institutions of Moses were much better adapted than the institutions of Menu to regulate the relations of classes, and secure the occupation of the land on a system the most enlightened. There

is great diversity in the present cultivation. Professor Wilson, in his vigilantly performed task of showing Mill to be in error, thus eulogises the present agriculture of India :—"That there is much slovenliness in Indian agriculture may be admitted, but Hindoo cultivators are by no means deficient in common observation and good sense, and are regulated in their proceedings by a knowledge of their soil and climate; in which the heavy implements and laborious culture of Europe would be wholly out of place. To say that the Indian farmer is ignorant of the fittest season for sowing is the contradiction of known facts; as nothing can be more regular than the periodical recurrence of the harvests. Nor is the Indian farmer unacquainted with the advantage of a rotation of crops; although, in general, the soil does not require it:—where, as in the case of sugar-cane, the produce exhausts the soil, we have Dr. Roxburgh's evidence that the Indians 'do not attempt to rear a second crop oftener than every third or fourth year; allowing the land either to rest, or employing it for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil; *of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge.*' * Few persons had better opportunities of estimating the character of Indian agriculture than Sir Thomas Munro, and he calls it 'a good system.'" †

A gentleman who resided in India, and is certainly an impartial observer, gives an account which scarcely harmonises with that of the learned and amiable professor:—"With such a soil, and at the same time with so few inducements to exercise any agricultural ingenuity, the Hindoo raises most of his vegetable productions in a very imperfect and inferior condition. Indifferently grown, often taken from the ground before reaching maturity, imperfectly cured, badly housed, and taken to market in a slovenly and dirty condition, the agricultural productions of Hindostan are all highly susceptible of improvement. That this is so, there cannot be a greater proof than in the vast changes effected in some articles which have been taken in hand by Europeans. Wherever their skill and capital have been brought to bear, we find a perfect revolution effected in the quality and value of the productions grown or manipulated; and, although in the article of cotton not nearly so much has been accomplished as in other produce, an improvement is still visible in that valuable staple." ‡ Again the same author describes the general appearance of the country as to its agricultural aspect:—"An agricultural district in the East bears but small resemblance to such a tract in England. No hedges mark the boundary of every field, or the possessions of each cultivator; no stacks of corn greet the eye; no well-filled barns stud the country. A row of stones,* or a small ridge of earth, defines the extent of the ryots possessions; while rice, cotton, fine grain, and tobacco, may be seen growing in close proximity, as though the seed had been scattered over the land by the merest caprice."

The character of the agricultural implements given by the author of the *Three Presidencies of India*, is precisely that given by Mr. Mill, with whose strictures upon Indian agriculture Professor Wilson is so much displeased. Mr. Capper, with the desire evidently of describing things as they are and have been, and without any reference to disputed questions of ancient Indian civilization, observes:—"There is little doubt that in their agriculture as in many other matters, the Hindoo pursues identically the same system as was followed by his ancestors at the commencement of the Christian era. The agricultural implements of the natives of India are simple to rudeness. Their ploughs are usually of a light and fragile description, only calculated, and indeed only required, to make a slight entrance into the friable soil. These are of hard wood, and drawn by one or at most two bullocks or buffaloes. A heavier iron-shod plough is occasionally employed on ground that is rather stiff, or which has perhaps become weedy or less fruitful, and therefore requires somewhat deeper ploughing. Their harrows consist of a mere board pierced with rough pegs, or more frequently a tree, upon which a weight is set, or some children are seated, to give it the necessary pressure. These, and a hoe and mattock comprise the entire stock of farming utensils." This passage not only gives a picture of the present, but past, life of agricultural India for thousands of years. This photograph of the Indian cultivator agrees with the representations presented of other oriental nations in remote ages. Dr. Jahn, in his *Biblical Antiquities*, gives the following account of the agricultural instruments of the Jews, in the earliest and in advanced periods:—"The culture of the soil was at first very simple, being performed by no other instruments than sharp

* *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802; *Tracts*, p. 8.

† Evidence, 1813

‡ *The Three Presidencies of India*, by John Capper, F.R.A.S.

* "The custom of marking the boundaries of lands by stones, although it prevailed a long time before (Job xxiv. 2) was confirmed and perpetuated in the time of Moses by an express law, and a curse was pronounced against him who, without authority, removed them."—*Biblical Antiquities*, by JOHN JAHN, D.D.

sticks. By these the ground was loosened, until spades and shovels, and not long after ploughs, were invented. All these implements were well known in the time of Moses. (Deut. xxiii. 13; Gen. xlv. 6; Job i. 14.) The first plough was doubtless nothing more than a stout limb of a tree, from which projected another shortened and pointed limb. This being turned into the ground made the furrows; while at the further end of the longer branch was fastened a transverse yoke, to which the oxen were harnessed. At last a handle was added, by which the plough might be guided. So that the plough was composed of four parts; the beam, the yoke, which was attached to the beam, the handle, and what we should call the coulter. (1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Micah iv. 3.)* It was necessary for the ploughman constantly and firmly to hold the handle of the plough, which had no wheels; and that no spot might remain untouched, to lean forward and fix his eyes steadily upon it. (Luke ix. 62.)† The staff by which the coulter was cleared served for an ox-goad. In the East, at the present day, they use a pole about eight feet in length, at the largest end of which is fixed a flat piece of iron for clearing the plough, and at the other end a spike for spurring the oxen. Hence, it appears that a goad might answer the purpose of a spear, which indeed had the same name. (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Judg. iii. 31.) Sometimes a scourge was applied to the oxen. (Is. x. 26; Nah. iii. 2.) There seems to have been no other harrow than a thick clump of wood, borne down by a weight, or a man sitting upon it, and drawn over the ploughed field by oxen; the same which the Egyptians use at the present time. In this way the turfs were broken in pieces. At a later period wicker-drags came into use, which Pliny mentions, (N. H. xviii. 43.) All the ancient vehicles were moved upon two wheels only."‡ Those used for agricultural purposes were extremely rude in construction.

The spirit of patient industry manifested by the natives is worthy of the highest praise. Were they not so wedded to their customs, and prejudiced against even the most advantageous changes, lest innovation should in any way affect their religion, or their injurious social distinctions, they are capable of carrying out improvements, originated by others, to ultimate success. Mr. Capper says that where irrigation has not been provided on a large scale by the local governments, it is throughout many parts of the country performed by the villagers themselves. "For miles the patient Hindoo will carry the tiny stream of water along the brow of mountains, round steep declivities, and across yawning gulfs over valleys, his primitive aqueducts being formed of stones, troughs, and hollow bamboos. Sometimes, in order to bring the supply of water to the necessary height, a bucket-wheel is employed, worked by cn."

The following description of the dangers and difficulties of the poorer Indian agriculturist excites sympathy and interest, as well as furnishes information of the state of the ryots:—"Harvest-time is a season of anxiety to the Indian cultivator; for there are many destructive foes ready at this time to prey upon his little field. His sugar-canes may be swept away in one night by the ravages of the elephant, the wild boar, or the porcupine; his tobacco may be uprooted or trampled down by herds of wild swine; and his grain may be devoured in the ear, in open day, by flights of birds, which are everywhere most numerous and harassing. To guard against all these calamities, the ryot is compelled at the critical season to mount guard over his little tract of produce, which he usually does perched up in a sort of jungle-stage, open on all sides but covered at the top, whence he is able to watch the whole extent of his field, and by dint of cries and sundry artificial sounds, he is enabled to scare away all unwelcome intruders. The harvest being secured, the grain is trodden out by the feet of buffaloes, and the little that may remain, if indeed it be any, is carefully stored in deep pits lined with straw; but in too many cases all that the ryot retains possession of will be just sufficient for seed for his little tract of land at the next sowing time." With the above statements the accounts given by all modern travellers in India agree, who are not committed to some particular theory, religious, philosophical, or political, in connection with the character of the people, the country, or the government.

The art of weaving has been referred to when treating of the commerce of the country, the perfection to which the natives of India have for ages brought their manufacture of cotton and silk is notorious. In this the Indians share a reputation common to Asiatic nations from time immemorial. Some have attributed the art of weaving to the Hindoos, but it is certain that the Persians attained high eminence in it as far back as history can trace their usages. Pliny attributes the invention to Semiramis. According to Mr. Bryant it was in the city of Arachne that the art was first carried to any degree of perfec-

* Pliny (N. H. xviii. 47) speaks of ploughs constructed with wheels, which in his day were of recent invention.

† Pliny, N. H. xviii. 49, No. 2.

‡ Ward's *Library of Standard Divinity*.

tion. Mr. Mill describes the process of the manufacture in India as extremely rude:—"That ingenuity is in its infancy among the Hindoos, is shown by the rudeness still observable in the instruments of this their favourite art. The Hindoo loom, with all its appurtenances, is coarse and ill-fashioned to a degree, hardly less surprising than the fineness of the commodity which it is the instrument of producing. It consists of little else than a few sticks or pieces of wood, nearly in the state in which nature produced them, connected together by the rudest contrivances. There is not so much as an expedient for rolling up the warp. It is stretched out at the full length of the web, which makes the house of the weaver insufficient to contain him; he is therefore obliged to work continually in the open air, and every return of inclement weather interrupts him."

Dyeing, and printing on cloths, were arts as ancient probably as weaving; it appears to have been so with the Hindoos, for in all ages of which we have any record, their dyers were celebrated. Tennant, in his *Indian Recreations*, describes the beauty of "the painted cloths," which he appears to designate as painted because the dye was applied to them instead of the cloth being dipped in a vat. Staining by application of the colouring matter to the fabric was the most ancient form of dyeing. Tennant attributes the richness, brilliancy, and durability of the colours to the climate and the clearness of the water; but in many places the rivers of India, especially the large rivers, hold much earthy matter in solution, and are rendered opaque or discoloured by the substances which they carry in their current: the Brahmapootra and Ganges are so through a large extent of their course. It is more likely that the patient and ingenious method of preparing the dye stuffs, and the length of time taken in the processes of their application, will account for the purity and permanancy of colours in Indian textile fabrics.

The fine arts never flourished in India, although instances of genius and taste in this department have not been wanting there in either ancient or modern times. Those arts, however, which, without being classed with the fine arts, border on their domain and partake of their character, were much better known.

The jewellery of the Bengalees has been referred to in previous chapters. At the museum of the India-house magnificent specimens of the skill and taste of the Indian jeweller attest the talent of the natives in polishing gems and precious stones, and the chasing of gold and silver. These works are accomplished by the simplest tools, two or three of the rudest kind serving the purpose of numerous instruments of ingenious and scientific construction, which would be used in European processes. The time consumed by the oriental workman is, however, in proportion to the common construction of his tools. The rose chains of Trichinopoly exemplify the skill displayed in working the precious metals. The inlaid-work of Benares rivals most executions of Indian skill. Although the setting of precious stones is a work on which the Hindoos pride themselves, and for which many English writers demand large praise on their behalf, others impugn their taste in this particular occupation:—"Scarcely equal to their other productions are the works of the Indian jewellers: the setting of precious stones forms an exception to the general good taste and high finish of Eastern artificers. There is invariably a heaviness and total absence of propriety in the jewelled ornaments of India, which, despite the rare beauty of the gems, and the richness and profusion of the ornamental work lavished upon them, cannot fail to strike an European eye as singularly in contrast with their other mechanical productions, whether of the loom, the forge, or the crucible." *

The pottery of the Hindoos assumes the character of artistic excellence. In its general features it resembles the pottery of Egypt, and ancient specimens of the former rival in beauty the best specimens of the latter. Bengal is the chief seat of this art. In the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851, the Indian department was rich in specimens; and in the South Kensington Museum, and in the Museum of the India-house, specimens are to be seen of kindred character.

Marble and petra dura vases, garden seats, ornamental vessels, and figures, are executed by the Indians with much delicacy and propriety of style. Specimens of such works may be seen in the London museums above-named.

The architecture of the Hindoos has of late years engaged much attention, and, like everything else connected with India, excited much discussion. There are two classes of architectural remains in India, which are very distinct: one class is of constructions cut in rocks, or formed in caves, the other of raised buildings. The notices of both have been so numerous when describing the various districts and cities in which they are, that it will not be necessary to dwell long on the subject here. The cave temples of Ellora, Ajunta, Elephanta, and Cashmere, are wonderful for their number. The mountains of Cashmere

* *The Three Presidencies of India.*

are said to contain twelve thousand, a number which is probably an exaggeration. Their magnitude is in some cases vast, and their peculiarities most striking. Perhaps there are none more celebrated and truly magnificent in their solemn vastness than the caves of Ajunta. They are situated in a wild and picturesque part of the peninsula, excavated from a portion of the huge ghauts, which, to the south of the valley of the Tapty, rises some hundreds of feet, and supports the great table-land of the Deccan. The entrance to the caves is through one of the many narrow and winding ravines which exist in various parts of these ghauts. They are twenty-seven in number, and vary as much in their size as in their form and degree of ornament. A few of them are vaulted without cells; but by far the greater number are monastic in construction, having cells and flat roofs. In one or two of these caves there exist no ornaments whatever beyond a reeded course over each of the cells; whilst in shape they are square, and about thirty-six feet each way. In others pillars are found; and here they have been used standing on the sills for the purpose of dividing the windows into three lengths. On the walls are sculptured various figures of lions, antelopes, and boys in attitudes of prayer, executed in the very best style of the Hindoos. It would appear that in more than one instance the walls have been stuccoed and painted; but of these works of art little now remains, not more than sufficient to determine their nature. The largest of these cave temples had at one time as many as twenty-nine pillars surrounding the nave; they are simple octagons, without either capital or base, and have been at one time elaborately decorated. The aisles in this cave are of stone, whilst the nave had evidently been ornamented with wood, which has now disappeared, with the exception of some of the pins and battens which served to fasten it to the rock, as also the fastenings of the ribs, which, having been sunk to some depth in the solid rock, still remain. The whole of the walls appear to have been covered with ornamental stucco-work; and on some of the pillars, as well as in the panels of the roof of the aisles, a few of the paintings still remain in tolerable preservation. There are also the remains of several inscriptions, but, with the exception of one on the exterior of the cave, high above the entrance, they are too imperfect to be of service. The external inscription alluded to is of some length, and in the Lath character, from which it may be inferred that these excavations were the work of the first or second century before our era.*

* *The Three Presidencies.*

The walls of some of the cave temples are covered with human figures; and Mr. Capper, no indiscriminate admirer of the Indians, thus describes them:—"Many are fully armed, and illuminated with scrolls and wreaths of flowers, whilst the pillars are gracefully and artistically formed. Some of these groupings are executed with a high degree of art, bearing in mind the age in which they must have been executed; they certainly leave the works of Europe of the same period far behind in perspective, grouping, and general details. The human figure is especially well executed. The character of all these caves is Buddhistical, the figure of that deity being found in several of them."

In the manipulation and laying on of their colours they were very successful—so much so, that at the present time many of the paintings to be found in these rock-cut temples appear as fresh and brilliant as though but the work of a few years since, whereas many of them must have existed for little less than two thousand years. In the paintings alluded to, especially those in Ajunta, there has been far more attention bestowed on the grouping than is usually met with in Hindoo works of art, and, at the same time, a nearer approach to modern notions of perspective.

There existed remarkable facilities for these extraordinary constructions such as few countries—if, indeed, any country—could present. A gentleman who has rendered large services to art, and has brought a more correct estimate of Indian art before the British public, says:—"The whole cave system of India is composed of horizontal strata of amygdaloid, and other cognate trap formations, generally speaking of very considerable thickness and great uniformity of texture, and possessing, besides, the advantage of their edges being exposed in perpendicular cliffs, so that no rock in any part of the world could either be more suitable for the purpose or more favourably situated than these formations are. They were easily accessible, and easily worked. In the rarest possible instances are there any flaws or faults to disturb the uniformity of the design; and when complete they afford a perfectly dry temple or abode, singularly uniform in temperature, and more durable than any class of temple found in any part of the world."* In India proper (without passing into the boundary of Cashmere, Scinde, or the Punjaub) there are about fifty groups of caves, and the number of distinct caves is about a thousand. Those which are of Jain and Brahminical origin, taken together, do not exceed a hundred; all the rest are Bud-

* *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.* By James Fergusson, M.R.I.B.A.

dhist temples or monasteries, the temples not exceeding thirty in number.

About nine-tenths of the caves known are on the western side of India. The oldest are those of Bahar, supposed to have been excavated B.C. 200. These are without decoration, square, with a sloping jammed doorway, narrower at the top than the bottom. The style is commonly called Egyptian; and similar constructions exist in Ethiopia, Etruria, Asia Minor, and Greece. Some of the Bahar caves were obviously temples, and these have decoration of form, but are gloomy and heavy. From the date at which these were constructed up to nearly the era of the Mohammedan conquest, the habit of forming cave temples and monasteries existed in India. It is, however, believed that the taste, skill, and zeal for their formation began to decline a few hundred years after the Christian era.

The group which is probably next in antiquity to that at Bahar is the Oodaygeeree, near Cuttack. The rocks were peculiarly adapted to excavation, and accordingly an opportunity was afforded to the excavators for more taste, variety, and grandeur of design and decoration. This group affords examples of all varieties of these residences, from the simple cell of the solitary ascetic to the rich and populous monastery. The small cells consist of rooms not more than ten or twelve feet square, with a porch of two pillars protecting the single doorway. The caves, however, were gradually extended in length, verandahs were formed in front of them, wings were projected at right angles with the principal façade, and, lastly, second stories were added to the height, so that the larger residences were capable of accommodating from forty to fifty monks. No shrine, nor any position in which one could be placed, is discoverable; and the probability therefore is, that these caves were attached to some sacred edifice which has long since disappeared.

In Western India the simplest form which the cave assumes is that of a square hall, surrounded by small cells. As the hall grows longer, first four, then twelve, and eventually a larger number of columns are introduced, to afford the necessary support to the superincumbent rock. At length, the worship having by this time degenerated considerably from its original purity, a sanctuary is added, which contains an image of Buddha, and sometimes two side chapels, with images of subordinate saints, sometimes male, sometimes female. The extreme depth of excavation required by the square arrangement offers an obstacle which appears to be perceived when the caves have attained a large size. A more oblong form is therefore subsequently adopted, and the sanctuary projected forward assists with the pillars in supporting the roof; by-and-bye it is even pushed out into the centre of the hall, and made to form the only real support. The decadence of the style has, however, here been reached, and the dignity and beauty of the composition have almost entirely disappeared.*

In their ornamentation the cave architects employed with great skill that system of equal distribution of both form and colour, the introduction of which to European notice was one of the successful results of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and which has since that time become the fashionable object of Western design, though the oriental artists to whom its invention is due are still without rivals in its employment. As regards the cave-pillars, where ornament is employed at all, it is not confined merely to the base and capital, but is spread nearly equally over the whole surface of the pillar, thus not only giving singular richness, but also, paradoxical as it may appear, greater simplicity, because the grand outline is thus uninterfered with, and the attention undistracted, by patches of too great brilliancy. The general mode of embellishment adopted in the caves is painting in some sort of distemper.* "In some of the older caves," says Mr. Fergusson, "not only the walls and roof, but even the pillars, are wholly covered with stucco, and ornamented with painting. This painting is divided, generally speaking, according to the following rule:—On the walls are extensive composition of figures and landscapes; on pillars single detached figures, representing either Buddha or Buddhist saints; while the paintings on the roof are almost invariably architectural frets and scrolls, often of extreme beauty and elegance, rivalling many of those at Pompeii and the Baths of Titus. This threefold division is in fact the only one admissible in good taste, or only with the slightest possible modification where figures and conventional ornaments are to be combined. At a later period many of the ornaments which had been painted on the earlier pillars came to be carved on them in relief, as happened in Europe on the transition from the Norman to the Gothic style. The pillars were naturally the first to undergo this transformation, but it was extended in some instances to the walls, and even to the roofs. In some cases there still exist traces of painting on these engraved ornaments, but it seems that in the last ages of the style, the architects were satisfied with the effect produced by the light and shade of bold reliefs, and abandoned

* *Bombay Review*, vol. v. No. II.
† Ibid.

colour to a considerable extent at least, if not altogether."

The cave temples date in the first century after Christ, and in the eight or nine following centuries; the best example is that of Karlee, and the other principal specimens are at Ellora and Kanari. They vary in dimensions from about a hundred and twenty-five feet in length by forty-five feet in width, to forty-five by twenty-three. The first objects which strike the visitor are two lion-pillars, resembling in some degree the lats described on another page. The outer porch is considerably wider than the body of the building, and is closed in front by a screen composed of two massive octagonal pillars, which support a plain face of rock ornamented by a wooden gallery. Above is a dwarf colonnade of four pillars, with pilasters, which, with a wooden cornice, complete the façade. Within this porch is the entrance, placed under a gallery, exactly corresponding with the rood loft of a Gothic cathedral, and consisting of three doorways, one leading to the centre, and one to each of the side aisles. The whole end of the hall above the gallery forms itself into one great horse-shoe window, through which all the light is admitted. The interior of the cave temple corresponds to a great extent with that of an early Christian basilica; it consists of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The pillars which separate the nave from the aisles have tall bases, octagonal shafts, and capitals, whose rich sculpture supplies the place occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture. In other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above the columns springs the semicircular roof, ornamented either by a series of wooden ribs, or by imitations of them in stone. The aisles are dark, and the nave itself in comparative obscurity, but one undivided volume of light, passing through the single-arched opening overhead, falls directly upon an altar under the apse, which is the principal object in the temple, and which recalls the more ancient Buddhist tope or dagoba. "It certainly is," says Mr. Fergusson, "as solemn and grand as any interior can well be;" and when to the general mysterious gloom and the brilliancy of the sacred object are added the solemn associations of a mountainous and secluded situation, and the sound of the royal drum, whose rich tones reverberate from the rock-hewn dome, an effect is obtained which may well induce in the half-civilized worshipper every sensation of superstitious awe.

Intermediate, as it were, between the Buddhist caves and the structural edifices are the rock-cut Shaivite temple of Kylas, at Ellora, and the raths of Mahavellipore. The Kylas belongs to the ninth or tenth century; its general form is extremely similar to that of the southern Hindoo structural temples, externally as well as internally; for in this case the excavators were not satisfied with the more natural design of cutting away a chamber, like the Buddhists, in the rock, but aspired to the formation of a complete temple such as might have been erected in the plain. For the purpose of providing an exterior they were compelled to dig down into the rock, thus placing the temple "in a pit," and giving it much of the appearance of an exhumed edifice. At Mahavellipore, on the contrary, the carvers escaped this dilemma by the employment for their purpose of seven massive boulders of granite protruding from the sands on the edge of the ocean. The raths were excavated probably about A.D. 1300. Mr. Fergusson discovers in them close copies of the monasteries and temples of the Buddhist style of architecture—transition specimens in fact—which link that style with the architecture of the south of India. They are particularly valuable in reference to the older style, as rendering intelligible the external forms of buildings, of which the rock-hewn caves were probably merely internal copies. One of the raths "represents with great exactness all that we know and all that we read of the Buddhist monasteries;" a second exhibits to us the form of a cave temple such as that of Karlee, with the side aisles, however, open externally; a third displays an approximation to the many-pinnacled pyrimidal roof, common afterwards in Hindoo styles. The raised structures do not attest so much industry, nor so singular and original a character of mind on the part of their builders.

The admirers of everything Indian are extremely lavish in their praise of Indian architecture; and it is obvious that there is a disposition to decry it on the part of some who deemed it a duty to check the incessant praise of all things connected with the Hindoos, fashionable a short time ago. Mill, always on this side of the dispute, quotes with elaborate industry an array of authorities unfavourable to the architectural genius of the Hindoos. Sonnerat informs us "that the architecture of the Hindoos is very rude, and their structures in honour of their deities are venerable only from their magnitude." "Mailcotay," says Dr. Buchanan, "is one of the most celebrated places of Hindoo worship, both as having been honoured with the actual presence of an avatar, or incarnation of Vishnu, who founded one of the temples, and also as being one of the principal seats of the

Sri Vashnavam Brahmins, and having possessed very large revenues. The large temple is a square building of great dimensions, and entirely surrounded by a colonnade, but it is a mean piece of architecture, at least outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about six feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches, in which are huddled together many thousand images, composed of the same materials, and most rudely formed. The temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishnu, on the very spot where that avatar performed some of his great works." Of the celebrated pagodas at Congeveram the same author remarks that "they are great stone buildings, very clumsily executed, both in their joinings and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments." Elphinstone in the main agrees with Mill, but praises the tall columns as graceful. According to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Hindoo architecture is characterised by a profusion of columns, sometimes of slender construction, and raised to considerable elevation, sometimes massive, square at the base, octagon in the second division, having sixteen sides in the third architectural division, and round at the top. Various other columnal forms are described, and so various in their descriptions, that it would require a separate treatise to give the detail.

The interior temple ornaments are various and original, although some of the mouldings resemble those known in Europe. Frequently the walls are covered with representations of the gods, especially in their wars. A people whose ethical taste surrounds the glory of their deities with the enmities and havoc of war, are not likely to remain themselves at peace longer than their interests or weakness constrain. It should be no matter of surprise to those Europeans who have stood within these temples, that India has been a land of civil feud and foreign war throughout its history.

The chief defects of Hindoo architecture are want of boldness, grandeur, and proportion, with too minute attention to minor excellences, and an exuberance of ornament.

According to Mr. Fergusson, the architecture of the Hindoo temples differs in style in different parts of the country, that of the south more especially being well defined in its difference from the north. The southern Hindoo temple is enclosed in a rectangular court, the walls of which are high and plain externally, but internally ornamented by colonnades and cloisters, or buildings of various sorts adapted to the service of the sacred edifice. In the centre of the front wall, and in the corresponding position in the rear, are two gateways with lofty pyramidal roofs. A second inclosure succeeds the first, which exhibits, however, but one gate pyramid; within this again is the temple itself. The sacred building consists of two porches, or *mundups*, an ante-temple, or *pronaos*, and the *veeman*, which contains the object of worship. Each mundup is a square building, with a flat or pyramidal roof, and having a door on each of its four sides. The porches are sometimes detached from each other. When they are joined together the outer porch is open in front, so that it does not materially obstruct the passage of light to the interior. One of the principal objects of the architect is that of shrouding the adytum of the temple in mysterious darkness: he effects this partly by the ante-temple, which is usually of the same width as the cell, and about half as deep as it broad, and partly by excluding all light except such as is admitted by a single door. In addition to the principal shrine itself, the inclosures contain smaller temples, tanks of water, gardens, and colonnades or choultries. These last are of all grades, from the little pavilion supported on four pillars to the magnificent "hall of one thousand columns." "Their uses, too," says Mr. Fergusson, "are most various: in ancient times they served as porches to temples; sometimes as halls of ceremony, where the dancing-girls attached to the temples dance and sing; sometimes they are cloisters, surrounding the whole area of the temple; at others swinging porches, where the gods enjoy at stated seasons that intellectual amusement. But by far their most important application is when used as nuptial halls, in which the mystic union of the male and female divinities is celebrated once a year."

The details of these buildings can hardly be made intelligible without the aid of models. The veeman is square in plan, the perpendicular part of it is decorated with pilasters and niches, and supports a pyramidal roof, in small temples one story in height, but in the larger examples sometimes fourteen; the whole is invariably covered with a small dome-like termination, deriving its origin probably from the Buddhist tope. The gate-pyramid, or *gopoor*, is identical in form with the veeman, except that it is oblong instead of square in plan; its longer side is pierced with a gateway, and the circular crowning ornament is lengthened out to suit

the general shape of the building. In some cases the pillars of choultries are placed at equal regular intervals, and number as many as twenty-four in the width, but in others the central aisle is wider than the outer ones, and a space is thus presented which is too wide to be simply roofed by flat stones as in the smaller examples. A slender shaft is then added to the usual square pillar, and from thence a system of bracketing is carried up until the central space, remaining to be roofed, has been sufficiently diminished in size.*

Mr. Fergusson expresses himself in terms of high admiration of the Southern Indian temples, which he affirms bear a striking similarity to the Temple of Jerusalem, as rebuilt by Herod, and described in the pages of Josephus. The great choultry Mr. Fergusson represents as corresponding with the Stoa Basilica, and the outer court with that of the Gentiles.

The style of temple architecture in Northern India, according to Mr. Fergusson, begins abruptly upon the line within which that of Southern India flourishes. Examples are found in Orissa. The temple and superstition of Juggernaut, at Orissa, were described in a former page. The northern temple is in plan nearly identical with its southern neighbour. It is surrounded by a square court, enclosed by high walls, perfectly plain externally, but on the interior ornamented by cloisters or colonnades. A square mundup, with a door on each face, stands in front of the great tower which contains the object of worship. There are sometimes two porches, but when this is the case, the foremost one is either wholly detached, or connected only in a slight and temporary manner. The door-ways of the porches project, and are very richly ornamented, and the whole walls are covered with sculpture of elaborate minuteness. Above the perpendicular part rises a roof divided horizontally into three stages; the lower portion of each face is adorned with a range of caryatides, the upper portion is formed by five or six projecting ledges of stone. The whole is crowned by a termination of singular grace and beauty, which resembles an inverted lotus, and upon which rests the finial, called in modern temples a *kulus*, and probably deriving its origin from the umbrella ornament of the Buddhist style. The lower part of the tower corresponds exactly with that of the mundup, except that only the door opening into the porch is pierced, the others being filled in with sculpture. That which forms the distinguishing feature of the style is, however, the *shikur*, or spire, which rises above the cell containing the sacred object: it is no longer pyramidal in outline, but always curvilinear or bell-shaped; the divisions are vertical instead of horizontal, as in Southern India; and the summit is crowned by the kulus just described. In advance of this style is that of the now desecrated temple at Barolli, in Upper India, situated in a wild and romantic spot near the falls of the Chumbul, whose distant roar in the still night is the only sound that breaks the silence of the solitude which surrounds them. This is also a temple of Siva, and it was erected, in Mr. Fergusson's opinion, "probably in the eighth or ninth century." Its general outline is identical with that of the Orissan temples, but the porch, instead of being essentially astylar, or devoid of pillars as heretofore, is now columnar; and in front of it is a detached porch, called—perhaps from its having been employed in similar festivals with those to which we have seen the choultries of Southern India were principally dedicated—a *choree*, or marriage-hall.* Another style kindred to that of Northern India is called by Mr. Fergusson the Jain style, but by other and still more recent writers the Gujerat style, for the reason that it was not confined to the objects of the Jain religion. It would appear, however, to have originated with the professors of that creed. A description of the difference of this style from the styles of Northern India generally would be too technical for a popular and general work. There is a representation of one of these buildings in a work called *Ras Mdld, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujerat*,* which will afford the general reader a good idea of their character. The dome in this description of temple is extremely elegant. Colonel Tod, comparing its mode of construction with that of the domes of sacred buildings in the Western world, observes:—"One of the consequences of this mode of construction was, that all the decoration of the Indian domes was horizontal, or in other words, the ornaments were arranged in concentric rings one above the other, instead of being disposed in vertical ribs as in Roman or Gothic vaults. This arrangement allows of far more variety being introduced, without any offence to good taste, and practically has rendered some of these Jain domes the most exquisite specimens of elaborate roofing that can anywhere be seen. Another consequence deduced from this mode of construction was the employment of pendants from the centres of the domes, which are used to an extent that would have surprised even the Tudor architects of our own country. With them, however, the pendant

* *Bombay Quarterly.*

* *Bombay Quarterly Review.*

† Richardson Brothers, Cornhill, 1856, vol. ii. p. 188.

was an architectural *tour de force*, requiring great constructive ingenuity and large masses to counterbalance, and is always tending to destroy the building it ornaments; while the Indian pendant, on the contrary, only adds its own weight to that of the dome, and has no other prejudicial tendency. Its forms, too, generally have a lightness and elegance never even imagined in Gothic art; it hangs from the centre of a dome more like a lustre of crystal drops, than a solid mass of marble or of stone. 'It appears,' says the annalist of the Rajpoot clans, speaking of one of these pendants, 'like a cluster of the half disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration.'"

The Gujerat temple, however professional architects from Europe may enter into minute disquisitions as to the distinction of style, is very like that of Northern and Southern India, which also resemble one another in great national characteristics, notwithstanding the distinctions noticed. The temples of the province which gives its name to this peculiar style, consist of one or two mundups or porches, and a square tower containing the idol, and surmounted by a curvilinear spire. An enclosure containing pools, triumphal arches, and pillared halls, surround the temple proper, or *sanctum sanctorum* of the idolatry. The porch is sometimes detached, and it is then, as under similar conditions in other parts of India, called a choree or marriage-hall. In front, and on either side of the temple, is placed an ornamental frontispiece, called a *keerttee-stumbh*, or triumphal pillar. It is formed of two columns, with upper columns or attics, and double capitals. A *torun* of the circular form is placed between the columns, and touches at its upper point the centre of the entablature. Above is a cornice and curvilinear pediment, ending in a kulus. The whole frontispiece is covered with sculpture, from the base to the apex. The torun is a sort of truss placed between columns, which is skilfully used both to afford strength and decoration. The name was originally applied (and is still so used), to the garland of leaves, and the drapery festoons which are hung up at the doors of Hindoo houses on occasions of marriages and festivals. The application of the term to this particular feature of architecture is happy, and tastefully conceived. Frequently a koond or oblong reservoir of water is placed before the temple. It is surrounded on all four sides by flights of descending steps, with landings at intervals, and is ornamented with small niches placed chequer fashion. At the central points, with the exception of that nearest the temple, and at the four corners, are placed small shrines, with shikurs or spires. Some of these temples were two or three stories in height, but almost the only remaining example of this class—the Roodra Mala of Sidhpore, is too much mutilated to afford us full information upon the subject. The defect is partially supplied by the minarets of Mohammedan mosques, which follow most faithfully the old Hindoo forms, and afford—if for their arched and foliated panels we substitute idol-sculptured alto-reliefs—perfect representations on a small scale of the two stories of a shrine tower, to which the imagination may easily add the curvilinear spires.

The edifice thus described stood within a square or rectangular court, the enclosure of which was formed by numerous small temples similar in form and style to the principal building, but of considerably smaller dimensions, and possessing each but a single columnar mundup. In some cases a small distance was allowed to intervene between these, but in most they were actually connected. The towers and shikurs were always placed on the outside, and the porches towards the great temple. In the centre of the rearmost side of the enclosure three small temples were pushed somewhat backwards, so as to form a break in the line, and the other central points were occupied by three pillared halls pierced for gateways. If, as at Sidhpore, the temple was placed on the bank of a river, the front gateway opened upon a *ghat*, or flight of steps, which was carried for some distance along the edge of the stream. These portraitures are of the Gujerat temple in its most complete form. The shrines commonly met with are, however, rarely complete; some want the enclosure, or the reservoir, or both; others possess but one columnar mundup; and not a few dwindle down to the simple idol-tower and spire.

The temples hitherto described belong to the Brahminical faith; those of the Jain religion are, however, nearly identical in form, but the reservoirs being unadapted to its ceremonies, are always omitted. In Jain temples, and in those dedicated to Shree Krishn also, there are not unfrequently three spire-covered idol cells instead of one, and the central shikur is raised higher than the other two.

Gujerat contains several of the sacred mountains of the Jains. Mount Aboo, Girnar or Joonagurh, Shutroonjye or Palcetana, Taringa, and Tulaja. It is amidst the sublime natural scenery and romantic associations of these consecrated spots, that the architecture of the Jain faith is exhibited most impressively. The temples are here clustered

together in greater or less numbers, and the whole mass is surrounded by a fortified wall. At Paleetana especially, where, arranged in street after street, and square after square, and interspersed with subordinate buildings of a palatial character, with terraces, with reservoirs of water, and with gardens, they cover the rocky summit of the mountain, they impress the beholder with some such vivid ideas of sanctity, of beauty, and of power, as those with which the Jew of old must have contemplated, in her prime, the holy fortress-city of Mount Zion.

Perhaps the choicest examples of the style are those marble edifices which were erected about the middle of the eleventh century after Christ, upon Mount Aboo, and at Khoombhareea, upon the not far distant hill of Arasoor, by Veemul Sha, the viceregent of Bheem Dev I., King of Unhilpoor. At Khoombhareea the general features are almost identical with those of the Brahminical temples. At Aboo the temple of Veemul Sha has but one mundup, which is composed of forty-eight pillars, and is immediately connected with a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells, fifty-five in number, which enclose the principal temple on all sides, exactly as in a Buddhist veehar. Externally, this temple is perfectly unadorned, and as the subordinate cells are without spires, there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the shikur of the great temple peeping over the plain wall.

This system of connecting the central temple with the surrounding buildings, so as to form a more complete whole, is carried to perfection in the edifice which Koombho Rana, of Odeypore, erected at Ranpore, near Sadree in Mewar, "in a deserted glen running into the western slope of the Arauallee, before his favourite fort of Komulmer." "It is nearly a square," says Mr. Fergusson, "200 feet by 225 feet, exclusive of the projection on each face. In the centre of this stands the great shrine, not, however, occupied as usual by one cell, but by four, or rather four great niches, in each of which is placed a statue of Adeenath or Rishub Dev, the first and greatest of the Jain saints. Above this are four other niches similarly occupied, opening on the terraced roofs of the building. Near the four angles of the court are four other smaller shrines, and around them, or on each side of them, are twenty domes, supported by about 420 columns; four of these domes, the central ones of each group, are three stories in height, and tower above the others; and one, that facing the principal entrance, is supported by the very unusual number of sixteen columns, and is 36 feet in diameter, the others being only 24 feet. Light is admitted to the building by four uncovered courts, and the whole is surrounded by a range of cells, most of them unoccupied, each of which has a pyramidal roof of its own. The immense number of parts in the building, and their general smallness, prevent its laying claim to anything like architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—and the grace with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed, I know of no other building in India of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in an interior."

In their religious buildings the Mohammedans borrowed largely from the Hindoos, although bringing with them a style of architecture peculiar to themselves. The *Builder*, a professional periodical published in London, and celebrated for its architectural lore, has suggested that the derivation of western religious architecture from the East is more easily traceable than many suppose, and, *apropos*, relates the following anecdote:—"I remember once standing before the magnificent west front of Peterborough Cathedral, in company with an old Indian officer, when he said, 'Why, this is just what we see throughout the East; huge pointed portals running up to the top of the building; spires, pinnacles—everything like the minarets—the aspiring character of Mussulman architecture.' And this style came into general use very shortly after the great crusade. We do not say that the dogma *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is always correct, but surely it is in this instance."

It should be remembered that the oldest architectural monuments in India are religious, and were not erected by the Brahmins, but by the seceders from the Brahminical religion, who adopted the Buddhist creed. The lats are the oldest of these, and are undoubtedly of an antiquity which can be traced for nearly two thousand two hundred years. They are pillars, technically called monoliths, very slender and graceful, and apparently erected for the purpose of receiving superscriptions. They are generally about forty feet high, and are surmounted by capitals crowned with seated lions. There are ornaments upon them which connect them with the architecture of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. These lats were placed before buildings set apart for worship, serving in this respect as "the keertlee stumlehs and deep malas" of mediæval and modern Hindoo architecture;

and as the two pillars—Joakim and Boaz—which Solomon placed before the temple in Jerusalem. The lats were placed before the buildings called topes. In Central India, at Sanchi, near Bhilastone, of the best preserved of these is to be seen, although its antiquity is very great, dating more than a century before the Christian era. "The topes were domed structures, rising from a circular and sloping base, and crowned by a square terminal with projecting cornice. A broad double ramp, or sloping platform, such as that which conducts to the summit of the Campanile of St. Mark, Venice, afforded access to the top of the base, and at this level there ran round the foot of the dome a balustraded terrace, which was probably employed in the circumambulations commonly used in the Buddhist ceremonials, as in those of the nations of classical antiquity, of the British Druids, and of the disciples of the Poorans. The topes sometimes contained relic chambers called *dagobas*, at other times they were mere solid mounds of brickwork faced with stone, over which was laid a thick coating of cement, adorned either with painting or ornaments in relief. The terminal, which was called a *tee*, consisted of a square box, probably at first of wood, and afterwards copied in stone; around the upper part of it was a frieze of horse-shoe-shaped window heads, and the cornice was formed by three horizontal slabs projecting one beyond the other. There can be very little doubt that it was, or at all events represented, a *chasse*, or relic box, and it is more than probable that originally the relic was placed not in the tope, but on the top of it; a supposition which would account for the absence of relic-chambers in one class of these structures. The terminal appears to have been frequently surmounted by one or more umbrellas—the common symbols of regal state—which, originally of wood, but afterwards copied in stone, assumed at length a strictly architectural character, and very nearly resembled the kulus, or water-vessel, which forms a common feature in temples of Vishnu or of Siva. The tope was enclosed by a balustrade of stone posts, connected by horizontal cross-pieces, and at regular intervals in the circle thus formed were four gateways. These consisted each of them of two square pillars richly sculptured, and terminating in bold elephant capitals; they rose above the balustrade, and were continued upwards beyond the capitals, forming, with three cross lintels, and the uprights inserted between them, frontispieces of a peculiar and striking character. In the immediate vicinity of the tope, caves and tumuli presented themselves to view, the former being the residences of priests, the latter for the most part burying-places, perhaps in some instances smaller relic shrines. The tumuli of India now remaining have no features which would entitle them to be regarded as architectural objects, but are remarkably analogous to the barrows of Europe and other parts of the world; it is probable, however, that many of them, like the tombs of Ceylon, Thibet, and other Buddhist countries, were decorated similarly with the topes. The dagobas, or copies of them, occupied the sanctuaries of the cave temples." *

The same authority supplies us with the following description of buildings for warlike purposes in the province where the style of sacred architecture just referred to is most generally found:—"The fortresses of Gujerat, such at least as are situated in the plains, are square, or nearly square, in form, with large gateways in the centre of each side, and outworks or barbicans in front, and second gateways in the sides of the outwork. At each corner is a bastion of the 'broken square' form, and four rectangular bastions intervened between each corner tower and the central gateway. The walls are of solid mason work, ornamented at intervals with sculptured bands, and completed by semicircular *kangras*, or battlements, screening the platformed way in the interior, along which the warders passed. The gateway resembles the nave of a southern choultry: there are six engaged pillars on either side, from which springs large brackets, or rather systems of three rows of bracketing, and upon these is laid a flat stone roof.† A colonnade follows the line of the walls on the inside, forming a lengthened covered portico, with a broad platform above. Each fortress contains reservoirs of water of two kinds: the first tank, the *surowur* or *tulow*; the second is the well, the *wav* or *bowlee*. Besides the sacred edifices and fortresses of the Hindoos, there are various other architectural remains.

The tanks may be considered not only as great and useful public works, but as affording in many cases opportunities for architectural skill and taste. These works were stupendous, covering frequently an area of several miles. Temples were built round their edges, and shrines were placed on the steps leading to them. This, however, was not so generally the case when they were constructed for irrigation, as when intended for religious lavations. At Veerumgaum there is a tank, which is crowned with three hundred shrines. At Unhilpore Puttem there is a tank, the shrines and other archi-

* *Bombay Quarterly Review.*

† For a view of one of these gateways, see *Ras Málá*, vol. i. pl. 1. For plans and elevation of corner towers, see figs. 1 and 2, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, of the same work.

tectural designs connected with which have long ago disappeared, which bears a name, meaning, "The reservoir of the thousand temples of Siva." The Mohammedans paid much attention to the preservation of these tanks, and frequently erected in the centre a mound, connected with the edge of the reservoir by a viaduct. These mounds were sites of tombs or garden palaces. It is likely that the Mohammedans derived this custom from the Buddhists, for in purely Buddhist countries, where large tanks are used, the habit of erecting small garden palaces on islands in the centre still exists.

The wells are broad and deep. Galleries pass round the walls, and flights of stone steps, admirably constructed, descend to the water.

The bridges were once numerous, but have fallen into decay; the remains of some are interesting in an architectural point of view. They are generally composed of stone posts, held together by beams of masonry, some of which are surmounted by small gothic arches.

The houses of the wealthy Hindoos are often mean and clumsy, but generally they are well adapted to the requisites of a private or palatial residence, as the case may be. In some places, as at Bombay and Serampore, considerable taste and much opulence is displayed by the more powerful natives. There is, however, a disposition to imitate the style of the English, whose dwellings are not erected in much better taste in India than at home.

The tombs are magnificent, especially those founded by Mohammedan princes. Several of them have been described in the chapters set apart to the subjects of provinces and chief cities. The mausoleum of Sheik Selim, at Futtehpore Sikree, is one of the finest, of which no description is given in previous pages. The celebrated Akbar, led by superstitious feelings, took up his residence at Sikree, and erected numerous edifices for religious and civil purposes. Captain Stocqueler gives the following account of them:—"The quadrangle, which contains a mosque on the west side, and the tomb of the old hermit in the centre, is perhaps one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within. On the outside is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps, twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide. The gateway is extremely grand and beautiful, composed of red sandstone, with inlaid decorations of marble; but the beholder is struck with the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided. There seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through; and walk he must unless he is carried through on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock, could ascend the flight of steps. 'In all these places the staircases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small. They look as if they were made for rats to crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under.' The tomb of Sheik Selim, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. It once boasted a great deal of mosaic ornament." The same author describes certain erections attributed to the Jats in the following terms:—"At Deeg is a noble quadrangular garden, constructed by the Jats during their ascendancy. It is four hundred and seventy-five feet long by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on four sides, leading up to four buildings, which stand in the centre of each face of the garden. These buildings are justly accounted the most beautiful Hindoo edifices for accommodation ever erected. They are formed of a very fine ground sandstone, brought from the quarries of Roopbas, which are eight or ten miles south-west of Futtehpore Sikree. These stones are brought in in flags, some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide, and one thick, all sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The openings spoken of above have, from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading from them, an avenue of *jets d'eau*."

The architectural remains of the Mohammedans are necessarily more modern than those of the Hindoos, but only a few of their religious buildings are of remarkable pretension. Palaces, tombs, and halls of justice, of great beauty, built by the followers of the prophet, are found in Upper India. In the pages which described these provinces, notices have been given of several of them. Captain Stocqueler, whose admiration of these buildings is excessive, says:—"India abounds with monumental remains, and when all that England has accomplished in the architectural way shall have crumbled into dust, those majestic remains will remain to attest the superiority, in this respect, of Hindoos and Mussulmen."

Mr. Fergusson, who looked upon the ar-

chitectural works of India with the eye of an accomplished artist, gives a more sober and judicious estimate, and yet one highly creditable to the Hindoo race:—"It would be as reasonable to compare the Indian epics and dramas with those of Homer and Sophocles, as to compare the Indian style of architecture with the refined elegance and intellectual superiority of the Parthenon and other great works of Greece. Probably a nearer comparison might be instituted with the Gothic styles of the middle ages; yet, while possessing the same rich irregularity and defiance of all rule, it wants that bold manliness of style, and loftiness of aspiration, which distinguishes even the rudest attempts of those enthusiastic religionists. Though deficient in these respects, the Indian styles are unrivalled for patient elaboration of the details, which are always designed with elegance, and always executed with care. The very extent of ornamentation produces feelings of astonishment, and the smaller examples are always pleasing, from the elegance of the parts, and the appropriateness of the whole. In no styles is the last characteristic more marked than in those of India; for whether the architects had to uphold a mountain of rock, or the airiest domes, or merely an ornamental screenwork, in all instances the pillars are exactly proportioned to the work they have to do, and the ornaments are equally suited to the apparent strength or lightness of effect which the position of the mass seems to require. No affectation, and no imitation of other styles, ever interfere to prevent the purpose-like expression of every part, and the effect consequently is always satisfactory and pleasing; and when the extent is sufficient, produces many of the best and highest modes of expression of which the art of architecture is anywhere capable."

To the architecture of Western Europe Mr. Fergusson assigns a place inferior to that which the art in India is entitled to occupy in the general estimation of the educated. He bases this estimate upon a principle: he affirms that the architecture of Europe generally, for some hundreds of years, has been a servile copying of ancient styles, and under circumstances where utility and appropriateness to the purpose of the building have been excluded from consideration; and he opines that by this means improvement has been rendered next to impossible, and the creation of a style suitable to modern genius and European ideas, entirely so. In the first period of the progress of the architectural art, he avers that development arose by the constant maintenance of the principle, that the character of the structure should be in keeping with its intended use. His words are:—"In the first period the art of architecture consisted in designing a building so as to be most suitable and convenient for the purposes it was wanted for, in arranging the parts so as to produce the most stately and ornamental effect consistent with its uses, and applying to it such ornament as should express and harmonise with the construction, and be appropriate to the purposes of the building; while at the same time the architects took care that the ornament should be the most elegant in itself which it was in their power to design. Following this system, not only the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Gothic architects, but even the indolent and half civilized inhabitants of India, the stolid Tartars of Thibet and China, and the savage Mexicans, succeeded in producing great and beautiful buildings. No race, however rude or remote, has failed, when working on this system, to produce buildings which are admired by all who behold them, and are well worthy of the most attentive consideration." It is from the want of the principle here insisted upon, and the prevalence of an absurd and servile imitation, that in Mr. Fergusson's opinions the architecture of Europe suffers in comparison with India, notwithstanding the faults by which the latter is characterised. Mr. Mill, in his History, instances the success of the Mexicans and other nations, reported rude in works of architecture, as proofs that nothing favourable to the early civilization of India can be inferred from the admirable public edifices which adorn that land, or tell of its architectural glory in ages remote. The philosophy of the facts that people of an inferior civilization in many respects are capable of great things in this, is fairly stated by Mr. Fergusson. He regrets that India has not advanced to perfection, but still more deplores that Europe has retrograded, and, on the whole, puts forward a high claim for the renown of the former.

In the nations contiguous to India proper, such as the Punjaub, Cashmere, Affghanistan, and which, although generally, are not specifically, included in the term India, very early progress was made in architecture. Traces of Greek style have been found in the remains extant, which some have attributed to the influence of the invasion of Alexander, but which others affirm have an anterior origin. Important and skilful investigations have been made as to the architectural remains of Cashmere. It is alleged that these evidence the influence of Grecian art, and the style has received the designation "Arian," from the Greek term in architecture—*Araiostyle*, which is applied to the intercolumniation of four

diameters, a feature of the architecture of Cashmere. The Cashmerian is distinguished by graceful outline, massiveness, suitable ornament, "lofty roofs, trefoiled doors surmounted by pyramidal pediments, and wide intercolumniations." The Cashmere temples are of three kinds—oblong, square, and octagonal; which are again subdivided into the closed and the open, the latter having doors on four sides; the former but one entrance. In their proportions the architects appear to have generally made the height of the temple equal to twice its breadth. These basements are divided into two kinds, the massive and the light, according to the character of their mouldings. The walls of the Cashmerian temples are made of huge blocks of grey limestone, secured together by iron clamps; their dimensions vary considerably, the older ones being shorter than those of more modern origin. The roofs of these Cashmerian temples are of pyramidal shape, sometimes broken into two equal portions, divided by a broad moulding, and occasionally into three or four such divisions. The height of the portico varies in different localities; sometimes it reaches only to one-third of the height of the roof; in others it extends to the top of the roof. The pillars in the Cashmerian temples are of two kinds, round and square; and, unlike the many varieties of Hindoo pillars, are always divided into the three distinct parts of base, shaft, and capital. The square pillars are only employed in corner positions; whilst the round pillars are used throughout the colonnades, and in porches. These are always fluted with from sixteen to twenty-four flutes; the numbers decreasing with the diameter of the column. The shafts were usually three or four diameters in height. The capital seems to have been nearly always equal in its height to the upper diameter of the column. The heights and breadths of the bases do not appear to have been formed by any fixed rule. The distances between the columns were nearly always equal to two-thirds of the total height of the pillars.*

In the Punjaub, especially on certain portions of the frontiers of Affghanistan and Cashmere, there are very ancient and interesting remains. The province of Peshawur, although its more perfect buildings, especially around the city of Peshawur, are Mohammedan, contains various ruins of a remote antiquity. A British officer† published in 1852, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, an account of this province very general in its character, but more particularly as to its geographical and topographical peculiarities, and the traces of ancient peoples and their works. He travelled in the Eusufzai country. In describing the neighbourhood of Kathamar, he relates that a stone or slab was regarded with reverence by the people, and called by them *Lang-i-Newishtah*, or "the inscribed stone." The characters inscribed were unknown to the people, but from their description he supposed it to be Greek. The lieutenant had been refused, by his superior officer, leave of absence for the purpose of visiting it, on the ground of the danger he would incur. He says: "I tried to get a copy of the character of the stone, but without success. There is no doubt but that there are numerous remains of antiquity in this part of the country; and it is here we must search for the rock of Aornos, and the cities of Ora and Beziza, mentioned by the Greek historians." Writing of the hill of Cheehar, he observes:—"Its summit consists of a space of ground four hundred yards long by a hundred yards in breadth, and is covered with the remains of buildings built on platforms. One in particular, the largest, consisted of a raised platform of about eighteen feet in height, and sixty square. On this stands what appears to be the remains of a temple, and the whole place was strewn with the carvings of men and elephants in different positions. The buildings are constructed of a bright yellow-coloured soft stone, whilst the carvings are all in slate. Since I saw the place several figures, as large as life, and extremely well executed, have been dug up. They are of a white composition, something similar in appearance to plaster of Paris. One of these figures has, I believe, been forwarded to the governor-general. The ruins are evidently Buddhist. The plain at the base of this hill is covered with a forest of wild tea and other trees." On the Koh-i-Rama Mountains, near the summit, the lieutenant saw a cave called the *Ismus-i-Kashmir*, which is said to lead into Kashmir (Cashmere). Within the cave were numerous images; but Mr. Raverty found entrance difficult, in consequence of the extraordinary number of flying foxes.

West of Suyedabad there is a range of hills, the summits of which are "covered with ruins of various sorts and dimensions; but they are so fresh and sharp in appearance, that one would suppose they had not been erected for a year. The southern part, which is the highest, is covered with an extensive ruin, called by the country people *the throne of Behee* (one of the sons of a celebrated rajah). About the centre of the hills to the west there are the ruins of a temple, or something of the kind, on a very large scale; and

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

† Lieutenant H. G. Raverty.

the remains of a great number of pillars, of a curious shape, and hollow inside, the stone of which all the ruins are composed, is of a bright yellow colour, soft, smooth to the touch, and breaks into flakes. The blocks of stone are merely squared on the inside and outside, the interstices being filled up with fragments of the same kind of stone, but so exquisitely, that it would almost lead one to suppose that the stone had been used in a melted state, and had turned into stone exact in appearance with the other blocks. From what I have said of the stone being only squared inside and out, it must not be imagined that the work was clumsily executed, for the workmanship is beautiful; and the whole seems to have been the work of a people as well versed in the science of architecture as we are, if not better. The hills round Pallai were covered with similar ruins. The architecture bears no similarity to the Greek style; and the inhabitants say they are the ruins of Caffre cities, with which the whole of the surrounding country is covered, more particularly Suwat. I have no doubt that important discoveries might be made here at very little trouble and expense."

The painting of the Hindoos may be described very much as in the chapter on China that of the Chinese was represented—accurate in imitation, the colours skilfully manipulated, but deficient in taste, originality, and perspective. Mr. Capper says:—"The Hindoo paintings are generally accurate, but they seldom evince much attention to light and shade. Some of their walls are ornamented by mythological representations, others by battles, figures of human beings, and animals, sometimes accompanied by an awkward attempt at a landscape. They have also pictures and illustrated manuscripts, but with the figures of these they were not very happy. The portraits executed by the Mussulmen are far superior to those of the Hindoos."

During the spring of 1858 a very interesting collection of paintings, which had been brought from India by Mr. G. P. White, C.E., was exhibited in the Strand, London, at the shop of Mr. Bone, silversmith. It consisted of miniatures done on ivory by the native artist of the King of Delhi, likenesses of that personage, and of members of his family. There were also views taken in and around Delhi, executed with delicacy, and highly finished. In the museum of the India-house there are specimens of pictures executed by native artists.

Although in sculpture the people of India made some progress, and their talent for carving figures in hard wood and pith is admirable, the statuary of the Hindoos is far inferior to that of the nations in Europe least famed for that department of the fine arts. None of the figures executed by the Hindoos, whether of men or deities, objects of common life or mythological subjects, bear a comparison with the works of the Greek and Roman, or modern Italian, British, and French artists. Some of the facts here recited appear somewhat contradictory to the statements of a very recent and credible writer.

In Yule's *Ava* an estimate of Indian pictorial art, as compared with that of the Indo-Chinese, is worthy of remark, as bearing on this subject. Captain Yule acted as secretary to the mission of Major Phayre to Ava in 1855, and was well qualified to pronounce an opinion on this subject. "The Birmese took much interest in the pictures which Captain Tripe, Mr. Grant, and the sketching members of the mission, produced; and even the photographs, though all remaining in the negative stage, appeared to be understood, and in some degree appreciated by them; while they were gratified, and perhaps somewhat surprised, at the interest and admiration expressed by us for many of the buildings which formed the subjects of pictorial representation, especially the highly-carved monasteries. It was very striking to see this capacity for the appreciation of views and sketches on the part of the Birmans, for the organ of such appreciation is absolutely a wanting in all the people of India with whom we are accustomed to deal. The fact is singular; but I believe all who have lived in India will bear testimony to it, that to natives of India, of whatever class or caste, Mussulman, Hindoo, or Parsee, 'Arryan or Tamulian,' unless they have had a special training, our European paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs, plain or coloured, if they are landscapes, are absolutely unintelligible. If portraits, they may know them to represent humanity; but the most striking *likeness* they scarcely ever recognize. Maps rarely can be made intelligible to them. I have been asked in good English by a Parsee, who looked over my shoulder at a print of Kensington Palace, whether it did not represent a steamboat! A learned pundit has been known to inquire, on being shown a print of the winner of the Derby, 'Is that *London Khas!*' (Royal London). The memory of every Anglo-Indian will suggest such anecdotes. As to rough pencil sketches, they convey to the natives of India as little intelligible meaning as the graven edicts of Asoka did to the world before James Prinsep. This defect is the more strange, because found so universally among those Indian races whose features and language seem to class them as kindred with our German ancestry, while among the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as my

experience goes, including the people of Birmah and Arracan, and ruder tribes of our Eastern frontier, the faculty of appreciating the meaning and accuracy of drawings and resemblances in portraiture, even when of a very sketchy character, is never altogether absent. Of the objects and meaning of a map also they have generally a very fair idea. I present this to the ethnographers as an interesting distinctive feature, which I do not remember to have seen noticed before." *

The rage for panegyrising ancient Indian art so prevalent among the Philo-Indians has been unscrupulous, certainly much of the praise bestowed is not founded in the merits of the works themselves. The arguments employed by these panegyrists, to prove the derivation of Western art from India and Egypt, are refuted by modern investigation. The mental peculiarities and taste which accompanied the Arryan invasion of India were not superior to the qualities by which other families of men were distinguished among the ancient wanderers, who, departing from the Armenian tableland, sought permanent settlements in every direction. This might be proved by a great variety of facts and illustrations. Choosing one not likely to be thought of by the majority of readers,—the ancient civilization of Ireland,—demonstration is afforded. At a period quite as remote as any fixed upon by Anglo-Indians for the development of taste in works of art in India, the Irish had attained great proficiency. There are no specimens of Indian art extant which can compare with the remains of ancient art in Ireland. The execution in metals, especially in the precious metals, attained among the Irish to a very high point of perfection. The caligraphy of ancient Irish manuscripts far surpasses anything that has ever been seen in India. The illuminated Irish manuscripts now in Trinity College, Dublin, in the British Museum, London, in Paris, and other cities of the continent, are superior to any ever known either in the Eastern or Western world. The engravings on stone yet remaining on the Irish crosses are exquisitely artistic—so much so, that persons unwilling to concede an early civilization to Ireland have represented them as the work of Italian artists, and sent from Italy to that country, or at all events the work of Italian artists there. The answer is that the style in which these gravings are executed was unknown to Italy; the materials are not Italian, but Irish; and the inscriptions are invariably in that language, and in a style identified with the period to which the works executed are attributed. In another chapter—that on the religions of India—the origin of various Christian superstitious customs was shown to be Eastern, traceable to Babylon. There is reason to believe that while Ireland did not receive her art thence, she did receive certain superstitions, which have left their impress upon her Christian remains. The form of the ancient crosses, upon which elaborate carvings are found, is not Christian, but pagan, and evince a style of art older than Christianity, and which had existed from a period near to that when the Deluge subsided, and the progeny of Adam went forth again to people the earth. It would not be pertinent to the subject of art in India to follow this theme farther than to quote a few authorities, showing that Europe is indebted to Ireland, not to remote Asia, for her early knowledge of various departments of art, and for much of her civilization. Geraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied Henry II. of England as chaplain, thus refers to what is commonly known to antiquarians as the *Book of St. Bridget*:—"This book contains the four gospels, and is adorned with almost as many illuminated figures as it has pages [after a minute description of the figures, he proceeds], which, if carefully surveyed, seem rather blots than intertwined ornaments (*ligaturæ*), and appeared to be simple where there was in truth nothing but intricacy. But, on close examination, the secrets of the art were evident; and so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, so intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured, did you perceive them, that you were ready to say they were the work of an angel, and not of a man." Of the *Book of Kells*, another illuminated work of ancient Ireland, Mr. J. O. Westwood writes:—"Ireland may justly be proud of the *Book of Kells*. This copy of the gospels, traditionally said to have belonged to St. Colomba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence." The same writer says:—"At a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the continent—namely, from the end of the fifth to the eighth century—the art of ornamenting manuscripts had attained a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland. Another circumstance equally deserving of notice is the extreme delicacy and wonderful precision, united with an extraordinary minuteness of detail, with which many of these ancient manuscripts are ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the *Gospels of Lin-*

* *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-general of India to the Court of Ava in* 1855, *with notices of the Country, Government, and People.* By Captain Henry Yule.

*disfarne* and the *Book of Kells*, without detecting a false line or irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to have been impossible to have been executed by a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. The invention and skill displayed, the neatness, precision, and delicacy, far surpass all that is to be found in ancient manuscripts executed by continental artists." Sir William Bentham, in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, says, speaking of various ancient illustrated books, "They are monuments which Irishmen may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, produced at an age when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers, their very horn-books." Henry Noel Humphreys, in his work entitled *Illuminated Works of the Middle Ages*, observes:—"It was in *the West* that the extraordinary variety and fertility of invention that distinguished the art of the illuminator arose." The style appears to have arisen among our British and Irish rather than among our Saxon ancestors, although such manuscripts are generally termed Anglo-Saxon. M. Digby Wyatt, a name well known to British art, avers:—"In the practice of art the Irish were in advance of all Europe. The zeal of the Irish missionaries, and their peculiar creed and art, were not confined to the British Isles. In the seventh century the Monastery of Babbio, in Northern Italy, was established by Columbanus, and that of St. Gall, in Switzerland, by Gallus, both Irish missionaries. Of the same period and country was St. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Franconia, St. Fridolm, founder of the Monastery at Seckingen, and St. Fenden, of that of Rheinau. Pelagius, the propounder of the celebrated Pelagian heresy (*circa*, A.D. 400), had set an example of Irish vigour of thought and activity of body which appears to have been lost on the later missionaries. Abuin, the friend and instructor of Charlemagne, calls them *gloria gentis*; whilst another writer observes that travelling appears to be their prevailing passion. In the seventh century especially, Ireland was celebrated for its illuminated books, its authors, its music, and its academies. That its influence extended much farther than is generally supposed would appear to be certain; and not only did Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, the north of England, and Scandinavia, adopt its peculiar system of ornament, but some of the most celebrated illuminated works in the various libraries of Europe are now discovered to have emanated from that school."

Among the beautiful remains of Irish art, her sculptured crosses must stand as the most remarkable. The reader who has leisure to peruse the work of Henry O'Neil, on the *Ancient Crosses of Ireland*, will find abundant proof of this assertion.

The same author in another of his works * shows that Irish workmanship in metals arrived at distinguished perfection in a far remote age.

If these statements be correct, then it follows that from an age anterior to any of which we have clear proof of the existence of art in India, to a period when the early art of India had long sunk into decay, Ireland had maintained a high, and in some respects the highest, place, although she never attained to the perfection of Greece in executing representative figures. The extravagant assertions of the highest and most ancient place in art for the race which now chiefly peoples Hindostan, is confuted by the facts which research in Irish antiquarian lore has brought to light. It is probable that many other ancient races have also surpassed the Hindoos in this respect, as has been repeatedly asserted by those who, unconnected with India, have no fascination or prejudice for what relates to it.

According to the *Asiatic Researches*, the Hindoo music consists of eighty-four modes, each of which possesses a different expression; they are capable of exciting emotions of as many different kinds. These modes receive their name from the seasons of the year, and the hours of the day, with which it is believed they have some mystical or occult connexion. The melodies are often plaintive, and a resemblance to old Celtic music has been recognised, although distinguished by a wild cadence altogether peculiar. Some distinctive peculiarity will be found in all national music, the soul of a people is breathed in their native melodies; the joy and sorrow of their history, and the aspirations of their hopes, are all made vocal in their song. It is to be expected that this would be the case with so original a race as the Hindoos; and it is therefore, as well as on other grounds, to be regretted that so little attention has been paid by the musical doctors of Europe to this department of Indian art. The musical instruments employed are rude: the vecca, or Indian lyre, the fiddle, drum, tom-tom, and some others coarse and most dissonant, are sources of delight to the people. It is said that there are many among the educated

* *A Descriptive Catalogue of Illustrations of the Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland.* Collected by Henry O'Neil.

natives who appreciate good music; the masses of the people, and a large majority of the higher classes, certainly do not. On occasions of their festivals, the thumping of drums with their hands, the strange commingling of other instrumental sounds, with a hubbub of screaming voices, constitute an uproar of the most unendurable discord to the European, but a means of entertainment to the native that greatly conduces to his enjoyment. The finest military bands fail to awaken similar sensations. The singing by a native woman of one of their planxties would attract the roughest marauder, and detain the most time-bound traveller among the natives. The sepoys became accustomed to British tunes, and during the mutiny caused the captured European drummers and fifers to play *Cheer, boys, cheer*, and other tunes which served as marches. In the chapter on Ceylon it was shown how formidable to Europeans the beating of tom-toms, and screeching of dissonant pipes, constantly maintained day and night during the seasons of Buddhist religious ceremonies; along the coast of Coromandel and Malabar a similar din is kept up during certain seasons devoted to Brahminical or Mohammedan devotion.

The medical science of the natives of India, like most other of their attainments, has been a subject of discussion in Europe. Some have contended that the medical knowledge of the ancient Hindoos was derived from the Greeks; others have strenuously maintained that the Greeks derived all their knowledge of medicine and the healing art from oriental sources. The most ancient book on medical subjects extant in India is the *Ayur Veda*, this work is attributed by the Brahmins to Brahma himself; from the notices which oriental scholars afford of it, the ancient state of medical science in India was extremely rude. Certain other works, those of Susruta and Charaka, contribute some little additional knowledge of early Hindoo medical knowledge. From all the records we possess, it appears that anatomy formed the basis of the medical and surgical arts. The laws of caste do not appear to have interfered materially with the study of anatomy, the end, in the eyes of the Brahmins, sanctified the deed. From their anatomical researches they obviously understood the danger of wounds inflicted upon various parts of the person inducing tetanus; their ideas of the nervous system were confused and contradictory, but the existence of such a system was known. According to Wise's *Hindoo System of Medicine*, life consists of the soul, mind, physical senses, and the moral qualities of meekness, passion, and goodness. The vital principle is supposed to reside in the centre of the man, which, according to "the system," is in his chest, and is believed to be a mingling of all the human qualities.

Death is the separation of the soul from the body. It occurs naturally from old age, but it happens also in a hundred other ways, chiefly caused by sin either in the present or a former state of existence. Disease has its origin from sin, from derangement of the humours of the body, or from both those causes together. From the first and third of these sources, mortal diseases originate; those derived from the second medium are curable by skilful treatment.

The number of diseases attributable to these media are exceedingly numerous. Measles and small-pox were well known to the Hindoos in remote antiquity, and there are proofs that the latter was propagated from Asia to Europe, and some writers say from India. Inoculation was resorted to at an early stage of Hindoo civilization, but it seems rather to have spread the disease, although in a less virulent form. The beri-beri, a dropsical disease, prevalent in both Western and Eastern India,—although not common on the highlands of the Deccan, nor in Hindostan proper,—is an ancient disease. Rheumatisms prevail after the monsoons, and among those who work in the paddy-fields,—and this appears to have been the case as far back as can be traced. Leprosy prevailed in ancient India as in other Asiatic nations; and epilepsy, so common to northern and western Asia, has been also common in India from remote ages. "We find, in their medical treatises, mention made of sixty-five diseases of the mouth, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, eleven qualities of headache, besides an infinity of disorders of the throat. Mention is likewise made of consumption, as though it were not only of frequent occurrence, but oftentimes fatal in its result. The study of poisons and their antidotes formed by no means an insignificant portion of medical study among the Hindoo practitioners of all ages; a fact which, considering the oriental fashion of getting rid of an enemy by this means, is not to be wondered at. There was also the study of animal poisons; the dissertations upon the bites of snakes, poisonous insects, &c., are numerous, and at the same time in accordance with the practice of experienced surgeons of the present day. Hydrophobia was also known, and prescribed for in a variety of forms." It appears that the Hindoos possessed some herbal agency specific in that disease.

The general mode of treatment was influenced by superstition,—forms and ceremonies, as various as they were useless, were prescribed for the physician as well as the patient; and when the disease was incurable, the object seems to have been to hasten death by abstinence, mental excitement, or even suicide.

There is a striking resemblance in the treatment by the physicians in India to that relied upon by those of Ceylon and China. The medical system became at once more complicated and at the same time more superstitious after the introduction of Buddhism, although, according to the Institutions of Menu, very absurd obligations were laid upon the patient in cases of hopeless malady; thus, one article of that famous code ordains, "If a disease be incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path towards the invisible north-eastern point, feeding on air and water until his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become linked with the supreme being."

The *Materia Medica* of the Hindoos embraces not only a vast number of drugs and vegetable simples abounding in their country, but a variety of chemical compounds, as well as acids and some of the oxides, with the uses of which they appear to have been conversant from an early period. Their pharmacy, although embracing many matters of value, and in some parts much in accordance with European practice, is nevertheless so overcrowded with innumerable substances as to bewilder and perplex the student. They employed in their pharmacy preparations of mercury, gold, zinc, iron, and arsenic to a degree that could scarcely have been expected from people who blended so much of the fabulous and the absurd in their practice. In their measures of time they commenced with fifteen winks of the eye; and their apothecaries might begin with four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as they enter a dark room. The rules laid down for the administering of medicinal doses are minute to tediousness; and among other things it is expressly stated that the patient must not make faces when taking medicine, as by doing so he would be like Brahma and Siva, and therefore commit a great sin.

However deficient we find the present race of Hindoo practitioners in the science of surgery, there is no doubt but that their ancestors possessed a skill in the performance of delicate and dangerous operations scarcely to have been expected in those days. The treatises still extant on these subjects are good proof of the state of their surgery, which, however, was evidently, as in other branches of the art, mixed up with much puerility and childish superstition. Certain times were to be selected for the performance of operations; devils were to be driven away from the wound by burning certain sweet-scented flowers; the patient and operator must be placed in certain relative positions, and other observances equally frivolous and absurd.*

The philosophy of the Hindoos was speculative rather than practical. Their speculations were *de natura deorum*, or concerning the ultimate destiny of man, and the best means of promoting in this world a desirable condition in a future state of existence. Their philosophy and their theology are identical, and both, as has been shown in the chapter on the religions of India, are derived from the most ancient forms of the Chaldean and Persian, and are corruptions of both. In the system of Zoroaster, and that of the Brahmins, we find the same lofty expressions concerning the invisible powers of nature; the same absurdity in the notions respecting the creation; the same infinite and absurd ritual; the same justness in many ideas respecting the common affairs of life and morality; the same gross misunderstanding in others; but a striking resemblance between the two systems, both in their absurdities and perfections. The same turn of imagination seems to have belonged to the authors of both; and the same aspect of nature to have continually presented itself; the deformities, however, of the Hindoo system being always the greatest.†

That the Hindoos at a very early period cultivated metaphysics, Doctor H. Hayman Wilson,‡ and M. Cousin,§ have conclusively showed; but that their attainments were entitled to the praise bestowed by those eminent persons may well be denied.

The love of metaphysical and ethical speculation, so characteristic of the ancient Hindoos, has descended to the modern inhabitants of India, whether Brahmin or Mohammedan. Gibbon says that "metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of Mohammedans as well as those of the Christians;" and that this remark will apply to India Mr. E. Elphinstone confirms, for he says that, "if the rude Affghan is ever stimulated to any degree of literary activity, it is when pursuing the subtleties of metaphysical speculation."

The philosophical theory of materialism in

* John Capper, F.R.A.S.
† Mill's *British India*.
‡ *Notes on Mill's British India*.
§ *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*. Par M. V. Cousin.

its grossest forms existed among the early Hindoos, and was revived by the Buddhists. The doctrine of immaterialism, as it may be called, which the unbelieving Hume and the amiable and orthodox Bishop Berkeley laboured to revive in our country, had also a place in the philosophy of the Hindoos. The materialism of the Hindoos, as a religious doctrine, has been described to the reader in the chapter which treated of their theology; the opposite theory was embraced more as a philosophical than a theological doctrine, although it also, with certain sects of both Brahmins and Buddhists, became a religious tenet.

Dr. Dugald Stewart, to whose labours modern metaphysics—especially in Scotland—owes so much, records an expression of this theory, related to him by Sir James Mackintosh, from the conversation of a Brahmin. "He told me, that besides the myriads of gods whom their creed admits, there was one whom they know by the name of Brim, or the great one, without form or limits, whom no created intellect could make any approach towards conceiving; that, in reality, there were no trees, no houses, no land, no sea, but all without was Maia, or allusion, the act of Brim; that whatever we saw or felt was only a dream; or, as he expressed it in his imperfect English, thinking in one's sleep; and that the re-union of the soul to Brim, from whom it originally sprung, was the awakening from the long sleep of finite existence." The comment of Sir James himself upon this passage was as follows:—"All this you have heard and read before as Hindoo speculation. What struck me was, that speculations so refined and abstruse should, in a long course of ages, have fallen through so great a space as that which separates the genius of their original inventor from the mind of this weak and unlettered man. The names of these inventors have perished; but their ingenious and beautiful theories, blended with the most monstrous superstitions, have descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace, and are adopted by them as a sort of articles of faith, without a suspicion of their philosophical origin, and without the possibility of comprehending any part of the premises from which they were deduced."

Sir William Jones takes a much more favourable view of this philosophy than Dugald Stewart or Sir James Mackintosh. He defends it in the warm, earnest, and eloquent language in which his apologies for the Hindoos are so often expressed. In defending this school (commonly called the *Vedanti* by Indian scholars) he thus writes:—"The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearance and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion which Epicharmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedenta, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither, fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be further removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion."

Upon this passage, Dugald Stewart makes the just critique, that the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume, to which Sir William refers, was misunderstood by the great orientalist, and Mr. Mill exposes with just severity the hyperbolical eulogies which Sir William bestowed upon this philosophical school. Professor Wilson, whose vast oriental scholarship enabled him to detect the errors of fact into which Mr. Mill so frequently fell when treating of Hindoo antiquities, pursues him with his usual unsparing severity in this case, and describes him as reasoning unfairly concerning the Vedanti philosophy, the professor referring to the various authorities from which, since Mr. Mill's day, a correct knowledge of the matter may be obtained.* A fair investigation of these authorities will generally bear out Mr. Mill's opinions, and deliver him from the caustic censure of his learned but too stern critic. There can be no doubt that the ideal or immaterial theory of Berkeley was held by a philosophical sect of ancient Hindostan, but so modified by the polytheistic doctrines recognised by its disciples, as to present it in a very different aspect.

As far as one can judge from the scraps

* Colebrooke; Dr. Taylor; Ram Mohun Roy; Sir Graves Haughton; Colonel Van Kennedy. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; Translation of the Prabodha Chandrodaya; Translations from the Vedas; Asiatic Journal*, &c.

and opinions afforded to us by ancient Sanscrit scholars, there was a school of ancient philosophers who rejected the immaterial theory, reasoning from the starting-point of Descartes, *Cogito ergo sum*. From all that can be gathered, the early Hindoos appear to have cultivated general and abstract speculations, and to have imported into their theology their metaphysical theories, more and more corrupting the earliest system of religion which prevailed among them. Their metaphysical studies, instead of aiding religion, obscured it; instead of unfolding the constitution and operations of the human mind, made man more a mystery to himself; instead of laying the foundation for a pure theory of ethics, "darkened counsel by words without knowledge," set up false standards of practical guidance, and influenced unfavourably and lastingly the intellectual and social life of India.

The science of politics has been always at the lowest point throughout India. The people are highly gifted with diplomatic talent. The mental constitution of the Hindoo is subtle, and in a certain sense refined; but as a people they are deficient in directness of mind, always preferring the arts and devices of political intrigue to the manly honesty of avowing and maintaining broad and determinate principles. The condition of India throughout its whole history has fostered this spirit of underhand expertness. Divided into a great number of small states, perpetually making territorial encroachments upon one another, artifice was as important as arms. A perpetual struggle for land engaged all classes. Village communities, feudal chiefs, and princes, contested with one another, and each class strove within its own circle for aggrandizement of land—those took who had the power, those kept who could. Never, in any part of the world, were treaties made with less intention of keeping them, or more faithlessly and scandalously broken. The military art was cultivated purely for aggressive purposes, and never was brought to any high degree of attainment. The incidents of the Greek invasion proved how superior, not only the genius of Alexander, but the knowledge of arms on the part of his followers. The Mohammedan warriors also showed more acquaintance with the management of armies. The wars of native princes with Europeans revealed an inferiority in strategy and tactics, which cannot be disputed. Gibbon's description of the military weakness of Asiatic nations generally, and of the Persians more particularly, describes as graphically as if meant especially for it, the state of the martial art in India, until the example of the British, and the instruction derived from them, modified the system of the native chiefs. But notwithstanding the improvement made under English influence, the language of Gibbon in the main applies to the armies of the rajahs, and the mode of warfare adopted among them:—"The science of war, that constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonise and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieging, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage: more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed, spiritless crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The monarch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride and luxury of the seraglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine."

The general mind of the better classes in India is more favourable to the study of modern science, although there are still difficulties in the way. The Brahmins are extremely jealous of instruction conveyed to the people from a European source; the Mussulman teachers are still more so, as any views of science different from those contained in the Koran is contrary to religion. The Mohammedan clergy know well that modern science is at variance with the scientific doctrines of the Koran; and while on the one hand they make efforts to reconcile the discrepancies, on the other their exertions are incessant to prevent "the faithful" from obtaining "infidel knowledge."

But even where religious prejudices do not bar out the instructions of English literature and science, there exists an extreme hindrance in the inability of Europeans to converse in the languages of India on subjects of politics, history, philosophy, or science. It is well known that there are native gentlemen desirous to glean information on such subjects from the English with whom they meet, and that the want of facility on the part of the latter in speaking the languages of the country impedes the gratification of a desire so much to be encouraged and commended.

Lieutenant-colonel Sleeman, an officer who has spent a long life in India, and is considered an oriental scholar, writes:—"The

best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mohammedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Mohammedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or as they call him, Booalee Shena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have, and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mohammedan gentlemen of education upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people; the arts and sciences; the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the thousand other things which are subjects of every-day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my own ideas. But these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can, but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant; this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it. We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their sepoys and native officers about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill, or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field; and as long as they are understood they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspires us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them. We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, at the bench, and in the senate. Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imamod Deen, Ghuzzalee, and Nuseerod Deen, of Thons. Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle."

Indophilus, so well known by his recent popular contributions to the diurnal press on subjects connected with India, observes as follows upon the efforts of the government to promote in that country the literature and science of Europe by public educational establishments, and the willingness to learn of certain portions of the natives, both Brahminical and Mohammedan:—"The first step taken by our government in native education was the foundation of the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, by Warren Hastings, in 1781, and of the Sanscrit College at Benares, by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792. The object was to make a favourable impression upon the natives by encouraging their literature, and to train moulvies and pundits to assist the European judges; but, as the literature and the law of the Mohammedans and Hindoos cannot be separated from their religion and morality, the entire *corpus* of these systems was taught in the new colleges. The next step had its origin in a voluntary movement of the Hindoo gentlemen and pundits of Calcutta to form an establishment 'for the education of their children, in a liberal manner, as practised by Europeans of condition.' Christianity was carefully excluded; but 'general duty to God' and the 'English system of morals' were comprehended in the plan. The government of the college was vested in a body of native managers, by whom the teachers were appointed and removed. The line taken by the Calcutta government, and the effect of it, will be seen from the following extract

from a letter from Sir E. H. East, the chief-justice, dated May 21, 1816 :—

"'When they were told that the government was advised to suspend any declaration in favour of their undertaking, from tender regard to their peculiar opinions, which a classical education after the English manner might trench upon, they answered very shrewdly, by stating their surprise that any English gentleman should imagine that they had any objection to a liberal education; that if they found anything in the course of it which they could not reconcile to their religious opinions, they were not bound to receive it; but still they should wish to be informed of everything that the English gentlemen learnt, and they would take that which they found good and liked best. Nothing can show more strongly the genuine feeling of the Hindoo mind than this clinging to their purpose under the failure of direct public encouragement in the first instance. Better information as to their real wishes, and accumulating proofs of the beneficial effects of an improved system of education among them, will, I trust, remove all prejudices on this subject from among ourselves, with some of whom they actually exist in a much stronger degree than among the Hindoos themselves.'"

The importance of inculcating the truths of science upon the natives of India, is not confined to the advantages derivable to their own minds, and to their temporal condition; their whole character, moral and religious, is influenced, because of the essential connection between religion and science in their creeds. No people professing any form of Christianity could be influenced to a similar extent by education, literary or scientific.

It is sometimes made a matter of reproach to the government of India, the company in Leadenhall Street, and all who have had any power in India, that earlier efforts, more commensurate with the need of the people, and with the importance of the object, were not made to let the light of true science beam upon the mind of the higher classes. This reproach is unthinkingly made: the government had not the power to do as they pleased. Any step taken to teach science at variance with Hindoo and Mohammedan theories, would have been regarded by their professors as an underhand and treacherous attack upon their religious rights. The government, therefore, proceeded slowly and carefully, but erring on the whole by proceeding faster than the mind of India was able to bear, as is manifest by the outcry raised by a large party, notwithstanding the conviction felt by all Hindoo gentlemen, that some knowledge of European science and literature is an indispensable requisite for government employment. A popular but anonymous writer put this subject in its true light when he said:—"We may feel some indulgence even for those who hesitated to give the sanction of the government to the experiment of the Hindoo college, when we recollect that the reaction of the less advanced portion of the native community has severely tried our strength after an interval of forty years, and that it would probably have nipped improvement in the bud if it had taken place in those early days when the state of the native mind and of our own power was much less mature. Is it a small thing that we strangers from the other side of the world, differing from the people of India in colour, manners, language, and religion, have obtained their confidence; that we are recognized by them as teachers of all truth, human and divine; and that they flock by thousands to our schools and colleges to receive such instruction as we are willing to offer? When Warren Hastings founded the Mohammedan college at Calcutta, the question was, whether the natives would allow us to have anything to do with the education of their children. After this starting-point had been secured, a natural craving arose in the native mind for education of a better sort than could be furnished by their own systems. If we had taken the initiative at this critical stage, a spirit of suspicion would have been arrayed against us; and when the pundits, who co-operated in the formation of the Hindoo college, afterwards discovered to their dismay that they had evoked a power beyond their control, and that they had barred out Christianity in vain, because the truths of physical science taught in their new seminary were subversive of the untruths woven into the substance of Hindooism, we should certainly have been charged with bad faith, and the storm which the native managers had to bear, as they best might, would have burst upon us, and upon the new system advocated by us. The spontaneous character of native improvement is the natural fruit and just reward of our consistent caution. The natives, left to the natural working of their own ingenious and speculative minds, became impatient at being left behind, and took the matter into their own hands. This is the sure guarantee of further progress. If Hastings, the elder Thomason, or Bentinck, had transgressed the limits prescribed by the circumstances of their respective periods, we should not now be in so advanced a position. The day of small things is to the day of great things as cause is to effect, and those who despise weak and timid beginnings only display their own

want of foresight. The influence of the existing government system of education upon the moral character and religious belief of the natives has been much discussed. The first result is the destruction of the Hindoo system in the minds of the pupils. It did not occur to the ancient Indian legislators, when they placed fetters on the human intellect, by binding up their false theories of physical science with their false religion, that the whole fabric might one day be brought to the ground by the removal of the imported material. There is no subject of conversion so hopeless as a Hindoo who has been taught according to the perfect manner of the law of his fathers. There is no morality so bad as the sanctification of every evil propensity of our nature, and its being recommended by supposed divine example; all which the Hindoo religion involves. The youth of India are not only rescued from this state by the government system of education, but they are advanced one stage further: they are taught to think, and their thoughts are inclined towards Christianity by a literature which has grown up under its influence, which always assumes its truth, and is deeply imbued with its spirit. A new standard of morality is presented to them. 'The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ;' and the study of the writings of Bacon, Milton, Addison, Johnson, and Locke, establishes this 'law' in their minds. It does not give the effectual motive which a firm belief in Christianity would impart; but it creates a conscience which will continually act upon them. According to the old unmitigated native system, the Mohammedans regard us as infidel usurpers of some of the finest realms of Islam, and the Hindoos as impure outcasts, with whom no communion ought to be held; and the sole idea of improvement of both classes is to sweep us off the face of the earth. The effect of a training in European learning is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this manner cease to strive after independence according to the original native model, and aim at improving their institutions according to English ideas."

Viewed as this writer presents the subject, the importance of diffusing a knowledge of western science in India may be regarded as important to ourselves, and bearing upon the religious future of that country in a manner the most salutary; but the author of the quotation just made, places too much reliance upon the *immediate* benefits of correct scientific attainments, upon the loyalty of the Hindoo gentry, and also upon the prospect of evangelising the country. Many of those most indebted to the Anglo-Indian colleges have proved themselves no less treasonable than the most inveterate devotees of Siva, or the most virulent followers of Mohammed. The success of true science in shaking the minds of such men loose from the influence of Brahminism and Islamism, is indisputable, but the prejudices of their former creed long linger about their hearts, as a disagreeable odour hanging upon the vessel that has been cleansed from the matter which produced it. In giving up the theories of the Hindoo Pantheon, they obeyed the command of science, plainly and authoritatively spoken, but the teacher, although a true one, instructs only within a limited province, and while it sweeps away boldly the theogonies of the heathen, its instructions as to the true God are rather to be inferentially deduced. As every phase and form of truth has its own determinate influence, and its measure of affinity to the whole region of the true, our duty is to preserve in teaching, as we best may, truth in all its phenomena, giving to the precise and beautiful, in art and science, their own useful and ennobling place. This done with fidelity, sooner or later the beneficial results to India and to the empire will be seen, and rich fruit will be gathered where good seed has been sown.

Even in the arts European instruction cannot fail to impress the mind of the Indian people with ideas of our power, and of our moral power. Whatever be the delicacy of manipulation for which the Indian workman is famed, and however in his slow processes he arrives at a degree of perfection in the departments of manufacture for which he has obtained celebrity, the appliances used by Europeans, and the results produced, cannot but shape the mind of the native from his old usages, and his old trains of thought, and consequently, to some extent from his old beliefs. The wonderful power of the steam engine in manufactures, in navigation, and in locomotion, has already produced such effects, and laid the foundation for far more decisive influences of the same kind. The electric telegraph had scarcely been introduced in India, when it suggested to the natives the certain ultimate victory of a people thus possessed of such marvellous resources of scientific, or, as the more ignorant regarded it, magic power. One of the results of these indications of superior wisdom, and a scientific knowledge beyond that contained in the sacred books of both Brahmins and Mohammedans, was to inflame the fanaticism of the Brahmins, priests, fakeers, and other interested religionists. They foresaw that those who wielded such extraordinary agencies, and proved the exist-

ence of laws and resources of nature unknown to the gods and to Mohammed, must revolutionize the religion of both, and eventually cause them to vanish before superior intelligence and power. Hence the maddened reaction of recent years in favour of blind and relentless religious bigotry among all concerned in supporting the old order of things. The teaching of the arts was thus expressed by Lord William Bentinck:—"Every indigo and coffee plantation, the Gloucester mills, the works of every description that are moved by steam, the iron foundries, the coal mines, worked after European fashion, and the other great establishments that we see around us in Calcutta, are so many great schools of instruction, the founders of which are the real improvers of the country; it is from the same sources that we must expect other schoolmasters of new and improved industry."

## CHAPTER XXV.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA.

THE social condition of India, both ancient and modern, is a subject deeply interesting and important. The ancient social state of that country is full of philosophic interest to the antiquarian and the scholar, and its present state proposes to the statesman and the Christian the most difficult problems, and opens up to them the most serious and eventful prospects. Although employed by one of the heartiest friends of India, the following language can hardly be regarded as exaggerated:—"India is wedged into the heart of Asia, with the Mohammedan regions on one side, the Buddhist on another, and the ocean open to us on the third. She is rich in actual wealth, and still richer in undeveloped resources. The existing revenue of British India alone is £30,000,000, two-thirds of which are derived from the unimproved rent of land; and, with good laws well administered, with an extensive settlement of Europeans to show what use may be made of the wonderful powers of the soil and climate, and with the help of railways, irrigation, and other productive works, the £30,000,000 will soon become £60,000,000. The people of this great continent are intelligent, thoughtful, imaginative, fond of discussion, and from the most ancient times learning and learned men have been held in esteem among them. They had epic and dramatic poems of considerable merit, and systems of philosophy of extraordinary ingenuity and subtlety, at a time when our ancestors were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and were entirely destitute of literature. We received from India, through the Arabs, our beautiful system of decimal notation. The fables known to the Western world as those of Æsop or Pilpay were discovered, when Sanscrit began to be studied, to have had their origin in the Hitopadesa. Unlike the Chinese, who are remarkable for their indifference to a future state, the Indians are strongly impressed with the religious principle. Long before the Christian era the old stem of Hindooism threw off a puritan-quietist shoot, which, originating in the district of Bahar, overspread Asia from Kamschatka to Sweden,* and from the Frozen Ocean to the great Southern Archipelago, until it included a larger portion of the human race than any other religion. Throughout this vast region the ancient vernacular language of Bahar, under the name of Pali, is either fully established as the sacred language, or has left traces which are easily recognised in local religious phraseology. If the resources of this great central Asiatic country are properly developed, so that she may acquire the strength which properly belongs to her; and if education, and free discussion, and Christianity, are firmly established there, a change will be wrought throughout the continent and islands of Asia, the blessings of which cannot be described by any human pen."

Of the early social life of India little is known, except as scattered fragments of the classics unfold it, beyond what the *Vedas* and the Institutions of Menu afford. Whatever the early civilization of the Hindoos, they did not possess the genius of history. Mr. Mill makes this a ground for underrating their civilization, and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson reproves too harshly the historian for making this deficiency a test. It is beyond doubt proof of an imperfect civilization, nor is it the less so that all Asiatic nations are characterized by the same defect. This Gibbon has correctly and eloquently shown. Sir John Malcolm complains of the imperfection and inaccuracy of Persian annals; and some of the earliest historical writers among the Greeks make a similar complaint in their day, although it is obvious they were much in-

* The Swedish Lapps are more than half Buddhists.

debted to Persian records and the living testimony of persons in the service of Persia for what they knew of India. From what can be gathered of ancient life in India from the Sanscrit records made available to us either by translation or the accounts given from them by Sanscrit scholars, and from the notices of India in the classics, it may be inferred that the India of to-day is identical with the India of remote antiquity, except so far as modern European influence has effected changes. But notwithstanding that so much has been altered in the condition of India and its government by successive invasions, Mohammedan and European, the multitudinous population can faithfully refuse to adopt the trite admission of other peoples—

"O tempora mutantur, et mutamur cum illos!"

Dr. Hayman Wilson, who is probably better acquainted with India of the olden time than any other man, says that such is the permanent character of oriental, and more especially Hindoo customs, that the India of to-day reveals to us what it was in the remotest period of which we have any record.

The aboriginal inhabitants were probably of the same race with the ancient Ethiopians, for both are frequently referred to as one people in ancient writings. The race which we call *Hindoos* called themselves in the remotest periods *Arryans;* and the earliest Arryan writings refer to the aborigines in terms which show a strong natural distaste, pride of race, and some religious difference, but this last is not so prominent as the social and tribal antipathy. There are indications also of great difference in the complexion of the invaders and the invaded: the latter being dark, as the natives of India now generally are, especially in the south, the higher classes of the former fair, and the other classes of various degrees of colour. It is obvious that the race has received a much deeper tint after so many ages of exposure to the burning climate of India. So much is this the case, that the Brahmins, who, according to the glimpses given of them in early writings, were fair, are now in Southern India blacker than the Egyptians.

The first settlers were driven by the Hindoo incursions to the south, and their descendants in the Deccan, in the hill country, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, are black. Early references to the complexions of the Arryans represent the Brahmins as fair, the warrior class brown, the trading class yellow, and the servile class black. This description has been generally considered figurative, as indicative of the relative social dignity and qualities of the respective classes; but even if it be so, the estimate in which colour was held is sufficiently indicated. It is probable, however, that the description was intended literally. The ecclesiastical caste, less exposed to climate, and having come from a northern latitude, would be naturally fair; the military class would be bronzed by the exposure to the elements attendant upon their profession; the trading classes would, partly from exposure in cities, and partly from their peculiar occupations when indoors, receive a tint less russet than the warriors, but sallow, and unlike the complexion of those of higher-class habits, having superior and cooler dwellings, and more frequently having recourse to ablutions; the servile class would probably be composed of another race, coming in with the invaders, and acting under their orders, and mingled with the aborigines, who were despised for their colour, as well as for other peculiarities deemed attributes of inferiority.

The races of the invaded and the invaders are still somewhat defined by the languages. Southern India, which, by the pure Hindoo, is not considered holy ground, is inhabited by people speaking languages not of the Arryan stock; and although many in Southern India to whom these tongues are vernacular are of Arryan origin, yet the fact of those dialects of an ancient language being the vulgar tongues of these regions shows the predominating influence of a race or races not Arryan; whereas the prevalence north of the line, to the south of which these dialects are spoken, of languages of Sanscrit origin proves the prevalence of the descendants of the Arryan invaders and conquerors. Even now the contempt of the Hindoo or Arryan people for the tribes which are believed to have another origin, and where these tribes have not mingled with the dominant race, is intense. Thus, in the early social life of ancient India the bitterness of alien races existed as intensely as has been exhibited between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Goth and Sclave, Saxon and Celt.

The Gonds, Bheels, Coolies, hill-men of Boglipore, and Kookies of Chittagong, are, with some minor tribes, considered aboriginal; and if their present condition be any evidence of what it was when the Arryans entered India, they must have been barbarous even in the eyes of their invaders.

The religious element must always be important in the social condition of a people. With the exception of the Jews, there probably never existed any who introduced their religious peculiarities so prominently in the everyday affairs of life as the people of Hindostan whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or Mo-

hammedans. The Jews, indeed, although rigidly maintaining their religious observances, did not intrude them upon occasions naturally and conventionally unsuitable; but the Brahminical creed fills everything, and is felt everywhere, unpleasantly affecting strangers, like a tainted atmosphere. This was the case in the earliest ages of which we have note. In war or peace, in the drama or the tale, in politics and in private life, the gods, in all their absurdities of character and alleged operations, are introduced. An element of perverted devotion runs through all the social as well as individual being of India. The most impure and silly creatures of the imagination were adored, and a social existence attributed to the gods, which, in proportion as man admired, he must become intellectually and morally degraded. Not only are these gods everywhere, and all objects of nature themselves partaking of the divine, but one cannot walk in a solitary path by the river, or wander in the trackless woods, without the feeling that he may chance to put his foot upon, or stumble against, a deity. A little red paint smeared over a rock, or stone, a lump of clay, or a stump of a tree, makes a god of it, if the pigment be only applied in an orthodox manner. Before this the warrior and the noble bow, and the poor fall prostrate in adoration. Yet, with all this sameness of character in making the religious element appear everywhere, there is a wide diversity of creed and objects of adoration. "Any monster, any figure partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads and hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship. The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids, or semi-globes, and of plain human figures sitting cross-legged, or standing in a meditative posture, point out the temple or excavation of a Buddhist; the twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid announce a temple of the Jain." Ever since the foundation of the Buddhist and Jain religions this variety has existed, and yet the sameness of social character connected with it has been maintained. The Brahmins have changed much in the objects and in the ceremonies of divine worship, new gods and idols having been adopted with a political time-serving which speaks much against the sincerity of the devotees, yet the genius of Brahminism has been *semper eadem*. The rise and progress of Buddhism compelled the Brahmins to adapt themselves to the ecclesiastical exigencies of the times; the suppression of the rites of the Buddhists and Jains by violence, strangely wrought similar phenomena of change. It was necessary for the Brahmins to conciliate races and parties who were attached to gods of their own, invented by themselves, or by some one for them, who was inventive in the line of god manufacturing. The worship of Rama and Krishnu, of Siva and Bhavani, was in this way intercalated among the devotions of more ancient deities. Brahminism from that date deteriorated; it gradually became less and less pure speculatively, and the unfavourable social influences of the system proceeded, *pari passu*, with the speculative decline. "Their religious rites have, in fact, degenerated to mere incantations, all directed to the same end, through the efficacy of a spell, and the requisite ceremonies have become so numerous and intricate, that no votary could accomplish them, were he to devote day and night to their performance." *

The existence of various tribes who all claim to be of Arryan stock would indicate that the original invaders were a federation of distinct tribes, or else that different portions of them mingled more or less with the aborigines, forming for their descendants distinctive personal and social characteristics. The placid but not unwarlike native of the south differs much from the timid Bengalee; and how unlike to either are the turbulent, sanguinary, and predatory Mahrattas. Between the Nerbuddah and the Indus almost all assume to be descendants of nobles or military chiefs, and are consequently called *Rajpoots* or *Rajwars*. These, governed by petty chiefs, waged, from time immemorial, savage warfare upon one another; their affinity of race seemed to inflame their mutual aggressive propensities. Mr. Walter Hamilton affirmed nearly forty years ago "that any general similitude of manners existed before the Mohammedan invasion is very doubtful, but certainly there are in modern times strong shades of difference in the character of the Hindoos dispersed over the several provinces." That there is some difference of character is obvious; but had Mr. Hamilton said creed, custom, race, and physical power, instead of character, he would have better expressed himself, for, notwithstanding the diversities in these respects, there is a strange identity of essential character among all the natives of British India. This moral monotone may be recognised throughout all the varieties of men and manners presented, although in "travelling through Hindostan, from Cape Comorin, up the Carnatic, the Deccan, and through Bengal, to Cashmere, an extent of about twenty-five degrees of latitude, under many general points of resemblance, a very great variety of habits, languages, and religious observances is perceptible—nearly as great as a native of

India would find were he journeying from Gibraltar to St. Petersburg."* This seems to have been the state of things which Alexander the Great found existing within the limits of India whither he carried his arms; and the knowledge subsequently obtained by the Greeks, during the occupation of portions of North-western India by that people, confirmed the accounts afforded by the *savans* and *literati* who accompanied the imperial conqueror. Thus India, past and present, is connected by the unchanged character of the people. New religions have sprung up, and declined; new dialects have grown into existence; new conquerors have invaded the fair land; rivers have changed their courses; earthquakes have swallowed up or cast down once renowned cities; the sea washes where once the rice-field bloomed; and the salt marsh or the strand are seen where erst

"Old Ocean made his melancholy moan:"

but the people are like the people of the past; there is a psychological identity between the early Arryan disciples of the *Vedas*, and the modern worshippers of new gods and practisers of magical incantations. Far less enlightened, and less moral than the pupils of Menu, yet, amidst their grovelling superstitions, multiplied castes, and contact with Western civilization, they are the same in disposition, sympathy, tastes, capacities, and in the genius of their customs and social life.

In looking back to the India of the Arryan invaders, the most striking differences between the condition of the people then and the people now are those of different religious opinions and principles operating upon social institutions. Buddhism, Jainism, and Mohammedanism, were of course then unknown, and Christianity had not yet shed its radiance upon the gloom of human grief; the Day-star had not visited the overshadowed world. As shown in the chapter on the religions of India, monotheism, gradually undermined by a philosophic yet simple polytheism, prevailed, but men were not subject to the horrid rites which the gods, afterwards invented or received by the people, are believed to enjoin. The early life of Arryan India was simpler, purer, and more hopeful of the future, although the germs of religious corruption existed, which afterwards produced the deadly upas of Brahminical idolatry and superstition.

The two earliest evils that present themselves to the investigator of Arryan social life, are invidiousness of race and the institution of caste. With regard to the former, the language which betrays its existence is often suggestive of some exciting cause—such as the like feeling on the part of the aborigines, their resistance to the powerful settlement of the immigrants, or the practice of treacherous and cruel modes of warfare. There is in the devotional expression of the Arryans an aggrieved tone; they supplicate the Almighty as those who required the interposition of his justice, and felt that their cause was righteous. This of course would not *prove* that the aborigines gave just cause for the complaints made to Heaven against them, for we are familiar in the West with the prayers and *Te Deum*, where those who offer the petition or chant the triumph know that their cause is selfish and unjust. Still a very peculiar feeling breathes through the Arryan prayers against the native enemy, which shows either that conciliation had been tried in vain, that the settlement of the new race was designed to be a legitimate occupation of lands uncultivated and unsettled, without injury to those who had settled other portions, or else that the Arryan race were arrogant, grasping, and unjust, unable to comprehend the difference between *meum* and *tuum* beyond the limits of their own consanguinity, and withal malignant, even at the foot of the throne of Him whom they believed to be clement and benevolent.

The literature of a people will always reveal their social condition. In an early chapter the literature of India, ancient and modern, has been noticed. That which has come down to us is chiefly religious; and except so far as the *Vedas* disclose the existence of purer opinions, however far back we trace the social history of the country, the moral character of the compositions proves a low moral and social condition.

The drama in every country bespeaks the character of the people. All races may be tested by their amusements. The phrase *in vino veritas* may obtain a larger signification than that in which it is employed: the exhiliration of any pleasure, as well as of the cup, reveals our true nature. The Hindoo drama is intensely national. Its productions range over a long period of time; but those of later periods are altogether inferior to those of earlier times, deterioration attending most things worth cultivating in India. Whether this arises from the peculiar characteristics of the Indian mind, or is the result of the deadening and repressive influence of the Hindoo religion, is a problem yet to be solved. The following description of the drama by Mrs. Spiers gives one a glimpse into the social tone of the people which is very instructive:—"The greater part of each play is written in Sanscrit, although Sanscrit has ceased to be a living language; and thus, like the Latin

* *India.* By Walter Hamilton.

plays annually represented at Westminster in the present day, they were imperfectly understood by the audience, and were wanting in dramatic effect. All the droll parts were, however, given in the language of common life, and the puns and jokes will have been universally appreciated. The general rule is to make only the great people talk Sanscrit, and to allow buffoons and women (*sic*) to discourse in the vernacular." *

One of the most interesting Hindoo plays is *Sakoontala*, which has been translated by Mr. Monier Williams. Some of the passages are not only beautiful in a literary, but in a moral sense. A king who had reached the goal of his ambition, finds that elevated station does not exempt him from trouble, and often creates the necessity for taking new paths through the valley of tribulation. He thus moralises upon his experience:—

"'Tis a fond thought that to attain the end
And object of ambition is to rest.
Success doth only mitigate the fever
Of anxious expectation; soon the fear
Of losing what we have, the constant care
Of guarding it, doth weary. Ceaseless toil
Must be the lot of him who with his hands
Supports the canopy that shields his subjects."

In the same piece occurs a passage which shows that the higher ranks in ancient India had "an ear for sweetest harmonies." There is a lovely pathos in the breathing of these stanzas, which receives even a charm from the superstition with which it blends.

"Not seldom in our hours of ease,
When thought is still, the sight of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music, breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul
With a mysterious sadness, and a sense
Of vague yet earnest longing. Can it be
That the dim memory of events long past,
Or friendships formed in other states of being,
Flits like a passing shadow o'er the spirit?"

Another of these plays is called the *Toy Cart*, and Mrs. Spiers has justly observed of it, that "it gives pictures of daily life in India probably before the Christian era." The subject of it does not speak well for life in India in those days. The hero of the plot loves a courtezan, whose character seems no bar to her holding a high place in society, living in sumptuous splendour. To her is attributed various virtues which are thought to be compatible with her obscene profession, reminding one of an ejaculation elsewhere addressed to Indrya, "Thine inebriety is most intense, nevertheless, thy acts are most beneficent!" The parts of other personages make manifest that dissipation in its more revolting forms was not only common in Hindoo life, but complacently tolerated. This play also gives validity to the claims made for the Arryan natives of Hindostan, as to literary taste; the imagery, however, is ornate and ambitious for the most part. In the fifth act, there is a description in which, mingled with language of that character, are some beautiful pictures of an Indian storm:—

"The purple cloud
Rolls stately on, girt by the golden lightning;
From the dark womb in rapid fall descend
The silvery drops, and glittering in the gleam
Shot from the lightning, bright and fitful, sparkle
Like a rich fringe rent from the robe of heaven.
The firmament is filled with scattered clouds;
And as they fly before the wind, their forms,
As in a picture, image various shapes,—
The semblances of storks and soaring swans,
Of dolphins, and the monster of the deep,
Of dragons vast, and pinnacles, and towers."

The *Mudra Rakshasa* is considered by critics in Indian literature as a good specimen of the humour which occasionally pervades Indian compositions, but which is certainly not a prominent feature of Indian character. The following passage from this play affords an instructive glance at the social condition of a by-gone age, which would apply to the native states of the peninsula in the present day.

SCENE:—*Before* RAKSHASA'S *house.*

*Enter* VIRADHA, *an agent of* RAKSHASA'S, *disguised as a snake-catcher.*

*Viradha.* Those who are skilled in charms and potent signs may handle fearlessly the fiercest snakes.

*Passenger.* Hola! what and who are you?

*Viradha.* A snake-catcher, your honour; my name is Jirnavisha. What say you, you would touch my snakes? what may your profession be, pray? oh, I see, a servant of the prince,—you had better not meddle with snakes. A snake-catcher unskilled in charms and antidotes, a man mounted on a furious elephant without a goad, and a servant of the king appointed to a high station, and proud of his success; these three are on the eve of destruction. Oh! he is off.

*Second Passenger.* What have you got in your basket, fellow?

*Viradha.* Tame snakes, your honour; by which I get my living. Would you wish to see them? I will exhibit them here, in the court of this house, as this is not a convenient spot.

*Second Passenger.* This, you blockhead, is the house of Rakshasa, the prince's minister; there is no admittance for us here.

*Viradha.* Then go your way, sir; by the authority of my occupation I shall make bold to enter. So,—I have got rid of him.*

The glimpses afforded to us in the classics of the ancient social condition of India are on the whole numerous, although of course incomplete; they are, however, sufficient to confirm the general opinion, that notwithstanding the great diversity of creed and

* *Life in Ancient India.*

* *Life in Ancient India.* By Mrs. Spiers.

climate, and some diversity of race, he who sees the natives of India in the present generation, contemplates the India of ages long past, so far as the natural temperament of the people, and the genius of their social life, are concerned. Dr. Schwanbeck* in his *Megasthenis Indica*, has done much to recall attention to those portions of Greek literature in which India is referred to, and which have been so much neglected by the learned. The introduction to the doctor's treatise very ably discusses the knowledge which the Greeks possessed of India, previous to the time of Megasthenes, and comments upon the notices contained in the works of writers after him, down to the time of Albertus Magnus. The *Index rerum Memorabilium*, which concludes Dr. Schwanbeck's book, is extremely valuable to the student of India as known to the ancients; the space available to the author of this History forbids his minutely discussing this interesting topic. It is to the classics that we are indebted for any key we possess to the broken labyrinth of Indian history.

Sir W. Jones was not only a superior Sanscrit, but also a good classical scholar. In the year 1780, he encountered in his Sanscrit studies the names or name Chandragupta, Chadragupta, Chandra Gupta; he found also in the Greek and Latin writers references to an Indian king under various names, suggestive of this Sanscrit appellation, and concluding that the same person was referred to, he was enabled to fix the period of his reign, and thus open up a chronological clue to the history of India. By comparing the Sanscrit records with Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and Athenæus, no doubt was left in his mind as to the identity of the distinguished ruler to whom each referred, and it became possible, and in some instances easy, to fix the date of his rule. In another chapter devoted to the historical portion of this work, the age of Chandragupta will be noticed; it is here only necessary to point out that by this identification of the same person in Sanscrit and Greek writings, a clue is given not only to the chronology of Indian history, but to a recognition of the manners, custom, and social life of the people, at particular intervals in remote ages.

The first allusion to India in the classics is in Homer,† in the introduction of the *Odyssey*, where, under the term Ethiopians, the Indians are undoubtedly referred to. Under this name the aboriginal inhabitants of India are designated by various early writers, such as Scylax, Hecatæus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, and it is probable that the aborigines of India, and the Ethiopians proper, were the same race. In Virgil allusions are made to the Indians in terms which afford little or no light as to their habits. Virgil, in the *Georgics*, sings of the Gangarides as having been vanquished by Augustus, which was not historically true.* The same poet refers to the great rivers† of India, and to some of the characteristic productions of the country.‡ Horace affords but little brighter glimpses than Virgil of the habits of the Indians. He, however, like Virgil, refers to the characteristic productions of the country.§ He classes them with the tribes and people remote from the Romans, such as Medes and Scythians, and describes them as marvelling at the grandeur and greatness of Augustus.‖ In describing the day of glory about to shine upon the world, he describes the Indians as *superbi nuper*.¶ The Roman emperor is described as leading in triumphal pomp the Seres and the Indi, *subjectos Orientis orae*.**

Thus very little aid is given to the research of the scholar by the classics, as to the actual early Indian life, unless so far as the writers whose knowledge was based upon the experience gathered by the armies of Alexander, and the garrisons that remained after the conqueror himself retired from the scene.

There are legends extant which furnish some, but only few, means of conjecture as to the hearts and homes of the people previous to the invasion of Darius. There are four of these which connect ancient India with the west. The most ancient is the legend of Semiramis, who is represented as having invaded the East 1978 years before Christ. The legend of Rameses Sesostris, according to Langlet, dates B.C. 1618, and according to Dr. Hales, B.C. 1308. The legend of Dionysius, 1457 B.C.; the legend of Heracles, 1300 B.C. The most interesting of these legends is that of Dionysius or Bacchus, in which, under the name of *Parashri*, he is identified with India, which country, according to the legend, he conquered. The mythological story of Dionysius is sufficiently known from other sources not to require relation here. According to the myth, he not only vanquished the Indians, who are described as fierce tribes, but he taught them civilization, and is especially identified with their knowledge of the use of the grape. The represen-

* *Megasthenis Indica: fragmenta collegit, commentationem et indices addidita.* E. Schwanbeck, Ph. D. Bonnæ, MDCCCXLVI.

† *Odyssey*, book i., 23d and 24th lines.

* *Georgics III.* 27.
† Ibid. *II.* 138; *Æneid*, ix. 31.
‡ *Georgics I.* 57; *II.* 116—122.
§ *Carm. Sæculare, I.* 31. ‖ Ibid. *IV.* 14—42.
¶ Ibid. 56. ** Ibid. *I.* 12—56.

tations made of the travels and conquests of the god are varied. According to Arrian, he founded the city of Nysa on the Cophen, near Cabul, which opened its gates so freely to Alexander the Great, and where his troops are represented as having abandoned themselves to riotous enjoyments, as will be shown in a future chapter on the history of the Macedonian's conquests in India. According to the Alexandrine writers, Nysa was the confines of the god's Indian invasion: Euripides limits his travels to the bounds of the Bactrian empire:—

"Leaving the Lydian's gold-abounding fields,
The Phrygian's, and the Persian's sun-struck plains,
The Bactrian walls, and Media's rugged land,
I came to Araby the Blessed, and all
The coast of Asia, where it stretches out
Along the briny sea, where many Greeks,
Mixed with barbarians, dwell in fair-towered towns.
At length, arrived in Greece, I here am come,
That by my dances and my solemn rites
I may assert my high divinity."

The general tradition was that all India fell before the divine invader:—

"Where art thou, Conqueror, before whom fell
The jewelled kings of Ind, when the strong swell
Of thy great multitudes came on them, and
Thou hadst thy thyrsus in thy red right hand,
Shaking it over them, till every soul
Grew faint as with wild lightning?"

These lines give expression to the classic idea of Bacchus in connexion with India. Dr. Croly has conveyed it in a few lines, written on an antique head of Bacchus, the stanzas are entitled *The Education of Bacchus*:—

"I had a vision!—'Twas an Indian vale,
Whose sides were all with rosy thickets crowned,
That never felt the biting winter gale.
And soon was heard a most delicious sound;
And to its music danced a nymph embrowned,
Leading a lion in a silken twine,
That with his yellow mane would sweep the ground,
Then on his rider fawn—a being divine;
While on his foaming lips a nymph shower'd purple wine."

If these legends have any real basis, then it would follow that, however obscured by myth the stories may be, ancient India had a knowledge of the civilization, such as it was, of more Western Asia, of Egypt, and of Eastern Europe; and that whatever the peculiarities of the aborigines of India, and their Arryan conquerors, the social life of that country, and of the more western nations, was not then so greatly diverse. Probably this is so, and the changes which have occurred in the more western regions have placed the present social life of the East and West so widely apart. The language of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, will in such circumstances bear peculiar significance:—"The genius of the Indian people is against the production of such records as books and manuscripts. Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the south Arryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history and truthful annals, but of such epics as the *Rama Yana*, and the *Maha Bharrat*, as vast in their extent as they are gigantic in their fancies and imaginings. Hence it is that the India of the past must be gathered from the India of the present; and that taking our stand on the immutability of Indian civilization, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago.

"Keeping in view this fact, the present aspect of Indian civilization may be considered philosophically with more ease, however difficult it may be to trace the original causes by which that type of civilization was produced. Even with regard to ourselves, we are perhaps taking back to the banks of the Ganges a system of civilization, the first germs of which were originally borrowed from them."

Possibly the higher classes in British India are more like their prototypes in ancient India, than the poorer ranks resemble the lower orders of twenty centuries ago. There are many circumstances to justify such a supposition. The chiefs and higher orders in the native states seem, in all respects, to resemble those of whom we read in remote Indian antiquity. It is impossible but that some influence, the result of the Mohammedan invasion, modern education, the press, and the new ideas of science, which even India has not been able to shut out, has modified the customs of those who reside under British dominion, and also those of the Mohammedan chiefs. Yet when it is considered how little even the educated natives hold of intimate intercourse with Europeans, it will not be deemed surprising that so little light has fallen upon even this region of the native mind. There are a great many Europeans resident in India who do not understand any of the vernacular languages, and there are few who could travel amongst the natives from the apex of the peninsula to the Himalayas without requiring interpreters in most of the lingual divisions of the country. Some years previous to the mutiny of 1857, there appeared a great desire on the part of the respectable natives to promote an English education in colleges and schools, established partly by government, and partly by native support; but the imprudent zeal of many Europeans to make the teaching of Christianity in such schools a *sine quâ non*, roused the jealousy and alarm of the Brahmins, so

that many wealthy native promoters of an education which would extend the knowledge of English, and open up better means of intercourse between the two races, became opposed to the work they had at first espoused. Major Philips, who was commissary of ordnance at Cawnpore, gave, in 1858, the following account of his success in establishing Christian schools for natives:—"When I arrived at Cawnpore, in 1852, to take charge of the arsenal at that place, I found myself solicited by both Hindoos and Mussulmans to re-establish a school which should provide for the care and education of children while their parents were engaged in magazine duties. I told the applicants candidly,—'You come to me to aid your children to obtain knowledge. I shall be most happy to do so; but I wish you to consider that 'knowledge is power,' and I cannot aid you to obtain that power without providing the only safeguard for its proper use. As a Christian, I know the only safeguard is to be found in the teaching of God's book; therefore, if you desire my aid, the school must be opened with the reading of one chapter of the Bible daily.' It was so opened, and it throve steadily; for, though at first only about forty came, the attendance rose to as high as seventy-seven boys in numbers, while the school held on, as I believe usually, during the three years of my charge at Cawnpore. There were annually one hundred and eighty-one Hindoos and Mussulmans in the Cawnpore magazine establishment, and, possibly, seventy-seven was a good proportion of children received into tuition under the principle set forth."

The very success of such proceedings created disaffection. The better class of natives, and those engaged in the English military service in even humble situations often belonged to that class, might at first accept the terms offered in such cases as the above; but they would be sure to repent of their concession under the influence of their own religious teachers; and a re-action would be set up in their minds, causing suspicion of the motives of the English, and a bitter animosity to them. A very considerable number of British in India, especially ministers of religion, urged upon the East India Company pressingly, and even angrily, the duty of providing Christian teaching for the people, but more especially those in their employment. When the mutiny broke out this pressure increased both in India and at home, and measures were proposed to the company, which, if attempted, would lead to the loss of India, as certainly as an attempt on the part of the court and parliament to establish the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain would lead to a revolution. The company was always willing to provide religious instruction for such of their servants as professed the Christian religion, but this did not satisfy those who believed that it was the duty of governments to instruct communities in religion, and who held as a consequence, that no education should be imparted unless religious instruction accompanied it. After the breaking out of the mutiny, and while an agitation prevailed in England on this question, the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh demanded of the court of directors increased facilities for spreading the Christian religion. The tone of the memorial was calculated to commit the company to a course which would inevitably lead to resistance on the part of the people of India. The following reply of the honourable the court of directors expresses the true policy to be observed in the matter:—"The court must decline to enter on a discussion of the questions brought forward in the memorial, but they command me to assure the memorialists that they have never failed to take such measures as have seemed to them requisite for securing the means and opportunities of religious teaching for such of their servants as profess the Christian religion. As regards the efforts of missionaries for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, free scope has been afforded to their labours, and the court are not aware that any hindrances capable of removal by government exist in the way of the reception of the gospel by those of the natives who come under the teaching of the missionaries."

Movements of the kind made by the presbytery are printed in the native journals, and commentaries are made pointing out to the chiefs and educated natives generally, that a conspiracy to destroy their religion exists in Great Britain; that the government is powerless before the will of the English people; and that it is time for those who love their religion, whether that of Brahma or Mohammed, to prepare to meet the change upon which the people of England have set their minds. The natives are also told by their newspapers to remember that the financial resources of India are to be employed for the forcible religious subjugation of the people who supply those resources; and such language as that of the Edinburgh memorialists, and of public religious meetings, and the religious newspapers of Great Britain, is produced and analysed, to show that it is not by moral suasion, but by government schools, and government schemes, that a large portion of the British people hope to subvert

the religions of Hindostan. Such articles are ably written, and fill with an incurable resentment to England the minds of the reading population of India. There can be no doubt that in this way a barrier has been raised between the higher classes of natives and the English, which confirms the former in their principles, prejudices, and customs. The extension of English education among the natives, without Christian instruction *by government*, is the remedy on the one hand; and the education of all officials in the languages of India is the remedy on the other against this social exclusiveness, which sets at defiance the desires and purposes of enlightened men to penetrate the dark circle of native society, with the civilization and opinion of the West, and more especially of England. In fact, every attempt to put down by law and force the customs of the people must alienate the higher classes as much as the lower, and in some respects even more. It is a sacred duty to interpose when the sacredness of human life is invaded, as in the case of suttee, infanticide, and immolations beneath the car of Juggernaut; but even this is difficult, as self-sacrifices cannot be prevented except when a part of some great public ceremonial, and scarcely even then. Yet in the face of so obvious a truth, it is demanded of the government by religious communities in India, and in England, to interfere with the customs of the people, whenever they are, in Christian opinion, immoral. Thus repeated appeals have been made to government to abolish polygamy, and to suppress the indecency of the ceremonials of heathenism. These requisitions amount to a demand for a holy war, a crusade against the whole people of India; which, if attempted, certain defeat and destruction to the British would in the long run be the result. The following graphic sketch of the horrors of Indian life, and of the situation of Englishmen exposed to a juxtaposition with it, from the pen of a missionary, at once illustrates the deep-seated customs of cruelty which pervade the social life of India, and the prevailing disposition on the part of religious Englishmen to urge upon the government the suppression, by the strong hand, of what the natives consider to be a part of their religion, and in defence of which, when they will defend nothing else, they will fight to the death:—

"There are thousands of my countrymen who hear of ghaut murders, and other horrors of India, but few realize them. Let me just give them an idea of the reality. At present I am residing near the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, and scenes like the following constantly occur under our windows. For example, about midnight we hear the noise of a number of natives going down to the river, there is a pause, then a slight muttering, and sometimes you may catch the sound of some one as if choking; it is truly a human being, a man who is having his mouth crammed with mud and dirty water by 'his friends.' 'Hurree bol! hurree bol!' they urge him to repeat, and when he appears dead they push his body into the stream, then, singing some horrid song, they depart. Soon the tide washes the body ashore, and then we hear the dogs and jackals quarrelling over their horrid meal, as they tear the corpse limb from limb. In the morning a few vultures are sitting around the spot, and nothing remains but a few bones to attest one murder out of hundreds, perhaps thousands, committed every night on the course of this dreadful river! Within one-eighth of a mile I have counted the remains of six human bodies, and it is said that when property is in question it is not always a sick man who is thus treated. Every one knows that the bodies of men, women, and children pass constantly to and fro in the river, and all this goes on under the shade of our mission church and schools, where one or two persons are spending their lives to rescue a few of the millions who are engaged in these abominations. Yet it is a fact that every discouragement has hitherto been thrown in the way of those who, putting aside questions of sect, &c., are labouring at least to moralize the brute creation around them.

"About a week since the *churrockpoojah* was celebrated here. I saw a man, with hooks thrust through his flesh, whirled round and round more than one hundred times, some twenty feet in the air, in the presence of thousands of men, women, and children; while other devotees, almost naked, and smeared over with dirt and ashes, were sitting in a group below, and a third was smeared with coloured earth, carrying a bottle in his hand, the personification of debauchery, and all this amid the noise of tom-toms and barbarous music, which made the beautiful landscape appear peopled, as it were, with a batch of devils from hell. Hundreds of bad women fringed the whole assembly, and all this not ten miles from Calcutta, and under the eyes of our Christian government.

"There are innumerable abominations too filthy to be mentioned; the worship of the Ling everywhere, and the one great fact that the idolatry of Bengal is merely the deification of vice. The Romans, with all their corruptions, built temples to Pax and Virtus, but the Hindoo deities are merely devils. Surely these are crimes which ought to be put

down by any government, and which should be suppressed merely as being hostile to the fundamental principles of authority in any state."

The utterance of such appeals to the law and to its ultimate resort, the sword, is transferred to the native journals, eagerly read by the native chiefs and Brahmins, and the word is sent round that their "holy religion is at stake," that "the infidels are making ready to destroy by force all that is sacred in the land, and which they inherited from their fathers." No wonder, if the better classes, who might otherwise be ready to embrace our civilization, meet the English as enemies, scowl upon them with the animosity of religious rancour, or smile upon them with that deceptive flattery of which the native is so capable, and which even serves to nurse his hatred. In such a state of things, how philosophical and how just the language of Indophilus:—"While our Indian government has, on the one hand, invited suspicion and encroachment by sensitive timidity, it has, on the other, prohibited self-immolation and infanticide, abolished slavery, withdrawn from open connection with idol temples, and permitted the remarriage of widows. It is time that our policy should be clearly defined. To rule with diligence, and to protect all classes of persons in the exercise of their lawful occupations, is the special duty of government; and no advantage can be gained by a confusion of functions. Our influence as a Christian government will chiefly depend upon our full and successful discharge of this duty. We cannot legislate for India as we should for a Christian country. Polygamy is an immoral and degrading practice, but nobody in his senses would propose to abolish polygamy by law in the present state of India. To prohibit the obscene representations with which the idol temples and cars are covered, would be to turn iconoclasts on a grand scale, and to attempt to put down the Hindoo religion by force. If we would avoid a violent reaction which would put an end to all hope of improvement, we must follow rather than anticipate public opinion; and to enlarge the knowledge of the natives, and to induce them to take correct views, is therefore the condition of all solid progress. In dealing with immoral and inhuman practices which arise from false religion, we must consider time and circumstances; but a great deal may be done consistently with a prudent regard to practical results. The courts and offices have always been closed on Sunday, and Lord Hardinge extended the observance to the public works; but, in addition to this, public business is suspended in deference to certain heathen festivals, the longest of which occurs at the busiest time of the year. Every public servant should be allowed a certain number of working-days in the year for recreation, and the particular time at which each person takes his vacation should be a matter of mutual arrangement; but the public offices should, as a general rule, not be closed except for the necessary seventh day's rest. Caste is at the root of half the social evils of India. It is the life of Kulin polygamy; it promotes infanticide; elevates certain classes at the expense of others, whom it holds in a state of the most abject degradation, forbids the commonest offices of charity, and destroys all the kindly affections of our nature. The government ought not to interfere in an arbitrary manner with any man's caste; but let men of every caste and of no caste at all be equally admitted into the public service, and when they have been admitted let them be dealt with alike, and let not caste be pleaded as a ground of exemption from any duty. Caste would thus be placed on the same footing as drunkenness, which is not permitted to be pleaded as an excuse for any offence. If this system is faithfully acted upon, the school-bench,* the railway carriage, the public office, and the regimental company, in all of which the Christian, the Mohammedan, the Brahmin, and the Sudra will be found side by side, will in a few years extract the sting of caste, and reduce it to its proper level. These are, however, only the outward manifestations of a deep-seated disease, and if we would do effectual and permanent good, we must endeavour to operate upon the root of the evil. Many years ago some gentlemen at Calcutta formed a society to discourage cruel native practices, such as the exposure of the sick upon the banks of the Ganges, and the swinging on hooks fastened through the muscles of the back at the Charak Puja; but when they examined into the subject they found that these practices were so mixed up with the Hindoo religious system, and grew so directly out of it, that nothing short of the conversion of the natives to Christianity would effect any

* The following extract from the report of the director of public instruction under the Agra government, dated the 3rd of October, 1855, relates to the Saugor school:—"The fact of a Chumar heading the second Persian class with 282 marks out of 300, the second boy being a Rajpoot, the four next Brahmins, the seventh a Kaith, and the eighth a Mussulman, is deserving of note. The admission of the Chumar into the school had been violently opposed; some Brahmins left in consequence, but the committee remained firm, while the judicious treatment of the delicate question quieted the objecting parties. A similar case occurred a few months ago at the Budaon school, when the quiet determination of the authorities gained the day." The same thing had frequently occurred before, under the sanction of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta.

real moral change. The government has done all it can to put down Thuggee, but the seeds of Thuggee lie deep in the Hindoo religion; and the moment the repressive force is removed, Thuggee will spring up and flourish as much as ever. 'Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' The chief difficulties of our civil administration are traceable to the same source. What can be done for a people who dare not complain, who habitually disregard the truth, and who, when they are intrusted with power, too often deceive the government, and oppress their fellow-countrymen? We must, of course, do what we can, by paying well and punishing well, and administering cheap and simple justice; but the only effectual remedy is to begin at the foundation by educating the young and infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society. It is a great mistake to estimate the progress made towards the evangelization of India only by the number of persons baptized. If Christian truth is presented to the native mind by every available avenue, what is known in modern phrase as public opinion, will at last turn decidedly in its favour, and then a nation will be born in a day."

Of course the population of India, and more especially the high castes, would resist the purpose of Indophilus, as well as that expressed in the quotation from a missionary; they will do what *they* can to resist the infusion of Christianity, but the better classes of natives in India would not rebel on that account. They do distinguish between a desire on our part of "infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society," and an attempt by the sword to revolutionize their whole social system, and put down what is opposed to Christian ethics. The religious test established by Major Phillips at Cawnpore was sufficient to provoke insurrection, and was unchristian, for it was a breach of faith. Such a test is not consistent with the 87th clause of the act 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, which is justly regarded by the natives of India as a charter of their liberties:—"And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." If this charter of Hindoo liberty continue to be broken, as the people of India believe that it is broken, our efforts to conciliate them to our government and civilization, will be in vain, and all our efforts to open a free communication between the English and native mind unavailing.

On the 22nd of February, 1858, a voluminous paper, or rather series of papers, was presented by the home government to the public, illustrating the feelings of the company, and the views by which on this subject they had been regulated. It contains the copy of a despatch from the East India Company to the governor-general of India, dated the 21st of April, 1847, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support of missionary efforts, and of despatches from the government at Calcutta, with a series of papers referred to therein, in in reply to such despatch. The original despatch of the directors of the company (21st of April, 1847) runs as follows:—"You (the governor-general of India) are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted on by all our servants, civil and military. The government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should therefore be aware that while invested with public authority their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of the subject is taken in India, and we therefore deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent." A good deal of the correspondence which follows the despatch refers to the best and most politic mode of acting on the above injunction of the company, but the details are barren of interest. A mass of papers follow, relating to the temple of Juggernaut, the withdrawal of the government donation thereto, and the placing of a military guard within or without the temple, and including lengthy memorials from local missionaries of various persuasions.

It is desirable that our readers, and the people of England, should be convinced that a stern struggle has commenced between the people of India in defence of their religious rights, and a class of Englishmen who seek to invade those rights from the best of motives; and that this struggle tends to alienate from us the natives of India, and especially those classes upon whose intelligence reliance was placed for co-operation in the work of civilization. The grand barrier now to any melioration of the social condition

of India has been raised by ourselves by espousing the adoption of force, however modified, in the propagation of Christianity. The writer last quoted has eloquently and truly placed the whole matter in a true light in the following passage:—"Religion imparts a superhuman intensity to whatever it touches, and the natives of India are eminently a religious people. The whole strength of the empire has been put forth to subdue the revolt of a portion of our native army. What if our whole native army and armed police force, the native states, and the majority of the population, were hereafter to declare against us? Systematic violation of the rights of conscience is quite capable of producing such a result. The nationality of the natives of India is bound up with their religion; they concentrate in that one idea all the feelings with which Englishmen regard Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and every other guarantee of their civil and religious liberties.* To this some would reply:—'Nothing is further from our intention than compulsion; but let a class be established in every government seminary for Christian instruction, which those who choose may attend.' This, however, is only another application of the same principle. The government would still usurp the office of the missionary. The produce of the taxes would still be employed in propagating one religion in preference to every other. Religious equality, which is the sacred principle of justice in connection with the highest interests of man, would still be as far removed as ever. There would also be a constant cause of irritation and antagonism in the same institutions between the conformists and nonconformists to the Christian teaching. The Hindoos in vain put forth the strong arm of power against the Buddhists, and the Mohammedans against the Hindoos; but the kingdom of Christ, which will be the last and greatest, will be established by the 'sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.' We could not hope to trample out the old faith in blood and ashes, as the Reformation was suppressed in Belgium—and what would be gained merely by irritating? Does Ireland, where the experiment has been made under far more favourable circumstances than can be hoped for in India, offer any encouragement? And what would be the value of converts made under the influence of fear or favour? What security should we have that they had not merely added hypocrisy to their other vices? Our own religious divisions here in England, although far less than those which prevail in India, have made it impossible for us to agree upon any united plan of education; but from the collision of different opinions has been struck out the grant-in-aid system, which was extended to India in 1854. This is the true solution of the much vexed question of religious education. Far more may be done by encouraging private effort than by the direct action of the government. The English in India take a warm interest in the improvement of the natives; the English in England have at last awoke to a sense of their duty to India; and the natives themselves are not only craving for instruction, but are disposed to aid the good work by liberal contributions and endowments. The part which the government has to perform is the establishment of universities on the plan of the London University, and the Queen's University, in Ireland, for the purpose of testing and certifying the attainments of such students as may present themselves for examination; the providing instruction in branches of knowledge which are of so special and advanced a kind that they are beyond the reach of private associations—such as law, medicine, civil engineering, geology, chemistry and metallurgy, and the fine arts; and, above all, the maintenance of an efficient system of inspection over all schools and colleges which desire the pecuniary assistance of the government, or the guarantee for efficiency and for the faithful application of appropriated funds which such a supervision would afford." Such a course would at all events disarm the higher ranks, and deprive the Brahmins of much of their power. If, however, we would influence the social condition of the upper walks of Indian life, not only must Englishmen study the native tongues, English be extensively taught, and education in science and the arts be afforded without the least interference, direct or indirect, with the religion of the people, but the literature of England must be made of easy access to those of the educated Hindoos who chose to make themselves acquainted with it. Indophilus has also put this subject in an instructive form before his readers:—"Another potent engine for the formation of the national mind is the construction of a vernacular lite-

* "On the single occasion on which I had the happiness of seeing that holy and humble man, Dr. Carey, he expressed a decided opinion against the government taking any part in native education, and, as he was in a state of great bodily weakness (it was shortly before his death), the emphatic earnestness of his manner made a deep impression on me. He had, no doubt, deeply reflected upon the impossibility of the government giving Christian education, and upon the objections to its giving education without religion; and it must have occurred to him that even if the difficulty which attended the teaching of Christianity by the government had been got over, it would only have landed us in a state religion."

rature of which English will be the storehouse of knowledge, and the Christian religion the source of inspiration. The importance of the 'vulgar tongue' was seen in our own Reformation; and it is a happy circumstance that the Brahminical and Mohammedan priesthood.* in their desire to keep the people in a state of ignorance, have left this ground unoccupied for us. The time and talent of India have been wasted to a surprising extent in learning words as distinguished from ideas. When the laws have been made accessible to the people by an intelligible digest, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, will cease to be studied, except for philological and antiquarian purposes, and the national mind will be set free for the cultivation of the spoken languages of the governors and governed, which will be united by the bond of a common printed and written character." As this is a question to be settled very much by authority, it will be desirable to confirm the views of Indophilus by the authority of others. A contributor to a popular periodical makes the following philosophical and practical remarks:—"One of the characteristics which mark Christianity as the only universal, and therefore the only true religion, is that its requirements are embodied in general principles which are capable of varied application according to the circumstances of different climates and nations in different ages of the history of the world. The present state of India illustrates this catholic wisdom, this liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free. In old Christian countries preaching to adults, in old heathen countries the education of the young, is the most direct and effectual mode of acting upon the population. It would be well if, instead of setting in motion against the popular religions of India the stupendous machine of government, with the certainty of a fearful recoil, our people, acting in the spirit of their Divine Master, would increase the lamentably inadequate means of instruction and persuasion furnished by the existing Bible, tract, and missionary societies, which are already possessed of a large amount of experience, and are capable of almost indefinite development. The following letter has reference to the devoted exertions of a departed friend of native improvement, whose zeal we should do well to imitate, while we profit by the additional light which has since been thrown upon the subject:—'The *Siddhantas*† are very useful in their way, but the real knowledge they contain is not to be compared with that which is to be found in the commonest English school-books, and, such as it is, it is mixed up with the most egregrious errors. When the *Siddhantas* have once been used as an argument against the *Paranas*, they have done all the good which is to be expected from them; and to print them, circulate them, and encourage their study, in preference to more useful knowledge, would be decidedly mischievous. ——'s prevailing error is, that he gives an inordinate degree of attention to the instruction of the old, whose habits of mind he can never effectually change, to the neglect of the young, whom we can mould in any way we please. He does not commence to instruct men till they have become confirmed in their prejudices, and then truly says that a vast amount of abstruse argument, drawn from *Paranas*, *Siddhantas*, &c., is necessary to persuade them, and that they set their face against every innovation. This must be an endless task. Instead of letting the old system die out, and planting a new one, he only lops off a few of the upper branches of the old system, and so we might go on from generation to generation without making any sensible progress. He seems to overlook the great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way they should go. All our pains and money would then be well bestowed. We should have no prejudices to contend with; we should have easily moulded minds to deal with; and we should raise up a class of influential intelligent youth, who, after a few years, would become the active propagators of our system. I cannot understand the policy of teaching a very inferior kind of learning when it is in our power to teach a very superior one. I cannot imagine what is to be gained by expending our means on a far less apt class of pupils when we have at our disposal another whose minds we can form from the very first to the entire exclusion of erroneous systems. The best use of communicating with the old on literary and scientific subjects is to impress them with an opinion of the superiority of our learning, to overcome their prejudices against it, and to induce them to intrust their children to be educated by us.'" Some of the most cultivated minds in the service of the Indian government look at the matter in the same way, and feel that the customs and manners of native India can only be thus influenced.

* The word "priesthood" in connection with Mohammedanism must be here used as a synonyme for ministry, as properly the Mohammedans have no priesthood.

† The *Siddhantas* are the comparatively modern and enlightened Sanscrit treatises on natural science, while the *Paranas* contain the unmitigated absurdities of the old Hindoo system.

The course thus recommended is perfectly reconcilable with a determined resolution to ignore caste; that is to say, ignore it by not interfering with its practices among the natives in their relation to one another, and, at the same time, by never recognising its existence in connection with the government, but sternly to disown its justice, and morally to defy its power; but this must be accomplished with prudence and care. The following extract from the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* is a specimen of the ultra and impracticable policy which some of the English in India recommend—a policy which, indeed, might be successful if England could preserve a quarter of a million of European soldiers in India, but not otherwise:—"There can hereafter be no communication betwixt light and darkness, and he who claims the privilege of being guided by 'native custom' must renounce the hope of European countenance or sympathy. The Bengal mutineers have done nothing more than indulge in the customs of their caste and country, and nothing beyond what was sanctioned by custom and by creed. With men who think such things permissible, did opportunity occur, we can have no intercommunion whatever. From the perfect facility with which infanticide, Suttee, slavery, and Thuggee, all great institutions of the country, have been put down, we have no doubt whatever that half the other privileges and usages we fear to meddle with would vanish were we only bold enough to face them. The use of greased cartridges, and the readiness with which all classes travel together by rail, add to our convictions on these subjects. A caste man and a native custom man, adverse as both must needs be to progress and to the advancement of the great human family, are the enemies of the commonwealth, and ought to be made to contribute many times more to its government than those who are its friends. Were the highly orthodox triple-taxed, struck from the list of justices and government-house visitors, and assured that public employment was not to be looked for by them, we should find caste vanish like smoke, the Brahmins most probably discovering, as in the case of Suttee, that the *Vedas* and *Shasters* were never in reality meant to have been interpreted as they have hitherto been."

The difficulties attending an impartial administration of the public funds for purposes of civilization and intellectual culture, so as not to excite the jealousy of the natives, and yet not to countenance their excessive distrust, or compromise our own dignity, many years ago excited the attention of men of the most eminent position in England, and especially those upon whom serious responsibility devolved in connection with this very question. It will be seen from the following extracts from the minutes of the general committee of public instruction at Calcutta, between March, 1835, and February, 1838, that the majority of the committee was then alive to the considerations which now justly occupy public attention in this country.

On the question whether chaplains should be admitted to be members of the local committees:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—Attaching the utmost importance to the real impartiality of our conduct, I believe that much more harm than good is done by excessive squeamishness, not even as to the appearance actually exhibited, but as to the notions that some singularly suspicious persons may by some remote possibility entertain of appearances which do not really exist.

Mr. Colvin.—I entirely agree with the president (Lord Macaulay) and Sir Benjamin Malkin. I can only repeat Mr. Macaulay's words—"I do not like general rules for excluding classes of people from our local committees." Restrictions of this nature generally arise from overstrained apprehensions, and their ordinary result is to excite and confirm the feelings of distrust and division, which, if not so recognised and sanctioned, would speedily be effaced by the influence of time and experience. We ought not to set the example of believing that the faith of a clergyman cannot be trusted.

On the question whether an infant school at Goruckpore should be assisted out of public funds:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—There remains ——'s "political jealousy" of anything like connection with systems or societies professedly religious. I have already stated how little this is applicable to the present case. But I must say one word with reference to his concluding observation, "that it is not enough to be neuter in this great point of religious education; we must also act so as to inspire the confident belief that we are what we profess to be. I certainly do not believe that any body of men ever yet got credit for neutrality by extending a discouragement to their own supposed opinions, which they did not apply to others—nor that they ever got credit for honesty by holding out that they were not fit to be trusted. Real neutrality must always before long be understood and confided in. But if the reputation of neutrality can only be secured by a decided bias one way, it becomes fit for consideration, on one hand, how far those who do not feel that bias are justified in assuming its appearance, and, on the other, how far the principle of caution is to be carried. There may be individuals among the native community who think that every manifestation of interest in Christianity disqualifies the party exhibiting it from impartiality in the conduct of education. Completely to satisfy this jealousy, our friend Mr. Trevelyan might be removed from the committee as being too frequently seen at church, and known to be an active member of some religious societies. This is not likely be done; but to do it, and to allow our Mohammedan and Hindoo members to frequent their mosques and perform their poojas without objection* would not,

* After Lord William Bentinck's resolution of the 7th of March, 1835, by which the promotion of European literature and science was declared to be the great object of the British government, had been passed, Hindoo and Mohammedan gentlemen were for the first time appointed to be members of the general committee of public instruction.

I think, be a bad illustration of some theories of ostensible neutrality.

Sir Charles Trevelyan.—From the course which the Goruckpore institutions have taken from their commencement, they would seem to have established (what I believe it would be very easy to establish everywhere) that most salutary understanding and belief, that it is perfectly easy for the same man to be sincerely attached to his religion, and anxious for its diffusion by the usual and regular channels of missionary exertion, and yet to be strictly honest and trustworthy in the conduct of an institution in which there is a complete exclusion of every tendency to proselytism.

With respect to the continually expressed apprehension of the effect likely to be produced in the minds of the natives, I have a strong suspicion that we make the difficulty for ourselves, and that a steady perseverance in real impartiality, without the squeamishness which exists about imagined jealousies, would leave us in full possession of the confidence we enjoy, and avoid some important evils which we incur. I do not believe that any set of men ever did good to themselves or others by continually proclaiming that they were not fit to be trusted, except, indeed, in cases where the proclamation was true.

The character of the higher classes of natives is generally in every sense bad. They are licentious, unjust, cruel, deceptive, superstitious, sharing all the vices of the mass of the people, without the industry and loyalty which many of the poorer natives (who are cultivators) would practise, were it not for the bad example set them by the Brahmins, rajahs, and talookdars. This class has been until of late years pampered by the British government, to the disadvantage of the community at large, and of the government itself. The celebrated despatch of Lord Ellenborough in condemnation of Lord Canning's policy in Oude in 1858 seems to have been dictated by the same policy which actuated, or appeared to actuate, Lord Cornwallis, when he made the Bengal settlement. Had Lord Canning, after the Indian mutiny, confiscated the whole property of the talookdars of Oude, he would have simply dispossessed robbers of their plunder, and have taken occasion to redress the wrongs and restore the rights of the unfortunate and oppressed cultivators. This policy might have been impracticable, because of our weakness, as was the opinion of Lieutenant-general Outram, but it was neither unjust nor impolitic in itself. The following criticism from a periodical of 1858 upon the conduct and arguments of Lord Ellenborough, and those who supported him in condemning the just policy of Lord Canning, is as correct as it is severe:—"Lord Ellenborough bids us be tender of Hindoo gentlemen. What is a Hindoo gentleman? Nana Sahib is a Hindoo gentleman. General Sleeman describes the Hindoo gentleman in the country. The author of the *Life and Court of an Eastern King* describes the Hindoo gentleman in town. The Hindoo gentleman is a picturesque, but not a very amiable or useful person. He has turbans and shawls, slippers and scimitars, elephants and horses, harems and divans. He has also the indolence of a glutted, or the fury of a famished wild beast. His relation to his less noble and interesting neighbours is that of a lion to the sheepfold or an eagle to the poultry-yard. He has no marketable value himself, and he destroys those who have. The title-deeds and personal appearance of the four-footed or feathered plunderers go for very little with the colonist. Why should greater consideration be extended to the featherless biped of prey by the victorious British government? We have in India an industrious, wealth-creating population, topped by a corrupt, idle, and disaffected aristocracy. We are asked to imitate the Spartan policy of ruling the multitude by supporting the oligarch and the tyrant. We are asked, at the end of a war which leaves us in the position of our own Henry VII., to rebuild the 1115 castles that defied the law under Henry III. Has history imputed 'confiscation' to the Hanseatic League for sweeping away the robber barons of the Rhine? or to France for abolishing the dey of Algiers? There are classes in the human as in the animal family which are too costly and too mischievous to keep for mere sentiment. There is always much to be said in favour of getting rid of them. They must take the consequences if they afford a good opportunity. Why John Bright, of all men in the world, should sympathize with them in their fall will probably exercise the acumen of future historians to discover, in like manner as the part played by Penn in the court of James II."

The conduct of Lord Canning very much resembled that of Sir Charles Napier upon the conquest of Scinde, who confiscated the property of the jaghires, which they held conditionally upon the will of the government, but which he restored when punishment answered its end, and the submission of the vanquished was ostensible and complete. The proprietary right in the soil of Scinde was, at the date of the conquest, and still is, held by cultivators, farmers, or by whatever other name they may please to call landholders. They held their land upon condition of paying to the government, as land-tax, rent, or revenue, one-third of the gross produce of their estates; that is to say, when the crop ripened, government agents were deputed to see it reaped, and the grain trodden out in the field; when trodden out, the entire heap was separated into three portions, whereof the landholder, cultivator, &c., retained two portions, while the government agent carried

off the remaining portion, a small and specified quantity being taken in the first instance from every portion to pay for the expenses of reaping. But as a correspondent of the *Times*, quite familiar with the subject, the other day remarked, the government had to maintain an army, and this army was entertained upon quasi-feudal principles, it being the leaders or officers who were paid not in money but in kind. For instance, a chief came to the government, and said, "I am prepared to enter your service, and to be always ready for action, with a hundred men: what pay will government give me?" Government said, "Your pay shall be so many bushels of grain. Take you, therefore, this title-deed, proceed into the district specified therein, and receive from the landholders (cultivators, proprietary-right, or usufruct holders, or what you will) whose tax to government amounts to a like number of bushels, that tax or rent in lieu of government." The jaghire man, then, was he who stood to the proprietary-right man in the position of government, and government had alienated to the jaghire man their tax claim over a specified area, in consideration of his military force being always ready when called upon. Sir Charles Napier, when he conquered the country, declared the rights of the old government to be transferred to the new government. One of these rights was of course the tax, for a longer or shorter period, alienated in favour of the jaghire men. Therefore these government liens upon the lands became liens of the English government. But in regard to the landholders, cultivators, proprietary-right men, or what not, Sir Charles Napier declared that private property should not be interfered with. Therefore there was no confiscation, unless through error, of any proprietary right. Subsequently Sir Charles Napier, deeming it expedient and just to confirm the jaghire men in the government taxes alienated to them by the old government, called a meeting of all the feudal chiefs at Hydrabad, and added that those who then attended, and publicly tendered allegiance by a certain date, should receive fresh title-deeds, confirming them in their old government alienations. They came accordingly, and were confirmed; so that, while in Scinde, no proprietary, or, as it is commonly termed there, zemindarry right, was ever interfered with, from the first, the jaghire, or government alienations, were first declared in a general way to have reverted to the state, on the introduction of a new government, and were then returned to their holders, in virtue of these holders ceasing to be hostile to the new government. It is impossible not to identify the two policies. The zemindarry class in Scinde was, as a whole, no better than that of Oude, but a bold policy, tempered with clemency, subdued in them the desire for insurrection, and caused them to feel that nothing but allegiance could secure their own interests. This is the true policy with the whole class. They are utterly unpatriotic and selfish. A correspondent of the *Times* from Western India describes correctly the people of India, and more especially the chiefs and great landholders, and also our past, and what must be our future, policy towards them, in the following paragraph:—"Of the hundred million whom we govern in India there certainly are not ten who could comprehend the possibility of a man concerning himself for the good of the country at large, or extending his regards beyond the circle of his kindred or friends. And yet, after all, the ingratitude and the cruelties which horrify humanity, and put the cannibal to shame, are plants of oriental growth, and which have always flourished in the East. The natives treat each other just as they have treated the English who have recently fallen into their hands. They have no idea of captivity, unless associated with torture or extermination. To burn or punch out the eyes, to burn the bowels out, are matters of everyday occurrence, from the earliest periods of their history down to the present time. The interposition of the British government is being perpetually called upon to shield the native subject from the inflictions of his sovereign or chief. We have had within the past five years before us memorials from Baroda, from Kattiwar, from Ajmeer, Kotah, and other places in Rajpootana, all to the same effect; and if monstrous tyranny fell short of bodily torture or capital infliction, it was to the British government that even this much of mercy was to be ascribed. The eyes of Europe have now for the first time been opened to the condition of India and the character of its people; and such things as those that until now have been of constant occurrence must never again be suffered to appear. A stern iron despotism, never stooping from its dignity, or flinching from its duty, must take the place of that good-natured and well-intentioned combination of compromises, coercions, checks, and temporisings hitherto looked upon as the masterpieces of an Eastern administration. Brooking no resistance on the part of those we rule, it will be the first duty of the rulers to provoke none; and exacting propriety in others, to show an example of unbending rectitude in ourselves. The time will come, but not now, when public employment and emoluments may be re-opened to the native; when it does arrive, the first test of his deserving the

countenance of the civilized is the renunciation of the badges of barbarism."

Hitherto the British government has shown great partiality to this class. In 1857 there were 3082 Europeans and Indo-Britons in the uncovenanted service of India, and there were nearly as many natives—2846 being the number, of whom 2560 were employed in the judicial and revenue service—a proportion which shows the disposition of the government to encourage the natives, and make them sharers in official advantages; yet some of the most furious rebels of 1857–8 were native magistrates and assistant judges, while in all the operations in Oude one of the chief difficulties of our commanders was the connivance of the native police of every rank with the mutineers and revolted chiefs.

An impression has prevailed in England that much Indian stock was in the hands of Indian chiefs and rich native merchants. On the 18th of May, 1858, a parliament paper was published, which throws some light upon the question as to the relative proportions in which the territorial debt of India is held by natives and Europeans. Up to the 30th of April the returns present the respective totals, but for the last years no such particulars have been received, and the only material for forming an opinion consists in the amount of the subscriptions of each class of persons to the various new loans opened. In 1847 the total government debt in India was £36,536,093, of which £23,446,877, or about sixty-four per cent., was held by Europeans, and only £13,089,216 by natives. These figures show the holdings on the part of the natives to be smaller than has generally been supposed. There is no reason, however, to believe that subsequently the proportion has been lessened. Of the sum of £9,600,280 subscribed to various loans up to May, 1857, the amount taken by Europeans has been £6,281,040, or about sixty-five per cent., against £3,319,240 by natives. As regards one other loan of £4,036,553 the respective figures are wanting.

The main features in the social life of the princes and talookdars are cruelty, tyranny, rapacity, and licentiousness. In 1858 the following was communicated to the *Poonah Observer*:—"It appears from the journal of a European traveller that a new and fearful mode of execution had been adopted by the King of Delhi. The instrument and process are thus described:—A box, each side of which is fifteen feet square, is constructed of timber, about eighteen inches thick, dovetailed together, and braced with iron rods. The outside of the bottom of the box is covered with a plate of beaten iron one inch in thickness. The interior is filled with perfect cubes of granite, weighing in the aggregate several thousand tons. A machine is erected after the manner of an ordinary pile-driver, but of course on an enormous scale, and of tremendous strength. The mass is raised by powerful machinery cast in Birmingham for the express purpose, though it is presumed that the machinist by whom the work was furnished had no idea of the horrid purpose for which it was intended. The human victim is placed upon a block of granite of a corresponding surface buried in the earth immediately beneath the enormous mass, and covered with a plate of iron. At a signal given by the vicramadack, the executioner touches a spring, the mass falls, and the victim, crushed at once, is suddenly annihilated, and spread out like a sheet of pasteboard! The huge weight being again raised, the flattened body is withdrawn, and dried in the sun. When completely prepared, it is hung over the wall of a public building, there to serve as a warning to the multitude."

The brutal tyranny and rapacity by which the chiefs, their soldiery, and the native "headmen" of the village communities, and many of the people, are characterised in their treatment of one another, is exemplified by a narrative of the state of the country on the banks of the Jumna during the revolt of 1857. The *Hurkaru*, a well known Indian journal, assured its readers of the authenticity of the account. The sufferers were Bengalee pilgrims, and one might suppose their religious character and objects would have ensured them protection from their brutal and dastardly plunderers:—"A few months ago, some time before the breaking out of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi, a number of persons, chiefly Bengalee women, of respectable families in this town, started on a pilgrimage to the shrines of Muttra and Brindabun, in three boats. They arrived at Allahabad without meeting with any impediment or obstacle, some days before the 1st of Joistee last, on which date they left that place, and entered the Jumna. The mutiny of the third cavalry at Meerut, and of the regiments at Delhi, had then taken place, but they heard at Allahabad nothing of the affair, beyond that some disturbances had occurred at those places. Proceeding up the Jumna for several days, they arrived at Humeerpore, the head-quarters of the district, the authorities of which informed them of the dangers of the trip up the river; but, on their persisting to proceed, allowed them four guards to accompany them to the end of their jurisdiction, strictly enjoining them on no account to cross the river, but always to keep along the Humeerpore bank of it. They got up with safety as far as

Michreepore, where the guards left them, repeating to them the injunctions they had already received. From this latter place they proceeded up to a place called Simarah, a few miles above Calpee, without much serious opposition, as the country was then comparatively peaceable. This last mentioned village stands on the bank of the river, to which they had been prohibited to go; but the boatmen, fancying that the navigation along it was comparatively easier, imprudently crossed over, and moored the boats, the number of which had increased to eight since they left Allahabad, on an adjoining chur, for the purpose of cooking their food. They had not, however, been long there before they could see a party of four or five hundred ruffians, mostly villagers, armed with swords, latees, and muskets too, descending down to the shore with an intention which they had no difficulty to conjecture. Fortunately, however, as the alarm had been given in time, they hastily got upon the boats any how they could, before the rascals could arrive on the spot and seize the boats. The river at this place being very narrow, the shouting and yelling of these desperadoes, furious at losing their prey, brought out masses of villagers on the other bank, to which the boatmen and the trembling, weak, and helpless pilgrims, were invited to come over, with offers of assistance and protection. But no sooner had they gone there than they found that these men were not a whit better than the fellows on the other bank; for their head man told them in plain words that if they wished to be saved from being plundered and dishonoured, they must immediately pay down to him and his followers a handsome sum of money as the price of his protection. Under these difficult and dangerous circumstances they handed him six hundred rupees, upon which he agreed to follow them with his men along the shore down to Calpee, where they were assured they would find protection from the zemindar, who had declared himself the rajah of the district. They were told, besides, that the voyage further up was very dangerous, and that no less than twenty-nine boats, all filled with pilgrims like themselves, had been some days before plundered at Etawah. Accordingly the boats began to ply down, the head man and his men accompanying them along the bank, but what was their surprise when they saw fresh bodies of men appearing on both banks, shouting to them in the most abusive and threatening language to lagow the boats; the head man, however, be it said to his honour, still remained their friend, and but for him they had certainly been lost; for he told the boatmen to disregard their threats, and use their utmost exertions to carry down the boats till they reached Calpee, while he with his men employed some means to slacken the pursuit of those who were most furious for the prey. This, however, had the most fortunate effect of raising an altercation between the two parties, which enabled the fugitives to reach Calpee without further molestation. One fact ought to be stated here very distinctly, that among the ruffians who had pursued them, setting all law at defiance, there was perhaps not one mutinous soldier, but that they were all villagers and people living along the banks of the river. This proves very clearly, notwithstanding anything that may be stated to the contrary, that whole villages, at least in that part of the north-west, have turned rebellious, and done their best to disorganise the country. These men, it can scarcely be denied, have done their best to overturn the authority of government, and have in most cases cheerfully obeyed the authority of any rebel zemindar who had power or influence enough to proclaim himself rajah. Arriving at last at Calpee, vainly hoping to see the end of their troubles, the fugitives were immediately surrounded by bodies of bravoes, calling themselves the rajah's men, who came ostensibly with the purpose of protecting them, but really to see what they could get. Here they were detained for nearly two months, during which time, though they were not much molested, they had the mortification of being spectators of many an atrocious act, the principal of which was the cold-blooded assassination of an European gentleman and his lady. When the fugitives arrived at Calpee they were still living, but only a few days after their arrival, when it is said a body of mutinous soldiers arrived at the place, those two helpless persons were murdered under circumstances too revolting to allow for description being given. Suffice it to say that, under the heat of a burning sun, both the gentleman and his wife were made to run like horses up and down, till out of mere exhaustion they fell down half dead, when a number of the bloody miscreants hacked them to pieces with swords. The bodies were then thrown down the river like the carcass of an animal. It is unnecessary to state that while this is being written the writer is fervently praying to God that the government may soon be enabled to take the most terrible vengeance —a vengeance, the remembrance of which may last for centuries in the villages and hamlets of the north-west. At Calpee, too, the fugitives learnt with what feelings of hatred the people looked upon the English, and the desire prevalent among them of ex-

terminating the whites. One of them who had imprudently said that he could speak English was brought to a serious scrape, out of which he was extricated with no little difficulty. They had with them several English books, which the boys used to read, and English shoes for their use, all of which they threw down in the water. The self-styled Rajah of Calpee, they also learnt, had given orders in the bazaar to sell company's pice, which they call *lad-shahee*, at thirty-two *gundahs* for the rupee, that is to say at half their value, and the old copper coins of the place, which they call *balu-shahee*, at ten gundahs for the rupee, a rate which they never had. At Calpee the fugitives were joined by six of the twenty-nine plundered boats already spoken of, which had proceeded as far as Etawah. From the people in them they heard most horrid tales. All the fourteen boats were then allowed to leave on the 1st of August last, not before they had been searched, on the payment of a fine of twelve rupees for each of the first eight boats, and six rupees for each of the other six. As the river had then risen, they descended very swiftly down, without daring to stop anywhere; and, notwithstanding the danger of the navigation in the Jumna, the boats were rowed even during the nights. When they arrived at Humeerpore they saw the bungalows of the Europeans looted and burnt, and the place in a state of complete disorganization. Further down Humeerpore, at a place called Churka Murka, the villagers fired on them from both sides, and even pursued them to some distance on their heavy boats called *kachovah*. It was not, however, before they arrived at Allahabad that they considered themselves out of all danger. The party has recently returned to town, having paid nearly one thousand rupees to different persons, as the price of their protection, as already stated."

The oppressions practised by the talookdars and zemindars upon the ryots, is one of the most striking features of the cruel and grasping dispositions of the Hindoo gentry. Dr. Russell, the Oude correspondent of the *Times*, represents the zemindar system as having preserved Bengal to the dominion of England. Certainly it may have contributed to do so, because the plunder and oppression of the class must perish before the arm of the multitude, were it not that Great Britain upholds it. Feeble as the Bengalee character is, such rapacity and tyranny as the zemindars of Bengal perpetrate, would be resisted were it not for the power of England, which upholds the grievance. It would be impossible to give an adequate description of the hardships of the ryot class under the zemindars and middlemen, by whom they are rack rented. The law courts are constantly made, by these tyrants, the instruments of their cruelty. In a single district there were in one year thirty thousand prosecutions of ryots by zemindars. Indeed the "land cases" in the courts of Bengal are overwhelmingly numerous. Mr. Capper alleges that eighty per cent. of the produce is wrung from the wretched cultivators, and Mr. Colebrooke avers that a man who renders one half his produce in rent or tribute is worse off than a labourer in the same field, who receives only three pence per day. In other parts of India, wherever the zemindar system prevails, unless very powerful checks are placed upon it, similar evils exist, and the native character displays itself in its full proportions of cruelty and avarice. Whenever the law is administered by natives, or native police agents are employed in connection with magisterial functions, the case of the ryot is rendered still more miserable. In Madras torture is a common means of wringing the last mite from the unpitied sufferer. The company has, of course, discountenanced this practice, and European judges and magistrates, as has been shown on a former page, do all they can to extinguish the practice, but the native magistracy and police are easily made the instruments of the zemindary by bribes, and scenes truly "horrible and heart-rending," are of constant occurrence. It is unjust to attribute the fault to the European collectors, as has been done by certain agitators against the company at home. One who knew India well, and has become an authority on Indian history, and the social condition of that country, thus writing of the vast number of tenants under the jurisdiction of a single collector (possibly one hundred and fifty thousand!) observes: —"Not one of whom has a lease, but each pays according as he cultivates, and gets a crop, and with reference to his cattle, sheep, and children, and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural distress and large families there would be in England or any other country under such a system! Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded anything, that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the collector were one of the prophets, and remained in the same district to the age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and a foreigner, and continually changed, it would be strange if the native subordinates did not do as they liked, and having the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally

agreed that the abuses of the whole system, and especially that of remission, is something frightful; and that the opportunities of extortion, peculation, chicanery, and intrigue of all kinds, are unbounded." *

A common source of oppression is the festival. There are many occasions of festivity which furnish an occasion for oppression on the part of the village headmen and officials. Birthdays, marriages, and various other events of a joyous nature, in the families of the zemindars, middlemen, headmen, chiefs, &c., are seasons of sorrow to the unfortunate cultivators, who must furnish *abwabs* for the great man's festal enjoyment. Every poor tenant furnishes some valuable present, in kind, according to his calling, or the particular description of produce which it falls to his hard lot to raise. Thus, the "oil-maker," provides oil for the chief man's lamps; the milkman brings his vessels of milk; the farmer, his compliment of rice or wheat; and every one who produces anything or possesses anything must bring his offering. All the subordinates of the magistrates and collectors, such as *naibs*, *gomastas*, and *paiks*, levy their own abwabs, and the miserable victims dare not even remonstrate, much less refuse. Every effort on the part of Europeans to protect the sufferers from these harpies have proved unavailing; "their tyrants are their countrymen," who follow with a ferocious pursuit all the poor people who have anything left which the zemindar or chief, or what else their oppressor may be called, has not taken away. In spite of the interference of the European officers, these imposts are exacted pitilessly. Means are always found to intimidate the poor man from complaining, and generally his own personal timidity and moral cowardice secure the impunity of the insolent official.

The higher classes of Hindoos, notwithstanding their rapacious despotism, are polite to the people. There are many forms of courtesy customary on the part of the rich to the poor, and the chief to his followers. There are also many ways in which what appears to be a respectful personal concern for them is exhibited; and often there is justice between one follower, or servant, and another when the great man has no interest of his own pending, or when neither party can secure by a bribe a judgment in his own behalf.

Many of the chiefs and the higher classes live in luxury and sensual indulgence, although their habits of food are nearly as simple as those of the poor, rice and other vegetables constituting their chief diet. The houses of the rich, except in a few great cities, are generally mean; but the rich merchants, particularly among the Parsees, in Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachee, and some other places, live in fine edifices, furnished in the most costly manner, and with all the appendages of oriental splendour. The chiefs have their palaces, and maintain retainers of servants and guards in feudal state. The number of their retainers are sometimes scarcely credible: the deposed king of Delhi, while a pensioner of England, held a portion of the city called the palace, but which was a city in itself; his relatives depending upon his bounty were hundreds in number, and all these had servants, who, observing the rules of caste, required others to perform various menial offices for them. This is a specimen of the mode of life and lazy state of other princes similarly situated to the supreme power. The Nana Sahib, whose atrocities have made his name so ignoble through the whole world, had at Bithoor, Calpee, and other places in their neighbourhoods, tasteful residences, and maintained a style more in conformity with European tastes, while his notions of oriental grandeur were similar to those of other chiefs. There is always a great reluctance on the part of deposed chiefs to diminish the number of their retainers, and if their means are inadequate, their swarthy and turbaned followers are kept in a sort of dirty and ragged state, sometimes repulsive, and often ludicrous. Over these wretches the fallen chieftains tyrannise with all the unqualified despotism of the East, and yet they will espouse the cause of the meanest, or most reckless of the gang, whose pilfering fingers or too ready sword may have brought him to trouble, as a trespasser upon the domain of other chiefs, abject or regnant, or of the great chief "the company sahib." The number of these deposed chiefs, supreme in pride, ambitious of power, filled with the greed of territory and of jewels, with enormous harems to support, and lawless robber followers to protect and feed, had so increased of late years by our various annexations, that a powerful element of treason was created and fostered in the midst of Indian society. Like tigers imperfectly chained they at last broke loose, and rushed forth to their own destruction, but not until they had wet their fangs with the blood of the brave and good, and sent thousands and thousands to a dark and dreadful doom.

* Campbell's *Modern India*, chap. vii. p. 861.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE social conditions of the rich and poor, although widely separated in some respects, especially by the bonds and barriers of caste, as the foregoing pages show, have of course common characteristics from the influence of superstitions to which both are subject, the common effects of climate, the traditions of race alike affecting them, and that mysterious orientalism which all through Asia forms certain customs, and inspires a certain tone in connexion with all castes, classes, and races. The leading moral attributes of the masses are not better than those of the chiefs, notwithstanding that the opportunities of tyranny and licentiousness might be supposed to indurate the hearts and enervate the minds and bodies of the former, so as to stamp upon them, on the whole, a worse impress of character; but the lower orders are as ready to inflict upon others the very tyrannies of which they complain themselves, whenever fortune gives them the opportunity; and there is not a piece of plunder, which evoked their own protests and griefs, which they will not perpetrate upon men in like situations, if chance gives them the power. The peasant, who has been tortured by the revenue officers of Madras, if he himself gains the office of a policeman, or assistant in any form to a collector, will immediately inflict the very evils against which he has for years supplicated redress. The chiefs and high-caste oppressors are but conspicuous samples of those who groan beneath their sway. The great Duke of Wellington, one of the closest observers of human character, formed an opinion of the sepoys and people of India the most unfavourable. Writing to his brother (Lord Mornington), in 1797, he says—and the passage is curious and instructive at the present time—"The natives, as far as I have observed, are much misrepresented. They are the most mischievous, deceitful race of people I have seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality, even for the state of society in his own country, and the Mussulmans are worse than they are. Their meekness and mildness do not exist. It is true that the feats which have been performed by Europeans have made them objects of fear; but wherever the disproportion of numbers is greater than usual, they uniformly destroy them if they can, and in their dealings and conduct among themselves they are the most atrociously cruel people I ever heard of. There are two circumstances in this country which must occasion cruelty, and deceit, and falsehood wherever they exist. First, there is a contempt of death in the natives, high and low occasioned by some of the tenets of the religion of both sects, which makes that punishment a joke, and I may say an honour, instead of what it is in our country. All our punishments almost are the same, excepting imprisonment and whipping, which occasion loss of caste; and are, therefore, reckoned too severe for the common crimes for which we inflict them at home. The punishments of the Mussulman governments are precisely in the same state. The Hindoos don't care for them, excepting they occasion loss of caste; and the Mussulmans are now so nearly Hindoos that they have not a better effect upon them. Secondly, there is no punishment for perjury either in the Hindoo or Mussulman law. Their learned say that God punishes that crime, and therefore man ought not; and as oaths are notwithstanding administered and believed in evidence, no man is safe in his person or property, let the government be ever so good. The consequence of all is, that there is more perjury in the town of Calcutta alone than there is in all Europe taken together, and in every other great town it is the same." *

It was not likely that a people of such a character would either manfully resist oppression, or faithfully serve an enlightened government. The sepoy revolt proves nothing against this assertion, for the revolters had been taught and disciplined by Englishmen, and must have drawn something of military pride from their teachers. The writer of a recent popular pamphlet truly observes, "Although much has been said to the contrary, there is no good reason for believing that the people of India of the present day differ, in any material respect, from those who, eighteen hundred years ago, met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Hydaspes. They have for a long series of ages been subjected to dynasties, in the establishment of which they have had no manner of influence, but under which they have frequently suffered the extremes of cruelty and oppression. Those dynasties have been frequently overturned and new ones set up; not by any efforts on part of the people, but by the invasions of strangers, or by the treachery

* *Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.* Edited by the present Duke.

of the relations or servants of the reigning king,—who, having inaugurated their success by indiscriminate massacres, tortures, and spoliation, proceeded to govern as their predecessors had governed, without much reference to sense, justice or humanity. Politically, they may also be divided into two great classes, those who live by work and those who do not. The latter, quite insignificant in point of numbers, had, until the establishment of the British power, always been the scourge and terror of the former. The quiet, hard-working tillers of the ground, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, seem never to have offered any effectual resistance to the tyranny and cruelty of the idle, dissolute, rapacious, and merciless poltroons, whose abominable cruelties and abject cowardice have recently rendered the name of sepoy * for ever execrable."

The poor of the agricultural districts are generally regarded as more moral, social, and happy than those of the great cities. Certainly, they are exempt from the temptations which abound in the latter, and which the presence of European soldiers, sailors, and traders do not always decrease; but as in England we do not, on the whole, find the agricultural population more virtuous and honest, neither is it so in India, and the relations of the cultivators of the soil to those from whom they hold it, frequently, as has been already shown, create occasions of wrong-doing altogether peculiar to the country. Life in the "Mofussil," either for European or Indian, rich or poor, is very far from being an exemption from temptation.

It is undoubtedly a fact that wherever native Christians are numerous, the *morale* of the people is better than where the population is not Christian, but it is alleged that the *physique* of the Christian population is inferior, a statement of which no sufficient proof has been afforded; the Christian population, except in some districts of southern India, is too limited to warrant such an allegation. Although generally living in groups, their presence gives a moral tone to the neighbourhood, or at all events, they maintain a distinctive social character themselves. There are no returns by census absolutely to be relied on, but the impossibility of pronouncing an unfavourable judgment upon the physical qualities of the Christian natives as the result of a perfect induction, may be seen by giving the Christian census in one of the non-regulation provinces as a specimen. According to the last account taken, the Christian population of the Punjaub consisted of European males of fifteen years and upwards, 270; females, ditto, 262; male children under 15 years, 184; female, ditto, 193. Eurasian males of 15 years and upwards, 201; females, ditto, 205; male children under 15 years, 125; female, ditto, 174. Native males of 15 years and upwards, 88; females, ditto, 70; male children under 15 years, 53; female, ditto, 71. This is exclusive of military and covenanted officers, soldiers, and camp followers.

It may, however, be affirmed that, both morally and physically, the half-caste Portuguese are among the lowest specimens of humanity in India.

The huts of the cottiers are generally very wretched, and their temporal condition extremely squalid. The hut is generally situated in a small patch of garden, fenced with bamboo, or it may be a loose wall, not dissimilar to those which bound the cottier farms of the west of Ireland. It consists of two small rooms, a roof of jungle-sticks and leaves protects it from the sun and rains. It depends upon the terms of the holding as much as upon the disposition of the holder, how far any signs of taste prevail. In some places, particularly near Madras and in the Deccan, the abodes of the occupiers are prettily concealed by foliage, which extends its graceful shade, protecting from the torrid sun. When these cottages are placed near a cooling spring, and the wild flowers and flowering shrubs of the Deccan are encouraged, the cottage site is often sweetly retired and attractive.

Generally, the interior of the cot is as wretched as the exterior. The cottage itself is often built with mud, although sometimes bamboo or branches have a large share in the materials of the construction. The floors are mud, and rushes are generally scattered over it —a luxury which, although often within reach of the Irish peasant, he does not seem even to think of. The furniture of the Hindoo cottage home is as scanty as that of his Celtic brother in the far West. A few earthern vessels suffice to hold water or to aid in cooking, although sometimes vessels of brass and copper are in use. The only seat is a single bamboo stool, and mats made of rushes, which serve also for beds. The broad leaf of the palm and the banana serves very well instead of plates or dishes.

The dress of the people is very scanty. Children are seldom clad at all until they are nine years of age; and when it is remembered how early maturity takes place in that precocious climate, females often marrying at eleven, this arrangement does not speak well for the social taste of the natives, who, how-

* The sepoys are not always recruited from the non-working classes, but in the Bengal army they generally were.

ever poor, could obtain some slight covering for their children such as they procure for themselves. The men wear a single piece of cloth, made of calico and well bleached, round the loins. Sometimes the cloth is dyed, after the ancient manner of staining, but seldom of more than one colour, which is according to the taste of the wearer. Yellow or orange is a very favourite colour, and so is a bright vermillion. When a feast or a religious ceremony is attended additional apparel, consisting of a scarf, is worn. The women wear a long piece of very white cloth, wrapt in easy folds around them, so as to display any grace of figure the wearer may possess. There is, however, a *negligé* air about the matrons which *mesdemoiselles* do not affect. In some parts of the south the young females of the Brahmin caste, however poor, often wear their robes, of the purest white, most tastefully and modestly, yet disclosing figures of perfect symmetry and beauty. There are of course classes superior to the above scattered over the land: heads of villages, district functionaries, and dwellers in small towns, who pretend to somewhat of Hindoo gentility, whose wives and daughters dwell in distinct apartments, whose sleeping cotton mat is a little more showy, whose waist-cloth is whiter and more copious, whose earthen drinking vessels are transformed to utensils of brass, who dine off real plates of clay, and do not tremble at the names of "zemindar" and "burrah sahib."* Uncared for, low in the scale of humanity, removed from all softening or ennobling influences, the height of their enjoyment, all that they value, is a carouse at the festival of some repulsive deity, or their midday gossip and hookah with the heads of their village under the cool shade of a banyan-tree. Home duties and domestic happiness are words without meaning in their ears; their wives and daughters have no social status, no education; they are simply necessary pieces of human furniture for the physical uses of man, and whose sole destiny is to raise families, to boil rice, and finally to die. The mode of life of the Indian ryot is one of extreme simplicity, amounting but too often to misery, the result of an outward continual pressure kept on him by the zemindar and others of that class. The members of a family dwell with each other from grandfather to grandchild with patriarchal contentedness—one leafy roof, one bamboo wall, sheltering old and young, the toiler and the tarryer; happy if the simple meal of roots and grain comes at the appointed time,—happy now and then to snatch a mouthful of forbidden rice from the fields their hands cultivate for the tax-farmer,—happy if at harvest time *all* that crop be not wrung from them in rent and usury.*

The whole social life of India is influenced by caste. Apart from its direct religious and political distinctions and effects, it gives laws to the intercourse of the people in every grade and condition of life. Men may not touch one another, come near one another, pray even in one another's presence, under innumerable conditions prohibited by caste. It is of serious consequence to a man in some parts of Madras if he venture nearer to a Brahmin than the number of yards or feet prescribed to his caste. In diet, more than in any other case, caste creates social indignities, inconveniences, and difficulties. No man will recline upon the same mat at food with another of inferior caste. To eat from the same plate is an uttermost defilement; hence the Brahmins often gather fresh leaves for the purpose, to prevent the contamination of even a touch by the hand of an inferior. In journeying the members of the first three castes—Brahmin, military, and mercantile—are frequently obliged to cook their own food, from the fear of ceremonial defilement, by persons of an inferior caste having any participation in the cooking.

The bazaars constitute an imposing feature in the civic social life of India. Every tolerably large collection of houses has a bazaar connected with them. Sometimes a mere shop represents the marketplace of the village; perhaps it is represented by what the Americans would call "a store." In populous places there will be a street or range of sheds which bears the imposing designation of "bazaar." Rice, corn, ghee, honey, earthen and brazen vessels, calicoes, arms, sweetmeats, armlets and anklets of brass, turbans, tobacco, hemp for smoking, betel, cocoa-nut, and a few trinkets, furnish the magazine of commerce displayed in these places. In the large cities the bazaars are often splendid, comprehending streets and squares within their confines. In these are displayed fruits and confectionery, arrack, ghee, rice, turbans, shawls, muslins, bracelets, carved work in pith and ivory, polished brass and copper cooking utensils, Benares jewellery, gems and precious stones from the Indian diamond mines, and from Birmah, Siam, and Sumatra, silks, leather, lac, cochineal, nitre, tobacco, pearls from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon, the prized cocoa and betel-nuts, jewel-hilted swords, and firearms richly carved and inlaid. The luxuries of India proper, of the neighbouring peninsula and islands, and the useful wares of Europe, are artistically arranged, and their sale urged by every oriental device. In these bazaars may

* *Anglice*, great (or English) master.

* *Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*

be seen the fashion of the neighbourhood, th idle loungers and the business men, the city sharper and the gaping peasant, whose eyes are filled with wonder; the martial but brutal looking sepoy, insolently strutting about; the old Indian officers, quietly conversing, or bearing themselves as if they had chosen a motto from Horace—"*Nil admirari!*" the young cadet from Addiscombe and Chatham or the young civilian from Haileybury (now dissolved) gazing with eagerness upon all he sees, ready for a lark or a purchase, to play the gallant, be taken in by a Parsee, or prove his ignorance of the orient by some *mal à propos* adventure.

The bazaars must not be confounded with markets, of which many are held throughout the country at intervals. The bazaars are standing marts, open at all times for the sale of goods, or the gratuitous dispensation of gossip. At the markets more may be seen of the country people, who crowd in with their vendable produce. Bullock carts, laden with rice or grain, men and women bearing baskets of fruit or vegetables upon their heads, palanquin bearers seeking employment, or carrying a fare, as we in the West would say, crowd the narrow streets, and cause the city to resound with discordant noises. The cries of the carriage drivers, the shouts of the loaded water-carriers, the moaning heavy song of the palanquin bearers, the screaming of children, the lowing of cattle—these, with the dust, and heat, and glare of pent-up, badly-paved carriage ways, make up a scene anything but pleasing to a European traveller.

Fairs are distinct from markets. They occur less frequently, and not in great cities so often as in their neighbourhood, or in the vicinity of some famous ghaut, temple, or mosque. Markets are often held in the fairs, and there is always a bazaar established *pro tempore*, even when there is one in the neighbouring city; but the main objects of the assemblages are religion and pleasure. Generally a strange exhibition of humanity is presented by the blending of gain, fanaticism, sensual pleasure, and idle pastime. In one direction an eager bargain is driving by a trader whose lips are filled with the current phrases of religion; the priests and Brahmins are trading, within the most sacred precincts, in the bodies and souls of the people; fierce mendicants occupy prominent places, invoking and almost menacing aid, or exhibit their sores and decrepitude with all the silent histrionic effect of such actors; the thoroughfares are thronged with weary pilgrims; the swing plays, and numbers of miserable fanatics, with hooks thrust through their flesh, are whirled round; some pompous ceremonial proceeds, glittering with the glare of barbaric Eastern finery; the rude tom-tom beating, other instruments mingling in the repulsive din; and, above all, the shouts of idolatrous fanatics make the air ring with their impure joys: and, alas! amidst all this babel of sights and sounds, this wild variety of human sin and human folly, victims are immolating themselves by some ingenious torture, or beneath some ponderous idol greedy of human victims, or with a shout of frantic enthusiasm some aspirant for purification and eternal bliss leaps into the river sacred to his god, or some forlorn maiden sinks with a sigh beneath its devouring waters. Such are the actualities of a great Indian fair, blended with the festivities of some commemoration, and held in the precincts of a reputed holy place. The holier the reputation of the place in India, the more sordid the worldliness, obscene the impurities, and sanguinary the cruelties, connected with its resort.

The position of woman in India has engaged the attention of Christians and philanthropists much of late years; nor have the efforts of the missionaries, particularly in the non-regulation provinces, been in vain in their endeavours to obtain opportunities for the education of young females. Generally the women are horribly oppressed in every stage of life; often, however, the infant is condemned by her sex to be murdered by parental hands. The code of Menu particularizes with great nicety the relative position and duties of the woman, but it is not so precise as to the duty of man in reference to woman, although various regulations are laid down to guide him. These are generally based in a kindness mingled with contempt, bearing no resemblance to the beautiful theory of the New Testament, according to which the husband is to treat his wife as a vessel of fragile construction, delicate form, and honourable use, with tenderness and respect. The code of Menu enjoins that, while the husband maintains a strict authority, he is to leave the wife "at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations, and to keep her constantly supplied with food, ornaments, and apparel, at festivals and jubilees." The wife is commanded in the most unqualified language to be obedient to her husband, to give herself up to household duties, preparing daily food, and especially seeing to cleanliness in the utensils by which it is cooked. She is to be modest, chaste, and a keeper at home—very much like the obligations imposed upon her by the New Testament. The laws of Menu are particular in enjoining home duties and a love of home, the cultivation of the domestic virtues and family ties. On the whole the Hindoo

woman has much better performed her part than her husband, who exercises a lordly tyranny, and constrains an animal submission. The laws of Menu do not doom the woman to absolute seclusion; and in most of the countries contiguous to Hindostan, at no period, remote or recent, were women shut up entirely from general intercourse. Still, from remote antiquity the practice of the Indians, especially of the better classes, has been to contract the liberty of female society. During the sway of the Mohammedans it became customary altogether to confine the women, or only to allow them to appear abroad attended and veiled. The custom became much what it is in the Turkish empire among its Mohammedan subjects. It is a painful fact, that the woman is even more ready in some cases than her husband to devote her female infant offspring to death. If it be agreed by the parents to preserve the female child, and sickness should befall it, she will probably take it to the bank of some river, and leave it there to die, or to be washed away in the stream, or devoured by alligators; the tender ties of maternity are torn by the superstition of her cruel, idolatrous religion. To have more than one daughter growing up in the family, unless where very rich, is deemed injurious in various ways, the respectability of a family being made known by a daughter's dower. This reputation suffers if that be small, as it must be where the family means are moderate, and the daughters numerous; hence the destruction of many — pride, caste, and contempt for woman, all operating to consign the female infants to death. The mother of a family is even more remarkable for the contempt in which she holds her sex than the father is; and the pride she feels in an exaggerated dower for the daughter permitted to survive exceeds that which he feels. Sometimes, under the influence of these feelings, all the female children are destroyed except one; and if she is carried away by disease, the grief of the parents and brothers is most poignant, and they give it vent in all the intensest forms of oriental extravagance: their pride is wounded, their selfishness mourns. It must not, however, be supposed that daughters are brought up cruelly, because of the contumely heaped in so many ways upon the sex; on the contrary, those who are not made the victims of infanticide are reared tenderly and lovingly, except so far as custom and necessity may consign them to severe and early toil.

There is a very strong prejudice against the education of woman. This has existed in the native mind from a remote antiquity, and is no doubt one of the causes of the deterioration, religious, moral, and social, which came upon the primitive life of India. Both parents are opposed to placing the daughters on an equality of intelligence, or on an equality in any way, with the sons. When the more enlightened Hindoo families have been remonstrated with upon the subject by missionaries and other Europeans, they have expressed surprise, and asked with unaffected wonder what good could possibly come of a woman knowing anything but her duty to her husband. The mothers treat with playful derision the idea of their daughters becoming the subjects of school instruction; and the fathers point to the expense that would in such case be fruitlessly incurred. If the parents do give their consent, it is much in the same spirit that they would give their daughter a trinket, a toy, or some finery of apparel, not essential to her condition. Even the native press has treated with mockery the subject of female education, and has stirred up the prejudices of both heathen and Mohammedans, by representing the English zeal for instructing women as having its origin in a feeling less noble than a desire to elevate them or extend intelligence. In spite of all these obstacles, this most important instrumentality for the civilization of India is gaining ground. Parental love, the importance attached to female education by the ruling race, and a vague notion gradually gaining access to the mind of the people that some temporal advantage would ensue to their children, causes the matter to be more favourably thought of than heretofore. The native Christians in the Madras presidency are extremely solicitous to have their female children instructed; the half-caste Portuguese, who are to be found in all the presidencies, are ceasing to be indifferent to it; the wealthy Parsees in Bombay have frequently entered earnestly into conversation and consultation with Europeans in whom they confided as to the best mode of accomplishing such a work. The Parsees are very careful as to the seclusion of their females, but frankly confess that if India is to advance in civilization, woman must have greater freedom; that it is impossible for Europeans to multiply in India, and their women enjoy liberty, confidence, and respect, without the fact telling upon the relations of the sexes in the Indian population; that it is well to prepare in time for a change that will sooner or later assert itself; and that the education of the women in India, according to their rank in life, under European training and instruction, is the only way by which such a change can come to pass beneficially to the nation and to the women of India. Among the

Bengalees, especially in Lower Bengal, where the people are not martial, but of a peaceable disposition, and desirous of cultivating the arts of tranquil life, it has been popular for some years to teach the girls in a family to read; and of late years permission has been conceded for their instruction in writing. This was slowly given: a superstitious alarm that something very serious might come of it if woman were allowed this mysterious accomplishment seemed to pervade the minds of most classes. In Pegu, Tenesserim, and Martaban, where the Buddhist religion offers a less obstructive opposition to the instruction of woman, considerable progress is being made in overcoming prejudice and teaching the infant daughters of the people.

However disheartening the oriental prejudice against the education of the rising female generation, there is no reason for despairing of success if government and the voluntary efforts of Christians are persevering and enlightened. It must not be forgotten that even in Europe woman does not hold her true place, nor is she treated in England with justice and equality. No stranger visiting England could fail to observe that woman is allowed more liberty than equality. Sons are generally treated in English families with more consideration and respect; and among the lower classes even with more tenderness. English parents are almost invariably more proud of their sons, even where unmarked by any quality entitling them to the partiality with which they are regarded; and this may be seen, too, where the daughters of the house are cultivated, clever, prudent, and fair, every way superior to their brothers. The law of primogeniture fosters this partiality for the male members of the family, and leads to the inequitable distribution of property between sons and daughters, so characteristic of English family history. Not only among the landed aristocracy, but in London among the commercial, and in the north of England among the manufacturing classes, there is an ambition to place the sons in a superior pecuniary position, and this feeling is carried to an extent not only unjust but sometimes even cruel. If in Europe, except in certain sections of the Celtic and Scandinavian races, there yet remains so strong a disposition to place women in an unduly inferior place in the social scale, it is not matter of either surprise or despondency to those who wish to elevate the women of India, if they find that this old oriental prejudice there but slowly gives way. That it does give way, not only as regards education, but in other particulars, all who have studied Indian history and Indian manners must be aware. The social degradation of women in India is not so profound now as when the English set foot upon the soil of India. The Portuguese, although effecting no other good, set a better example in this particular than the Indians had previously seen. Even where the Portuguese established their settlements, the exclusion of women from social rights was not so inexorable as it had been ages before. If the people and government of England persevere in their efforts to ensure security for the life, education for the mind, and respect for the social status of woman, a powerful inroad will have been made upon the barbarous usuages of oriental social life.

One obstacle to female education in India, is early marriage. Frequently at ten years of age this ceremony takes place. The ancient ceremonials were much more solemn and rational than those now in use, which are simple and almost silly. When the proper moment arrives, after the adjustment of all preliminaries, the bride takes seven paces, in a peculiar form and with certain circumstances of attendant ceremonial; when the seventh pace is made the step is taken for life, the marriage is valid and indissoluble.

The extravagant outlay on marriage occasions has been noticed in chapters devoted to districts and cities, especially in those describing the country and people of Ceylon: in all parts of India inordinate expense attendant upon marriage prevails. The poor incur expenses far beyond their means, and the rich vie with one another in expenditure. As much as one hundred thousand rupees is sometimes lavished upon a marriage festival among the rich. There is a strange display of magnificence and profusion on such occasions. Grand oriental processions gratify the love of pomp innate with the people in those parades of wealth and decoration; elephants hold a prominent place, indeed the grandeur of the bridal party is in some sort estimated by the number of elephants. Dancing forms also a part of the pastime to which the people give themselves up. Nautch girls are hired for the occasion, almost the only one on which native ladies of rank will now give their presence, where the indelicate performances of those unchaste artistes are a part of the entertainment. Mr. Capper, however, intimates that they are commonly attendants upon the parties given by rich natives. In describing their receptions, he says:—"The upper classes of the natives of India are much given to entertainments of dancing and music, to which large numbers of their friends are invited. These take place upon any occasion which may offer a pretext for conviviality or sociability; they, indeed, answer

to the European evening parties. Natives of high birth and rank are proud to have their English acquaintances present on these occasions, and often make great preparations for their reception, especially if, as is sometimes the case, the European should be an official of note. It is at these parties that the 'Nautch Girls' display the gracefulness, and something more, of their figures, with a studied affectation of ease and grace, which, to a European, carries little beyond repulsion. In some parts of India, especially in the southern states of the peninsula, every temple has a troop of these 'dancing girls,' whose questionable earnings help out the sacred finances of the shrine. Some of them dress with great magnificence, hiring their jewelled robes for the occasion, and which are said occasionally to be worth, with their ornaments, as much as £20,000." Whether or no it be as common as this writer intimates for the "nautch girls" to dance at private parties where native ladies are present, they are generally appendages to bridal rejoicings.

Illuminations afford great delight to the people, whether heathen or Mohammedan, especially in the neighbourhood of large rivers, where the native pyrotechnic art is always displayed to most perfection. When aided by sylvan and water scenery the effect of these fire-works is often very fine, and to the natives enchanting, their wild delights finding expression in the utmost transports of excitement. On wedding occasions the names of the bride and bridegroom are by curious devices brought out by variegated lamps among the foliage or over the ripple of the waters; and various representations, in which the profane and sacred figure together in grotesque and unseemly association, are intended to decorate the scene. Fiery emblems gleam everywhere, and sudden transitions in those ornamental configurations astonish the people, throwing them into the wildest manifestations of boisterous joy.

The feasting is on a large scale, but the enjoyment appears more in the gorgeous *ensemble* of the feast than in the viands, which are chiefly light in character; delicious fruits, however, abounding, and the invariable rice, cooked and curried in much variety.

The funerals of natives are scenes of much solemnity. In this respect the Hindoos surpass the Chinese, and the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The destruction of the body by fire, the most solemn and sanitary way for its removal, is chosen by the people of India. The body is washed with fragrant lotions, neatly dressed in perfumed apparel, and arrayed with flowers; it is then borne in procession to the funeral pyre. Sometimes this is performed in solemn silence; at others the keeners utter their plaintive lamentations after the manner of the Celtic tribes, especially as seen in Ireland. Frequently a band of music accompanies the procession, the monotonous beating of the tom-tom, failing to drown the cries of the lamenters, aids the unearthly wail which rises from them. These differences depend upon the race, as much as upon local custom. The scene at the pyre is affecting and solemn, and sometimes the lonely country will be lighted up in the still night as far as the eye can see, with the funeral fires.

When treating of the religions of India, notice was taken of the horrid rite of Suttee, which takes place in connexion with the funeral pyre of a husband. It is here proper to offer a further description, in the language of the author of *British Indian Possessions*. That author presents, in one respect, a view different from what we have met with elsewhere, for he represents the people as often solicitous to dissuade the widow from self-immolation,—almost all writers concurring in declaring the eagerness of the people to urge the woman to her dreadful fate. Elphinstone, however, gives an instance of the kind, and thinks the widow herself always more earnest than her friends for the sacrifice. "Of the first institution of Suttee nothing certain is known; though it is undoubtedly of high antiquity, by being alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, who wrote before the Christian era, and it appears to have been in practice for a long period previously. The belief that the widow is subject to any degradation should she survive her husband's death cannot be correct, seeing that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence for the relatives and friends of the family to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to dissuade the woman from the contemplated act: it is notorious that this is not only attempted, but often successfully; and amongst other expedients employed, is so to occupy the time and attention of the widow, that the body of her deceased husband may be removed and burned before she is aware of the fact. The ceremony of Suttee varies with the local customs of different parts of India, though not perhaps in any essential particulars. In Bengal the widow prepares for the act with many ceremonies, and invariably bathes before mounting the pyre, if possible in the sacred waters of the Ganges. Before firing the funeral altar, the dead and the living are bound together to the pile, so as to preclude the possibility of the latter affecting an escape. In the south of India the women would

appear to need no such precautions. A widow will there coolly set herself on the pyre, and placing the head of the departed husband in her lap, await with Roman firmness the moment when the flames of the burning mass shall envelop her in their embraces. In other parts of India the Suttee leaps into the burning mass from an eminence, or the funeral pyre may be below the surface of the ground. Sometimes the courage of the woman will fail her at the critical time, and she will make a desperate attempt to escape from the cruel death which awaits her; but in this case the attendants invariably thrust her back into the flames. An instance of this kind is on record wherein an English gentleman being present, succeeded in rescuing the widow from the flames, much against the wishes of those present. His conduct was, however, but ill-requited by the woman whose life he had thus saved; for on the following day he was not a little surprised at being upbraided by her for having thus shut her out from the companionship of her husband in Paradise. This practice is far more frequent within the limits of Hindostan proper than in any other part of India. Indeed, in the western districts it is but seldom that it occurs, whilst south of the Deccan it is almost unknown."

Among the many practices in the social life of the natives of India which are regarded by Europeans with horror and abhorrence, there are few more painful to contemplate than the custom of neglecting invalids when once supposed to be incurable. Such of the people who live within a distance which allows of their doing so, will carry their sick relations to the banks of the Ganges, and there leave them to perish, under the impression that dying there, or being carried away by the rising flood, will secure for them a greater degree of happiness in the invisible world.

It has been shown in several chapters of this work, when noticing the religious and moral character of the people and describing the inhabitants of various parts of the country, that there are classes which devote themselves to crime, professional murderers, and professional thieves. So also are there classes, or castes, who are as zealously devoted to useful and honourable pursuits. The Charans and Bhats set themselves apart for the protection of property, and also in dangerous vicinities sedulously devote themselves to the preservation of life. These men will jeopardise their lives in defence of a traveller, or bravely perish in defence of property which they may be hired to watch. There is plenty of employment for them in this respect, for the Hindoos are most accomplished thieves, especially those which give themselves wholly to the calling. The burglars are at once vigilant, persevering, daring, and expert. They will quietly cut their way through stone walls, or sap under them and emerge in the house; they are even represented as being able to disengage the bed clothes from the sleeper without awaking him. The accounts given by the early Greek writers represent the Indians as honest, faithful, and truthful. Arrian's and Strabo's descriptions of them would lead no reader to suppose that the customs we describe prevailed in their days. The Greeks only knew north-western India, but the present inhabitants of that part of the country do not merit the eulogies given by the Greeks to the races which then inhabited those regions. There was, however, at that early period more of the Arryan element in the blood of the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Since then the Arab and Persian elements have been largely introduced.

The habits of the native lawyers, and civil officers of the uncovenanted service, have been indicated under the chapters on government. Sufficient attention has not been given to the prejudices by which those classes are actuated. It is extremely difficult to induce Mohammedans to submit to any law which is not derived from the Koran; neither are they willing to acquiesce in any administration of law which is not conducted by men of their own creed, whom they believe will be guided in the administration of justice by the precepts of the Koran. Among themselves, both Hindoos and Mohammedans are just in the administration of law everywhere, although in Turkey great corruption has crept into the system of dispensing "justice" from the tribunals. Before a Hindoo magistrate or judge, there would be no great share of impartiality for a Mohammedan suitor, and still less for a Hindoo where the judge was Mohammedan. Christians are not regarded as fit to give evidence before a Mohammedan judge, if against a true believer. In India, of course, such a doctrine cannot be openly avowed, but it is secretly believed, and would be invariably acted upon if it were possible, and is acted upon to an extent most injurious and dangerous to Europeans in India. A Jew or a Parsee would have a better chance of fair play from a Hindoo than from a Mussulman. The hatred borne also by the latter to the Persian schismatics interferes with the course of justice where a man of that country, and of the sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Persians, happens to be concerned. Some of the principles of both Hindoo and Moham-

medan law have acted favourably upon the customs of the people, and tend to regulate advantageously their social intercourse, but, as a whole, each system corrupts the judge and the people. The Hindoo and Mohammedan laws, and their effects upon the social condition of the people, were intelligently, although too favourably, noticed at the meeting of the judicial society in London, May 24, 1858, J. W. Wilcock, Esq., Q.C., in the chair. Mr. W. H. Bennet read a paper on the "Hindoo and Mohammedan Laws, as administered in India by English tribunals, and in connexion with English Law." The antiquity and fairness of the Hindoo and Mohammedan systems of jurisprudence were examined, and were illustrated by extracts from rare and valuable works. The subject, apparently abstruse and novel to an audience of English lawyers, was enlivened by curious details connected with legal administration. It was stated that the French government had introduced into Algeria many portions of the Mohammedan law, which tended very much to conciliate the Arabs. By one of the Mohammedan laws it is provided that it is not proper a true believer should either "wish" or ask for the office of *kazi* or judge; by another, that "a kazi ought not to decide a cause when he is hungry, or thirsty, or angry, nor after a full meal, for these circumstances disturb the judgment and impede reflection;" and "that in court the kazi must conduct himself with impartiality; that he must not speak to one of the parties, nor make signs, nor even smile or laugh at one of them, for it would discourage the other." It appears that there are not less than seven hundred and eighty courts in India, of which eighty-five are presided over by English judges. Of these courts five hundred and sixty have cognizance of matters of the value of £30 and upwards; fifty-nine have jurisdiction to the amount of £500; and eighty-four to an unlimited amount, subject to appeal. The efforts of Warren Hastings, the Marquis Cornwallis, and Lord Macaulay, to purify the practice and administration of law in India, were pointed out as deserving the study and imitation of jurists and legislators, especially at the present period. In the course of the conversation that followed the reading of the paper, attention was called to the intense animosity of the Turks to the Jews, and especially to the Persians. "An old Turk being asked what would become of the Jews and the Persians in the day of judgment, answered that the Persians would be turned into jackasses to carry the Jews down to hell."

Sir Thomas Munro, Warren Hastings, and many of the early English officials in India, represent the people as nationally obedient to authority, and as having respect for law. This may be the case when the law harmonizes with their prejudices and superstitions, but otherwise they do not appear to respect abstract justice or to cherish loyalty any longer than they fear the power, or, at all events, respect the force and the resources of the authority to which their allegiance may have been habitually, and in the most abject manner rendered. This was the view taken of them by the great Duke of Wellington, by Mill and Thornton, the historians, and by almost all eminent missionaries; although the amiable Bishop Heber did much to bring into fashion the notion, now dissipated, of their eminent fidelity, gentleness, obedience, and love of social order. The native laws of India, Hindoo and Mohammedan, has had, on the whole, a most pernicious effect upon those by whom those laws were administered, and upon the people at large. While, no doubt, originally the Hindoo statutes arose out of the beliefs and ancient customs of the people, they partly owed their origin to the skill of priests and rulers, who were interested in oppressing the people, and which have acted upon the natives ever since injuriously to their habits of thought, their moral character, and their social usages.

When the English reader is made familiar with the glowing panegyrics upon the laws, love of justice in the people, equity of native magistrates, and respect for authority, springing from loyal and social considerations, which prevail among the Hindoo and Mohammedan populations, he must receive such statements, no matter from what quarter they come, with some suspicion of the motives of those who utter them, and without any faith in their accuracy. The prevalence of torture in Madras, noticed for other purposes in previous pages, will exemplify this. The practice, as previously shown, was in spite of the authority of the government, and was carried on exclusively by their native functionaries. Yet when independent persons exposed and denounced the wickedness, and called upon the company and the imperial government to put a stop to it, every effort was made to conceal from the public the real state of the case, and men holding the highest places in connexion both with the imperial government at home and with the company, boldly denied the existence of the crime, resisted inquiry, and condemned as disturbers, agitators, &c., those by whom investigation was demanded.

In July, 1854, the subject was brought, for the first time, under the notice of the House

of Commons in a formal manner, by a motion regarding the tenure of land in Madras. On that occasion Mr. Digby Seymour, who had visited India, observed that the evidence collected by himself in India was incontrovertible. Mr. Bright quoted the evidence of Mr. Fisher, a merchant of Salem, in the following terms:—"Every species of severity is tried to enforce payment (of revenue), the thumb-screw, bending the head to the feet, and tying the sufferer in that position, making him stand in the sun sometimes with a large stone on his back; all which failing, his property is sequestered and sold, he is ruined, and let loose on society to live by begging, borrowing, or stealing. Thousands are destroyed in this way." Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, and Sir Laurence Peel, Chief-Justice of Calcutta, soon after confirmed these allegations, but not until the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle*, the *Calcutta Englishman*, the *Madras Athenæum*, and the *Madras United Service Gazette*, had raised an outcry on the subject, and furnished the people of England with evidence that could not be gainsayed. Mr. President Hallis, of the Indian government, wrote:—"Practices, properly designated as torture, do exist; the evil is of a most serious nature, pervading the whole of the native population, and helping most influentially to perpetuate the moral and social degradation in which the inhabitants of the country are sunk." The inhabitants of the district of Guntoor presented a petition to the government, showing forth the cruelties to which they were subjected by the native revenue-officers, in the following terms:—"The families of the ryots were prevented from taking water from their tanks and wells; that they were made to stand in the sun; were tied round the waist and dragged; had their hands and feet placed in the stocks; their bodies bent down, and large stones placed on their backs, and peons mounted on them while so situated; that stones tied in cloths were hung about their necks; that their hands were pressed in an instrument of torture called a *chirtaloo;* that their hair was tied to ropes, fastened to the boughs of trees, and moved violently backwards and forwards." Mr. Otway, on the 7th of August, 1854, declared in the house that "the practice of torture within the territories of Madras was universal, systematic, and *habitual*." Notwithstanding that the evidence was most abundant, and easily accessible to the court of directors and the Board of Control, and although both these sources of authority desired in every way to discountenance such atrocities, yet both by the board and by the chief men among the directors, publicly and officially in the House of Commons, the existence of such practices was denied. Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, declared that he did not believe the representations made. When the subject was brought under notice in the commons, in July 1854, Mr. R. D. Mangles, formerly secretary to the government of India, said that "he could *solemnly declare* that he had never, during the many years he was in India, heard of a single case of torture having been resorted to in Madras for the purpose of collecting the revenue." Mr. Elliot, formerly postmaster-general for India, "had never heard of such a thing" as torture in that country "until it was mentioned in that night's debate." And Sir James Weir Hogg capped the climax of denial by pouring unmeasured ridicule upon all that Mr. Seymour had said, charging him with having "fallen into the hands of interested and designing persons," and declaring "that no commission of inquiry was wanted; the governor-general was the queen's commissioner, and was all that was required." The bold asseverations of the friends of the East-India Company had their due weight in the House of Commons, and the motion of inquiry was defeated by the narrow majority of five.

In this case the conduct of Europeans was not in question, neither was it alleged that the government had any complicity with the transactions which, although exaggerated by the witnesses and their advocates, were still horrible; but in defence of the native judges, revenue officers, and police, by whom the execrable work was carried on, men of the most eminent stations were ready to hazard the strongest statements, and to display the utmost confidence in the native *employés*. This, doubtless, arose from the desire cherished so much by the Anglo-Indians to present the natives in a favourable light, and this wish partly arose from the false impression made by the adulation and hypocrisy of the natives, the traditional character of them handed down by the older officers of the company, and by the jealousy of Independent Europeans which prompted the partiality shown to the natives by the civil servants, from the time the company's first factories were founded. The whole affair places in a forcible light the necessity of English citizens weighing well the praise bestowed by Anglo-Indians upon the natives, and the assurances they make of their entire ignorance of the various barbarous, hideous, immoral, filthy, and cruel customs by which the social life of India is accursed. The native laws, and the customs arising out of these laws or sanctioned by them, have a large share

in perpetuating the social miseries of the people.

The habits and character of the native merchants and traders were described so extensively under the head of commerce, as not to require further notice in connection with the subject of social condition.

The peculiarities in the social life of the outlying provinces, such as the Straits' settlements and Ceylon, and in the non-regulation provinces of Scinde, the Punjaub, and the eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal, have been noticed, *en passant*, when descriptions of those territories were given in previous chapters, so as not to extend too much the portion of the work reserved, as in these chapters, for notice of the social life of India proper.

There can be no doubt that the social feeling of the natives of India is very much influenced by the native press, which is conducted in a spirit malignantly hostile to the British government. It is generally urged by Europeans that such restrictions should be laid upon it as would prevent the injurious influence which it is the means of distributing. The government, however, is more indulgent of the native than of the European press in India, for while the former has been permitted to circulate treason, and direct incentives to revolt all over India, the latter has been watched with unsleeping jealousy, its strictures upon the government policy resented, and rigorous restrictions put upon the liberty of publication. The policy of permitting a native political press in India is fairly open to discussion. The main argument in its behalf is that it is better to know what the people have to say, to allow a public vent for their dissatisfaction, and for the expression of their desires. This is a specious and plausible argument, but it may be urged in reply that so far from the native press being a medium by which the public opinion of the natives is published, it is a medium by which a small party of educated infidels desire to gratify their own ambition by promoting revolution. For this end they excite the prejudices and fanaticism of the natives who can read, and wealthy natives who are disaffected, or who consider themselves aggrieved, circulate these seditious journals. Were they entirely disallowed, there can be no doubt the peace of India would be much promoted. If, however, this is not desirable, and if it be deemed just that a native press be permitted, it should, in the present state of feeling among the educated Hindoos and Mussulmen of certain ranks, exist only under a vigilant but mild censorship, such as would render the publication of treason impossible, while it afforded full freedom for the discussion of government measures, and concerning the conduct of government officers. In proportion as intelligence spreads in India, a fair, full, and free discussion must be allowed, within the bounds of loyalty. "At the present day, all people and governments must submit to discussion, examination, and responsibility. Let us firmly and faithfully adhere to the principles of our civilization,—justice, legality, publicity, and liberty; and let us never forget, that if we most reasonably ask that all things should be laid open to us, we are ourselves under the eye of the world, and will, in our turn, be examined and judged."* While, however, every encouragement should be given to the free development of a modern native social literature, and the free utterance of the native mind on all points connected with the social, economic, and political condition of India within the limits named, it cannot be overlooked that there will be the utmost difficulty in confining the discussions of the native journals within these limits; and one of the first results of a native free press wielded with tolerable ability, must be the admission of educated natives more generally into high public offices. The way in which the native press has already agitated for such a result, proves the tendency, and foreshadows the inevitable consequence. The *Calcutta Review*, looking forward to such a state of things observes:—"There will, of course, be dangers and trials in the interval. No policy can exempt us from them. We cannot look around us, even now, without observing that every educated man chafes under the sense of social disabilities, and cherishes and spreads around him disaffection. As such men increase and multiply, as they gain from progress of civilization and European habits more manliness and courage, they will exercise a wider influence; and as popular education spreads, there will be also among the mass of the people a more distinct perception of their position; they will be more open to the influence of a seditious native press; and the sense of their power when united may lead to lawless combinations, especially if a few men of strong will, and decisive character, arise to lead the way." The same journal illustrates also the social effect produced by the presence of Christianity, and its greater earnestness in individuals. The native press already has pointed to this as an intolerable grievance not to be borne by the people, and this style of language has been used by men, some of whom are avowed deists, and perhaps as great a proportion of them avowed atheists. "There is," says the review, "another element of our

* Guizot's *Civilization in Europe*.

social state which is constantly working with increasing power. There must be felt, more and more, the disruption produced by the spread of general Christian truth, and by the necessary effects of actual earnest Christianity in individuals; and then, assuredly, the ancient superstitions, and the old vile priesthood, which is the woe of India, will not die without a struggle. We shall hear of fears from Hindooism and Mohammedanism from those who call themselves Christians, if we hear none from the people themselves; the alarm will spread, and all the usual arts will be employed to entrap the government into insane attempts to check the work of Christian mission, and to discourage the progress of Christianity."

The policy of Lord Ellenborough, which is, according to the above quoted authority, against all education, enlightenment, and freedom of the press in India, is wrong in itself, and if it were right, is now too late; but the problem must be solved, and soon solved,—how is the native press to be prevented from creating an anti-British political and social revolution in India?

The social condition of the natives of India would be imperfectly presented to the reader unless the habits and character of the armed hosts employed by the British government are noticed.

The general constitution of the company's army has been noticed in the chapter treating of the military department of the government; in this place the army will be noticed only as regards its relation to the general social condition of the country. The *Times*, referring to the general progress of the mutiny, and the war in Oude in 1858, observed:—"It is now acknowledged on all hands that we are fighting not only the sepoys, but the class from whom the sepoys are drawn. The cultivators and artizans are with us, but the armed classes, the feudal retainers, bad characters, technically called *budmashes*, the durwars, clubmen, and police are against us to a man. They are three million strong, and supply all deficiencies in the insurgent ranks. They have nothing to lose, are fighters from boyhood, and detest the English, who prohibit plunder."

The classes from which the Bengal army had been recruited was thus stated by the *Daily News* at that period:—"In 1853 the Bengal native army numbered in all 83,946 men. Of these, 70,079 were infantry. Of the composition of the cavalry, the returns are silent; but the infantry were thus classified: Brahmins, 26,893; Rajpoots, 27,335; Hindoos of inferior castes, 15,761; Mohammedans, 12,699; Christians, 1,118; Sikhs, 50. The far greater number of recruits for this army were obtained, not from the company's territories, but from the territories of a foreign prince—from Oude. They were either men in whose families the profession of soldier was hereditary, or young, daring idlers, who preferred the trade of arms to regular industry. They have been, and are precisely the same materials as those of which the armies of the East have been composed from time immemorial. Their object in enlisting was to obtain a position which would enable them to gratify their irregular appetites—to lord it over the industrial classes."

The general character of the sepoys is bad, and however much they were praised and trusted by the company's civil and military officers previous to the mutiny of 1858, it might be said of the Brahminical and heathen portion of them generally, in the language of the Earl of Shaftesbury:—"They deify every passion, every propensity, every sin, and every physical abomination." The *Times* also well described the influence under which their character is formed, in the remarkable words, "The heathen religion is neither a law nor a judge; the Hindoo who commits all these atrocities, does not even regard them as a wrong, and is visited by no remorse for them." The Mohammedan portion of the army is practically no better. Troops that have never mutinied, and have had no cause of complaint, have by their plunder, and shameful abuse of women, deserved the heaviest punishments of the most stern discipline. An instance which occurred at Bangalore, in 1858, while the Bengal revolt was at its height, shows the spirit of these men. The outrage was perpetrated by sepoys of the Madras army, which had remained the most faithful. A Madras paper thus described it:—"A murder case, which for atrocity and cruelty vies with the outrages recently perpetrated in the north-west—excepting that in the present instance the murderers are Mussulman sepoys, and the victim a young woman of their own creed—has just been disposed of by the judicial commissioner in Mysore. We have the greatest disinclination to place the horrible in actual life before our readers, yet, as many of the advocates of the traditional policy in England and elsewhere speak of clemency and tolerance towards the harmless and docile people of Hindostan, we look upon it as a matter of duty to place before the public such of the occurrences in every-day life that pass under our review, as tend to develop the awful depravity and present tendencies of the many-coloured tribes we are surrounded with. Some time last year, in the month of February, a sepoy of the 35th regiment native infantry,

at Hurryhur, was offended about some trivial matter with a young woman of loose character, named Jamahlee, who resided in the same cantonment, and resolved on revenging himself. He found no difficulty in getting six of his comrades, and a bheesty of his corps, to join him in the perpetration of the contemplated outrage. Measures having been preconcerted, the above-named sepoy and one of his comrades dogged the footsteps of Jamahlee one evening, when, seeing their intended victim seated in a bazaar, they went up to her, and after greeting her courteously asked her in a casual way to come and partake of a glass of arrack with them. She, unsuspectingly, consented to their proposal, and accompanied them. They wended their way, talking quite cheerfully, out of the bazaar lines, to the ball-firing plain, in doing which they happened to meet, as if accidentally, the remaining five sepoys and the bheesty. When they had got here a bottle of arrack was brought, and while all seemed to partake of the intoxicating stuff, care was taken to make Jamahlee drunk. No sooner was this result produced than every one of these monsters ravished their poor victim, after which they carried her to a ruined temple on the banks of the Toombudra river close by, stripped her of all her clothes and jewels, lit a fire and roasted her alive, stomach downwards, pointed a bamboo stick and pierced her ear and other parts of her body with it, beat her with a rattan, and tortured her to death. Not satisfied with all this they brought the corpse back, and threw it on the ball-firing plain in the cantonment, in order, it appears, that 'all who passed by might spit upon it.' Two of those eight wretches have been sentenced to death, and the remaining six to transportation for life."

The spirit of sanguinary and capricious cruelty which characterises the Hindoos nationally, seems more especially to pervade those who follow the profession of arms, and wherever the native soldiery are unrestrained by a vigilant discipline, they revel with oriental delight in acts of strange barbarity and vindictiveness. In reference to the act just recorded—and many occur in India like it—the language of the editor of the *Times* is appropriate:—"No English soldiers could possibly have done such an act as this. Passionate, licentious, furious, and brutal they have been upon occasions, and the frenzy of a successful capture, when a city which has long resisted is at last carried by storm, has before now excited them to violent excesses and reckless acts; but they could not be guilty of such cold-blooded atrocities as these; they could not pursue cruelty to such fastidious, hellish refinements. Such acts are not in their nature; they do not belong to the moral atmosphere in which they have been born and bred; they *could* not do them. Christianity may not in its higher and stricter phase penetrate the mass and mould nations and races, but it does act as a safeguard to them against these extremities of vice. It produces a certain moral atmosphere, out of which even the careless and lax cannot remove themselves, but which they carry about with them; it sets up a standard which becomes, in a degree, part of our nature. In heathen religion there is nothing really controlling—morally controlling; it may assume the most imperious and dictatorial tone in externals, and impose an endless code of ceremonials and forms upon its disciples, but its moral standard comes from a human source, from the minds of its own disciples themselves, and therefore, morally, a heathen religion does not control those minds, but those minds control it; it cannot be a law to that nature of which it is simply the offspring and the reflection. But Christianity is a revelation from above, and therefore it is a law. It compels a certain deference to it, and even when it is not obeyed, it can punish by the stings of bitter recollection and remorse. Such demonstrations may well make us pause in our career of Indian government—pause to reflect how far we may trust such specimens of moral character, place them in responsible and powerful positions, and put arms into their hands."

The whole *morale* of the sepoy troops is bad, they are linked with the civilians, whose devoteeism unfits them for allegiance to a Christian power. The Brahmins of the Bengal army were the intimate and constant confederates of men of their own caste, who, as a rule, were capable of perpetrating any outrage to promote the power of their idolatry, and the ascendancy of their order. The Mohammedans, more than even their co-religionists elsewhere, are in the Madras and Bombay armies as they were in the Bengal, ready to immerse their hands in blood, either to promote a personal ambition, avenge a private quarrel, or accomplish a sectarian purpose. The Mohammedan soldiers are more generally rash and instantaneously revengeful; the heathen sepoys are utterly debased, a profound sensuality and a quiet, deeply nurtured, remorseless and bloody vindictiveness seem to reign over their whole nature: eloquently and truly has it been remarked,—"Military life has the reputation of great laxity, but it is quite clear that the moral temper of an English army is as different as light is from darkness from that of a

Hindoo army. The truth is, your heathen is not only vicious, but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject, and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially oriental vice; it palls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true, especially of those two great departments of vice—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object! This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into another mystery, connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of oriental lust need but be alluded to to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable—we cannot say *super*-natural. Contrast with this tone of heathen vice, of oriental vice, the tone of Christian vice, and there will appear a marked difference. Christian vice is bad enough, but it is not insatiable, it is not infinite, it does not go into the horrible subtleties and refinements of the other. In a word, Christian vice is an indulgence, a gross, a coarse, a sensual indulgence, but it is not a mystery. Even an immoral Christian stays comparatively on the threshhold, and does not search the dark interior of vice, and ransack every corner of it."

Except as their interests were served, the native soldiery have been always disloyal and insubordinate, and this mainly arose from their religious associations. They were ever ready to be led away by some Brahmin priest, or mad fakeer. The late Major Edward Willoughby, quartermaster-general of the Bombay army, describes the sepoys of that army in terms which confirm these statements. The major affirms that the natives were more easily governed than British soldiers, which is true so far as petty vices are concerned, where the superior energy, and customary freedom of the British soldier exposes him to peculiar temptations, but the English soldier is essentially loyal, and where a principle is concerned, he is a model of subordination. He is unruly where the native is pliant, he is obedient, subordinate, and loyal, with a high sense of soldierly honour where the native is ready to follow the beck of every adventurer and conspirator. Major Willoughby's remarks were made in reference to Lord William Bentinck's order against flogging in the native army, and his words are, with this understanding of the particular expression pointed out, forcibly correct:—"The men composing the native army are, generally speaking, easily governed, more so than our own countrymen. Amongst Europeans, individual acts of misconduct, and even insubordination, are not uncommon, but they are easily dealt with, and there is no fear of its extending beyond the ranks of its own company or regiment; but the native army is composed of such different material that much is at all times to be feared on this score. A few designing men may get into the ranks of a regiment, perhaps for the purpose of causing some disaffection (I have known it to be the case for the purpose of plunder), and so far succeed in exciting men's minds against their officers and government, on some imaginary grievance, regarding their caste and popular prejudices, of which they will allow these rascals to be the judges (for no bodies of men ever take the trouble to think for themselves), that if it is not checked with a firm hand at the outset, may end even in the downfall of our authority in India. All the serious affairs that have taken place amongst the native troops, have commenced something in this way; but a firm and judicious commanding officer can, generally speaking, check a thing of this kind, if he is armed with the requisite power. He orders a drum-head court martial, by the sentence of which the ringleaders are made an instant example of, the discontent kept down, and the whole affair settled without calling in further assistance, before it assumes a serious aspect, or becomes generally known. And who will tell me that this is not a merciful act, both to the sufferer, as well as to the body of misguided men, who would in all probability, if trifled with under such circumstances, be led on to any degree of crime, without knowing what they were doing? But now, in such a case, with Lord William Bentinck's order in the mouth of every drummer boy, what is a commanding officer to do if it is reported to him that his

regiment is guilty of some act of insubordination? He repairs to the parade, stands in front of a thousand men bearing arms; the instigators are pointed out to him, and what is he to do to enforce his own or the orders of government? Surely he cannot make such a burlesque of it as to order them to be put on *congée* for a month, nor by directing their discharge, for it is well known to every officer who has served with a native regiment that the first thing a man asks for, when excited by any annoyance, is his discharge; in short, I have heard a whole regiment call out on parade, 'Give us our discharge,' 'We want our discharge.' But we have assumed that these men have enlisted for a particular purpose, and having been detected in their villany, the greatest favour you can bestow upon them is to give them their liberty again. To comply, therefore, with the wishes of men under such circumstances, without first disgracing them by flogging, is clearly no punishment or example to others; and commanding officers now will have no power left in their hands by which they can strike awe into the ranks of a body of men, perhaps bordering on mutiny. What, therefore, is to become of a regiment in such a situation? They see their commanding officer's hands tied, are encouraged by it, and so the thing goes on, until it assumes such an alarming feature, that higher authority is called in, capital punishment is resorted to, and ten or a dozen men lose their lives; lucky indeed if it stops here: and this is what Lord William Bentinck boasts of at Glasgow, as being his great philanthropic act, in giving up the government of India. This subject, depend upon it, ought not to be lightly thought of by the authorities in this country if they value the safety of our Eastern dominions, and it is one of serious concern to officers now rising to the command of regiments. Some expedient ought therefore to be hit upon, and that soon, to annul this fearful order. At present the army is composed of veteran troops, and they are fortunately in that state of discipline that things may go on quietly enough for a time, but when we begin to recruit again, and our ranks are filled with men who have never been taught to fear the rod, we shall then find to our cost that they will be like loose horses, not quite so easily managed, even in the common duties required of them, as they were with the curbs. This, I fear, will be particularly felt in the field, in preventing plunder and other crimes, of which soldiers are too often guilty in marching through a country, and which requires a strong arm of the law to check, even amongst the best disciplined troops."

The discipline of the native army undoubtedly requires some peculiar mode of punishment if flogging and placing in irons, which they alone appear to dread, are to be given up. The Duke of Wellington pointed out long ago the uselessness of capital punishments for either sepoys or people as a punishment for rebellious conduct to which religion or caste stimulated. The victim would glory in his death as martyrdom, and all his friends and the people revere his memory as a witness for his religion or caste. Whereas, loading them with chains, or inflicting stripes, degrades them in their own esteem, and that of their fellow revolters, whether civil or military, and is consequently an effectual and deterring punishment. Major E. Willoughby, already quoted, bore testimony to the effect of flogging in the following language:—"The great argument against this mode of punishment is, that it deters the higher class of natives from joining the ranks. The respectable natives inclined to enlist well understand that the lash is not intended for them while they behave themselves properly; but admitting that our ranks are filled with the very description of men we appear so anxious to obtain, then, perhaps, I must differ with most people in saying, that the argument that would apply to the European character on this head would not hold good with the natives of India, for I am satisfied the more intelligent and respectable your men are, as to family connexions, the greater the danger of disaffection, and consequently the greater the cause for keeping the means best adapted to check it. I think I am borne out in this assertion from the experience the Golundanze battalion has afforded us. These men are all of high caste and character, and are paid better than the rest of the foot-soldiers. They are a fine body of men, and do credit to the officers of artillery, but I believe I am not far wrong in saying that they have given more trouble, and a greater number of courts-martial have taken place in that corps, since it has been raised, than in any six regiments of the line during the same period. Before I conclude I must avow my great abhorrence to corporeal punishment, when it can possibly be avoided; and, in my opinion, it is seldom, if ever, requisite in a well-regulated native regiment, if the commanding officer has the power to exercise it when it does become necessary; but take that power from him, and you will find the hitherto quietly-disposed native soldier, particularly your high caste men, much more prone to mischief than they were under the old system."

The opinion of Sir Charles Napier was in accordance with that of Major Edward Willoughby. The words of the conqueror of

Scinde were:—"I have long considered the *flogging system* as regards native troops, and my opinion is fixed. I entirely concur in the governor-general's [Lord Hardinge's] remarks upon the orders of Lord Combermere, General Barnes, and Lord William Bentinck. *The abolishing flogging was a great mistake, and injurious to the Indian army.* Discharge from the service is not the greatest punishment to a bad sepoy, though it is to a good one. And it is severe to give that highest punishment—made more terrible and disgraceful by hard labour in irons along with felons—to a well-drilled sepoy of previous good character, a man attached to our service, who has, perhaps, only in a single instance broken the rules of discipline; a man who, born under the fiery sun of India, is by nature subject to flashes of passion that cannot be passed over, but do not debase him as a man. It is unjust, and therefore injurious, and even disgraceful, to the military code, which thus says: 'I punish you in the highest degree, and stamp you with infamy for having a weakness, more or less common to all men.' Their own expression admirably depicts this injustice: '*If we deserve punishment, flog our backs, but do not flog our bellies.*' Lord William Bentinck was a man I loved personally, as my old and respected friend and commander; but he did not see the severity, I will almost say cruelty, to the sepoy of a measure which he deemed to be the reverse. Taking the sepoy's own prayer as the basis of our system, I would reward him and flog him, according to his deserts—his good conduct should benefit his belly, his bad conduct be laid on his back. An Indian army is always in the field, and you have no other punishment but shooting. In the campaign against the Ameers I availed myself of provost-marshals to flog. Some of the newspapers called upon the sepoys to mutiny. I stood the risk. Had I not done so, and showed the Scindians they were protected on the spot, instead of feeling safe, and being safe, they would have been plundered, and would have assassinated every man who passed our sentries, and, instead of bringing supplies, would have cut off our food: *thus, to save the backs of a few marauders, hundreds of good soldiers would have been murdered.* . . . . All this was avoided by having once ordered every pillager to be flogged; and plenty there were—I dare say not less than sixty were flogged the first two days. Some religious people said 'it was unholy;' some attorneys' clerks in red coats said 'it was illegal:' but I flogged on, and in less than a week the poor ryots, instead of flying or coming into camp to entreat protection (which I could only give by the lash), they met us at the entrances of the villages, and furnished us with provisions. Without the use of the lash plunder would have raged—officers would have made personal efforts to stop atrocities—and what the great Duke calls 'the knocking-down system' would have prevailed, and shooting and hanging alone could have saved the army."

The importance of military discipline, and the manners, customs, and character of the native troops, is too important to the question of the whole social condition of India to be overlooked.

In 1844 new articles of war for the Indian army were published, in which were sections re-introducing the penalty of flogging; but so little discretion was left to the commanding officers of regiments, and so guarded was the language employed in authorising it at all, that the sections referring to it were a dead letter. The result of the centralization of all authority at head-quarters was well expressed by Sir Charles Napier when he said, "The power of punishing ceases when it ought to be most vigorous, and order becomes almost a matter of personal civility from the sepoy to his commander. Really one is astonished how the army preserves any discipline." The Bengal army did not long preserve any discipline. The rage for treating the sepoy as if he were not only as good as an Englishman, but superior morally, and deserving more consideration from government, did much to destroy that discipline, and to shake also the consistency of the armies of Madras and Bombay. When the Brahmins and high caste Mohammedans saw that within the lines of the same cantonments English soldiers were severely flogged and degraded for crimes for which sepoys escaped with their discharge, some temporary confinement, or rebuke, they began to think that the British government did homage to caste, or feared the native soldiers too much to dare to treat them, as they showed by the punishment inflicted on English soldiers, they believed their crimes deserved. The result was contempt for the British private soldiers for submitting to the indignity, and for the British government, as deficient in power, authority, or "respect for *their own* caste" and nation.

The question of rewards and punishments in the native army is important, as bearing upon its social relations as well as discipline. It affects the recruiting of the service and the feeling which the mass of the people cherish towards it. For the native troops of India there are two military rewards—the Order of British India, and the Order of Merit. The first is bestowed upon native officers; the second, upon soldiers of all ranks, who have distin-

guished themselves by personal valour. In the one there are two classes of a hundred men each; in the other, three classes. Those who are in the first rank of the order of British India have two rupees a day in addition to the regimental pay; those in the second class, one rupee extra. Those belonging to the Order of Merit have a pecuniary recompense of double, one-half, or one-third of their regimental pay, as they belong to the first, second, or third class. The governor-general confers these orders. Since 1837 the pay and allowances of the native troops in the three presidencies have been equalized. In addition to these honorary marks of distinction and pecuniary rewards, pensions for wounds received in action have been increased, as well as those given to the children of soldiers killed in battle. The troops have priority of hearing in the judicial courts, and when food exceeds a certain sum they receive a compensation. If a native soldier crosses the frontier, and dies in an Indian hospital, he is considered to have died in a foreign country, which entitles his heirs to receive a pension. Lastly, the letters of the Bengal sepoys to and from their friends pass free of postage.

The social peculiarities of the European soldiers in India constitute an important feature of the social condition of the country. As the habits and character of the native soldiery have been last noticed, it will preserve connection between the two great departments of military social life, native and British, so far as our narrative is concerned, to state their relative prospects of promotion.

The native Indian army was first formed into regiments in 1796, till which date seniority prevailed. In the time of Clive and Lawrence, in our struggles against the French, natives held the rank of officers; and in those campaigns our sepoys were exclusively commanded by Mohammed Issoof, equally meritorious and honoured as a soldier and a statesman. Since that period the army has been entirely officered by the British, though the natives have held, and still hold, the rank of non-commissioned officers. Under the present system the officers rise from the junior ensign to the rank of major regimentally. They afterwards rise in line, in their own arm of the service, to the rank of colonel. Formerly the company's officers were not treated by the home government with that liberality which their eminent services entitled them to receive, but in later times honours and distinctions have been conferred upon them for gallantry in action. According to Mr. Melvill's authority, in the last fifteen years prior to 1852, when he gave his evidence, 350 have received special brevets, and 213 honours of the Bath. Those special brevets have been given by the crown; and it should be added that within the periods named thirteen distinguished officers have been honoured by the appointment of aides-de-camp to her majesty, which gives them at once the rank of colonel. Since 1834 special pensions and allowances have been granted to the widows and children of officers killed in action; and since that date officers have been privileged to make remittances to their families through the company's treasury, whereas formerly they had to pay a commercial agency for the transmission, now saved, while greater regularity is secured.

The customs of the European officers have become of late years a subject of much comment in the Indian press. General Jacob draws the following comparison between the English and Indian habits of officers:—"From the moment a young officer sets foot in the Bengal Presidency, he is perpetually reminded that every English idea and habit is the sure mark of a griffin (that is, of a fool). He must not go out in the sunshine—he must travel in a palkee instead of on horseback—he must be punkaed, and tattied, and God knows what else—he must have a *khansaman*, a *kibruntgar*, a *sridar-bearer* and bearers, and a host of other servants; one for his pipe, another for his umbrella, another for his bottle, another for his chair, &c.—all to do the work of one man; and which work would be done by one man in the case of the Bombay griffin. By all these people the youth is called *ghureeb purwar*, *hoodawund*, &c. This state of affairs bewilders the new comer, till, resigning himself to his fate, he becomes accustomed to it, and gradually loses part of the manliness of the Anglo-Saxon character. With the external luxurious and lazy habits of Hindostan, he imperceptibly adopts somewhat of oriental morality. . . . . The remedy is evident. Let it be the fashion to be English. It is a fallacy to suppose that the climate compels to be otherwise. There are faults enough, I suppose, in the European society of the western presidency; but assuredly it is ten times more English than that of Bengal, yet the climate is no better than that of the latter. Let the griffin have no more than two body servants at most; let him have no one in his service who will not do such work as his master bids him do. If the Hindoos object to such service, there are plenty of Mussulmen ready, willing, and able to take their places, and with no more prejudice than a Christian. Let the young man never enter a palkee, but go about on the back of his pony; let him not fear the sun—

it may tan his cheeks, but it will not hurt him. It is your effeminate gentlefolk, who live in dark houses artificially cooled, with a dozen Hindoos at work, with fans and flappers to beat the flies off them, who suffer by exposure, not the hardy young Englishmen, who, if not intemperate, soon becomes acclimated; and the more readily so the less he regards the sunshine, which is healthy enough in moderation."

It cannot be matter of surprise if these strictures of General Jacob evoked very severe replies, and among the most efficient of the general's repellants has been Lieut.-colonel Hunter. He accuses the general, or colonel as he calls him (he is now general), of prejudices in favour of the Bombay army, to which he himself belongs, and of exaggeration in the pictures he draws of what was blameworthy on the part of the officers of the Bengal army. No man can read General Jacob's writings without perceiving his prejudices, his perverse judgment, and eccentric reasonings, however they may admire his energy, activity, and various soldierly qualities, such as have won for him no inconsiderable renown. The reply of the lieutenant-colonel sets before us the social life of the officers of the Bengal army in quite another form, and deserves to be incorporated in these pages, on the venerable principle, *Audi alteram partem.* Colonel Hunter says,* "I have remarked that Colonel Jacob's tracts are full of delusions, and caricature, in regard to the habits of the officers of the Bengal army. Far from fearing the sun, as they are represented, in page 28 of the *Tracts*, to do, I have known men, who, out tiger-shooting, have been exposed to the sun during the entire month of May, from sunrise to sunset; and have returned to their cantonments with their faces necks, and hands, almost blacker than their native attendants. I have also known men, who, as a mere pastime, have been in the habit of riding their one hundred and forty miles between breakfast and dinner; enough, I should suppose, to satisfy the most fastidious Bombay officer in these matters. As to the Bengal griffin, with his host of useless servants and his otherwise effeminate habits, the picture is very amusing, and no doubt intended to be very edifying; but, unfortunately, at least, as far as my experience goes, the picture is mere fiction and caricature; yet taking it *quantum valeat*, to what, after all, do these fantastic notions amount? admitting that, here and there, there are a few Bengal griffins to be found riding in palkees, and surrounded by a retinue of khansamans, khidmutgars, hooqquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. &c., do not the most manly characters—soldiers and civilians,—to be found in England, do exactly the same thing; have they not their butlers, footmen, pages, grooms, coachmen, &c. &c., and do they not sometimes condescend to ride in a carriage, and—*proh pudor*—sometimes even to use an umbrella; and does Colonel Jacob really imagine that these men are less English at heart, and less manly in their habits, than the youth, who, through necessity, is satisfied to put up with the services of a maid-of-all-work, the prototype, I suppose, of the 'man-of-all-work' attached to the Bombay griffin. Then, as to the palkee,—is there really anything so very shocking in the fact that—*more majorum*—we Bengalees sometimes indulge in such an equipage, to avoid being half broiled, and drenched in perspiration, when about to pay a few visits to the fair sex, or buttoned up to the throat in full uniform, when about to visit some distant part of a cantonment on duty; if the Bombay griffin, on such occasions, prefers a tattoo or poney, all I can say is, there is no accounting for taste in these matters—*De gustibus non disputandum.* 'That clever general Sir Charles Napier,' says Colonel Jacob, 'went half mad at the first sight of the camels that accompanied his little force in Scinde.' The gallant colonel appears to have been affected much in the same way at the first sight of the Bengal palkees, hooqquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. 'Cleverness,' again remarks Colonel Jacob, 'is full of prejudices; genius is independent of local circumstances;' under this view of the case, to which category the gallant colonel belongs can be no very difficult matter to determine. If Colonel Jacob is in the habit of indulging in classical or historical reminiscences, the contemplation of the luxurious habits of such first-rate soldiers as Alexander, Cæsar, Pompey, Wallenstein, &c., must have caused him many a bitter pang—

> "Omnibus in terris quæ sunt a Gadibus usque
> Aurorem et Gangem, pauci dignoscere possunt
> Vera bona, atque illis multum diversa, remotâ
> Erroris nebulâ."

There is less excuse for the aspersion which has been cast upon the Bengalees by Colonel Jacob, inasmuch as Bombay, to which presidency he belongs, has been blessed with two splendid specimens of the Bengalee, in the persons of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone and Sir G. Clerk, both as remarkable for manliness of character, manly habits, and ability to rough it, as they were for their

* *Suggestions relative to the Re-organization, Discipline, and future Management of the Bengal Army*, pp. 10, 11. By Lieutenant-colonel William Hunter, Bengal army retired list.

liberality of disposition, and princely hospitality. Sir G. Clerk for horsemanship, pluck, and stamina, had scarcely perhaps his match in India, and the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone was, I am told, equally conspicuous for the same qualities. These distinguished men were both probably sybarites, as far as a show of khansamans, khidmutgars, and bottle-holders could make them so, but notwithstanding these vanities, which in Colonel Jacob's eyes, so militate with the true dignity of manhood, I believe I am correct in saying that they are the two most popular governors Bombay has seen during the present century."

Whatever the partialities of officers may lead them to pronounce in respect to the habits of their confreres of their own presidency, there can be no doubt from the testimony of Sir Charles Napier, General Jacob, and many impartial and disinterested civilians, that the social life of the younger officers of the native army has been for a long time tainted with gambling and dissipation to a degree requiring the interposition of their superiors. *Gaudet equis et canibus*, seems so universally true of the English officer in the royal army, that it is absolutely absurd to make it an accusation against the officers of the company, as has lately been done by gentlemen connected with the English press in India, and by merchants, civilians, and travellers. That our young officers very often live extravagantly, and sometimes recklessly, that the term "fast," will too generally apply to their habits, cannot be denied by their staunchest advocates; but that they are worse than other young men of their rank and country, in other professions, or in the sister service at home or abroad, may be with safety denied.

The general impression is that the climate is deadly to Europeans. Statistical information confirms General Jacob's view as to its healthfulness, at all events, for the ordinary duties of officers, but the returns of casualties in war have always shown a high rate. This was more especially the case in the revolt of 1857. The mortality amongst the officers in the Indian army, since the rebellion broke out, has been about septupled. The *Friend of India* has published a list of four hundred and fifteen East India Company's officers on the Bengal establishment who died from 10th May, the day on which the rebellion broke out, to the end of 1857; and the list seems to be as full and correct as any that has appeared. The *Quarterly Army List*, published by Lepage and Co., may, we presume, be relied upon as correct; and according to that, there were, on the 10th of April, just prior to the mutiny, 3578 officers in the company's service, serving on the Bengal establishment; and the mortality amongst them, in the seven months and twenty-two days, commencing on the 10th May, and ending 31st of December, was at the rate of upwards of eleven and a half per cent., or about eighteen per cent. per annum. The average age of officers of the Bengal army, excluding second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns, was, in 1847, according to the best authorities, forty-one years; and there is no reason, as far as we are aware, for believing that that is not the average age now. Cadets are, one with another, seventeen and a half years old on entering the service, and from the gradation list, it is concluded, that the mean age of second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns is about twenty-three years. Also, that the average age of all the officers of the Bengal army is, as near as may be, forty years. The mortality at age forty, during the present century, has been rather more than two and a half per cent. per annum. It follows that the casualties, which we have a right to assume are directly consequent on the insurrection, and in excess of what would have occurred under ordinary circumstances, amount to less than fifteen and a half per cent. of the whole strength of the force; that is to say, during the past year the deaths, as we have said, have been septupled; one hundred and seventy-four out of every thousand officers died, the experience of nearly a century having led us to conclude that only twenty-six out of every thousand would die.

The mortality of British soldiers both in peace and war arises from long marches in the heavy clothing with which, under so hot a climate, they are encumbered. Under the burning sun, or the still more dangerous dews of the periods generally chosen for marching, many incur death, or disease by which they are permanently invalided. The extension of railways was shown in another chapter as important for strategy and for carrying stores, it will also spare the health of our troops. The improvement of river navigation will tend, perhaps, in an equal degree, to preserve the health and promote the social comfort of the European officers and soldiers on Indian service. Preparations of an important kind are being made to cover the great rivers of India with efficient steamers of huge magnitude, by which a large number of troops, and a vast quantity of stores can be borne at one time. The *Liverpool Albion* of June, 1858, had the following paragraph:—"While public attention has been attracted so strongly by the unusual dimensions of the Leviathan that the name of that vessel is in everybody's

mouth, it happens singularly enough that two vessels of greater length, and of a more remarkable character, have been advancing to completion in Liverpool without the general public being even cognizant of their existence. These vessels are each seven hundred feet long. They have been constructed by Messrs. Vernon and Son, for the Oriental Inland Steam Company, and are intended for the navigation of the Indian rivers. The purpose of their peculiar features of construction is to enable a large cargo to be carried at a good rate of speed upon a light draught of water. The great rivers of India, though penetrating far into the interior, and though containing large volumes of water, are, nevertheless, shallow during the dry season. The vessels navigating must, therefore, float very light, and yet they must have displacement enough to carry a good cargo. They must have strength enough not to suffer injury if they should get aground, and they must present such little resistance to the water as to be able to achieve a satisfactory rate of progress against the stream. All these indications are admirably fulfilled in these vessels."

The grand difficulty in the native army is the social relations of the British and native officers. The former look down upon the latter, who feel the contempt with which they are treated.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE difficulty of attaching new provinces to the British government has been greatly increased by the jealousy shown by Europeans to having natives retained in the employments, civil or military, which they held. The Duke of Wellington called the attention of the government to this fact in his day, his words were, "whenever any portion of the country is brought under British dominion, we throw out of employment all who have hitherto managed the revenues or commanded armies." Sir Thomas Munro said:—"There is no example of any conquest, in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country, as of British India." The same high authority remarks, "Our system is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating the character of the natives; we are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate; there can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement, when the highest acquirements lead to nothing beyond some inferior appointment, and can confer neither wealth or honour." Lord William Bentinck remarks, "That under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified; they intermarried with the natives, and admitted them to all privileges; our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling; the iron hand of power on one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other. India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. Our government to be secure must be made popular; the government must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, paternal."

However deserving of respect the opinions of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir William Bentinck, they must be received with care. Several of the predictions of the former, and the legislative measures of the latter, have shown that these men, however justly regarded as *beaux esprits*, did not penetrate the character of the Hindoos. Lord William Bentinck was wrong in saying that under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. The Mohammedans made conversion to their religion, real or feigned, a test of office, and the conquerors settled down within the country, making it their own, as the Normans did in England,—two conditions which so entirely separate the case of the Mohammedan and the British conquerors, that it would be surprising to find such a man as Lord William Bentinck adopt those views, were it not that some of his legislative acts prove how much he was governed by theories in his own mind, and how strong his tendency to assimilate facts to those theories where, in truth, there was no affinity. The government of Lord William Bentinck, if reviewed *ab ovo usque ad mala*, will confirm this opinion in any impartial judgment. Still, the opinion of those eminent persons on this matter must not be permitted to pass unheeded; and no correct

view can be taken of the social condition of India which does not comprehend the position of British officials to the educated natives, both military and civil.

The imperfect administration of justice by British officials, from want of legal knowledge, has become one of the most marked evils of Indian social life. A gentleman well acquainted with the state of the law both in India and in England thus treated the subject in the leading diurnal journal of London:—"One of the most legitimate grievances of the Anglo-Indian public is the defective legal knowledge of the civilians who officiate in India as the company's judges. A hostile pamphleteer has made a collection of sudder decisions, which read like so many legal paradoxes; and, in fact, it is admitted that the sudder judges have no qualification for their duties, except such as they acquire empirically when adjudicating as collectors on questions of boundary, and for the rest they trust to their unassisted common sense. There are some persons, I know, in whose eyes this will be no heavy charge. With us in England law is so inextricably associated with the debased feudalism of our real property system, the scholastic pedantry of our common law pleading, and the intricate and costly procedure of our equity courts, that we are apt to regard rough common sense as a better guide to the reason than the rules, entangled with technicality, by which the trained lawyer directs himself. Yet the great principles of jurisprudence are, in truth, only the accumulated common sense of many centuries, many races, many men; and judicial functionaries are no more at liberty to discard them than is the geometrician or the algebraist to neglect the results stored up by previous labourers in his field of science. The special knowledge of the jurist is nowhere of greater value than in a country where the legal system which has to be administered, is as strangely heterogeneous as it is in India. The more confused the body of rules to be interpreted, the firmer ought to be the grasp of the judge and of the practitioner on the great leading canons which control and simplify every form of law. From a criminal law which embodies the perverse learning of the Mohammedan doctors, from a civil law which still reflects the primitive barbarism of the aboriginal Hindoo races, the fully equipped intellect of the trained jurist can alone be relied upon to extract conclusions which recommend themselves to the reason, and which harmonize with each other. The experiment of confiding to amateur judges the administration of such a system as that which the Hindoo lives under has produced results which disgust the layman quite as much as the professional lawyer. The Anglo-Indians seem to be unanimous in their contempt of the sudder courts. To remedy what they consider a palpable evil, they are clamorous for barristers to come out and practise before all the company's tribunals, with an understanding that the bench is hereafter to be recruited from these practitioners, either wholly or in part. It is a much debated question among Anglo-Indians whether English barristers ought not to have a readier access given them to the company's tribunals, by making English the judicial and forensic language of all India. . . . . Nothing, sir, can be worse than the existing prospect of supplying India with judges and practitioners capable of unravelling Hindoo law with the refined appliances of the jurist. Haileybury College is extinct; and though in the recent scheme of education drawn out for the young Indian civilians some provision was made for furnishing them out with at least the elements of law, that part of the new arrangements has (a correspondent of yours remarks this) been quietly dropped. Civil servants of the Indian government will, therefore, in future, have no legal knowledge at all. The barristers with whom it is proposed to supply their place in all judicial offices are not necessarily superior to the civilians in special, and would probably be found inferior to them in general qualifications."

The same writer, with great discrimination and truth, observes:—"Let us not disguise from ourselves that in filling England with sham lawyers or amateur lawyers we throw away one principle means of civilizing the Hindoo. The missionary teacher of religion has a world of difficulties to contend with; the missionary teacher of justice has none whatever. The native has the most profound respect for our equity, for our conscientious adherence to the letter, for the strong sense (whenever he finds it) which gives meaning and consistency to his own chaotic law. The education of the Hindoo mind through the administration of justice might be carried to almost any length; but we appear determined to stop where we are, if, indeed, by bringing English technical crochetiness to bear on Hindoo perversity, we do not positively undo all that we have done. The great boon to India of a civil law, harmonized by wise judicial exposition, the still greater boon of a general code, will only be conferred by lawyers whose studies were properly directed, and whose acquirements were thoroughly sifted at the outset of their career. It is quite immaterial by what conventional designation these lawyers are known. They may be either barristers-at-law, trained especially for

Indian practice, or civilians who have received a thoroughly legal education, adequately trained in the principles of jurisprudence." At present there is little prospect of the ideas of this enlightened writer being carried out, but it is possible that in the general sifting to which all Indian affairs are being subjected by the awakened energy of parliament and the British public, that this also may be made the subject of investigation and reform.

The general tone of the members of the civil service in all departments enters largely into the social character of India. Formerly there was great neglect of religious observances by these classes. Travellers at the beginning of this century, and during the first twenty or thirty years of it, give relations on this head painful to Christians and Englishmen to peruse. One writer represents the celebration of religious worship according to the service of the Church of England as only occurring occasionally when a clergyman visited the garrison. Other writers represent divine service as being held monthly only, or even less frequently, in other garrisons and populous places, where there was *comparatively* a numerous English population. This is not now the case. A very great revival of interest in religious things has taken place; and in all cantonments and cities where Europeans congregate there are either regular chaplains paid by the government, and sometimes several chaplains of different sects, or the missionaries of voluntary religious societies, and of the Established Church, minister statedly among Europeans, as well as among the natives, to whom they are more especially commissioned from England; indeed, the benefit conferred by the English missionary societies to the social condition of Europeans in India has been unspeakable. If the missionary societies had effected no other good than the improvement which they have produced in European society, all the sums expended would have been well laid out; for while whole villages have been drawn to listen to the tidings of the gospel, and even in the vicinity of the idol temples the salvation of Christ has been proclaimed, large numbers of sceptical or indifferent Europeans have been converted to God. The licentious have been rebuked, and awed into decorum; and many in England have reason to rejoice that the wild youth who had left home, addicted to dissipation, beyond the advice of parents and the remonstrances of friends, had by the genial persuasion and holy example of some good missionary been brought to know himself and his God, and in a right frame of mind to regard the duties, ties, and responsibilities of life. The well authenticated instances of this kind are so numerous, that any person who will choose to examine the matter for his own satisfaction, will be utterly astonished to find how such cases will multiply before his inquiries. A work recording such cases might be written, which would furnish to the public not only a large amount of information affecting the particular inquiry, but throwing much light upon the wonderful providence and goodness of God in individual history, and bringing out many traits of social life in India with which neither the church nor the world in England is familiar. The missionary societies have also rendered the government good service in a way which does not appear to be appreciated. But for them the government would have felt itself obliged to provide at the public expense a far larger staff of clergymen of the Established Church. This would have provoked bitter controversy at home, as the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics would have also demanded an extension of the support afforded to them, while the voluntary churches would have raised an agitation against the extension of the principle of religious establishments to India, and very large classes of persons, careless of any religious system, would have pointed out the injustice to the natives of India of supporting English sects out of revenues contributed by natives. In India the bitter prejudice already excited among the Hindoos and Mohammedans by endowing Christian sects out of the public revenue would have been increased, and have furnished still wider scope for the ingenious critiques of the native newspapers, and the appeals to native prejudice and bigotry in which that portion of the press of India indulges. The voluntary labours of the missionaries have thus rendered indirectly immense service to the government and the peace of India. Bearing upon this subject, and adding to the information given in the chapter devoted to the religions of India, the most recent returns of the number of clergymen paid by government in each presidency, and of each persuasion, may be here appropriately given. From the latest returns there appear to have been employed in Bengal one bishop, with a salary of £4508, and £725 for visitation allowances; 1120 cathedral establishments; sixty-eight chaplains (Church of England), with salaries of £51,031, and allowances of £1510 (in all); two Scottish Kirk chaplains, with salaries of £2310; and two "uncovenanted" ministers, with salaries of £540 (together); £2725 was the sum allowed to Romanist priests, but of these the number is not specified in the return before us. In

the Madras presidency (1855–6) there was a bishop, with £2560 salary; 1010 cathedral establishments; thirty-five (church) chaplains, with salaries of £15,056; and two "kirk" or Presbyterian ministers, with salaries of £18,936. The allowances to Romanist priests were £2580. In the Bombay presidency there was one prelate, with £2560 salary; 1335 cathedral establishments; twenty-six Church of England chaplains, with salaries of £18,936; and two "kirk" chaplains, with stipends of £2016 (together). The allowances to Romanist priests amounted to the sum of £3147.

The life of a civilian in India is neither favourable to the development of social virtues, nor conducive to social happiness. In an article on the Indian civil service in *Blackwood*, April, 1856, there is a most minute and graphic account of the progress of a civil officer in the Madras presidency, and the writer affirms that there is no essential difference in the sister presidencies. When appointed as an assistant to a collector and a magistrate in the provinces, the duties allotted to him are inferior and monotonous, neither calculated to improve the intellect nor the heart. He learns the external forms of magisterial business, and is recommended to become well acquainted with the various tribes and sects in the districts, so far as may concern the business which a collector has with them. These engagements are pursued in a mere routine, and admit of no variety, engrossing the time and the attention of the aspirant to civil honours, so as to leave him no leisure for study. He is, however, expected to study two native languages, and for this purpose he possesses good opportunities, being brought into constant contact with the natives. He cannot very well neglect this duty, as his promotion depends in no small measure upon its accomplishment, as a very strict examination is necessary before his advancement in the service another step can take place. After a year spent in such a manner, the assistant is initiated into the duties of fiscal administration. A *talook*, or small division of the district, under a *tahsildar*, or native collector, is assigned to him, in which, aided by a native *juwabnevees*, or secretary, and under the immediate supervision of the collector, he transacts the general matter of course duties of collector. He is employed in measuring salt, superintending the *tappal runners*, or mail carriers, checking the issue of postage or other stamps, and such like duties as, though requiring no mental exercise, need only integrity and honesty. After six or seven years the civilian thus disciplined is nominated head assistant. He is then sent to reside at some distance from head-quarters, in charge of a talook, or it may be of several talooks—"the business of which, if he do it thoroughly, occupies him from morning till night, allowing but very short intervals for meals and exercise, or for a hasty glance at the *Home News*, the *Illustrated News*, or *Punch*, and perhaps occasionally a 'review.' In this position, unless he be married, he rarely sees a white face, or hears the sound of his native language; and he hails with delight the advent of the subaltern and his small detachment marching to the periodical relief of some lonely outpost. The scraggy sheep is slaughtered; the tough fowl curried; the loaf of bread, *received by post*, is displayed as a treat; the beer, brandy, and cigars, represent the fabled luxuries of the East; a half-holiday is taken in celebration of the event; and the hour of parting brings with it somewhat of that melancholy feeling which is experienced by voyagers who, meeting for a moment on the wide ocean, exchange their friendly greetings, pass on, and are again alone in the world. Our civilian, however, has little time for sentimental reflections; while on what may be appropriately termed the 'Cutcherry' tread-mill, some half dozen questions constantly recurring, under slight modifications, occupy his attention—we can scarcely say his mind—*e. g.* Is Ramasamy entitled to any, and what, remission on account of a deficient supply of water for his rice-field? May the inhabitants of one village draw water from a particular source? or have those of another a prescriptive right to erect a dam, which will wholly or partially preclude their so doing? Is the extent of land in Mootoo's *puttah*, or lease, rightly stated? or, as insisted by his enemy Ramun, has he and the 'Kurnum' colluded to defraud the government by understating it? &c." The picture given in this sketch affords little hope of the civilian acquiring refinement of taste, or that strength of mind which the action of educated intellects on one another is calculated to promote. After six or seven years thus spent he becomes subordinate collector, or subordinate judge. As he advances to the office of collector or judge his position is in every way improved, and his opportunities of European society greatly advanced. If he be made a member of council, secretary of government, or accountant-general, not only are his emoluments increased, and his status elevated, but his social opportunities of refinement and comfort are much extended. He is sure to reside where intercourse with Europeans of a superior order may be constantly enjoyed. Sometimes, but not often, the civil servant is appointed to a diplomatic post at a native court.

Generally the members of the civil service are unwilling to give up their prospects of slow but certain promotion, for the uncertain tenure of a political position. Military men are therefore generally selected whose seniority promotion in their profession still goes on, while their new duties are agreeable, and afford sources of influence, honour, and reward. Reviewing the whole life of civil servants, the writer in *Blackwood* feelingly notices:—"The mortifications they will have to undergo in discovering that no boundless field exists, as in Europe, for the exercise of their talents, and that the majority are placed in situations in which nothing more than ordinary sense is required, or can be used, and *from* which no effort on their part can remove or exalt them; where not only will their accomplishments be useless, but their time so fully occupied by the dry details of daily business, as not even to allow their practice as recreations, and in which the greater portion of their lives must be spent at a distance from all capable of feeling or appreciating the higher pleasures of intellect, or the refinements of a cultivated taste. And in order to dispel any illusions under which many may be labouring as to the pecuniary advantages of the Indian civil service, we shall now state precisely the reward held out to its members for the duties they have to perform, and for the sacrifices they are required to make. Oh! we have often thought, as we have marked the youth, eager to depart for that East, so beautiful in poetry, so miserable in reality. Oh! if some disciple of Cornelius Agrippa could but display to him in his magic mirror the coming scenes of his future life, he would pause ere he grasped the glittering bait, and hesitate to purchase what is termed a provision for life, at the price, or at least at the risk, of all that renders life chiefly desirable—health of body—energy of mind—social ties! Too often are all these entirely sacrificed; in all cases partially so. And for what? Money!—a supposed greater amount of money than could be earned elsewhere. The selected will do well to consider the real value of their expectation in this particular, lest in this also they be disappointed."

In the administration of their duties the magistrates, political agents, collectors, and their assistants, have often been accused of violence, intimidation, and injustice. That men have belonged to this class harsh in their manners and severe in their official duties is unhappily true, but not in larger proportions than would be found among the stipendiary magistrates or officials in any European country, while on the other hand many most noble instances of generosity, self-negation, and love of justice, have been found amongst the Indian collectors, and probably as large a proportion of them have been as upright as any functionaries of any country. The names of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence have been immortalised in the provinces, regulation and non-regulation, of the north-west. Mr. Montgomery, by his prudence and justice in the Punjaub, and afterwards in Oude, healed wounds that had festered under other hands. Colonel Edwardes and General Jacob, on the Punjaub and Scinde frontiers, discharged political duties of the most onerous nature, with kindness as well as firmness. Mr. Thomason and many others have left in the spheres of their duties memories the most fragrant. To give one instance out of a large number who have held no higher office than that of collector: Mr. Cleveland, of Baghalpore, in the earlier operations of the East India Company, honoured his office and those he served by a long course of wise, gentle, and clement administration, and the respect paid by the company to his memory, proved that three quarters of a century ago they valued servants who thus administered their affairs. The following inscription was placed on his monument at Baghulpore:—"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late collector of the districts of Baghulpore and Rajmahal: who, without bloodshed, or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions; inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational dominion. The governor-general and council of Bengal, in honour of his character, and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January, 1784, aged 29."

The *Aborigines' Friend*, an English publication, in which the administration of our colonial empire has never found much favour, comments upon this epitaph in the following terms:—"If any additional proof of the excellency of Mr. Cleveland's character, and of the value of his labours, were wanting, it is to be found in the fact that the aumlah and zemindars of the jungleterry of Rajmahal also erected a monument to his memory, to which even now they pay an annual visit of reverence and affection. Would that our Indian rulers would imitate the example of a Cleveland, and abandon a system of coercion and

violence, which, while it may terrify the natives into submission to us, cannot but prevent their advancement in peace, prosperity, and happiness!"

It is generally admitted that the impolitic contempt for the natives so commonly shown by the military and by independent settlers, is not usually displayed by the company's civil officers, who lean rather to the weakness of extolling everything Indian, and despising European settlers not in the company's service. Dr. Russell, in his letters, June, 1858, directed to the *Times* newspaper, complains bitterly of the scorn for the natives held by the officers of the royal forces in occupation of Rohilcund, but in no case does he complain of the conduct of the company's civil officers in this particular. It is alleged by persons conversant with Indian affairs that the bearing of English ladies shows more of the pride of race than that of their husbands and brothers, and that contempt for natives of their own sex, even of superior rank, is manifested in forms improper, imprudent, unmerited by its victims, and calculated to create deep resentments in the minds of such native ladies. It is alleged that English ladies in India are most unpopular from this cause among the poor, and especially among the poor of their own sex. During the great revolt the hostility displayed to our countrywomen is thus accounted for, and where they have been spared, it is alleged, that in most cases the mercy resulted from gratitude to their husbands or fathers, who, as military or civil officers, had gained a reputation for humanity, bravery, or justice. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* represents the pride of the whole civil service, and of their families, as utterly unendurable to strangers who visit India, and as a source of the prejudice against the East India Company, which in England, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, had so widely extended. On board a passenger ship from Madras to Aden, the *Herald* correspondent met with a very large party of European residents of India. The social relations to one another of the various coteries and classes into which Indo-European society is divided, he thus represents:—

"Hospitality and good-nature die for want of nourishment, and sociality is stifled by affectation. The hereditary castes that are so religiously observed by the Hindoo natives are not more marked than the pointed exclusiveness of our Calcutta passengers—each looks upon the other with feelings far from friendly. Education or refinement seems to have little to do with the barriers of society; money, salary, pay, is what is most thought of. 'How long as he been out, and what does he receive per month? is he a collector or a sudder judge? does he belong to the civil or the military service? and has he influence at court?' are among the queries when the newcomer makes his appearance.

"All classes are represented on board our ship—from a collector to the consort of a member of the council; from a lieutenant in the Indian army to a commander-in-chief. Some are going home on sick-leave; others on a three years' vacation; while one or two have been a quarter of a century in the service, and retire with a life-pension of five thousand dollars, half of which they have paid by instalments, from year to year, to make up the fund. There are others who have been out as long, but are not as fortunate; their names do not head the list, and they must wait for their time to come. Some of our passengers are gentlemen; others, snobs; many of them invite our acquaintance; others are fearful that their dignity will be ruffled by being courteous to those whose pay is less. The member of council who gets forty thousand dollars per annum is not in the same set as the commissioner who receives but eighteen thousand dollars; and the Bengal civilian considers his position a peg or two higher than his of Madras; while the Calcutta potentate speaks patronizingly of his counterpart in the Mofussil. All the divisions of Indian society stand boldly out on shipboard; and intrepid is the man who can remove the chill that freezes the little courtesies of life. Restraint hangs over the breakfast-table, and formality barricades the jovial laugh and the pleasant conversation at dinner. Gossip, intrigue, and ill-natured remarks, follow you from the cabin to the deck. If you wish to be alone, you are eccentric; if you sing too loud, or converse above a whisper, you are considered a fit candidate for a lunatic asylum; a hearty laugh is unpardonable; and as for a dance or a charade, it would be out of the question. All the company's servants believe in the infallibility of the company; an excuse is found for everything the honourable company may do. American slavery is horrible, but the Indian ryot system is a blessing to the native. Annexation in America is robbery; in India, friendship and protection. The court of directors do what they please; the governor-general proclaims it, and the servants, far and wide, say 'Amen.'"

There are both exaggeration and ignorance displayed in these severe animadversions; and probably the correspondent did not easily fall in with the manner of highly educated English gentlemen, such as undoubtedly many of the officers, civil and military, were who hap-

pened to be his fellow passengers. Certainly Indian and American annexations have no parallel: the latter are the result of filibustering; the former grow out of wars, in which the natives have generally been the aggressors, or had adopted a policy so dangerous to the British possessions as to leave the English no other course. The ryotwar was evidently a matter of which the American correspondent had no knowledge, and of which he was unfit to offer any opinion. As a shrewd and clever business man, and man of the world, his views of the social habits of the civil servants of the company are worthy of attention, and especially as those habits present themselves to an American traveller. The social life of the English in India has its good points, but it is for the study of those which are not to be admired that we must repair to the letters of the American correspondent. It is well, however, to present such views to the reader, that English social life in India may be seen in every aspect which it presents to friends or foes, foreigners or Englishmen.

The commercial character of the trading community, native and foreign, has, under the head of commerce, been described, and, in some respects, their social character was of necessity included in that description. The common impression in England is, that the Calcutta merchants, having lived in princely splendour, have surrounded themselves with all the creations of taste, and made Calcutta the city of palaces, which in some respects it deserves to be called, however exaggerated its claims. That her merchant princes have not improved Calcutta, so far as architectural beauty or symmetry of streets is concerned, in the proportion in which they have increased its commerce and population, the writer last quoted takes some pains to prove. The same writer gives the following description of commercial life in Calcutta:—

"Notwithstanding the troops of native shopkeepers and tradesmen always hovering about you, there are plenty of Europeans ready to take your money. English tailors, English barbers, English hatters, and English jewellers, English hotel-keepers, and English druggists, all exercise their ingenuity in properly representing their respective callings. The exchange mart, as they term it, contains a little of everything—a perfect *salmagundi*. You can purchase anything you please—an India rubber coat or a penny whistle, a lady's workbox or a gentleman's dressing-case—and the prices are moderate. I bought several beautiful silver ornaments made by the artizans of Cuttack—bracelets, bouquet-holders, breast-pins, and sundry nick-nacks, many of which were of exquisite workmanship. Just at the present time the exchange is being cleared preparatory to the opium sale, which comes off the 11th of every month, a sight I am sorry I shall not witness, for it is one of the noted exhibitions of Calcutta. The opium from Benares and Patna is sold here at public auction by the honourable company, through a salaried auctioneer, twelve times during the year, to the highest bidder. Catalogues are early circulated, and the purchasers from the country are early in town. As a chest of Patna passes like a bank-note, no sampling or examination takes place. Looking from an elevation in the room, you see a most extraordinary spectacle: all nations—all European races are represented. In the Stock Exchange and the Bourse you may see the latter, but at the opium sales-room only can you see the grand mixture of races.

"Gambling is a natural vice among the Indians, and they enjoy beyond anything else the peculiar excitement of the opium mart; and it is the motley appearance of the bidders, combined with the confusion of tongues, and the strong odours that arise from the perspiring crowd, that marks the place. Jews and Gentiles are wild in their manner; and Greeks, Armenians, Persians, mingled in with native Indians of many dialects; and Englishmen, and all the representatives of the continent of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, are wrought up to the greatest possible excitement by the sharp bidding and the quick auctioneer, who seems to be ubiquitous. The hells of London and of Paris are not thronged with more reckless men, for the amounts are heavy, and one bid will make or lose a fortune. Much of the gambling takes place in the bazaar before the sale.

"The river is covered with merchandize, which the primitive teams of the land, unchanged for centuries, bring down from the interior, while the finest ships in the world open their hatches to receive the produce of a land that is capable of producing as much of its renowned staples as the rest of the world is capable of consuming. And yet, with all this wonderful commerce, who grows rich in the Indian trade? How many merchants annually retire with lacs of rupees? As many as make their fortunes in the respective gold-fields of the great Anglo-Saxon empires, after they have passed through a panic, no more; for competition crowds the new-comer, and every ten years the old merchants tremble under an established custom, if not a natural law."

This writer, in common with all strangers who visit Calcutta, was struck with the increasing importance of the Hindoo, Parsee, and Greek merchants. Of late several Greeks of Constantinople, and others who had "houses"

in Western Europe, have settled in Calcutta, and they import not only the habits of business by which their race is characterized, but also its good and evil social peculiarities. The natives, however expert in the tricks of commerce, and however gifted in the foresight which is essential where trade assumes the risks of the gambling table, and the cunning and unprincipled have the best chances of success, are rivalled by the Greeks. The habits of the native merchants of Bombay were noticed when the capital of that presidency was described. The life of the native merchants of Calcutta has been thus described by a traveller who was not unfriendly to them:—"The native merchants are men of intellect, well up in all the moves on the mercantile chess-board. You are surprised to find them so familiar with commerce and commercial usages. Naturally sharp and quick to learn, by being brought, after graduating in the English school, in contact with business men from every coast, they become familiar with all the tricks of trade. If they wish to purchase, they appear before you as sellers; if they have indigo to dispose of, they will inquire for seeds; and if freight is to be engaged, they will offer you a ship. Intuitively they understand all the clap-trap of the Stock Exchange; with astonishing cleverness they put the market up and down with as much ease as the most experienced bulls and bears of the West; and before or after the arrival of a mail you meet them where you least expect it—always a little in advance. No Europeans were equal to cope with them in managing prices, in regulating prices, or in dodging round sharp corners, till the Greeks dropped down among them; but since so many of them have appeared in Calcutta, the natives have had to keep their eyes wide open."

The social habits of every native class has been described in previous pages, except those of the merchants of the Indian metropolis; and as this is a class which has grown up under British and foreign influence, a notice of its habits of domesticity and intercourse in private society was reserved until the social habits and character of the Indo-European commercial class should come under review. It has not been easy to obtain much knowledge of the mode in which the banyans and native merchants of Calcutta spend their time, when away from general observation. The following account by a gentleman who enjoyed the hospitality of some of them is therefore the more interesting:—

"I visited the residence of the Dutt family, where all the opulence and luxuries that wealth commands are scattered about the rooms. Paintings and engravings, mosaic from Rome and porcelain from Sèvres, English and French furniture, and everything Indian and European that they can get hold of, is purchased to adorn their residences. The large rooms of valuable merchandize resembled more an ill-assorted pawnbroker's shop in London than anything else I could think of. I found the Baboo almost naked, in his bedroom, on the floor, a punkah over him, and in his hand an English history of the Russian war. The room was beautifully furnished, but the pictures that adorned the walls showed the licentious taste of the Bengalee. He was most familiar with the geography, the commerce, the politics of other nations; wanted to know the effect of the late wonderful production of gold, and how it would operate on the silver coinage; asked if the losses still continued as heavy in the Australian trade as at first, and if our cotton crop in the States would exceed three millions of bales, and if in case of peace clipper-ships would depreciate. His religion, he said, would not allow him to go abroad, but nothing would be more pleasant to him than to visit Mount Vernon. Ashootas Day had a beautiful place, and before his death gave a most expensive nautch, combining the immoralities of the European with the luxuriant and voluptuous habits of the natives. He denied himself nothing that money would give him. The careless way of speaking of him, 'that he had been burnt up' makes one still more repugnant to their idol worship. I was also entertained by Baboo Rajendur Mullick, whose princely estates and great wealth are noticeable above many others'. Dutt's place is far less expensive, for Baboo Mullick lives the gentleman, and devotes his time to ornamenting his house, by purchasing everything that comes from other parts. The more costly the article, the better is he pleased. Animals and birds filled the garden, and his aviary contained the feathered tribes of every land, from the ostrich to the emu—the mandarin duck of China to the bird of paradise. The late Earl of Derby contributed something to the collection. I saw several goats from Cashmere, the kind from whose wool the celebrated shawls are made. The goats thrive poorly out of the mountains, and there were only five left out of some two hundred that the Baboo owned. The Baboo is most gentlemanly in his manners, and well informed in ancient and modern history, speaking English with remarkable fluency. He had several lacs invested in the company's paper. A few weeks since he gave a most magnificent nautch. The large area in the centre was covered, and lights and lanterns shone over the expensive fountain and the orna-

mented stage. These nautches are peculiar to India, and when given by a king, a prince, or a millionaire, distinguished foreigners are often invited. I had the chance of being present at one on a small scale, got up for the amusement of a young Bostonian from Canton and myself, by some of our American friends. The music at times is harsh, and then dies off with soothing harmony. The musicians were all seated, and the guests, native and foreign, were provided with lounges, sofa-chairs, &c. The entertainment was given at a native's house, a few miles out of town, and the dancing-girls were engaged a day or two before. Gesticulation, action, and the elastic movements of the body, are the peculiar features of the dance: they commence with a slow, graceful motion, scarcely moving their feet, but working their hands and arms; then becoming more animated, with a livelier chant, their whole form keeps time to the tune, till they appear much excited; their movements at first chaste, become voluptuous; and the music inspirits to still more powerful excitement, till the dance is terminated with louder strains and more lascivious motions. Other dancers then take their place, but the dance is unchanged. Two of the girls only appeared at the same time. All of them were covered with jewels. I counted as many as fifteen gold and silver bracelets on one arm, not to mention necklaces and chains: they had bells on their ankles, and rings on their fingers, jewellery in their ears and noses, which gave them a most original appearance, and showed how fond these natives are of ornament. All they can make, all they can get and save over and above their maintenance, goes for ornaments; and many of those who seem the poorest have valuable jewellery on their persons. Coolies, even, who can save a few rupees invest in buying jewelled ornaments for their children; and hence robbery and murders occur where the inducement is so conspicuously advertised." The amusements of Calcutta are for Europeans scant and poor; he says—"beyond their own residences, and off the esplanade, foreigners have little to amuse themselves with, for theatricals and concerts, lectures and exhibitions, do not thrive on Indian soil. Kate Hayes, however, for a while dispersed the general apathy; but a few nights of the Italian music at the prices were amply sufficient. There are many amateur singers in the city, and their occasional re-unions are said to be attractive. A star actor or prima-donna need never expect to realize a rapid fortune by visiting Calcutta; for the population is not equal to a small town in a Western State. Seven thousand, they tell me, is about the mark."

According to the testimony of most English writers and travellers there is much social intercourse in all the great cities of India among the British. The civilians and military in the company's service prefer each associating with one another, to the company of independent settlers. But the officers of the royal army and clergymen are much in request by the company's servants. Formerly the missionaries were very unfashionable, but of late years they have become much more influential, and they are invited to the best circles. The members of the Indo-European press form an important element of the community, and these are far more feared than loved by the company's servants; but the power of the pen has become too formidable for those who wield it to be overlooked; and besides, many in the profession of literature have realized in India considerable property, and have therefore formed a status independent of that acquired by their literary reputation and power. In Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, more especially, this class has become important and respected.

Social life among the English planters and settlers in the interior is sometimes dreary enough, especially as they are generally located in flat and well irrigated parts of the country, far apart from other Europeans. Where their pursuits have enabled them to fix upon a diversified part of the country, their life is less monotonous, as they can hunt the wild boar, or it may be the tiger, and either sport is sufficiently perilous to be exciting. The chief planters and independent settlers are indigo planters, as cotton and rice are generally cultivated by the ryots or zemindars. The habits and situation of the planters have been noticed under the head of commerce. A popular London periodical * presents a very just picture of the life of an indigo planter in the following terms:—"An European indigo planter in the interior of India leads an isolated life, which, however, is not without its enjoyments. His business, though it has its anxieties, is not irksome. He is generally a farmer and a sportsman, and master and owner of a fine mansion, with plenty of elephants. Arabian horses, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs, and perhaps a few tame leopards and tigers. His elephants, besides being useful in enabling him to ride over his plantations, will carry him better than any other animal, when out in the jungles tiger hunting. The planter often lives twenty or forty miles from any other European; but this does not prevent him from constantly making and receiving visits. Moreover, his time is well taken up with

* Dickens's *Household Words*.

paying his people, superintending his vats, and settling disputes among the neighbouring farmers. In his own districts the planter is perfectly independent, being looked up to with awe and respect by all around him. In their hour of trouble the poor, miserable, hard-worked, and ill-fed ryots or labourers always fly to the British planter for protection against the oppressions of their own masters and countrymen."

These solitudes of Indo-English life are not relieved by the intercourse of intelligent natives. The impossibility of communicating freely in any language prevents intercourse in such neighbourhoods as afford any respectable native gentry: but generally the planter is settled where there are none such; he is surrounded by jealous zemindars, or his neighbourhood is peopled by ryots, to whom these zemindars may find a fit parallel only in the Legree of Mrs. Stowe's affecting tale of American oppression of the negro. If the planter be a single man, which is not unfrequently the case, he often lives like an outcast, far away from home and friends, and from the amenities and enjoyments of civilised life.

In the great cities there is often a constant meeting of natives of wealth and dignity in public assemblies, and on public promenades. This does not, however, occur in many places; but it is to be seen in the presidential capitals, especially in the great and gay metropolis; also in Kurrachee, Poonah, Serampore, and a few other places. In all the capitals of the three presidencies there is a mingling of Europeans and natives in the public drives and great thoroughfares of pleasure. It is least so in Madras, although in that populous presidential metropolis there is a considerable European and a large native population of positive and relative respectability. The throngs assembling on the public carriage way and esplanade at Bombay were described at considerable length in the notice given of that city in the geographical portion of the work. There European, Jew, Arab, Parsee, Hindoo, Mohammedan, Jain, Jat, Persian, and Cingalese crowd together the grand evening promenade, and form a scene at once attractive to the ethnologist and the politician. Yet it is observable how much the natives retire among themselves, Jew with Jews, Parsee with Parsees, Mussulman with Mussulmen, and the English are left, by the voluntary action and taste of the natives, as well as from their own exclusiveness, to pursue the path of pleasure alone. At Calcutta this is not so much the case. Probably the native merchants there are not so rich as some, especially the hard bargaining Parsees of Bombay; but there are many wealthy natives having a purpose in living near to the centre of imperial government. Great zemindars and talookdars, deposed and pensioned rajahs and native princes, and many who still hold the reigns of government within some province of the great peninsula, visit the capital where the majesty of England is represented by the presence of a viceroy, where it is expected that European agents can be found, who for rupees—the ever potential instrument of policy in the opinion of the native—will assist in the intrigues which Calcutta is believed not only to tolerate, but for which it is supposed to afford a most ample scope. Thence, if necessary, correspondence can be maintained with England, where lawyers and members of parliament are known to reside whose poverty exposes them to the temptation of corruption.

After the annexation of Oude there was a large influx of complaining talookdars and zemindars to Calcutta, and the reception they met with from the government, and the European population generally, exasperated them. The object of these men was to secure their interests in the land of the annexed province, and it was not merely their disappointment in this object, but the contempt with which they were treated, which roused their resentment. This will easily be conceived when it is remembered that these men were the Oude aristocracy, and when the tenure by which their landed interests and influence were held is understood. The details given under the head of land revenue will partly explain this to our readers, but in order to present the force of the double exasperation which moved these talookdars and zemindars of Oude to retire from their contact with their British masters at Calcutta, it is necessary to observe here that in Oude the state has the right of a very large portion of the gross produce or rents of the soil, but not a right in the soil. This has been held for unknown ages by the zemindars, who, with a few partial exceptions, have survived the oppressions of former governments—whether Hindoo or Mohammedan—and whose hereditary tenures could not now be confiscated, without producing results far more serious than those unacquainted with the native feeling may imagine. The talookdars, again, or feudal lords, are sometimes zemindars, or owners of a portion of their talooks—but more generally only lords superior of a number of villages, through whom the village zemindars pay their rent to the government. Lord Canning's proclamation extends to the rights of both classes: and, if sanctioned by parliament, would for ever prevent the allegiance of the mass of the people in Oude; for, in

Hindoo villages, almost every cultivator is a joint sharer in the land (a zemindar), being a descendant from a common ancestor. Supposing, even, the government in India really possessed the right of destroying the hereditary landed tenures of a large province, it would be, politically speaking, a great mistake to attempt to exercise it, as it could never be enforced, unless you could put to death every zemindar in Oude, *i. e.*, almost every man in arms in that province, and a vast number more not in arms, but who would, no doubt, instantly join their brethren if they found their hereditary rights seized. England, in fact, could not send out troops enough to carry out such an order. Little did the British think, who met the gay cavaliers of Oude on the esplanade of Calcutta, after the petitions of these men were spurned and themselves contemned, that the treatment under which their vengeance was formed and fostered would so soon try the energy of our empire, and consign so many of our fairest and bravest to bloody graves.

The extreme contempt for the natives which characterizes the English in India, which is perhaps nowhere cherished more than in Calcutta, not only at government-house, but among the independent settlers, and which makes itself so felt of an evening on the esplanade, has not only incited Indian chiefs to rebellion, but has sustained the English in their most daring efforts to quell revolt and carry their conquests all over the peninsula. Alluding to this result of the feeling, and to its probable and possible consequences as indicated by the revolt of 1857-8, the *Friend of India* has the following remarks, written after the fall of Lucknow:—"We are beginning to learn the strength of our foe. We hear now no more stories of want of gunpowder and ammunition, of muskets either turned into fusees or bartered for a little food, of rebels dying by hundreds, and disunion breaking out in their camp. We no longer expect impossibilities, to conquer a host with some ten men, or to defend a town with a garrison weakly provisioned and hampered with women and children. Yet the old proud contempt for all races but our own still continues; at one time a source of weakness, at another of the most heroic action. At first it left Delhi without troops, and the capital unguarded, the king of Oude or his ministers to plot sedition, and native regiments to burn down bungalows. When the rebellion had broken out it caused General Havelock, with a force scarcely three thousand strong, to advance gallantly into Lucknow and save the garrison, and Colonel Powell with five hundred men to drive five thousand rebels from an intrenched position; it enabled General Neill to save Benares, and contributed not a little to the series of victories won by General Havelock. If knowledge be power, ignorance sometimes is not less so, and the man who knows not when it is impossible for him to gain a victory seldom sustains a defeat. This contempt for our foe has had as great an influence upon individuals as upon masses. What else enabled Lieutenant Willoughby and his gallant companions to make a stand at Delhi; what enabled Lieutenant Osborne to maintain his post at Rewah, and Lieutenant Hungerford at Mhow; what else encouraged Sir John Lawrence in the Punjaub to denude the province of European troops and send them to Delhi? The emotion is now, however, passing away; it has served its purpose, and the man who thought it before cowardly to shrink from a dishonourable foe now takes the precautions which can alone secure a thorough vengeance. The commander-in-chief, therefore, rightly delayed his advance on Lucknow until his success was certain."

On the esplanade at Calcutta the English, and superior classes of natives, meet every evening, but while they pass and repass one another, the native merchants, it may be with more costly equipages, and the native chiefs on finer horses, more richly caparisoned, and themselves gorgeously apparelled, this display of native wealth and jewelled grandeur seldom tempts the English from their cold and haughty reserve, and the smallest conceivable intercourse takes place between the two races. Mr. Train, who wrote from an American point of view, and for American readers, like Bayard Taylor, and other Americans who travelled in India, thus describes the esplanade, and the gay concourse which occupies it:—"The esplanade, thus far, more than all else in the Bengal capital, has left the most lasting impression on my mind when the sun shuts off his burning brightness, when the Indian day has departed, and the Indian evening is born. About the hour of five o'clock the stranger is introduced to a scene of gaiety and gladness, a picture of oriental and Anglo-Saxon life that it would be difficult to cross from off the memory's tablet. I am no enthusiast, nor can I paint; my youth has been buried among the dry leaves of commerce—the cobweb realities of the counting-house—the invoice, the ledger, and the ship—and now, on the restless drifting of never-ceasing change, I am purchasing dearly enough, by absence from my family, my first draught of oriental custom and Indian habits. The evening drive, however, as delightful as it is strange, would make me forget my commission account, were not the familiar names

of clipper-ships always before me as they range along the anchorage. All there is of European and Western life in Calcutta is reflected every evening on the course, and as I lie off so lazily in my barouche I can but contemplate the scene so singularly beautiful. Isaac Marvel should have driven on the course after he had been brooding over his sea-coal fire. There is the holy river coursing far up above the city—far away beyond the suburbs; past the hunting-fields of the fierce Mahrattas, winding its many coils through the palace-gardens on its sacred banks; past the umbrageous banyan, the palm, the sycamore, and cocoa-trees; past heathen temples, rusting under the corroding influence of climate and of time; and, as it loses itself in the distance far beyond Barrackpore, your imagination traces it beyond your visual reach, wending its tortuous way through the vast possessions of the honourable company, and the paddy-fields, that give so many millions nourishment; past the wheat, and the corn, and the indigo plantations; near where the poppy blossoms bloom under government, to raise a few more lacs to pay the army; past the zemindars, whose tyrant power grinds the life from the poor ryot; past the Saracenic ruins of Hindoo temples, interesting, because so grey with age; by the sepoy camp, where English officers are the lords of native regiments; until we finally lose it among the valleys that base the mountain ranges of the towering Himalayas. Lost as you may be in reverie, your fancy is arrested by the soul-stirring music of the regimental bands, in the garden inclosure, where nurses and children most do congregate, and where, in the little arbour, you may find an American apple or an American ice. The thrill of martial airs ringing through the trees, and the voluptuous breeze of the Indian evening fanning off the burthensome cares of day, would put you asleep in your easy-moving carriage were your senses not kept always active by the passing and repassing of 'fair women and brave men.' All that is attractive in Calcutta may be seen at the daily reunion of the drive. The scene is most unlike anything I ever witnessed. The Praya Grande of Macao faces the water, and so does the grassplot at Singapore, the Bund at Shanghai, the Botanical Gardens at Sydney, the governor's road to his new residence on the banks of the Derwent, in Tasmania, but not as the esplanade looks upon the Hoogly, for here you combine so many attractions. Some seventy American banners have been streaming during the day from the beautiful clippers of my own fair land; and the flags of England, and of France, and Continental States, have been furled for the night, again to open their gaudy colours in the morning. The ships of all nations are crowding one another in long rows, three and four abreast, for miles along the pleasure ground, some deeply laden, and waiting impatiently to commence their voyage, and be towed to sea; others have just arrived, and in ballast trim."

Mr. Train, having visited Fort William, and given some inaccurate descriptions of it in a military sense, affords a glimpse, which is faithful and well described, of the people who frequent the esplanade, in the singular throng of their varied nationalities:—"On returning through one of the military roads, I found the esplanade crowded with elegant equipages; and evening after evening I was borne along the drive, watching the interesting spectacle—now walking in long rows, and now hurrying on in delightful confusion, carriage behind carriage, their occupants dressed as for a ball. You saw all that was gay in the capital; and many are the romantic stories of love and of gossip which are told you if your companion be a lady, and of thrilling and hairbreadth escapes if of the other sex. Where a community have held an evening levee at the same hour, and at the same place, day after day, Sundays not excepted, for generations, in an Indian country, there must be many incidents on record of the romance and misery of Indian life. Some of the equipages would not fail to be noticed in Hyde Park; and many of the Arab horses on the green would attract attention in Rotten Row.* The distinguished potentates of the company spare no expense in endeavouring to eclipse their neighbours; and salaries, surprising to the officials of other lands, are squandered as quickly as they are received. The governor-general's carriage is lost sight of the moment some of the native princes make their appearance, and the commander-in-chief of the army, the members of the council, who receive forty thousand dollars per annum, and other high-salaried officers of the civil service, are not able to cope with the luxuriant extravagance of baboos, who count their wealth by lacs of pounds. Count d'Orsay, as he is dubbed, because he was horsewhipped for twice throwing a bouquet into a lady's carriage, seems to be the native Beau Brummel of the course in everything but wealth, for his estates are princely. There must be white blood in his veins, for his complexion is fair, and his features are noticeable for their regularity. The

* Mr. Train seems to be under the impression that the fashionables of London ride their best horses in Rotten Row. This is an error; the average value of a horse there during the gayest time of the London season has been computed at £60.

baboo mullicks are also out in their splendid teams; and I notice another native 'b'hoy in a New York buggy; and there is Ghoolam Mohammed, on a beautiful Arab, prancing; and near by is the belle of Calcutta, the beautiful Miss ——; but the Indian climate has driven the roses from her cheek, and the lilies that have displaced them tell of ill-health, and a longing for her English home. Hindoos of high rank, dressed in their attractive garb of many colours, and Mussulmen, whose fanaticism has often made them brave in war; rajahs with a princely pension, and princes whose wealth cannot be counted; military leaders who have won position and honour by bravery, and those who have never seen action, although grey in the service: these, and more, are passing, and merchants are here, and tradesmen. A little way on you see a row of buggies, the turn-out of the American captain, who, when riding with his own team, looks as proud as the best of them. I enjoyed the course; it was so cheerful to meet again with those whom we had met, to gaze again upon the shipping, to note again the massive strength of Fort William, to feel the refreshing coolness of the sea air as it came up the river with the tide, to fall, perhaps, into a doze as the distant music trembles on the air, and, awaking, to notice some barouche with livery more gay than the rest, or some lady, who knows she is the object of attraction. The Calcuttaites have become so habituated to the evening drive, that they would as soon forego their meals or their ablutions as omit the daily reunion, which combines the pleasure of society with the luxury of recreation."

The unwillingness of the British to associate with the natives cannot arise from inferiority of manner. A distinguished modern writer says "the lowest of the people, if fate raises him to be an emperor, makes himself quite at home in his new situation, and shows a manner and conduct unknown to Europeans similarly situated." This queerly and awkwardly written sentence is evidently intended to convey the idea of a superior capacity on the part of the natives for positions of honour and dignity. It is to be doubted whether any such superiority exists. Mr. Campbell's praise of the Indians is in this respect as exaggerated as in many others. Europeans have frequently risen from low stations to positions of great eminence and dignity, and maintained their places with an eminence of mind and glory of circumstance of which we have not similar examples in Hindoo history; but it is certain that the natives, take them class for class, can conduct themselves, as to the courtesies and amenities of life, as well as the citizens of the more polished European states. There is, however, a constant tendency to deterioration in Hindoos of exalted station observable by Europeans, and which tempts the British to respect more a native who has raised himself by his parts than those who can boast a princely lineage; indeed, Mr. Campbell ends the passage just quoted by adding, "but his son is altogether degenerate!" *

The indisposition of the English at Calcutta to mingle in native society can hardly be wondered at when the contempt which the peculiar meanness and weakness of the Bengalee character is calculated to inspire is taken into consideration. Moreover, the horrid degradations of the Hindoo religion, and its influence upon the whole native character, is nowhere more thoroughly exhibited than in Bengal. The higher classes are not exempt from the common subjection to the debasing power of Hindoo idolatry. It is difficult for a European to associate with a man who he knows has murdered his female offspring, or the woman who has exposed her child to be swept away by the Ganges; with persons who have left their sick parents to be devoured, while yet living, by the tiger or the alligator; who have countenanced and mingled in the filthy obscenities of Indian temples; or who have, under the ostensible show of a costly tribute to their dead kindred or servants, allowed the heartless and horrid neglect of the funeral pyre. These things are all practised in the very neighbourhood of Calcutta; and even the stranger, who pays a short visit, cannot fail to witness them if he have any curiosity. The author of *Young America Abroad* shows how a foreigner indirectly justifies the British residents of that city in not desiring any intimate intercourse with the natives, of whatever rank or class. In the immediate vicinity of the Indian metropolis he visited temples and funeral pyres, and thus gives account of both:—"The same day I went through several heathen temples, seeing all that I was permitted to see, and that was enough to disgust one with their unseemly worship. It was some religious festival, and a large concourse blocked the avenues; but we were permitted to push our way along. About fifty kids were lying with their heads off, all sizes and all colours, a bell ringing from the temple at the dropping of every head. One man, more religious than those about him, brought in a young buffalo, and great was the rejoicing; the bell rang several times, and the singing, shouting, and gesticulations, created the greatest confusion. Some of the priests were desirous that I should

* Campbell's *Modern India*, p. 64.

offer up a goat, but I declined joining in the ceremony, for the whole performance was most revolting. It was, however, not half so disgusting, nor was it so strangely peculiar, as the ceremony which I saw going on in several of the smaller temples. Once seen, it will not easily be forgotten. Veiled females were continually pouring in and out. The temple has within a Hindoo god that represents the creative power of man, and the ceremony of the Linquam is supposed to be the cure of barrenness and sterility. There are several days of the year that Hindoo wives who have never been so fortunate as to bring any addition to the household resort to this temple. There are different idols in different parts of India, but I believe none are so effectual as the Brahmins themselves. I also rode down to the burning ghaut, and witnessed, till it almost made me sick with nausea, the disgusting sight of burning their dead. The smoke was rising from the dying embers of several bodies, and in three instances the funeral pyre was just lighted. After having been brought to the banks of the river, where they are left to die, if their friends have the means of purchasing the wood, and paying for the ceremony, they are at once placed upon the pyre, and covered up with the burning timber, till their bodies have been entirely consumed. The picture was painful, nauseating, most unpleasant to the senses; and you only care to see it once, and then a few moments will satisfy you. You cannot but feel stupified at the sight. Some poor skull, not wholly destroyed, you may be treading on; and pieces of bones, where the relatives were too poor to pay for more fuel, you see buried in the ashes. A most foul stench fills the air. At all hours of the day corpses are brought down, and the unseemly levity of the naked wretches who stir up the fuel, and more especially when they show you the body by running a pole into its side, would hasten your departure, did you not arrest your steps to gaze upon the hungry flock of ravens, and crows, and carrion kites, who approach the corpses before the fire has ceased to burn, within a close proximity, to seize upon the least atom saved from the flame. Hundreds of them were within a few feet, intently peering into the ashes, while the more dignified adjutants were perched upon the house-tops and on the walls, waiting for their share of the entertainment. No one molests them; for the birds are sacred, and eat up the filth about the city. When too poor to buy the privilege of burning their relatives, they let the tide wash them off the beach—some of them, perhaps, before the life has left the body—and they are floated off to sea. I have often heard the captains of ships tell of the bodies fouling the anchors, and of the sickening stench that arose in cleaning them when some half a dozen had lodged there; and whenever I drank the water of the Hoogly, or partook curry or fish at breakfast, I could not but be reminded of the human shrimp-traps and fish-bait of which I had so many times heard. I have seen little, but all I wish to see, of Indian worship. Next month, April, some of those days, when the torture is the worship, I will give the stranger the opportunity of witnessing that which I do not care to behold, for already I have seen enough to disgust me with the common people—their habits, their customs, their dress, their treachery, their duplicity, and their religion. One able-bodied Chinaman, in appearance at any rate, is worth half a dozen natives of Bengal, for, as a race, the former are far more sightly than the latter."

The uniform disposition of the British in every part of India to neglect native society has been much animadverted upon. It has been said that the manners of the people are very different in different provinces: the effeminate Bengalee bears no resemblance to the manly Rajpoot; the swarthy Madrassee is not like the Scinde descendants of the Arabs; the people of the coasts on the Bay of Bengal are very dissimilar to the tall and well-made Oudeans; the abject Cingalese offer no points of comparison with the manly Sikh and Affghan: yet the English associate with none. It is not understood by those who thus call our Indo-Britons to account for their distant bearing that, however dissimilar in race and creed, there is an extraordinary social identity among all the races of India, and class with class, a singular sameness of moral type in all parts of the peninsula. Although there are many classes, almost all the classes are found more or less everywhere; and hence the same general features of society exist alike in every part of India, even when there is a considerale difference in personal appearance and language. In effect it has become one country; and though many different races have entered it, and have been by peculiar institutions kept in many respects separate, each has in its own sphere pervaded the country. All have become united in one common civilization—the same system of Hindoo polity has been overlaid by the same system of Mohammedan government—inhabitants of one part of the country have served, travelled, and done business in all other parts indiscriminately; and so altogether, while the different degrees in which different elements have been mixed,

produce exterior differences, the essential characteristics of all are the same.*

It has been said in reply to language of this kind, that, in the region of politics at all events, the English, and the native party attached to them, might move together; that wherever the Englishman goes he is a politician, and wherever he rules he is essentially so; that the natives are also keen politicians, and therefore those of the British party would necessarily be brought into a juxtaposition with the English, affording the latter opportunity for cultivating native society among the men under the most favourable auspices. It is not known to those who thus reason that the masses of the people have no politics, although sometimes they appear to act from political motives, when they are only moved by their interest in their land as cultivators, or their interest in their religion as fanatics. The chiefs and their ministers in the independent provinces, or the deposed rajahs who hope to be restored to their dominions, are of course politicians so far as their regal interests are concerned, but the masses have no nationhood, no political theories or principles, and no aims, such as we call political. Socially they are one people in spite of every diversity of class, creed, colour, and custom existing among them; politically there is no cohesion—they are as the sand scattered before the storm.

The people of India have no political feeling in common; no two tribes, classes, or castes of Hindoos pull together in politics. This, which, in the first instance, is no doubt in a great degree the consequence of political slavery, is now still more the cause of it. Natives of different classes associate much together, have their alliances and enmities in common; but employ one of them in the service of government, and he has no particle of political sympathy beyond his own subdivision of a class, if even so much. Political nationality there is none. Even in matters of public concern between the people and the government, there is little public spirit. They have so long lived under an alien and despotic government, that they feel little bound to assist it; so that if, in the pursuit of criminals and such matters, a native is immediately touched himself, he is active enough—but so long as this is not the case, he moves not in the matter, and renders little assistance.† Under such circumstances the English in India and the natives must continue politically and socially separate, however related by mutual interests.

* Campbell's *Modern India and its Government*, pp. 36, 37.

† Ibid. pp. 62, 63.

There is, however, one part of India which seems to be an exception to the want of nationality, and that sense of political importance which a strong nationality creates—Oude. The people of Oude, believing themselves descended from the ancient Israelites, and inhabiting the very centre and seat of that ancient empire, are passionately attached to their country. Notwithstanding all the robbery and violence of the late king, the people preferred the independence of their country, remaining exposed to the most crushing oppression and devastating plunder, to the government of England under the auspices of peace, security, and an equitable taxation. Bishop Heber relates how a British officer, riding at the head of a party through Oude, conversed with those near him as to the frightful state of anarchy around them: he asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government? Whereupon the jemindar in command of the escort, joining his hands, remarked with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!"—"Why so?" said the officer; "are not our people far better governed?"—"Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our country would be at an end." The jemindar was a Mohammedan, and the bishop adds, "Perhaps a Hindoo ryot would have given a different reply." * Events have since proved the reverend traveller to have been wrong, for the Hindoo ryot joined the Mohammedan talookdar and zemindar in a sanguinary struggle for independence. With this exception of Oude, no national feeling would rouse the Indians to arms. Even when the Sikhs made so grand a struggle, it was more for the ascendancy of the Khalsa faith than for the glory of the Punjaub.

Having shown the absence of all social or political sympathy between the two races, British and native, and the unlikelihood of their coming into closer communion unless great changes be wrought in the principles and tastes of both, it will not surprise the reader to learn that the disdain which marks the general bearing of Europeans to the natives, pervades even the high places of government. Distinguished princes attend the assemblies and levees at government-house, but they are made to feel, and sometimes with keen humiliation, that they are subjugated and tributary.

A glimpse of Calcutta society in its highest phases will interest the reader. This shall be given in the words of a foreigner, who, invited to an entertainment at government-house on the arrival of Lord and Lady Can-

* Heber's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 90.

ning, with more frankness than good taste, has related his observations:—"The several entrances through the gateways to the palace had a most imposing appearance, both sides of the well-made road being lined with lamps of cocoa-nut oil, blazing from every post in the grounds, a sight as novel to me as the Chinese lanterns which so tastefully illuminate the gardens of the Shanghai merchants when they wish to exhibit more than usual magnificence. At the main doorway there were some two hundred servants squatting in rows in the large entrance hall, dressed in more than all the colours of the dolphin and rainbow—whether private servants, or those belonging to the house I did not learn, but could not but notice their peculiar sitting posture, like so many pelicans on a beach. Walking through the lower hall, passing at every turn the sepoy guard, we were shown up a long staircase, and ushered into the reception room. I passed through the outer hall to see the dancers, whose numbers fairly crowded one of the largest halls I ever witnessed. Before joining in the dance I wished to have the 'lions' of the evening pointed out, and I was particularly fortunate in having for a companion the accomplished Miss ——, whose name I find against No. 11 for a polka. Lord Canning, in a stiff black state dress, stood at the head of the room, in front of the chair of state—a native officer standing on either side—with what I supposed was the mace of office. The new governor seemed fairly lost amid the blaze of chandeliers, whose dazzling brightness reflected from the prismatic glass made my eyes ache so much that I lost half the enjoyment of the evening. Lady Susan Ramsay, the daughter of Lord Dalhousie, was on the right, leading off, with all the gaiety of youth, the first quadrille—her partner some gallant officer of the Indian army, who wore upon his breast the medals of many battles. The daughter of the commander-in-chief was in the same set, and received particular attention from the elegant aide-de-camp by her side. Lady Canning did not dance while I was present, but reclining upon the regal chair, received court from her honoured lord and the several distinguished civilians and military officers present. The formality of her reception was freezing. Her dress was of white tulle over a white satin skirt, looped up with red roses, with a head-dress of red velvet and pearls—not, in my opinion, elegant; but the blaze of diamonds compensated for what was wanting in taste. She still possesses the marks of early beauty, but time and the dissipations of her exalted position in London have diminished her attractions. I found more amusement in promenading through the wide passage ways, and in noticing the cliqueish movements of the guests, than in dancing. In the outer room, Lord Dalhousie was receiving his friends, but seldom rose from the couch without showing that too much exertion gave him pain, for physically, his constitution is shattered by hereditary and other insinuating diseases; but his mind strengthens with the weakness of the body. Administrative ability and decision of character are stamped upon his countenance, and judging from his features he must be capable of bearing great mental labour. Poor man, what is all his greatness, with incurable ill-health always staring him in the face! Notwithstanding the exertion of the punkahs, the rooms were oppressively warm, and the dancers found more colour in their usually pale cheeks than they had noticed for many a day; but as a general rule their complexion was not improved by the addition. The music of the well-organized bands at the extreme end of the dancing-saloon was most exhilirating, and served to give the only animation the formality of the ball allowed. Later I saw a significant movement of the great leaders towards the stairs, all pairing off with punctilious ceremony, and following on I found myself in the supper-room, a room even larger than the saloon, the tables arranged after the shape of three-fourths of a square, with a long one in the entrance aisle adjoining, and seats and plates for at least fifteen hundred guests; and yet there were many who remained without a place, myself among the rest, for I was too busy noticing the movements of those around me. Everything that money can purchase in the East helped to ornament the banquet and administer to the palate; at other times the most conspicuous dish of an Indian table is curry, in as many forms as there are castes in Bengal, but that dish is never seen upon the supper-table. The banquet-hall was too large to be adorned, and the guests too numerous to enjoy themselves, and the supper passed off with only the motions of the eaters and the rattling of the plates and knives. As silently as they entered they left the table, and again the dancers were on the floor; but I was not among them, for I found peculiar interest in watching the motions of the state prisoners, and distinguished natives, who, dressed in the picturesque costume of their country, had been invited to partake in the festivities of those who had brought them to their present humiliating position. Kings, princes, and rajahs, or their descendants, were there bowing and cringing under the iron rule of military power. There was the grandson of the great warrior chief who so long kept the English at bay in the almost impe-

netrable fastnesses that nature had made for him, and also in that stronghold of which European architects must have drawn the plan —Seringapatam—Tippoo Sultan, the son of the great Hyder Ali, Ghoolam Mohammed, and his son, Feroze Shah, were the descendants of those great men who, three generations ago, were the terror of the Deccan; and had his great ancestor lived to hold his power, Ghoolam would have been the most powerful and the wealthiest of all the Indian princes. These two have just returned from England, where they were courted and *fêted* by crowned heads and noble peers, the most distinguished lions of the day—but at government-house they pass unnoticed, and are taught to remember that they are dependant upon an English pension. There, too, were the brave Sikhs of the mountain passes; those bold chieftains who fought like tigers in their dens, Shere Singh and Chuttur Singh, who held their country during that memorable campaign of 1848–9, and, overpowered by the superior force brought against them, after going through the celebrated battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat, were finally brought to bay at Rawul Pindee, where, after the most obstinate war, they surrendered their sabres to Sir Walter Gilbert, the able general, who was made a G.C.B. and a baronet for his bravery and judgment on that occasion. It was pitiful to see brave warriors so painfully humiliated, for they moved about the room in their stockinged feet like so many automatons, shrinking and cringing before their conquerors, evincing the greatest pleasure in receiving the least attention from the civilians in the room. Their appearance without shoes is by order of the governor-general, to remind them of their disgrace, and to enforce proper respect for those that hold the sway; this, I am told, is the custom of the land. This last tax upon their pride might at least have been passed over, for why strike them while they are down? These princes, it will be remembered, were the chieftains of the Punjaub, and their surrender was the signal of annexing that great kingdom to the British empire. The ameers of Scinde, I believe, were also among the dark faces—warriors, as brave as they have been unfortunate, the captives, or rather the victims, of Sir Charles Napier, who, following the model of the great Roman general, and Perry on the lakes, and of Bosquet at the Malakoff, marked his despatch by its brevity. The pun was too good to be lost, and the simple Latin word 'peccavi,' went forward to the governor-general—*I have sinned.* No more were shown me, but I believe there were several other distinguished chieftains, who are now but pensioners. There were also specimens of native scholars, men of great abilities as lawyers and advocates, present; men whose intellect would cope in argument with Western minds, and whose high position in the company's courts stamps them with the unmistakable mark of genius. I suppose that Hur-Chunder Ghose, the native judge of the small-cause court, may be considered one of the most accomplished men of the time. His manners bespeak the gentleman, and he seems as familiar with the world's history as those who make it their especial study; and the native counsel to the government, Rama Purshad Roy, is another ornament of the Bengal bar, and possesses the confidence of all who are brought in contact with him. Native bankers, too, and native merchants, were noticeable among the oriental costumes; there was Pursunnee Roomar Tajore, assistant clerk of the legislative council, cousin of the famous Dwarkanauth (who made such a *furore* when he arrived in London, petted even by peeresses, and especially noticed by the queen, who presented him with her miniature; and yet this man, I am told, was a greater scamp in his way than Tippoo Sahib, for while he was giving one lac of rupees to some charitable institution, he was grinding two lacs out of his half-starved ryots); and there, also, was Rum-Gopal Ghose, a merchant of kingly wealth, but not loaded down with jewels like some of the rest. Many of these princes and natives, not of royal family, were walking jewellers' shops. Pearls, emeralds, and diamonds, and precious stones of priceless value, flashed in the light of the candelabras, and were reflected back from the mirrors; and silks and satins, too expensive to be purchased, marked some of the more princely of the native guests. Some of the state prisoners were seen to walk directly before Lord Dalhousie, perhaps to show his countryman present that their rank was higher than his, or that they were as bold as he was proud, hesitating, at first, as if making up their minds, and then advancing. The ball is not a fancy ball, and yet it would almost seem so to a stranger, for the dresses of the native dignitaries at once attract the observer; and these, together with the gay uniforms of the Indian officers, sprinkled about the room, in marked contrast to the plain black dress of the well-paid civilian, gave a picturesque appearance to the entertainment; with the heads of the army and navy, intermingled with a regiment of deposed princes, and ladies dressed in the present many-coloured fashions, there was a tableau not often seen in the west. About one the guests began to leave, and passing

through the reception-room, gave a parting shake of the hand, or, where not so well acquainted, a farewell bow to the distinguished man who for eight years past has so ably ruled, say his friends, the destinies of British India. I need not say that I was disappointed with the government-house. Without, the green uncovered lawn is peculiarly English, and I'll admit I liked the emerald look; but not a tree gives shade to the grounds, for trees breed mosquitoes and barricade the air, said my informant; but really I cannot endorse the excuse, for what is more beautiful than the umbrageous coolness of their shadow? There is one break to the monotonous and bare appearance of the grounds, and that is the miniature garden plot, where flowers and shrubbery grow in tropical beauty. The four huge brick-and-mortar ends of the house, topped off with the iron dome in the centre, present no attractive style of architecture, and there is nothing more commanding within. You will notice nothing more marked, while promenading from room to room, than the luxurious wealth of space, and the parsimonious poverty of furniture.

"Lord Canning has launched his bark on the wave of Indian public opinion; but he has done it clumsily enough, for I saw him land with flags streaming over and about him, and the cannon roaring from the fort; the state carriage waiting for him, and the noble-looking horsemen of the native cavalry showing their pride in being the body-guard of the governor-general; yet, as he slowly moved along the sepoy lines, which were ranged along either side of the roadway, from the Chandpaul Ghaut to government-house, where the great dignitaries of the land were waiting to give him welcome, he gazed vacantly upon the novel sight! and even when passing European officers who saluted him, and fair ladies who waved their handkerchiefs, there was no recognition from his lordship, while Lady Canning acknowledged, and most gracefully, too, the courtesy. How odd that he should be so very austere! When he arrived at government-house his manners were formal, even to his acquaintance, Lord Dalhousie. Public opinion is dead in India, else most certainly there would be more animation and less coldness in a state reception. How different all this looks from the Anglo-Saxon customs! A few months, and if he shares the fate of those who have gone before him, Lord Canning will be the best-abused man in India, for the young Bengalees are radicals."

The above picture was not drawn by a man of courtly habits or accustomed to society in the grades of life where he found himself, but it presents to us the social life of the high places of the Indian metropolis, from a point of view important to regard it.

The withdrawal from India of the great annexer and able administrator affords another glimpse of high life in India:—"Lord Dalhousie's departure was early announced, and arrangements during the past few days have been consummated to usher him out with the same pomp and circumstance with which Lord Canning was ushered in. As early as four o'clock the regiments began to gather, and by half-past four the companies had lined the road from the palace to the steamer. And here, again, I had the opportunity of admiring the drill and tactics of the sepoy troops. Many of them are noble-looking fellows, and some of the native officers compare favourably in form and movement with the white man. The household troops, or body-guard, are all picked men, and you would not wish to see a finer body of cavalry. At five o'clock the guns from the fort began to roar, and we at once knew that his lordship had started from government-house. An hour later the governor was in his yacht, the regiments were marching to their barracks; the friends of the governor, under Prinsep's monumental tablet, had given the last wave of the handkerchief and resumed their carriages and their gossip; the pleasure-seekers were again upon the course, to comment upon the occurrences of his departure; the coolies began to disperse; the cannon were hushed, the bells ceased to vibrate, and Lord Dalhousie was on his way to England, to be censured and be praised, while Lord Canning was left to govern India."

The foregoing descriptions of Anglo-Indian life are interesting as coming from the pen of a foreigner, and as revealing the present state of English feeling towards the natives from the most recent observations. They confirm the remarks of Bayard Taylor, the celebrated American traveller and *litterateur*:—"There is one feature of English society in India, which I cannot notice without feeling disgusted and indignant. I allude to the contemptuous manner in which the natives, even those of the best and most intelligent classes, are almost invariably spoken of and treated. Social equality, except in some rare instances, is utterly out of the question. The tone adopted towards the lower classes is one of lordly arrogance; towards the rich and enlightened, one of condescension and patronage. I have heard the term niggers applied to the whole race by those high in office; with the lower orders of the English it is the designation in general

use; and this, too, towards those of our own Caucasian blood, where there is no instinct of race to excuse their unjust prejudice."

It is mournfully true that the conduct here described too much resembles the conduct of Englishmen where conquest has carried their arms, or colonization induced them to settle. The whole career of the English in Ireland from the days of Henry II. to the present time has more or less exemplified this. The spirit of the English towards various aboriginal tribes in our colonial dependencies still further illustrates it; the proclamation of Independence by the states of the American Union would never have resulted from questions of taxation or law, but for the uniform contempt with which we treated our own people in the American provinces. It is in vain, however, for writers like Bayard Taylor to accuse Englishmen as especially guilty in this respect; they are, in fact, less to be censured, however blameworthy, than many other nations. Americans, Dutch, Portuguese, Spaniards have all violated the laws of Christian duty and Christian charity to a greater extent in the same way. Undoubtedly a new feeling was gradually infusing itself into Indo-English life, when the mutiny so violently disturbed everything; and should the effect of that terrible earthquake subside, and India assume her wonted repose, such as under English governance it had attained, the sweet breath of Christian charity will make itself felt in the great cities of India—

> "And over hills, with peaky top engrailed,
> And many a tract of palm and rice."

Whatever be the physical advantages of India, if Christianity be allowed to fulfil her own mission, her moral advantages will be greater; while she enjoys

> "A summer fanned with spice,"

she will also exult in the atmosphere of justice and love, and all that is true and good and benign in Christian England will waft its influence to those shores. They who despair of such results, not only judge Christianity wrongly, but are inattentive to the slow progress of civilization in every form in Asiatic countries. No description of secular improvement develops itself so fast in any part of Asia, as to entitle those who despair of Christian efforts in India to justify their despondency by the tardy progress which religious influence makes. What department of civilization has succeeded more rapidly than the extension of religious truth, even although none has obstacles in human nature, and in Indian social life, so numerous and inveterate to contend with? The government has not succeeded in inducing a right appreciation of order or of equal laws; nor has it, with infinitely more appliances, and a longer time for experience than modern Christianity has possessed, secured its objects anywhere in India. Are the cultivators prosperous and contented, the sepoys dutiful and true, the police efficient and faithful? Immense sums have been expended on secular education: where are the results? We know there are results, and they are in many respects beneficial; in others they are, at all events for the present, dubious; but do not the best friends of secular education in India lament the disproportion between the money, time, and talent, employed on the one hand, and the good fruits on the other? Have English settlers, such as sugar and indigo-planters, reported that the zemindars and ryots have co-operated with them, and acknowledged the benefit derived by the introduction of capital, and the demand for labour created in their neighbourhoods? Have all the commissions, agencies, bounties, persuasions, and efforts of whatever kind, succeeded in inducing the cotton cultivators to pick and to pack it clean, and to send it to the merchant in a marketable form? Do the merchants of Calcutta and Bombay proclaim to the world that English precept and example have infused commercial integrity among the banyans and native traders? If, in every other direction, improvement proceeds at the slowest pace, what grounds have men who have themselves effected little, perhaps nothing, for detracting from the efforts of the Christian church to improve the people of India, or of doubting its ultimate triumph? while after repeated failures or little success they still cherish the expectation of seeing India commercially, agriculturally, legally, educationally, and politically, much improved. Writing of the Christian church—not of a sect or a denomination—it may be truly alleged that there ought to be no doubt, and there can be no doubt on the part of a candid examiner of the evidence, that the success of Christian missions, Christian schools, and various other missionary instrumentalities, has far exceeded that obtained by any other description of effort for the welfare of India. There is still, however, much to be done by all good men for India, and it is well worth doing; for as the *Calcutta Review* has justly recorded, "the more thoroughly this country is examined and compared with other lands, peopled by orientals, the more clearly will it be seen what a splendid heritage has been bestowed by its conquest on the English crown; and what a glorious work has to be performed in ele-

vating it to its proper place among the nations. Not only has it excellences peculiar to itself, but in all that it shares in common with other Eastern lands, few can surpass the position which it occupies. In its manufactures, the features of its landscapes, the structure of its cities, and in its monuments of ancient grandeur, it falls not a whit behind other portions of the Eastern world. Its boundless plains, laden with crops of rice, wheat, mustard, &c., are far more extensive, and not less fertile, than those of Roumelia and Egypt. The icy capes and mountains of Siberia cannot be compared with the higher ranges of the Himalayas, whose proud peaks, covered with eternal snow, rear their heads in silent grandeur to the heavens. The widespread valleys of Cashmere and the Dhoon, are not less lovely than that of Samarcand, or even than the far-famed vale of Tempe itself. Benares, Delhi, or Lucknow will well compare with Cairo or Constantinople. The strange arches of Orissa, and the towers of the temples at Puri and Konarak, find no parallel but in the cyclopean wall of the Peloponnesus, and in the treasury of Mycenæ. The Alhambra is proud among palaces, but Bayard Taylor declares it to be far surpassed by the palaces of Akbar and Shah Jehan. The tombs of the Mamelukes are numbered among the celebrities of Cairo, but they are more than equalled by those of kings, priests, and nobles, scattered widely round the cities of Agra and Delhi. The Church of St. Sophia, and the Mosque of Solyman, are the pride of Constantinople; but among all Mohammedan buildings, whether mosques or mausolea, nothing can come up to the exquisite beauty and wondrous grandeur of the Taj Mehal. These things appear plain to travellers, who, from personal experience, are able to compare the scenery and the monuments of one land with those of another." These words are true, and justify a deep interest in India, not only on the part of those commercially or politically concerned, but of those who, as men of benevolence or Christianity, desire to influence her social condition beneficially, and to throw the light of civilization, knowledge, and charity, into the dark places of her error, cruelty, and degradation.

The social peculiarities of India have attracted the attention of statesmen and *litterateurs* in England, and our tales and novels begin to afford a place to Indian officials and heroes, as well as our graver works a place for the serious discussion of her concerns. The social life of India, ancient and modern, now interests the English people, and not only the inhabitants of these islands, but of Europe and of the United States. All thoughtful men must at last arrive at the conclusion that so long as the religions of India prevail, it will be impossible to modify the moral and social condition of the people.

It is a grave fault with independent settlers in India that they seldom appreciate the country. This is often the case even with the civil servants of the company, although thoroughly imbued with the Philo-Indian spirit, noticed elsewhere in these pages. Nowhere else in the world do educated men work so hard. Wearied out with heat and labour, they have little disposition for exploring the country, and enjoying its noble scenery. To make a fortune, and return home, is the grand object with all. Very numerous is the proportion of those who have resided in the capitals of the presidencies who never travelled a day's journey into the interior. It is no uncommon thing to meet in this country "old Indians," as Europeans who have returned home after a long residence there are generally termed, who are more ignorant of the peculiarities of Indian scenery, the physical features of the country, and the social life of the people, than persons of their class and station in England who have never visited that country. When the reader reflects upon the glorious scenery, and the attractive objects of nature and art which India possesses, this will seem extraordinary, notwithstanding the incessant toil to which Europeans in India are exposed. The *Calcutta Review* accounts for it in these terms:— "Unhappily, we have very few, if any books, that can be regarded as complete guides. Heber's travels, one of the best in former times, is now much out of date. The routes he describes are unfrequented, and his modes of travelling have become obsolete. A work, therefore, which describes in a lively and readable way objects most worthy of observation cannot be without interest." It is upon the principle expressed in this passage that the author of this History has presented so much in detail the country and its people in the descriptions given in these pages.

The events of the great mutiny of 1857-8 have opened up a new social question connected with India—the treatment of her criminals. The Duke of Wellington, when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley and serving in India, complained that capital punishment was too frequently resorted to by the British, and too much relied upon as a means of checking vice among the Hindoos. Other great officers and civilians have also recommended incarceration, chains, the lash, infliction of the loss of caste in various forms, and transportation, as substitutes for capital punishment, far more effectual in deterring

from crime. These views appear to have been justified by events; for while the natives act with the uttermost contempt of death, they dread bonds and banishments. When the celebrated Moolraj offered to surrender Mooltan, he stipulated for his life, which was accorded; but when he learned that his sentence was transportation to another part of India, he passionately lamented his fate, and begged them in preference to deprive him of life. More than one of the rebel chiefs, who headed the revolt and insurrection of 1857, committed suicide under sentence of transportation. From the numerous instances in which the natives prefer death to being banished from their country, it is plain that the existence of penal settlements beyond the seas, to which the guilty will be expatriated, is an appeal to the apprehensions of the people well calculated to deter from guilt. The government has recently come to the determination of fixing upon the Andaman Islands as a place for Indian convicts, who will, in the result of the revolt, be very numerous. As those islands did not fall within the scope of our geographical descriptions, and they have since assumed political importance, some description of them is desirable. They are situated in the Bay of Bengal, near the sailing track from the Straits of Malacca to Calcutta, between 92° and 93° east longitude, and 11° and 12° north latitude. The Nicobars lie between them and Sumatra. They lie parallel with the Archipelago of Mergui; the nearest land on the continent is Cape Negrais, in Pegu, near the mouths of the Irriwaddy. Our knowledge of the Andamans is so slight that probably, after an investigation by scientific men, much valuable information may be procured, and their resources more thoroughly developed. The neighbouring islands, the Nicobars, have received more attention; M. Haensel, who resided there for many years as a Moravian missionary, communicated much information to the Danish government, which is to be found in their archives. In 1848, the Danish government came to the determination to abandon all claim to sovereignty over the Nicobars; and on the final removal of Danish authority the chiefs of the island of Lar Nicobar hoisted the British flag, and expressed their desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the British government. It seems desirable, considering the lawless and desperate character of the classes we are now deporting to the Andamans, that no time should be lost in taking them under our protection, as their vicinity might lead to constant attempts on the part of the convicts to escape; and from various accounts the character of the native islanders in the Nicobars presents a most favourable contrast to that of the wild and savage tribe which is found in a very limited proportion in the Andaman group. The Nicobars, particularly the Lar Nicobar, abound also in pine apples, plantains, and most other tropical fruit, including a species of bread-fruit tree, termed by Mr. Fontana, the *mellori*, and of which he has given a full account in a memoir, published in the third volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 161. The coffee-tree, we are also informed in the same paper, in two years yields fruit; and wild cinnamon and sassafras are found, as well as yams, the latter for three or four months of the year only. Cocoa-nuts are to be had in abundance. Fontana observes of the Nicobars:—"Almost the whole of these islands are uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys that might be rendered very fruitful with a little trouble, the soil being naturally fertile." An exact plan of these islands may be seen in the *Neptun Oriental*. In *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 430, there is a brief notice of the Andaman Islands, from Hamilton's account of the East Indies. This quaint old writer has the following very curious account, which, if any reliance can be placed upon it, may be productive of important material advantages:—"I saw one of the natives of those islands at Atcheen, in anno 1694, who was then about forty years of age. Taken prisoner when a boy of ten or twelve years of age in the wars in which he had accompanied his father, they saved his life, and made him a slave. Some years after, his master dying gave him his freedom, and he having a great desire to see his native country, the southernmost island of which is the Chitty (Andaman is distant about a hundred leagues from Atcheen), ventured to sea, being fair weather and the sea smooth. Arriving among his relations he was made welcome, as they expected he had been long dead. When he had stayed a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundred weight of quicksilver, and he said that some of the Andaman Islands abound in that commodity. He had made several trips thither before I saw him, and always brought some quicksilver with him. When I saw him he was in company with a seid, whom I carried a passenger to Surat, and from him I had this account of his adventures." There is not any mention of quicksilver in the valuable reports made to the Bengal government by Captain Blair, the first superintendent of the Andamans, or by Colonel Kyd, who succeeded him in that post; but it seems a point

well worth ascertaining, and which will, no doubt, receive attention from the head of the Board of Control. Should Captain Hamilton's account prove correct, and mines can be worked by the convict mutineers, we may turn our re-occupation of these islands to a better use than resulted from our former temporary residence in them. In the *London Encyclopædia*, vol. xiv. p. 296, under the head "Mercury," Professor Jameson describes—"Species: 1 native mercury, 1 fluid mercury. It occurs principally in rocks of the coal formation, associated with cinnabar, corneous mercury, &c. Small veins of it are rarely met with in primitive rocks, accompanied with native silver," &c.

The importance of making the Nicobars also penal settlements will probably appear, for the number of convicts will be great. If the revolt spring from facts or principles, which must continue to operate even when the flames of insurrection are extinguished in blood, then there can be little hope for long to come of the prosperity of our Indian dominions, or the happiness of the races by whom they are peopled. The remembrance of sanguinary defeat, the presence of overbearing power, may repress action; but the desire to avenge defeat, and snap the colossal chain, will sustain vague expectations and animate popular vigilance for a surprise more complete and terrible. Under the Agra government, where the people are bold and profess soldierly qualities, the cultivators of the land are more loyal than in the lower provinces under the Bengal government, where the people are unsoldierly and unfitted to maintain an active and vigorous resistance. The insurrection was thus more or less intense in different sections of the people, and was local both as to the army and the inhabitants, both classes of insurgents being natives of the same regions. But should a more general military revolt arise, or a more extensive popular insurrection, it will be necessary to have penal settlements co-extensive with the whole group of islands, if the convicts are to be engaged in any productive labour. It is well to be prepared for such an emergency. It will soon become known through the native press that such preparations exist for inflicting the penalty upon crime or treason which is most of all dreaded by the Hindoos.

While, however, England shows her power to wrest from the centre of Indian society the highest or the lowest whose treachery, turbulence, or guilt, may render it desirable to expel them from the fair land they had dishonoured, still the hope must be cherished that good government will, in spite of priest or fakeer, win the affections of the populace, and convince them of the benefit of our rule, and that the bright day of India may at last arise upon a loyal, contented, enlightened, and prosperous people.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### ANCIENT INDIA.—CHRONOLOGY.—HISTORICAL RECORD.—BRAHMA.—MENU.—THE GREAT WAR.

IN the chapter on the commercial intercourse between the Western nations and India, we collected the few historical references which can be gleaned from the Greek writers previous to the time of Alexander. The Indians yield to no people in their extravagant claims to a very remote existence. Hundreds of thousands of years is comparatively a short period in their calendar. The Hindoo chronology supplies no trustworthy landmarks, no fixed eras, no comparative history to guide us;* and the absurdity of its pretensions would be too puerile for notice, were it not applied rather to explain their indefinite notions of eternity than any mundane revolutions. In the *Vishnu Parana*, a system of Hindoo mythology and tradition, translated by Professor Wilson, the following explanation of it is given:—"Brahma is said to be born, a familiar phrase to signify his manifestation; and as the peculiar measure of his presence, a hundred of his years is said to constitute his life; that period is also called *param*, and the half of it, *parardd'ham*. I have already declared that time is a form of Vishnu;* hear now how it is applied to measure the duration of Brahma, and of all other sentient beings, as well as of things which are unconscious, as the mountains, the

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, p. xlviii.

* *Vishnu*, the origin, existence, and end of all things, undistinguished by place, time, or property. The world, the Hindoos believe, was produced by him, exists in him—he is the cause of its continuance and cessation: he is the world.

oceans, and the like. Fifteen twinklings of the eye make a *kashtha;* thirty kashthas, one *kala;* and thirty kala's one *muhurtta;* thirty muhurttas constitute a day and night of mortals; thirty such days make a month, divided into two half months; six months form an *ayana* (the period of the sun's progress north or south of the ecliptic), and two ayanas compose a year; the southern ayana is a night, and the northern a day of the gods; twelve thousand divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty such days, constitute the period of the four *yugas,* or ages. They are thus distributed: the *krita* age has four thousand divine years; the *treta,* three thousand; the *dwapara,* two thousand; and the *kali* age, one thousand: so those acquainted with antiquity have declared. The period that preceded a yuga is called a *sandhya,* and it is of as many hundred years as there are thousands in the yuga; and the period that follows a yuga, termed the *sandhyansa,* is the yuga denominated *krita, treta,* &c. The *krita, treta, dwapara,* and *kali,* constitute a great age, or aggregate of four ages; a thousand such aggregate are a day of Brahma, and fourteen Menus reign within that term. Seven *rishis,** certain secondary divinities; Indra, Menu, and the kings his sons, are created and perish at one period; and the interval called a *manwantara,* is equal to seventy-one times the number of years contained in the four yugas, with some additional years. This is the duration of the Menu, the attendant divinities, and the rest, which is equal to 852,000 divine years, or to 306,720,000 years of mortals, independent of the additional period. Fourteen times this period constitutes a Brahma day; the term Brahma being the derivative form. At the end of this day a dissolution of the universe occurs, when all the worlds, earth, and the regions of space, are consumed with fire; the dwellers of *maharloka* (the region inhabited by the saints who survive the world), of such days and nights is a year of Brahma's composed; and a hundred such years constitute his whole life."†

Professor Wilson, in a note on this passage, remarks:—"This scheme, extravagant as it may appear, seems to admit of easy explanation. We have, in the first place, a computation of the years of the gods in the four ages, or—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Krita Yuga . . . . . | 4000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 400 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . | 400 | |
| | | —— | 4800. |
| 2. | Treta Yuga . . . . . | 3000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 300 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . | 300 | |
| | | —— | 3600. |
| 3. | Dwapara Yuga . . . | 2000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . | 200 | |
| | „ Sandyansa | 200 | |
| | | —— | 2400. |
| 4. | Kali Yuga . . . . . | 1000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 100 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . . | 100 | |
| | | —— | 1200. |

"If these divine years are converted into years of mortals, by multiplying by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, we obtain the years of which the yugas of mortals are respectively said to consist.

4800×360=1,728,000.
3600×360=1,296,000.
2400×360= 864,000.
1200×360= 432,000 a mahayuga.

"So that these periods resolve themselves into very simple elements; the notion of four ages in a deteriorating series expressed by descending arithmetical progression as 4, 3, 2, 1, the conversion of units into thousands, and the mythological fiction, that these were divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty of men. It does not seem necessary to refer the invention to any astronomical calculations, or to any attempt to represent actual chronology." *

Of these ages the three first in order are said to have expired, and in the current year, 1858, of the Christian era, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two years of the last. With such claims to a long established national existence, the authenticated history of India is very modern. No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no connected narrative of its transactions, or materials for its composition exists, until we descend to the period subsequent to the Mohammedan invasions. The only sources from which any knowledge of Indian antiquities can be derived are the Greeks and the natives of India themselves. The former we have already explored; and we shall now confine ourselves to an examination of what the latter has preserved. These are of a two-fold character, writings and monuments.

The books which claim the highest antiquity, that are the oldest, and esteemed the most weighty authorities of the Brahmins for

* The great *rishis,* or mind-born sons of Brahma, are variously enumerated, as seven, eight, nine, as far as seventeen. They are reputed the immediate ancestors of all kinds of living beings, and are, therefore, called *prajapatis,* lords of creation. For a detailed account of them and their posterity, see the *Vishnu Parana,* b. i. chaps. vii. and x.

† *Vishnu Parana,* p. 25.

* *Vishnu Parana,* p. 23. Note 4.

their religion and institutions, are the Vedas. There are four of them, said to have been originally one, and contributed, as we now find them, by a divine or divinely-inspired person, named Vyasa.* They are entitled, respectively, the *Rich* or *Rig-Veda;* the *Yajush* or *Yagur-Veda;* the *Saman* or *Sama-Veda;* and the *Atharvana* or *Athar-Veda;* and in one compound word *Rig-yajusamatharva.* Many passages are to be found in Sanscrit writing, which limit the number to three.† Indeed, the *Athar-Veda* may be regarded rather as a supplement than as one of the four.‡

The *Rig-Veda* is composed of metrical prayers or hymns, the oldest form in which the divinities of all nations were addressed, termed *Suktas.* The absence of any obvious dependence upon one another, as Professor Wilson observes, is sufficiently indicative of their separate and unsystematic origin.§ That they are the compositions of the *rishis,* the patriarchal sages, to whom they are ascribed, they bear internal evidence in the references which they occasionally make to the name of the author, or of his family. Two of the Vedas have been translated recently into the English language: the *Rig-Veda-Sanhita,* in three volumes, by Professor Wilson, with copious and valuable explanatory notes, and the *Sama-Veda,* by Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay; and also the *Vajasneyi* portion of the *Yagur-Veda* ‖ has been commenced by Dr. Webber, of Berlin. It differs from the Rig, and approaches near to the ritual form. In it several prayers and invocations are borrowed from the latter. The *Sama-Veda* is little else than a recast of the *Rig,* being made up, with few exceptions, of the very same hymns, broken into parts and arranged, for the purpose of being chanted on different ceremonial occasions.¶ The *Athar-Veda,* or supplementary Veda, comprises many of the hymns of the *Rig.* It is evident from the general appropriation of the formulæ of the *Rig-Veda,* by the three others, that it is the original, and is therefore justly entitled to the highest respect, and is valued for its great historical importance. It is in reality the fount from which is derived the knowledge of the old and most genuine forms of the institutions, religious or civil, of the Hindoos. Besides the *Sanhitas* the term *Veda* includes an extensive class of compositions designated collectively *Brahmina.* Of these the most interesting and important is the *Aitareya Brahmina* of the *Rig-Veda,* consisting of singular legends, illustrative of the condition of Brahminism at the period of its composition.* None of these have been published. This is to be deeply regretted, as we are assured by Professor Wilson that in them is developed the whole system of social organization, and the distinction of caste fully established. The *Suktas,* the prayers and hymns, had an independent existence, in all probability, long previous to their having been collected and arranged as they now are in the *Sanhitas:* indeed the traditions of the Hindoos confirm this opinion, and attribute the authorship of each to a *rishi,* or inspired teacher, by whom, in Brahminical phraseology, it has been *seen*—that is, revealed—being considered the uncreated dictation of Brahma.

The age of the Vedas has been the subject-matter of much discussion among the learned; Sir William Jones has made an unsatisfactory attempt† to fix the date of the *Yagur-Veda* at B. C. 1580, by computing the lives of forty-two pupils and preceptors, who successively received and transmitted the doctrines contained in the *Upanishad,* from the time of Parasara, a Hindoo sage, and the father of Vyasa, whose epoch is fixed by an astronomical test. The date assigned to them by Colebrooke‡ from other data, is fourteen centuries before Christ. Professor Wilson, arguing from the indisputable evidence which the hymns supply of the form of religious worship, and a state of society very dissimilar to those to be met with in all the other scriptural authorities of the Hindoos, whether Brahminas, Upanishads, Ithasas, or Paranas, and the genealogical and historical traditions, the origin and succession of regal dynasties, and the formation of powerful principalities preserved in other records, and all unknown to the Sanhita, concludes that one thousand years would not be too long an interval for the altered conditions which are depictured in the older and the more recent compositions, and in his opinion the Vedas date from about the twelfth or thirteen century B.C.§ After all, these dates are purely conjectural. However, it may be fairly pronounced that the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* rank with the oldest surviving records.

Great are the advantages which the internal evidence of these ancient books, the Vedas, presents to the antiquarian in investi-

* Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches,* vol. viii.
† Ibid., vol. viii. p. 370.
‡ *Rig-Veda-Sanhita,* Introduction, p. viii.
§ Ibid.
‖ Montgomery Martin was not aware of the existence of Professor Wilson's translation, or Dr. Webber's labour. He asserts (p. 14 of his History) that the *Sama-Veda* only was translated.
¶ Professor Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita,* vol. i. p. ix.

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita,* vol. i. p. xi.
† Haughton's *Institutes of Menu,* Preface, p. xii.
‡ *Asiatic Researches,* vol. viii. p. 483.
§ Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita,* vol. i. p. xlviii.

gating the social and political, as well as religious condition of the Hindoos. For a true appreciation of the early history of mankind, and for a comparative study of the religions of the East, says Max Müller, a knowledge of the Vedas is indispensable,* and also for an acquaintance with the religious condition of the ancient Hindoos. The assumption of some eminent scholars that the Hindoos were originally a nomadic and pastoral people is negatived by the Vedas. The contrary is evident from the repeated allusions to fixed dwellings, villages, and towns. If pastoral, it is proved they were also agricultural, by their frequent supplications for abundant rain, and for the fertility of the earth, and by the mention of their cereal products, as, "Verily he has brought to me successively the six, connected with the drops as a husbandman repeatedly ploughs for barley."† They were a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenter, and the fabrication of golden and iron mail,‡ are alluded to. They were also a maritime and mercantile people, familiar with the ocean and its phenomena: their merchants are described as pressing earnestly on board ship, and covetous of gain; and a naval expedition is represented as having been frustrated by shipwreck. The adoption of an intercalating month for the purpose of adjusting the solar and lunar years is stated. The mention of hundred-oared ships, chariots and harnessed horses, are of frequent occurrence.

The *Puranas*, eighteen in number, are evidently derived from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindoo belief,§ and record the fabulous achievements of gods and heroes. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great Indian epics, the *Rama Yana* and the *Mhaha Bharrat*. They expand and systematize the chronological computations, lists of royal races, and give a more definite and correct representation of historical traditions. Though the name *Purana* implies "old," the Puranas are not merely the repositories of ancient traditions. With these are incorporated much matter, the peculiarities of which are characteristic of far later times. They undoubtedly comprise details illustrative of the early history of India; and it may be fairly presumed, considering what has been recently done, that their stores will be further developed, with essential results, and that by their aid what is at present merely conjectural, may be converted into historical certainty.

Besides the two great classes already noticed, there is a third class, the *Sastras*, composed chiefly of annotations on ancient works; and a fourth, comprising dramatic works, fables, couplets, and light compositions. The two great epics are generally classed with the Puranas, which shall be treated of in a subsequent page.

Interesting monumental inscriptions have been found on stone and metal. It is very recently that attention has been directed to their importance, and however limited the historical information yet furnished by them, we are encouraged to anticipate extensive and satisfactory results. Indeed, the few deciphered, coincide with, although they do not to any considerable degree illustrate, the written volumes.

The Hindoos assert that they are the descendants of Bharrat, one of nine brothers, whose father was lord of the universe, and that the portion of it allotted to him was that described in the Institutes of Menu:—*

"Between the two divine rivers *Saraswati* (Sersooty), and *Drishadwati* (Caygar), lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahma-verta*, because it was frequented by gods. That country which lies between *Himawat* (Himalaya), and *Vindhya* (the Vindean of the Greeks), to the east of Vinasana, and to the west of Prayaga, is celebrated by the title of *Medhyadesa*, or the central region.

"As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned, lies the tract which the wise have named *Aryaverta*, or inhabited by respectable men.

"That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performance of sacrifices."

This tract of land, described by Elphinstone† to be about one hundred miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-four miles long, and from twenty to forty broad, was, in the opinion of the Hindoo, the cradle of his race. Neither his records nor his traditions point to any previous settlement, and among the neighbouring chain of towering mountains on the north, their mythology places the mansions of their gods. Orme, in his *History of India*, observes that "this country has been inhabited from the earliest antiquity by a people who have no resemblance—either in their figure or manners—with any of the nations contiguous to them;" and that "although conquerors have established themselves at different times in dif-

* Müller's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Preface, v. 2, p. lxi.

† Ibid., First Ashtaka, Second Adhya Varga x. v. 15.

‡ Varuna clothes his well nourished person, wearing golden armour. Ibid., Varga xviii. v. 11.

§ Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. iii.

* Chap. ii. v. 17, 21, 22, 23.

† Vol. i. p. 388.

ferent parts of India, yet the primeval inhabitants have lost very little of their original character." How trivially they have been affected by the revolution of centuries, may be inferred from the following translation from the geographical poem of Dionysius :—

"To the East a lovely country wide extends,
India, whose borders the broad ocean bounds;
On this the sun, new rising from the main,
Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.
The inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
Various their functions: some the rock explore,
And from the mine extract the latent gold;
Some labour at the woof with cunning skill,
And manufacture linen; others shape
And polish iv'ry with the nicest care;
Many retire to river's shoal, and plunge
To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
Or glittering diamond. Oft the jasper's found,
Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too,
Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all,
The lovely amethyst, in which combine
All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
Washed by a thousand rivers, from all sides
Pours on the natives wealth without control."

As their patriarchal ruler and legislator the Hindoos claim Menu, whom they assert to be the primeval sage and progenitor of mankind. Sir William Jones informs us that the name is clearly derived, like *menes*, *mens*, and *mind*, from the root *men*, to understand, and signifies intelligent. An attempt to identify the period at which the first Menu lived would be a fruitless task, as the calculation would assuredly be involved in an "inextricable labyrinth of imaginary astronomical cycles." He was the reputed son or grandson of the creating deity, Brahma, and from him his posterity, the human family, are called *Manavas* or *Manussahs*, offspring of Menu. Dara Shucuh, quoted by Sir William Jones,* was persuaded that the Menu of the Brahmins could be no other than him to whom the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans unite in giving the name of Adam. The alleged revelation made to him by Brahma has descended to the present day, and is extensively known as the *Institutes of Menu*, of which a translation was made by Sir William Jones. It is esteemed by the Hindoos as the oldest and holiest text next to the Vedas. In the Vedas he is highly distinguished by name, and whatever emanated from him is pronounced "a medicine for the soul;" and the sage Vrihaspeti, who is now supposed to preside over the planet Jupiter, says in his law tract that "Menu held the first rank among legislators, because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted him; that other Sustras retain splendour only so long as Menu, who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue, and to final happiness, was not seen in competition with them." * It is classed as one of the four works of supreme authority, which ought never to be shaken by arguments merely human. Of its contents, authority, and influence on Hindoo society, we have largely dwelt elsewhere.

Whether Menu was a real personage or myth, the influence which the institutes that bear his name have had in the formation of the social relations of the Hindoos, commands for him a place amongst the first of historical personages. The writings of the Hindoos mention fourteen of this name, and that it was the seventh and not the first of them whom the Brahmins believe to have been the child of the sun, and preserved in the ark from the general deluge, and the brother of Yama, † the judge of the shades below.

Amid all the nations—west, east, north, and south—who have preserved remote traditions, and even those unaffected by the teachings of Jew, Christian, or Mohammedan, the great and appalling event of the Deluge has been handed down. The genesis ‡ of India—as is well remarked by Colonel Tod § in his valuable work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*—dates from this epoch. This divine visitation is thus recorded, in the glowing description of oriental feeling, by the *Agni-Purana* :—"When ocean quitted his bounds, and caused universal destruction by Brahma's command, Vaivaswata || Menu (Noah), who dwelt near the Himalaya Mountains, was giving water to the gods near the Kritmala River, when a small fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. Menu, with his sons and their wives, and the sages, with the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

What a singular confirmation is this Hindoo tradition of the scriptural narrative in its leading features! It may be here appropriately remarked that the traditions of the East refer to the West, of the West to the East, of the far North to the South, and of the far South to the North, as the cradle of their race, all wonderfully converging to the Asiatic

* Preface to the *Institutes*.

† Yama is the son of the sun, and regent of the infernal regions. He combines the offices of Pluto and Rhadamanthus. He is the judge of the dead, and the souls of both good and bad appear before his tribunal. The former he dispatches to Swurga, or Elysium; the latter to Naraka, or Tartarus.

‡ From the Sanscrit primitives, *Jenem*, birth, and *es* and *eswar*, lords.

§ Vol. i. p. 21.

|| Son of the sun.

locality (the Mosaic Eden), in which the progenitors of mankind had their being. In the *Bavishya* it is stated that Vivaswata (the sun-born) Menu ruled at the mountain Soomer or Meru,* and from him was descended Cacoosta Rajah, who obtained the sovereignty of Ayodhya (Oude), and that his descendants filled the land, and spread over the earth. Tod thus essays to identify Soomer:—"This sacred mountain is claimed by the Brahmins as the abode of the Creator; by the Jains as the abode of Adnath, the first lord: they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilised life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus. In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy, sacred to the Baghis (Creator) of the East and West, whose votaries alike drink of 'strong wine.'" † The Hindoos placed the cradle of their race not within the Indus, but to the west, amongst the hills of the Caucasus, whence the sons of Vaivaswata migrated eastward to that river, and onward to the Ganges, and located themselves in Kosulya, the capital of Oude. Few spots, as Tod remarks, possess more interest than that elevated central region of Asia, whence the Hindoos mention they issued, where the Amu, Oxus, or Jihoon, and other rivers have their rise, and which both the Soonya and Hindoo races (Saca) claim as the hill sacred to the great patriarchal ancestor.‡

The fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, translated by Professor Wilson, contains, he assures us, all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though a rather comprehensive list of dynasties and of individuals, few indeed are the events it records. It is asserted to be a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences.§ The professor—than whom no European is a superior authority on Indian antiquities—thinks that there is nothing shocking to probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications have spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the great war of the *Mhaha Bharrat*, an event which he is disposed to ascribe to about the fourteenth century before Christ, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that era. According to this computation, the authenticated history of India dates from as early a period as the credible history of any country in the world.

The holy land of Menu and the Paranas, as has been already said, lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers. This was the land with which the adventures of their first princes and the most eminent of their sages were identified, and the abode of Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and Paranas. The Paranas pass over the earlier stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodhya (Oude). This is the district in which the solar and lunar races had their origin.* They were descended from Vaivaswata Menu. The one, living under the designation of Surya (children of the sun), reigned in Oude; the other, Chandra, (children of the moon), at Pratisththana, or Vitora, between the Jumna and the Ganges. The dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the great war, and the beginning of the kali age. To that period the princes of the solar dynasty offer ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both date from the same age. Ayodhya continued to be the capital of the most celebrated branch of the family of Vaivaswata, namely, the posterity of Ikshwaku. In the *Vishnu Parana* there is a description of the conquests made in all directions, and the colonies planted from this centre. Its position affords great facilities of approach to the east, west, and south, and we find that a branch of the line of Ikshwaku had extended to Tirhut, and furnished the Maithila kings; and the descendants of a son of Vaivaswata had reigned in Vaisah, in Southern Tirhut, or Saran. The enterprise and good fortune of the lunar branch was not second to that of the solar. The first ruler of Pratisththana, situated to the south from Ayodhya, was brother of Ikshwaku. The sons of his successor Paruravas extended

* The rulers of mankind lived on the summit of Meru, towards the north. Meru is a fabulous mountain in the centre of the earth, fully described in the *Vishnu Parana*, p. 116. On it the Hindoos allege are the cities of the gods, and the habitations of celestial spirits. Many of the notions entertained respecting it seem to have been suggested by the actual geography of central Asia, between the Himalaya and Allai Mountains.

† Tod, vol. i. p. 22. ‡ Ibid.

§ Professor Wilson is not in favour of the conclusion here arrived at. The traditions of the Paranas lend no assistance to the determination of the question whence the Hindoos came; whether from Central Asia, as Sir William Jones supposed, or from the Caucasian mountains, the plains of Babylonia, or the borders of the Caspian, as conjectured by Klaproth, Vans Kennedy, and Schlegel. It would have been obviously incompatible with the Paranik system to have referred the origin of Indian princes and principalities to any other than native sources. It is not, therefore, to be expected that from them any information as to the foreign derivation of the Hindoos should be obtained.—WILSON'S *Vishnu Parana*, p. lxvi.

* The great families of ancient India were distinguished as *Surya-vansas* and *Sama-vansas*, according as they derived their lineage from the sun or the moon. These pretensions are not yet laid aside. The Ranees of Odeypore claim to be members of the Surya-vansa, whilst the Jharegas of Cutch and Scinde, as branches of the Yadu family, are still the representatives of the lunar race.

their power in every direction to the east, to Kasi, Magadha, Benares, and Bahar; southward, to the Vindaya hills, and across them to Vidarbha or Berar; westward, along the Narmada to Kusasthali and Dwaraka, in Gujerat; and in a north-westerly direction to Mathura and Hastinapura. There are existing evidences to corroborate the conclusion that settlements were also made in Banga, Kalinga, and Dakhin, though at a far subsequent period. For this information, obtained from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, we have to thank the facilities afforded by the learned and eminent translator. And these are the only historical facts which can yet be gleaned from the numerous legends, which are the only means afforded of distinguishing from fifty to seventy generations of contemporaneous dynasties.

After these follows in succession Rama,* a personage whose identity has been established, and who occupies a very prominent position in the history of his race, the hero of its oldest and greatest poem, the *Rama Yana*. He is described as a conqueror of the highest renown; the deliverer of nations from tyrants, and also of his wife Sita from the power of the giant Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon). He is reported to have been essentially aided in the achievement by an army of monkeys, commanded by Hunman, the high-cheek-boned. This prince, in all probability, possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan, and subdued no small portion of the Deccan, and also penetrated into Ceylon. He is said to have been excluded from his hereditary throne, and to have devoted many years of his life to ascetic devotion. However glorious may have been a portion of his reign, the close was disastrous. Having imprudently slain his brother Lachman, the partner of his dangers and his triumphs, his regret or remorse was so poignant that he cast himself into a river, and there perished. His followers deified him: by posterity he has been worshipped as a personification of the deity, and his ally Hunman, in some places, receives equal honour.† Sir William Jones, in his enthusiastic partiality for the East, has suggested, with very little success, an explanation of the fabled absurdity of his having been assisted by monkeys:—"Might not his army of monkeys have been only a race of mountaineers whom Rama had civilized." He even attaches some degree of credibility to the tale:—"In two or three places on the banks of the Ganges the Indian apes, at this moment, live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity." *

After Rama, sixty princes of his reign succeeded to his throne, but the seat of empire, in all probability, was translated, as Elphinstone surmises, from Oude to Canouj.

The great war celebrated in the *Mhaha Bharat*,† next presents itself in Indian history. The belligerents were two branches of the reigning family. The object of contention was the territory of Hastinapura, probably on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‡ The disputants were members of the Lunar family, sons of two brothers, Pandu and Dhritarashtra, but aided by allies from remote quarters. The sons of the former, five in number, were Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna, by one of his wives, Pritha, and Nakula and Sahadiva, by his other wife, Madri. The family of Dhritarashtra was as numerous as the progeny of Priam, with one daughter only. Dungodhana was the eldest of the hundred sons, and detested his cousins with bitter and unrelenting hate.

In the East any one tainted with leprosy was disqualified from reigning; and Pandu, the pale, as his name expresses, was, in consequence of his pallor, suspected of possessing the seeds of that disease; therefore, though by birth the heir to the throne, he was set aside. He surrendered his claim to his brother, and sought a remote retreat in the Himalaya Mountains; and there, released from the cares of a crown, passed his life in retirement. On his death, the companions of his seclusion conveyed his orphan sons to

* Tod reckons fifty-seven princes from Ikshwaku to Rama; Sir William Jones gives fifty-six; Bentley agrees with Sir William Jones; Colonel Wilford's list Tod pronounces of no use; and other authors of repute abstain from any enumeration, prudently abiding the time till critical search shall succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259.

* The banner of Arjuna, one of the Pandavas, had as its armorial bearing a painted representation of Hunman. It is worthy of remark, that it was also the device exhibited upon the flag of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, when captured by Lord Combermere.

† The text of the *Mhaha Bharrat* has been printed at Calcutta, in four quarto volumes. The work was commenced by the committee of public instruction, and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Selections from it have been edited by Francis Johnson, Professor of Sanscrit, East India College, Herts, from whose interesting preface and copious and learned notes, has been compiled the details in the text. Elphinstone is of opinion that the story of the *Mhaha Bharrat* is much more probable than that of the *Rama Yana*, and contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on fact, and, like the *Iliad*, is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors. It was probably written in the fourteenth century before Christ.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 390.

Hastinapura, and introduced them to their uncle as his nephews. This representation was doubted; and, indeed, not without ground, as the poet assures his readers that Pandu was only their reputed father, they being in reality the children of his wives, who had bestowed their favours on several divinities. Thus Yudishthira was the son of Dharma, the god of justice, the Pluto of Hindoo mythology; Bhima of Vayu, or god of wind, the Indian Æolus; Arjuna was the son of Indra, the god of the firmament, Jupiter Tonans; and Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of two personages peculiar to the Hindoo mythology, their Dioscuri, twin sons of the sun, the Aswini-kumaras. Pandu, having never repudiated them, these princes were recognized by their uncle, and taken to his guardianship.

The sons and nephews of the ruling sovereign were at variance from early boyhood, and nature seems to have organized them for the prosecution of their feud. The sons are represented as envious, arrogant, and malignant; the nephews as moderate, generous, and just. The first flagrant manifestation of enmity was the clandestine attempt of the sons of Dhritarashtra to destroy by fire the residence of Pritha and her three sons. The intended victims having been forewarned of the projected danger, escaped privily by a subterranean passage, and it was believed that they had perished in the flames. They fled to the forests, and concealed themselves in their fastnesses, and there assumed both the garb and mode of life of Brahmins. In their seclusion, fame brought to their ears the report of the unrivalled beauty and perfections of Draupadi, the "five maled single femaled flower," as Sir William Jones calls her, the daughter of Draupadi, king of the upper part of Doab; and they prepared to attend the Swayambara, a rite familiar to the readers of *Nala*, an episode in this epic at which a choice of a husband is made by a princess from the midst of congregated suitors. They accordingly visit his court, and win the fair lady. Their achievements and success were bruited far and near. They were sent for by their uncle, and left joint heirs of his sovereignty with his sons. Yudishthira and his brothers ruled over a district washed by the Jumna, the capital of which was Indraprastha. Dhuryodhana, with his brothers, were the rajahs of Hastinapura, on the Ganges. The ruins of the latter city, it is said, are still traceable on the banks of the Ganges, and a part of the royal city of Delhi is still known as Indraprastha. The proximity of these two capitals, and consequently of the territories of which they respectively were the seats of government, is a proof that, as in modern times, so also in ancient, India consisted of a number of petty independent principalities; but it does not necessarily follow that there did not exist, at some period, a supreme monarch, who, by the terror of his arms, had rendered his feebler contemporaries his tributaries. Shah Alem was titular sovereign of India, and coins were struck in his name when a prisoner in the hands of Scindiah, and a pensioner of the English government.

The Pandava princes spread far and wide their conquests. The articles brought to them as tribute, catalogued in the great poem that perpetuates their deeds, contribute materially to elucidate the civil and political phases and territorial divisions of ancient India.

After the partition of the kingdom, a new impulse was given to the feelings of envy and hatred which festered in the hearts of the sons of Dhritarashtra. Yudishthira resolved on celebrating the Raja Suya solemnity, a sacrifice at which princes officiated in a menial capacity, and made presents in acknowledgment of submission. The assumption of duties of such great and enviable distinction exasperated the animosity of his cousins, who were present. Amid the gaiety and revelry of this solemnity, the celebrant was insidiously provoked to hazard the loss of his palace, wealth, kingdom, wife, brothers, and eventually himself, on the cast of the die. The game played appears to be a kind of backgammon, where dice were thrown, and pieces moved. By the remonstrances of the aged monarch Dhritarashtra, personal liberty and lost property were restored; but the inveterate passion for play prevalent among the ancient, as well as modern orientals,—some of whom, for instance the Malays, when all else is gone, stake their families, then themselves,—together with the incentives of his artful adversary, tempted him again to the dangerous risk. It was now stipulated that, in case he lost, he and his brothers should pass twelve years in the forests, and the thirteenth year incognito. If discovered before the expiration of the last year, the whole term of exile was to be reimposed, and submitted to. His previous ill luck still attended him, he was again the loser, and the full penalties were unrelentingly inflicted. With his brother and mother he retired to his forest home, and led a life of sylvan simplicity, unchequered by political enterprise or adventure, as an humble and unpretending forester, resigned, but hopeful. At the expiration of the twelfth year, the Pandavas entered the service of King Virata in different disguises, and ingratiated themselves into the king's favour, to whom, at the close of the

thirteenth year, having faithfully observed their covenant, they make themselves known, secure his alliance, and obtain his aid to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights of sovereignty.

In the ensuing war, a new personage of great eminence amongst the deified heroes of India makes his appearance on the stage. Krishnu is a relative of the antagonistic cousins, and reluctant to identify himself with either party of the belligerents. Prescient of the future, he proposed to Duryodhana the choice of his individual aid, and the co-operation of an immense army. Duryodhana unwisely preferred the latter, and Krishnu, himself more than a host, enlisted under the banner of the Pandavas, and became the charioteer of his friend and favourite, Arjuna. To his undaunted prowess and military capacity were due the splendid triumphs of his friends. The glowing descriptions of the battles, the personal feats of arms, rival in vividity and variety the recitals of the *Iliad*. Soldiers and chiefs innumerable "bit the dust," and in succession fell beneath the weapons of their foes. Bhishma his great uncle, Drona his military preceptor, his friend Karna the King of Anga, his ally the King of Madra, the commander-in-chief of King Duryodhana, and, last of this illustrious series, fell in single combat the royal chief himself, beneath the mace of the valiant and victorious Bhimal. The surviving chiefs attempted to avenge his fall by a nocturnal attack on the camp of the Pandavas; they were repulsed with great slaughter by the opportune assistance of Krishnu.

Dhritarashtra, borne down by affliction, accompanied by his queen, Gandnari, and his favourite ministers, retired to a hermitage, and there obtained "felicity, or died."

An inundation buried beneath its waters Dwaraka, the capital of Krishnu, and this hero, in common with all his people, perished.

When his wars were over, Yudishthira became the victim of poignant regret, and deeply lamented the past. He abdicated his hardly-won throne, and, with his faithfully attached brothers and mother, Draupadi, once more retired to the Himalaya, on their way to the nursery of their race, the holy mountain Meru. On their journey, the avenger of their former misdeeds visited them, and each in succession dropped dead by the wayside, and Yudishthira and a faithful dog that followed them from Hastinapura were the sole survivors. Indra came to convey the prince to Swarga, Indra's heaven. This favour he refused to accept, unless his faithful dog should bear him company.

Here terminates the earthly career of the Pandavas; but the poet has not yet disposed of them: like Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, and other epic poets, he accompanies his heroes to the "realm of shades." The importance of this episode, replete with valuable and authenticated information of Hindoo literature, and the asserted verity of the leading incidents which constitute the basis of the poem, will contribute to reconcile the reader to the poetic and fabulous embellishments.

It deserves to be noted, that among the allies enumerated as aiding in this war, are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga, in the Deccan, and some who it is maintained belonged to nations beyond the Indus, and *Yavanas*, a name which is applied, as several consider, in early oriental works, to the Greeks. "It is by no means an impossibility," Professor Johnson observes, "that the King of the Yavanas (Greeks) should be a competitor at Draupadi's Sway-ambara—at least, according to the notions of the author of the *Mhaha Bharrat*, to whom the Greeks of Bactria and the provinces bordering on the Indus were probably familiar." * The Asiatics have always called the Greeks by names evidently derived from their Asiatic residence, or Ionians. Even as late as the ninth century, when the Greek writers and the Greek empire were well known to the Mohammedans, the Greeks were called *Yunanis*. *Yavan* is derived from the same term, which, as written in Hebrew characters, may be read either *Ion* or *Javan*, according to the vowel points. So in its Pali form the word is *Yona* or *Jona*, as the edict of Asoka upon the rocks of Orissa and Gujerat records the name of Antiochus, the Yona, or Jona rajah. A curious additional proof that the Greeks are intended by the word *Yavana* occurs in the example of a rule of Sanscrit grammar for the application of the present participle of the *atamane-pada*: it is *sayana bhunjate Yavanah* (the Yavanas eat sleeping) —that is, recumbent, a position likely to have attracted notice, as quite different from the attitude in which, as far as we have reason to believe, any Asiatic people took their food.

Twenty-nine—some say sixty-four—of the descendants of the Pandus, succeeded to the throne. Their reigns are not distinguished by any recorded incidents, and all that survives to mark their existence is their names.

* Page 89.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### ANCIENT HISTORY:—THE KINGDOMS OF MAGADA AND CASHMERE.

THERE is a prince, whose name appears in the great Indian epic as an ally, who challenges special attention, namely, the King of Magada,* a province of Bahar. The line of his descendants presents an unbroken succession from the war of the *Mhaha Bharrat* to the fifth century of the Christian era, and its authenticity is singularly corroborated by evidence from various quarters.

Sahadeva was king of Magada at the close of the great war, and his descendants were, for two thousand years, lords paramount and emperors of India;† and their country continued to be the seat of learning, civilization, and trade. Though Magada proper was confined to the Southern Bahar, it subsequently comprehended the provinces extending eastward to the Ganges.

The first king of Magada, so-called, was Jara-Sandha, literally, Old Sandha. His memory still survives in the traditions of the country, and pilgrimages are made to his tomb, to the east of Gaya in South Bahar, in the low hills of Raja-giri, or the royal mountains.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from Sahadeva, was Ajuta Satru, in whose reign Sakya, or Gotama,‡ the founder of the Buddhist religion, flourished. "It is an important fact connected with the Buddhistical creed." Turnour observes,§ "that the ancient history, as well as the religion, are developed by revelation; and by the fortunate fiction of limiting the period intervening between the manifestation of one Buddha and the advent of his successor, a limitation has been put to the mystification in which historical data had been involved anterior to the coming of Gotama." Turnour fixes the entry of Gotama Buddha upon his mission B.C. 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Bimbisaro, sovereign of Magada, another name for Ajuta Satru; and his death B.C. 543, seven years later than that assigned by Elphinstone. The Birmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and other Buddhist annals written out of India thus agreeing, identify the exact period at which Ajuta Satru ruled over India. The paucity of such illustrations enhances the value of this, and intensify the hope that a more extended cultivation of oriental literature will add considerably to a knowledge of ancient India. This dynasty ruled during one thousand years, the number of kings, according to the *Vishnu Parana*, after Sahaveda, being twenty-one.

The last of the series was Repunjaya. This prince was slain by his minister Sunika, who established his own son, Pradyota, on the throne, and he transmitted the sceptre to his descendants. This dynasty consisted of fifteen, to whom the *Parana* assigns a period of four hundred years. The Buddhist authorities differ materially as to the duration of the reigns, and Professor Wilson is of opinion that a date of about six centuries may be claimed, with some confidence, for them.

To Mahananda, the last prince of this series, was born a son, Nanda, surnamed *Mahapadma*, the Avaricious, whose mother was of the Sudra, or servile race, and hence he was called a Sudra. Though avaricious, his memory has descended to posterity as that of a just, equitable, and indulgent prince. He was also renowned by his valour, and signalized by the success of his arms and the extent of his conquests. He reduced to submission all the kings of the country; and, like Parasama, crushed the Kshatrya race, and, in the language of the *Parana*, is said to have brought the whole earth under his umbrella."* He had two wives, Rathnavati and Mura. By the first, he had eight sons, Sumalya and others; by Mura, he had Chandragupta, and many others, who were collectively called Mauryas, from their mother, as the other sons went under the common appellation Sumalyadicas, derived from their brother's name. Colonel Tod, in his *History of Rajpootana*, surmises that Maurya is a corruption of Mori, the name of a Rajpoot tribe. The Nandas reigned one hundred years, according to the text of the *Parana;* but the learned translator and annotator of that work thinks it would be more compatible with chronology to consider the nine Nandas as so many descents.

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas possessed, that is, succeeded to, the throne; for Kautiya placed Chandragupta on the throne.† The last-named prince is the most important personage that

* So called, according to Captain F. Wilford, from Magas, who came from the Dwipa of Saca, and settled there.

† *Vishnu Parana*, p. 82; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 32.

‡ For a full account of this personage, his religion, and innumerable followers, see p. 48, &c., of this History.

§ *History of Ceylon*, p. 52.

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 468. † Ibid., p. 469.

appears in this regal list. His identity is established by more than one credible authority, indeed, authorities above suspicion; and this identification marks an authentic era, as did the advent of Gotama, in the confused chronology of the Hindoos. It can be scarcely doubted, Professor Wilson deliberately observes, "that he is the Sandrocottus —or, as Athenæus writes it more correctly, the Sandrocoptus—of the Greeks, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Seleucus Nicator, who began his reign B.C. 310, and concluded a treaty with him B.C. 305." There are two versions of the circumstances which contributed to facilitate the elevation of Chandragupta to the throne. That which deals in the marvellous, and appeals more interestingly to the imagination, must, on the historic page, give place to that which exhibits the more homely features of historic truth.

When Nanda had advanced in years, he provided that on his demise his kingdom should be equally divided amongst the Sumalyadicas, and a decent allowance was settled on his other children, the Mauryas. This invidious distinction was probably suggested by the degraded caste to which the mother of the latter belonged. The more favoured brothers being jealous of the latter, conspired to put them to death. Chandragupta alone escaped, saved through the protection of Lunus; and to manifest his lasting gratitude assumed the name Chandragupta, or "saved by the moon." He fled, accompanied by a few friends, crossed the Ganges, and with all possible speed sought refuge and aid at the court of Parvateswara, lord of the mountains, king of Nepaul. Here he was kindly received and hospitably entertained. Assisted by this prince and his allies, the Yavans, Sacas, and Ciratas, with a powerful army he marched against his enemies, and soon came in sight of the capital of Prachi.* A battle followed, in which king Ugradhwana was entirely defeated, after a dreadful carnage, and fell amongst heaps of slain. The city was immediately beleaguered; and Sarvartha-siddhi, the governor, seeing the impossibility of successfully resisting a foe so formidable, abandoned his post, and fled to the Vindaya Mountains, and there led a life of austerity and devotion. Chandragupta having achieved, by the support of his friends and allies, all that he could have ambitioned, in the hour of his triumph did not testify a due appreciation of the great obligations he owed them; though he had stipulated, in the event of his success, to yield up half of his dominions in remuneration of their services, he refused to part with any of his territories, but expressed his willingness to load them with thanks and rich presents.

Nanda, the father, had an old and attached minister named Mantri-Rakshasa, who rendered him services of the highest character, and on his death was appointed the prime-minister also of his son and successor Ugradhwana. This man, on the fall of his royal master, transferred his services to Parvateswara, who, deeply chagrined by the ungrateful conduct of his *protegé*, who had perfidiously violated all his pledges, and by his own inability to enforce reparation, had retired to his kingdom meditating vengeance.

In the Nepaulese king the wily Mantri-Rakshasa found a tool keenly edged for his purpose. By working on his worst passions he incited him to send an assassin to take the life of Chandragupta. Such an attempt being apprehended, the latter prince took every precaution for his safety, and not only averted the peril, but, through the agency of the assassin, accomplished the death of Parvateswara; and what was more to his advantage, through the offices of some mutual well-wisher, Rakshasa, his bitter foe, was eventually reconciled, and the close of his reign, which was protracted for many years, was not only undisturbed, but also characterized by justice and equity. While living he was adored by his subjects, and his memory was cherished with sacred reverence for centuries after his death.

The particulars handed down by the Greek writers, in relation to this prince, agree in a great measure with the summary above given from the *Mudra Rakshasa*. Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander*, states that Chandragupta had been in that monarch's camp, and had been heard to say that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi had he attempted it, as the king was despised, and hated too, on account of his cruelty. He is mentioned by Athenæus, Diodorus Siculus, and Quintus Curtius; but Wilford states that the two historians last mentioned are mistaken in saying that Chandram* reigned over the Prasu at the time of Alexander's invasion, as he was the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator. He also expresses his suspicion that he kept his faith with the Yavans (Greeks) no better than with his ally the King of Nepaul, and that this may have been the motive for Seleucus crossing the Indus at the head of a numerous army, but, finding him prepared, thought it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which he yielded up the conquests he had made, and, to cement an alliance, gave him one of his daughters in marriage.† Chandragupta appears to have agreed, on his

* An ancient name of Magada.

* Chandragupta, so named by these historians.

† Strabo, b. xv. p. 724.

part, to furnish Seleucus annually with fifty elephants; for it is related that Antiochus the Great, his successor, went to India to renew the alliance with Sophagesemus, and received fifty elephants from him. Sophagesemus he conceives to be a corruption of Shivacasena, the grandson of Chandragupta. In the Puranas this grandson is called *Ascecavard-dhana*, or "full of mercy," a word of nearly the same import as Asseccasena, or Shivacasena, the latter signifying "he whose armies are merciful, and do not ravage and plunder the country." *

Several Sanscrit authorities verify the number of sovereigns, and the period of rule assigned by the *Vishnu Purana* to this dynasty, namely, ten successors, and one hundred and thirty-seven years.

Of these his grandson Asokavardana, or Asoka, is the most celebrated. His reign is variously stated at thirty-six years and at twenty-six. Educated in the tenets of the Brahminical faith, he in after years was converted to Buddhism, and is handed down to posterity as one of the most zealous supporters of that creed. He is said to have maintained in his palace sixty-four thousand Buddhist priests, and to have erected eighty-four thousand columns or topes throughout India. A council was held in the eighteenth year of his reign, in which a vigorous system of propagandism was organised, and missions established in Ceylon and other quarters. According to the Buddhist chronology, he ascended the throne two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha (B.C. 325). This date is irreconcilable with that already fixed for the reign of his grandfather, and that allowed to his father. His reign is more accurately placed between the years B.C. 234 and 198. Professor Wilson presses other evidence besides the biblical into his service to identify and authenticate the reign of this prince. "It is certain," he proceeds, "that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter, and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than the members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt, in the latter part of the third century before Christ. The Indian king appears always under the appellation *Pryadasi*, or *Pryadarsin*, 'the beautiful,' and is entitled *Devanam-piya*, 'the beloved of the gods.' According to the Buddhist authorities Pryadasi is identified both by name and circumstances with Asoka, and to him, therefore, the inscriptions must be attributed. Their purport agrees well enough with their character, and their wide diffusion with the traditionary report of the number of his monuments. His date is not exactly that of Antiochus the Great, but it is not far different, and the corrections required to make it correspond, are no more than the inexact manner in which both Brahminical and Buddhist chronology is preserved, may well be expected to render necessary." *

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 286.

In following the history of the Mauryas, of the race of Nanda, it was considered advisable to descend to the reign of Asoka,—a remarkable period, and identified as it has been shown by native evidence,—rather than pause in the reign of his grandfather, for the purpose of introducing a memorable chapter of Indian history, in which is detailed, from Greek and Roman sources, the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great,—an event which, however glorious as a brilliant strategic achievement, whatever its momentary influence on the countries bordering the Indus, produced no abiding effects on Indian polity, and whose influence, it would appear, has not even enriched the traditions of the Hindoos. Its external influences, however, were not so transient. The pages of Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Curtius, confirmed by recent inquiries, prove that a great mass of information regarding the Indians was conveyed to Europe by the followers of Alexander; and the flourishing Greek kingdom established, as the result of that expedition, in Bactria on its north-western confines, maintained a correspondence for centuries between the East and West.

The reign of Asoka is a point at which a pause may be, advisedly, made to direct attention to collateral tributaries, which lose their identity and commingle in the great stream of history. Cashmere has the next and best claim.

## CASHMERE.

Another contemporary and long-established kingdom of India, Cashmere, challenges attention; the only one whose history, such as it is, comes down to us in a consecutive narrative.

To that painstaking and very able oriental scholar, Mr. Colebrooke, Europe is indebted for the *Raja Taringini*, or history of Cashmere, a copy of which, that had belonged to a Brahmin who died some months previously, he secured from his heirs in 1805. The original had been presented to the Emperor Akbar by the natives of that country. It is the only Indian composition yet discovered, Professor Wilson vouches, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied.

* Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 469, note 23.

Whatever may be its value in elucidating the local history of Cashmere, it contributes nothing directly to the illustration of the antiquities, or the social or political condition, of the other principalities of India, of which it forms, relatively, only a small portion. It may, however, enable the historian to determine the dates of persons and events in other states, as it is stated by Sir William Jones "that the dates are regular, and for a long time both probable and consistent"* — benefits perhaps commensurate with those realized by the publication of the *Maha-Wanso*, or Great History of Ceylon, by the late Mr. Turnour.

The *Rajah Taringini* has hitherto been regarded as one entire composition; it is however, in fact, a series of compositions written by different authors and at different periods—a circumstance that gives greater value to its contents, as, with the exception of the early periods of the history, the several authors may be regarded almost as the chroniclers of their own times. The first of the series is the *Raja Taringini* of Calhana Pundit, the son of Campaca, who states his having made use of earlier authorities, and gives an interesting enumeration of several which he had employed. The list includes the general works of Suvrata and Narendra; the history of Gonerda† and his three successors, by Hela Raja, an ascetic of Lava; and of his successors to Asoka, by Padma Mihira; and of Asoka and the four next princes, by Sri Ch'havillacara. He also cites the authority of Nila Muni, meaning probably the *Nili Parana*, a Parana only known in Cashmere; the whole catalogue forming a remarkable proof of the attention bestowed by Cashmerian writers upon the history of their native country—an attention the more extraordinary, from the contrast it affords to the total want of such records in other Indian states.

The *Raja Taringini* contains the history of the princes of Cashmere for upwards of four thousand years.‡ Major Rennell, so far from doubting the tradition which records that a lake once submerged the valley of Cashmere, bears his creditable testimony that appearances alone are sufficient to convince, without the aid of tradition or history, "that it was a mere natural effect, and such as may be apprehended in every case where the waters of a river are inclosed in any part of their course by elevated lands. The first consequence of this stoppage is, of course, the conversion of the enclosed land into a lake; and if this happen near the fountains of a river, and the ground is solid, it is likely to remain a lake for ever, the river not having force enough in its infant state to work its passage through the mountains. Hence it is that more lakes are found near the sources of rivers than in the lower parts of their courses." He then proceeds to quote several proofs of the correctness of his suppositions.* The waters having subsided, Kushup, renowned for the austerity of his manners, first induced the Brahmins to inhabit it. When, in the course of time, the population had increased, they felt the propriety of initiating an established form of government, and for this purpose summoned a general assembly. Their election was a judicious one. The ruler of their choice was famed for his virtues, and so ingratiated himself with his subjects, that they never regretted their voluntary submission, and monarchy became an established and respectable institution, and continued so till the reign of Gonerda. This Gonerda† was slain in a battle fought at Mehtra, in which one of the leaders was Jarasandha, King of Bahar, Magada, and his opponent Kishen, by the hands of whose brother the sovereign of Cashmere was slain. To avenge his fall, his son, Damooder, attacked Kishen and his relatives on the banks of the Scinde, on their way to celebrate a marriage feast at Candahar, and lost his life in the action. The victor, Kishen, bestowed the kingdom on his posthumous son, who was succeeded by thirty-five princes, whose names live neither in the records or traditions of their country, a fate richly merited by their personal vices and tyranny. A consecutive list is not given in the *Ayin Acberi* of the princes who subsequently occupied the throne. A few are named whose reigns are distinguished by some remarkable incidents, which served to constitute epochs in the history of Cashmere, but no reliable data is supplied to mark the years or the centuries. We are informed that Loo was a just king, and the founder of Kamraj, the city of Looloo, vestiges of which existed in the days of Akbar, and probably do now.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 2.

† From the period of the first settlement of Cashmere to the reign of Gonerda, the first prince whose name has been recorded, the country was governed by a succession of fifty-two princes of the Caurava family, whose reigns formed a period of 1266 years. (Wilson's *Introduction to the History of Cashmere*, vol. xv. p. 10; *Asiatic Researches*.)

‡ For a geographical description of Cashmere, see p. 115, &c.

* *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 107.

† Owgnund, Augnand, or Gonerda, as appears from the transactions of his reign, was contemporary with Krishnu and Yudishthira, and a relation of Jarasandha, King of Magada, to whose assistance we are here informed he led an army. The confederates were opposed to Krishnu, in the province of Mathura, and defeated. Kishen and Krishnu are identical.

It is said the buildings were eighty crore * in number.

Ashowg, identical with Asoka, established during his reign the rites of Brahma, and those of Jyen subsequently. He is described as a prince who ruled with equity; his son Jelowk was a prince of great administrative ability, who extended his conquests to the seashore, and on his return to Cashmere brought in his suite from Kanoje, formerly the capital of Hindostan, many learned and wise men, from whom he selected seven to preside respectively over the following departments—justice, exchequer, treasury, army, commerce, royal household, astrology, and alchemy.

In the reign of Rajah Werk the Brahmins rose superior to the Buddhists, and burnt down their temples. His reign is fixed by Professor Wilson B.C. 490.

Mihiracula, or Mehrkul, B.C. 310,† made extensive conquests. A curious tale is recorded of this reign, which, divested of its metaphorical character, discloses the general laxity of morals which then prevailed. A large stone appeared in one of the rivers of Cashmere, and entirely blocked it up, and whatever was cut away from it in the daytime grew again in the course of the night. The workmen abandoned their labours in despair. Then a mysterious voice proclaimed that if a virtuous woman touched the stone with her hand it would disappear. Royal proclamation was made, and woman after woman was brought, who touched it without producing any effect. The king had the women put to death for their incontinency, their children for their illegitimacy, and the husbands for conniving at this wholesale harlotry. Three million lives had been forfeited, when an humble woman, a potter, was found, free from taint; her virgin touch dispatched the magic stone, and gave an open channel to the rock-obstructed stream.‡ A reign so sanguinary was terminated by a death deserved by its atrocities. As he advanced in years he became the victim of an excruciating disease. His suffering, it appears, made him keenly feel the torments he had recklessly inflicted upon myriads. To expiate his crimes, he resolved on a voluntary death, and a funeral pile was erected for his obsequies. An obstacle here presented itself. He had appropriated the endowments of the higher orders of the priesthood, and appointed to the discharge of the sacerdotal functions an inferior and disreputable caste—the Gandha Brahmins, a low race. The consequence was, that now, in the hour of his extreme need, no one could be found duly qualified to perform the ceremonies of his cremation, those impure tribes of Doradas, Bhoteas, and Mechhas, the recipients of his favours, alone being accessible. The Brahmins of Aryadesa were invited, by the offer of liberal treatment, to return. A pile was constructed of military weapons, to the summit of which the repentant monarch ascended, and amid its flames he yielded up his spirit, purified, as he believed, from those sins, which, his traditions taught him, were expiated by his voluntary immolation.

Vaca, or Beek, the son of this last noticed monarch, succeeded to him. His name has been perpetuated in connection with a city which he founded on the banks of the river Vacavati, called Lavanotsa, and a religious rite at which he assisted. The names of his immediate successors are the only known surviving memorials of their reigns.

Kubaret, or Gopaditya, governed with wisdom and justice. He was a prince of eminent piety, and in whose reign they report the golden age, *Satya*, was restored. He imposed a strict observance of the ritual and distinctions of caste, reformed the priesthood by the ejection of evil-doers, and the enforcement of rigid discipline; he encouraged Brahmins of literary reputation and exalted virtue to resort to his kingdom, and throughout his dominions all were strictly prohibited from destroying animal life, and all ranks of people were enjoined to abstain from flesh meat. According to the Mohammedan authorities, he built a temple near the capital, called Takht Suliman, which, with several other places of Hindoo worship, in later ages, was destroyed by Sekander, called the Idol-breaker, one of the first Mohammedan kings of Cashmere. After a reign of sixty years, he was succeeded by his son Kurren, or Gokerna, of whom it is merely related that he built a temple.

Jewdishter, or Yudishthira, surnamed the Blind, from the smallness of his eyes, was the last of his race who mounted the throne of the Cashmere. By his sensual indulgence and insupportable tyranny, he so estranged his subjects, and outraged the feelings of neighbouring princes, that, by a combination of the Cashmerians and the kings of Hindostan and Thibet, according to the *Ayin Acberi*, he was defeated, captured, and ignominiously cast into prison. Professor Wilson states that when he found resistance hopeless he fled, and secreted himself in the woods and moun-

* A crore comprised one hundred lacs, or ten millions, an incredible number.—*Hand-book of British India.*

† The dates here assigned are from the adjusted chronology of Professor Wilson, on whose authority—and there exists no higher—they may be accepted.

‡ *Ayin Acberi*, vol. ii. p. 181.

tains with his women and a few followers. Doomed to exchange luxury for privation, the downy couch for the sharp rock, and the harmony of minstrels for the wild dashing of cascades or the wilder horns of the mountaineers, he at last found a refuge in the court of some compassionate prince, where, according to general belief, he died in exile.*

As this reign terminates the close of a dynasty, and, according to the chronology we have followed, has brought the narrative to the beginning of the second century, to a period nearly coinciding with that at which the history of the kingdom of Magada was interrupted, and as near the epoch of Alexander and Chandragupta as we could conveniently approach, it is advisable to resume the thread of our history where we diverged, and devote a chapter to the expedition of the great Macedonian, and its consequences, the only truly historic and well-authenticated episode in the ante-Mohammedan records of India, and the point from which contemporaneous annals afford us an insight into the transactions of the countries beyond the Indus.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### INVASION OF THE GREEKS—ALEXANDER THE GREAT—SELEUCUS NICATOR—THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

THE conquests made in India by the Persian monarch Sesostris,† and which constituted his wealthiest and most lucrative satrapy, descended to his successors, and, it may be inferred, remained subject to them down to the fall of that empire, and the imposition of the rule of the Greeks.

The fall of Darius, the appropriation of his home empire, the discomfiture of Bessus, and the subjugation of Bactria and the countries which lay between the Oxus and Tanais, or Transoxantes, the defeat of the King of Scythia, and subsequent alliance, and the overthrow and acquisition of Sogdia, enabled Alexander, in the tenth year of his reign, and the seventh after his invasion of Persia, to direct his immediate attention to the state of India.

The perilous situation of Persia, and its eventual subjection, in all probability, inspired the Indian satrapy with the hope of being able to proclaim its independence. The occasion appeared to be the most favourable for the attempt. The great extent of the Persian empire, the remote situation of India, the violent opposition, which might be reasonably calculated on, from the powerful satraps whose territories intervened between the Indus and the seat of government, the length of time which would be devoted to the organization of the new government, all combined to confirm the assumption that they might act with impunity. India was too rich a prize to be easily relinquished; its products, borne on the wings of commerce to the far West, were long previously articles of necessity to the wealthy, refined, and luxurious Greeks. A more intimate acquaintance with these enriching productions, obtained through Persian channels, and the fact, which their fiscal returns recorded, that its tributes constituted nearly one-half the public revenue of that wealthy empire, decided the Macedonian on imposing his yoke upon them.

The history of Alexander the Great is the theme of every schoolboy's declamation. No personage is more familiar to every tyro, in some phases of his character. The means by which he secured the supreme command over the combined forces of the congregated states of Greece, the rapidity with which he spread far and wide his conquests, the vastness of his military conceptions, his untiring energies, mastery of details, and administrative capacity, have been universally recognised, and have placed him in the van of the most able and most illustrious of heroes. The destruction of the city of Tyre, the Western emporium of the commerce of the East, and the stores of the Indian province, and probably the cognition of the fact, that whatever nation from the remotest antiquity monopolised that trade became the arbiter of the destinies of the world, inspired the first thought of carrying his arms into the far East.

The brilliant achievements which crowded the history of the campaigns which led to the total discomfiture of the Persian armies, the flight of Darius, and the total subjugation of the great empire founded by Cyrus, though they furnish the most thrilling chapters of history, have no direct claim to a place in Indian story.

The battle of Arbela was the last stand made by Darius for his throne and personal

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 31.

† See page 366.

safety. The plains washed by the Tigris on the west, about sixty miles to the east of the site of Nineveh, the modern Mossoul, was the arena of the defeat. Abandoned by his army, and attended by a few body-guards, Darius fled eastward, and sought refuge beyond the range of the Gordyene Mountains, which guard the western frontiers of Media, calculating that the conqueror's progress would be retarded, if not entirely stopped, in regulating the affairs of the empire now at his mercy, and in appropriating the treasures exposed to him in the three southern capitals of the empire—Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa. These events transpired at the close of the year B. C. 300.

An interval of six months elapsed after the battle of Arbela, during which Alexander was occupied in the plunder and demolition of the far-famed Persepolis, and the pacification of Persia proper; and Darius had taken his residence in Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, the capital of Media, and the birthplace of Cyrus the Great. His day-dream of being left here in safety and obscurity was soon dissipated. The Macedonian could brook no living competitor. His army was soon in motion, and the refugee was now compelled to seek a more remote asylum. Eight days after that precipitous flight, Alexander entered Ecbatana, and here he laid down a new basis for his operations. This royal stronghold—a description of which has been transmitted in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon—the ordinary summer residence of the Persian monarchs, he made his principal depot, and garrisoned it with seven thousand men. Here, as a place of the greatest safety, he deposited the immense mass of wealth he had accumulated during the progress of his triumphs, amounting, it is stated, to 180,000 talents, equal to £41,000,000. After a very brief stay, he resumed his pursuit of the fugitive, who had forwarded his wives, baggage, and treasures, amounting to over a million and a half, to Hyrcania, on the south-eastern shores of the Caspian. The approach to this locality was difficult in the extreme, the mountains which intervened were passable at one defile only, called, from its commanding position, the Gate of the Caspian. His determination had been to prosecute his flight till he had reached the satrapy of Bactria, the government of Bessus, who stood high in his estimation, and was still the partner of his toils and misfortunes. Here he calculated that his safety would be insured; he relied on the distance of that country, the bravery of its inhabitants, and probably on its proximity to the remotest and the wealthiest of the eastern divisions of the Indian empire. To strengthen his chances he had resolved on the further precaution of devastating the countries through which his journey lay, and thus deprive his enemy of the supplies required for such a protracted expedition. The road from Ecbatana to Bactria, along which both the flight of Darius and the pursuit of Alexander lay, passed along the broken ground skirting the southern flank of the mountain range Elburz, and of this route the Caspian Gates formed the worst and most difficult portion. Alexander hoped to anticipate his arrival at this pass,* and to accomplish it used all expedition. Fear had accelerated the speed of Darius, and ere the approach of Alexander to that post he had placed the steeps of the Taurus between them. The difficulties of the journey did not retard the pursuit; though the fainting soldiers and lifeless steeds strewed the line of march, onward hasted the wearied pursuers. In eleven days they reached Rhages, within a day's march of the pass.

The escape of Darius across the mountains destroyed all the expectations Alexander had entertained of overtaking him, and consequently he here halted his forces for five days, in order that they might recover from their excessive fatigue. He also directed his attention to the pacification of the Parthians, on whose confines he then was.

An enemy more proximate, treacherous, and relentless, accompanied the ill-fated prince. When Darius had entered Hyrcania, several of his followers returned to their habitations, and others submitted to the victor. Some of his officers—the chief of whom was his favourite, Bessus, the mainstay of his hopes—conspired against their sovereign, seized upon him, and held him in custody. Intelligence of this circumstance was speedily conveyed to Alexander, who felt that now there was a more imperative need of speed than ever. Accompanied by a body of choice troops, lightly accoutred and with only a moderate supply of provisions for two days, he prosecuted his march the next night and following day without intermission. Allowing a short respite for refreshment he resumed his journey, and after a march of two nights and one day, he reached the camp from which the intelligence of the outrage on Darius had reached him, but the enemy had previously abandoned it. He ascertained that Darius had been taken away a captive by Bessus, who had usurped the imperial title with the approval of the army, with the exception of

* On the part of Mount Taurus south of the Caspian, in Armenia. (See Strabo, vol. ix. pp. 508-523; Herodotus, vol. i. p. 125; Grote, vol. xii. p. 256.)

the Greek mercenaries, who, though faithful to the Persian monarch, were too weak to afford him protection. The leading conspirators were the satraps of the remote eastern provinces, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Bactria, the inhabitants of which were the bravest of all the Asiatics; and to them was committed the royal captive, fettered with golden chains,* and confined in a covered chariot. Grote opines that, under the desperate circumstances, the plan pursued by the conspirators was perhaps the least unpromising that could be proposed, the double flight of Darius having destroyed all hope in him.† The conspirators had resolved to proceed with all expedition eastward, and to reach Bactria and Sogdiana, and there to organize a powerful resistance. The hereditary monarch, with all the resources of his vast empire, had failed in two great battles, and had been driven to seek safety in ignominious flight. The conqueror was not the man to afford to the subalterns of Darius an opportunity of completing their plans; as soon as he ascertained their designs, he resolved on immediate pursuit, to overtake them, and rescue their prisoner. In this crisis expedition was everything; with the scanty resources at his command, he precipitated his arrangements, and though men and horses were fatigued with incessant labour, he ordered his troops to march, and with all the alacrity which he could inspire, they continued the pursuit all that night and till noon the next day, when they reached a village in which Bessus, his suite, and guards, had pitched their tents the previous evening. Alexander here learned that the Persian fugitives were intent on pursuing their flight that night; he inquired if there was any shorter route than that they had taken; he was told there was, but that it lay through a desert destitute of water. Not deterred by even these physical disadvantages, he adopted that route, and when he found that his infantry could not master the difficulties of their situation, five hundred of the cavalry having been ordered to dismount, their horses were supplied to the captains of foot and the most approved men of that service, all heavily armed. Another body had been dispatched along the main road, which Bessus and his companions had pursued. That night four hundred furlongs were accomplished, and early the next morning he came in sight of the flying enemy. The result was, that the mere appearance of resistance was presented: at the sight of Alexander they turned their backs without striking a blow, and fled in the utmost disorder. Darius, who resisted all the efforts made to induce him to leave his chariot and seek safety on horseback, pierced by the javelins of his captors, was left behind. Arrian states that before Alexander had seen him, he had expired of his wounds, in the fiftieth year of his age, and B. C. 330. Alexander sent the body to Persia proper, there to be interred in the royal mausoleum amongst his regal predecessors.

The fall of his feeble opponent deprived Alexander of the advantages which would, necessarily, result from his rescue from the hands of his rebellious subjects, and threatened a more tedious protraction and vigorous prosecution of the war. The countries which extended from beyond the Caspian Gates to the north-western extremity of India, as well as India itself, though tributary to Persia, were very imperfectly known. This, added to the facts that contingents led from these extensive and remote districts were the bravest soldiers of the empire, and that the revenues of India, the most easterly of them all, as previously shown on the authority of Herodotus, constituted one-third of those of the entire twenty divisions of Persia, must have presented a more troubled future to the conqueror.

Bessus had the reputation, amongst his compatriots, of being a brave man, and an experienced commander. His treatment of his sovereign had but very little effect upon the devotion of his followers and accomplices, and may have been looked upon as a laudable act by all but the invaders, as it offered the only rational hopes of a successful struggle. The complicity of guilt, and the frustration of any hopes which the perpetration of their crime might have led them to expect from Alexander, destroyed by the indignation with which the crime was denounced, and the magnificence with which the funeral obsequies were celebrated, must have convinced them that their last resource was in a combined and obstinate effort.

A foretaste of the formidable character of the desperate resistance which might be expected from the more remote, and, as reputed, more warlike tribes, was experienced by Alexander in the expedition which he undertook, soon after, into the mountain occupied by the Mardi, a single tribe, as brave as they were poor, and who displayed great valour, inflicting upon the Macedonians serious loss. From the Mardi he hastened through Zeudracarta, the chief city of Hyrcania; then eastward through Hecatompylæ to Susia, the capital of the province of Aria, pursuing the direction, if not the road, the conspirators had taken. Here very important

* Arrian, Curtius, and Grote, vol. xii. p. 248.
† Ibid., p. 249.

news reached him—that Bessus had usurped the insignia and title of King of Asia, and assumed the name of Artaxerxes; that he had at his disposal a large army, composed of Persian troops, and a great number of Bactrians, and he expected that his warlike neighbours, the Scythians, would send a considerable accession to his force. No time was to be lost—not a moment for preparation to be afforded to the enemy. All his forces were made ready for the occasion; and evidently, though Arrian and the other ancient writers omit to state the fact, this military organization, and the direction of the march, were the results of his resolve to crush Bessus and his pretensions at the first opportunity. Bessus had judiciously matured his plans. Satebarzanes, governor of Aria—through whose country Alexander had passed a short time previously, and who was an officer he had reinstated in authority—shared his confidence. Alexander had the mortification to learn, as he was hastening to Bactria, that he had slain the few Greeks who had been left behind for his protection, and had summoned a general muster, in order to raise an army for the assistance of Bessus, which, united to his, would be a match for the Macedonians. Alexander's measures were as prompt and as masterly executed as usual; he retraced his steps, and effectually crushed the incipient rebellion.

This was the work of only a few days. He as rapidly arranged the affairs of that province. Being in the meantime joined by his rear division, he marched into the territories of the Zarungei, or Drangi, the modern Seiestan; but Barsaentes, one of those concerned in the murder of Darius, and prince of that country, on his approach, fled to the Indians "on the other side of the river Indus." This fact, stated, in the words quoted, by Arrian, deserves particular notice, as does the sequel, that "they [the Indians], having seized him, sent him to Alexander, who, for his treachery, commanded him to be put to death."*

The autumn and winter† were spent by Alexander in reducing Drangiana, Gedrosia, Arachosia, and the Paropamisidæ, the modern Seiestan, Affghanistan, and the western part of Cabul, lying between the Gazna on the north, Candahar or Kelat on the south, and Furrah on the west. The entire subjugation of these extensive countries was necessary to the accomplishment of his avowed object, the complete conquest of Bactria, and to his concealed—that is, so far as the omission of all allusion to it amongst the authorities—and ulterior object, the subjection of India. The second revolt of the Arians, and the bravery of the resistance they this time offered, threatened serious consequences, had not the fall of their general in a well-contested battle crushed all after-opposition. The elements were the fiercest enemies Alexander encountered, and his troops suffered severely from cold and privations, passing through plains deeply covered with snow, and enduring all the extremities of want.

The Paropamisidæ were separated from Bactria by a high chain of mountains, to which the Macedonians gave the name Caucasus, out of compliment to their prince, who wished to traverse them. Near the southern termination of one of the passes of this mountain range, by the moderns termed Hindoo Koosh, to the north-east, it is maintained by respectable authorities, was founded a new city, called Alexandria ad Caucasum. A colony of seven thousand Macedonian veterans was planted there. In crossing the Hindoo Koosh from south to north they probably marched by the pass of Bamian, which Wood maintains is the only one of four passes open to an army in winter.* It was at the close of this season the bold attempt was made to cross this mighty range. The army spent seventeen days in achieving this hazardous feat.†

The man who feared no danger, and who had surmounted every obstacle, encountering Nature in her most terrific mood, soon overran Bactria, although Bessus had taken very wise precautions to impede, if not obstruct, his approach, having laid waste all the country in his line of march. Drapsaca, Aornos, previously pronounced impregnable, and Bactria, the modern Balk, fell in rapid succession into his hands, and the unfortunate Bessus fled beyond the Oxus, the boundary between Bactria and Sogdiana. The Oxus was soon reached, nor did its precipitous banks, nor deep stream, rapid and six furlongs wide, the most formidable river the Macedonians had ever seen, long retard their progress. When Alexander arrived at its course, he found no possible means of transit. As a final resource, he ordered all the skins which the troops used for their tents to be collected and inflated, and made water-tight, and by this contrivance, in the course of five days, he and his entire army is reported to have passed over the river in safety. The enemy offered not the slightest opposition. In a few days, deserted and betrayed, Bessus fell into the hands of his enemy, and eventually suffered a severer and a more ignominious fate than he had in-

* B.C. 330-29. This fact clearly proves that close relations existed between the Indians and the Western satraps.

† Arrian, b. III. c. xxv.

* Wood's *Journey to the Oxus*, p. 195.

† Curtius, b. VII. c. v. Grote, without quoting his authority, says fifteen days.

flicted on Darius.* Having inflicted this summary punishment, the Macedonians hastened northward, and reached Maracanda (Samarcand), the capital of Sogdiana, and then the Jaxartes, which they mistook for the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Asia. Here terminated their northern progress, about the forty-second degree of latitude, and sixty-ninth east longitude. Here Alexander built a town, called, like many others, after him. The rising of the Sogdians and Bactrians in his rear was the immediate cause of his return. To their complete subjugation he applied his masterly ability; and though a brave race, strongly supported by their allies, the Scythians, and led by a prince brave and popular, Spitamenes, after several hard-fought conflicts, they were reduced to such a state of subjection, that a Grecian kingdom—the Bactrian, previously noticed—flourished there for centuries. Of the transactions of these campaigns, the writers so often quoted, and who furnish the materials of this history, give a full and trustworthy account. The accuracy of Curtius' description of the general features of Bactria and Sogdiana, is attested, in the strongest language, by modern travellers. But, unfortunately, so little is known of these regions, that of all the localities named by him, except Maracanda, now Samarcand, the river Polytimetus, now Kohik, and Bactria, now Balk, nothing appears certain.†

In the winter of the year B.C. 229 Alexander crossed the Hindoo Koosh. In the summer of B.C. 227 he began his march back to the same mountain range, having plucked fresh laurels, and contracted some deep stains. The massacre of the innocent and unsuspecting Branchidæ, the assumption of Asiatic despotism, the death of Clitus, the provoked conspiracy of the Pages, the torture and execution of Calisthenes, although startling incidents, crowding the eve of the invasion of India, are no part of its story, the leading historical and topographical notices being preliminary and illustrative.

Preparatory to his march on India he recalled the bravest, and, at this period of his career, the most confidential of his generals, from Sogdiana; assembled his forces, raised a body of Bactrians thirty thousand strong, and, leaving a force of fourteen thousand foot and horse, under Amyntas, at Bactria, to keep his newly-conquered subjects in awe, he directed his journey southward, and in ten days re-crossed the Hindoo Koosh.

It has been previously conjectured that, from the commencement of his pursuit of Bessus, he had in contemplation the invasion of India. In Bactria he had opportunities of consulting natives of that country, fugitives from their home, and of ascertaining what prospects of success presented themselves. Curtius states that Alexander turned his attention towards that country, because it was esteemed rich not only in gold, but in gems and pearls, which, he says, were applied to excessive decoration rather than magnificence, and that the shields of the Indian soldiers were said to glitter with gold and ivory.* The Indian mercenaries by their bravery had provoked his hostility, and the severity of his treatment of a band of them who had defied his arms in the defence, in the late war, of one of the towns, will serve to show how determined and annoying to Alexander must have been their resistance. So long as their general survived they repulsed the Macedonians with the utmost bravery; when he fell, and many of his soldiers in battles, they sent a herald to Alexander, who agreed with them that they should enter into his service. They accordingly came forth from the city, armed, and encamped by themselves in an elevated position, opposite to the Macedonian tents, with the intention of stealing away by night, and returning home because they did not wish to fight against their friends. That very night they were surrounded, and cut to pieces.† This crime wanted even the shadowy pretext here given, for Plutarch states that he seized the mercenaries on their march homeward, and put them to the sword.‡

When Alexander arrived at the Cophenus (the Cabul River) he dispatched a herald to an Indian prince named Taxiles, and others of his rank on this side the Indus, to summon them to come forth and meet him as he approached their territories. Plutarch, whose love of anecdote led him to estimate a man by his wit rather than by the greatest sieges or most important battles, gives a highly amusing dialogue which occurred between them at their first meeting.§ There are other passages of Indian literature which lead to the conclusion that it is likely to have ensued. "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessaries of life, the

* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. ii. p. 489. Langhorne. Curtius says he was delivered up to Oxathres, the brother of Darius (b. XVII.) Appian, on the authority of Ptolemy, states his death with no reference to severities (b. III. c. XXX.)

† The valuable researches of Burnes, Wood, Morier, and others, have done much already, and will stimulate to further investigation in a field rich in ancient monuments and coins, and whose ancient history would be so interesting and instructive.

* Curtius, b. VIII. c. V.

† Arrian, b. IV. c. XXVII.

‡ Plutarch, Introduction to the *Life of Alexander*.

§ Ibid.

only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you I am willing to oblige with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection of sharing your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last, but it shall be in favours and benefits, for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and, as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents."* Whatever may be the credit of the main part of the story, it is to be feared that the Macedonian did not behave so magnanimously. Arrian, always partial to his hero, asserts that the Indian prince presented the most valuable presents India could supply, and made him a promise of twenty-five elephants. Hephæstion was sent forward to construct a bridge for the transport of the troops across the Indus, and to reduce to submission the nations through which his course lay. Taxiles, and the other princes of the country, accompanied his army, and executed all commands imposed, with the exception of Astes, prince of Peucealotis, who, after nobly defending his city for thirty days, was captured and slain.

Alexander, with a band of targeteers, and half the army, marched against the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arasaci,† and, passing near the river Choes, or Choaspes, through a country rough and mountainous, he rapidly reduced the independent principalities, which, acting in the absence of any organization, however bravely they resisted, could offer no effective nor prolonged opposition. In one of the storming affairs Alexander nearly received his deathblow from one of these hardy mountaineers; a dart pierced his armour, and wounded him in the shoulder. He was saved by the strength and thickness of his coat-of-mail. This engagement must have been severely contested. Ptolemy and Leonnatus were both wounded in the conflict. From a few admissions of the Greek historians, it is evident that Alexander was encountered by men who had all the essentials of a formidable enemy but combination. Their efforts were desultory, and their warfare was of the guerilla order. The army of the Aspasii, Arrian relates,* was posted on the banks of the river, within two days' march. Ptolemy, at the head of a large force, was dispatched to dislodge them. The enemy retired to the mountains, having first set fire to the city which they abandoned, and there prepared to defend themselves. From this post the Grecian general resolved to expel them, and gallantly placed himself on foot at the head of the advancing party. When the Indian general saw him approach, he boldly advanced in the van of his force, nor did he relax his ardour until he came within spear's reach of his adversary, Ptolemy; he then hurled his spear with such force and aim, that it struck upon his breastplate, but could not penetrate his well-wrought armour. Ptolemy struck him then through the thigh, and having slain him, according to the Homeric practice, still prevalent, stripped him of his armour; but the brave mountaineers again and again renewed the fight around the body of their chief, and were with great difficulty finally forced to retreat to the steeps; and even this repulse was not accomplished, till a large reinforcement had opportunely arrived, under the command of Alexander in person. After this engagement he marched against one of their fortresses called Arygdus; but the enemy, on his advance, set fire to it, and then abandoned it. The situation of this town, and the strength and convenience of its position, recommended it to Alexander as an eligible post to strengthen his line of communication with his territories, and late conquests to the west and the north. He had it rebuilt, and peopled it with such of the natives as had willingly submitted, and with those veterans of his army, broken down by the inroads of old age and the fatigues of the service. In the meantime he did not neglect to attend to those who had fled. He soon ascertained their location, and set out in search of it. He at length arrived at the foot of a precipitous mountain, and encamped there. Ptolemy, having been sent to reconnoitre it, reported that the number of fires burning on it exceeded those in the Grecian camp. Leaving a sufficient force for the protection of the camp, Alexander set out with the rest of the army. When Alexander arrived within sight of the enemy's fires, he divided his forces into three parts, one of which he committed to the command of Leonnatus, one of his body guards; the second to Ptolemy; he himself assumed the

* Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 502.

† The Aspii, or Aspasii, a tribe of the Paropamasidæ, at the south foot of Hindoo Koosh, on the Choes, or Choaspes, now Kahmeh. Thyræi, or Gorya, the capital of a small district of the same name, at the foot of the same range, north of the Punjaub, on the banks of the Suastes, one of the tributaries of the Cophenes. Arasaci, or Assaceni, the territory of this tribe, appears to have lain between the Indus and Cophenes, or Cophen, at their junction, and adjoining the valley last noticed, now called Panjkore.—SMITH, *Dictionary of Geography*. Grote thinks they cannot be now identified (vol. xii. p. 808.)

* Arrian, b. VII. c. XXIV.

command of the third, which he led against that part of the Indian army where the strongest array presented itself. Though placed on an eminence, in a situation of great strength,—either relying on their courage and numbers, or despising the paucity of the Macedonian army,—the enemy rashly descended into the plains to give battle to those troops led by Alexander in person. There can be but little doubt, from the details, as given by Arrian,—the most to be relied upon of all the ancients who treat this subject, though he does not state it directly,—that the Indians, when they descended from their stronghold, presumed they were proceeding to encounter the Macedonian army in complete array. They had no suspicion that two powerful divisions, were approaching in other directions, under competent generals, to create powerful diversions. To their cost, they soon found that the danger they so boldly faced, was not so perilous as the tactics of their great military opponent, that not one but three battles were to be fought, and that the enemy they so lately despised was become a triple-headed monster. Sanguinary was the conflict with Alexander, but he, as ever, proved resistless. Ptolemy had not the advantage of contending in the plain, he had to ascend a steep hill, possessed by the forces left to protect the camp, and who apprehended no surprise. He moved his army to where the ascent was easiest, and, conscious of the bravery of the assailed, to tempt them to seek safety in flight, he prudently forbore to surround the whole hill with his troops. Here, it is said, the battle was also terrible, both "in consequence of the disadvantage of the ground on the part of the Macedonians, and because the Indians of that province far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits; however, they were at last driven down from the mountains." * Leonnatus had a similar reception. The nature of this engagement may be imagined from these facts: that forty thousand men were taken, and above two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle, out of which Alexander chose the best and largest, that he might send them into Macedonia for a breeding stock, for "they excelled the Grecian cattle in bulk and beauty."

The next people that attracted Alexander's attention were the Assaceni. Their army was reported to be composed of twenty thousand cavalry and thirty thousand foot, besides thirty elephants, all ready for the field. To prepare for an encounter with this army, as formidable in reputation for bravery as in numbers, he assembled troops from all available quarters, and enlarged his army to the greatest possible extent. He passed through the territories of the Gurœi; crossed the river of that name, not without great difficulty, not so much in consequence of its great depth and the violence of its current, as from the circumstance that its bed was overlaid with round and slippery stones, over which neither man nor horse could with safety pass. The successful accomplishment of what the natives considered an insurmountable difficulty so disheartened them, that they retired from a post they might have still longer maintained to the annoyance of the invaders, and sought refuge in their strongholds.

Masaga was the capital of this people, to attack which, when Alexander approached, the inhabitants being strengthened by the co-operation of seven thousand mercenaries from the interior of India, boldly resolved not to await his assault under the defences of their walls, but to meet him in the field, and trust the issue to the God of battles. They had also the daring to make an attempt to storm the Grecian camp. Alexander, perceiving this, drew out his forces in order of battle; and to deprive the enemy of the advantages of the shelter their walls would afford, in the event of their discomfiture, he had recourse to a stratagem which was successful. On their approach, he ordered his Macedonians to fall back on a hillock about a mile in their rear. The Indians, deceived by the feint, hotly pressed on the retreating foe. When they had approached within the reach of darts, on the preconcerted signal the whole army turned and fronted their pursuers. Under a fierce discharge of darts and arrows, surprised by the rapidity of the movement and the suddenness of the charge, the Indians in turn broke ground and sought the security of their bulwarks, leaving two hundred of their force dead behind them. Alexander then resolved on besieging the town, and shortly after he came before it, he received a wound in the heel from an arrow. This served as a further stimulus to his ardour: on the next day he advanced his battering engines, and a breach being made, the Macedonians entered with their wonted intrepidity; but here, again, they were met breast to breast, and such was their reception that Alexander sounded a retreat. The following day the assault was renewed, and a large wooden tower having been drawn to the battlements, from its shelter showers of arrows were discharged on the besieged. So determinedly brave was the defence, that on this day also the Macedonians were completely baffled. On the third morning the Macedonians again attempted the place, and from the tower threw a bridge to

* Arrian, b. IV. c. XXV.

the top of the breach. By this a body of targeteers crossed over, but such was the precipitation with which the soldiers crowded to enter the city, the bridge gave way, and all upon it fell with it from its elevation. The Indians reaped all the advantages of the disaster. With loud shouts they rushed upon their prostrate assailants; others from the walls hurled showers of stones and darts and all kinds of missiles; and some issuing from the small posterns, between the towers, in the walls, completed the destruction of those who had fallen. Fresh troops were sent from the camp to the succour of the besiegers, and to cover their retreat. On the fourth day Alexander projected another bridge, from other works, with similar success. At length all his efforts to capture the town having failed, terms of capitulation were agreed to. At Bazira and Ora the Macedonians met with a brave resistance. At Ora a number of elephants were captured; these, the historian Arrian states, were appropriated to the use of the army.

When the intelligence of the fall of Ora had reached the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Bazira, they fled from their city in the dead of night to Aornos, a place of great security; a position which has commanded a prominent place in history, though its geographical identity has hitherto baffled all speculation. The situation of Bazira, a fort of the Assaceni, was somewhere at the south foot of Mount Paropamisus; and it is, with some probability, maintained that it is the Bajore, or Bisore, of modern times, north-west of Peshawur, but its site is by no means certain.* And in this respect it shares the common fate of the localities in this direction, mentioned in the narrative of Alexander's Indian proceedings. Only a few places have as yet been identified—namely, Maracanda, the modern Samarcand; the river Polytimetus, the modern Kohik; and Bactria, or Zariaspo, the modern Balk. The recent extension of the British power in the north-west, will bring the classic lands of the Macedonian operations within the sphere of antiquarian and scientific investigation, and a few years must, necessarily, bring to light the materials—abundant it may be fairly assumed, though unheeded or unrecorded—which have been left by the followers of the great conqueror of Asia. The capture of this rock has been looked upon as the most extraordinary achievement of the most extraordinary man who has yet trod the human stage; and though the history of its capture has formed hitherto a page of Grecian story, its equally appropriate locale is the Indian records. The Greek historian,—or rather the Egyptian, being a native of Alexandria,—Appian, gives the particulars. Aornos is described as the most stupendous natural fortress in all the East. The Indians had long deemed it impregnable. According to the old traditions of the country, the gods had essayed in vain to take it. Three times it is reported to have defied the efforts of the invincible all-conquering Hercules, the reputed ancestor of the Macedonian. The rock is described as being twelve miles in circuit, and the lowest part of it three quarters of a mile above the plain. Did not its great strength impose the prudence of dislodging its warlike occupants, the prospective glory of accomplishing that which had defied all his predecessors was sufficient to incite Alexander to the perilous enterprise. A precipitous, dangerous, and solitary path, the work of human labour, was the only means of ascent. On the summit was a fine spring of pure water, which welled forth a plentiful stream, that leaped down its craggy sides. A wood encircled a great portion of its ascent, and its surface supplied as much arable and fertile land as was requisite for provisioning a garrison of one thousand men. Alexander sent forward Hephæstion with orders to make preparations for bridging the Indus, while the great conqueror himself remained to have the distinction of directing the advances, and of securing the occupation of this fortress. He designed, should he not succeed in reducing it, at first, either by assault or stratagem, to weary the garrison by a protracted siege, or starve them into submisssion. Treachery lent its mercenary aid to facilitate the hostile projects of the beleaguerers. The secret path was disclosed, and Ptolemy sent in command of a sufficient force to avail himself of the opportunity. Ptolemy, having triumphed over every difficulty of the situation, and, through this rugged and dangerous path, having gained the summit, as he had been commanded, reared a burning torch on that part of the hill whence it could be most distinctly seen. This being observed by Alexander, he prepared for an assault on the following day. The assailants were fiercely received and eventually repelled. The attacking force under Alexander having been thus obliged to withdraw, the Indians directed their whole strength against Ptolemy, and a dreadful conflict ensued, the besieged having resolved to demolish the rampart which he had thrown up for his protection, while he endeavoured with all his might to defend it. Galled by the incessant discharges of the

* Arrian, b. IV. c. XXVIII; Curtius, b. VIII. c. xi; Diodorus, b. XVIII. c. LXXV. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography;* Grote, vol. xii. p. 304; *Bengal Journal*, 1854.

Macedonian archers, the besieged were compelled to retreat on the approach of night to their former position. During the following night Alexander dispatched an Indian scout, on whose fidelity and aptitude he could rely, to communicate to Ptolemy his orders, that when he perceived him about to storm the rock below, he should, on his side, make a simultaneous attack, and thus prevent the besieged from concentrating their force on the point of assault. At break of day Alexander led his division to the place where, as has been above related, Ptolemy had ascended, being satisfied that if the difficulties of that ascent were surmounted, and both forces united, the enemy would be soon driven from their stronghold. Breast to breast was the fight maintained without relaxation; the one party struggling to ascend, the other to hurl them downwards; while at convenient intervals the wearied warriors of the front rank, were relieved by fresh succours from the rear. Through the entire day this personal conflict was vigorously sustained; at last the Macedonians reached the top, and were received by their exulting friends. The united forces, without respite, made a combined attack—again in vain; night closed the encounter without any further advantage being gained. Alexander now despaired of carrying the fortress by the unaided prowess of his men, and had recourse to his strategic skill for aid. When daylight appeared, he ordered his troops to bring from an adjacent wood, each one hundred poles or stakes, and with these materials he caused a huge rampart to be constructed from that part of the hill where their entrenchments were to a level with the summit of the rock possessed by the Indians, that from this elevation they might be enabled to annoy the enemy with their darts and arrows. While this laborious and exposed operation was in progress, Alexander was cheering his toiling soldiers with word and example.

The army carried on the rampart the length of a full furlong during the day, and, on the following, on the portion thus completed, he stationed his slingers and engineers, who defended the workmen from attack. Thus in three days the work, as originally designed, was finished. On the fourth a little hill, as high as the defences of the enemy, was gallantly carried and secured by a spirited charge; to this, as a terminus, Alexander decided on prolonging the rampart. The boldness of this undertaking, and the skill and rapidity with which it was executed, made the Indians despair of being longer able to hold their position. They now resolved to abandon it, and in order to effect their purpose on the following night, unperceived by the enemy, they had recourse to an artifice. They sent a herald to Alexander to announce to him that they were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender themselves into his hands. Their concealed intentions were to lull his suspicions by these negociations, and under the favour of the darkness of the night to steal away, and betake themselves to their homes. Alexander was informed of their design, and availed himself of it. He allowed sufficient space for their purpose, by withdrawing the sentinels, and in person awaited their descent. When the defences were evacuated, accompanied by seven hundred of his guards and targeteers, he himself first entered the rock which the enemy had just deserted, and his troops, by helping one the other, climbed up after him. Once in possession, a prearranged signal was given, and the main body of the Macedonians fell upon the disorganised and unprotected garrison, and cut many of them to pieces. Hundreds, seized with panic and fear, in their flight fell headlong from the precipices, and perished. Alexander was thus in possession of the rock which had defied the assaults of all previous assailants, and tradition included amongst those, Hercules, his ancestor. Having offered sacrifice, and supplied the place with a sufficient garrison, he entrusted the command to Sisicottus, an Indian prince, who had, in previous years, fled from his native country, for some cause, to Bessus, in Bactria, and had in that country, and during the present campaign, rendered Alexander most essential services.

The site of this stronghold has been a subject of inquiry to several modern scholars. The discrepancies which exist in the description of it by Arrian and Curtius have added to the difficulties. The most elaborate and valuable paper on the subject is the "Gradus ad Aornos," by Major Abbot, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 4, 1854. His views are here quoted, and if he has not decided the question, he has supplied materials which are calculated to lead to its early solution. The train of investigation which he has pursued was suggested by the very Reverend J. Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan, in his *Life of Alexander*, the best biography of the Macedonian which has appeared in the English language, in which it was suggested that it was to be sought on the right bank of the Indus:*—"The whole ac-

* "The rock is not known to me from modern authorities, nor do I know of any traveller who has examined this remote corner. It is on the right bank of the Indus, close to the river, but I have no means to ascertain the exact site. A traveller going up the right bank from Attock could not fail to find it."—ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS' *Life and Actions of Alexander the Great*, New York edition, p. 293.

count of the rock of Aornos is a faithful picture of the mountain Mahabunn. It was the most remarkable feature of the country, as is the Mahabunn. It was the refuge of the neighbouring tribes. It was covered with forests. It had good soil, sufficient for one thousand ploughs, and pure springs of water everywhere abounded. It was 4125 feet above the plain, and fourteen miles in circuit. It was precipitous on the side of Embolima, yet not so steep but that two hundred and twenty horses and the war engines were taken to the summit. The summit was a plain where cavalry could act. It would be difficult to add a more faithful description of the Mahabunn.* Why the historian should call the rock Aornos, it is difficult to say. The side on which Alexander scaled the main summit had certainly the character of a rock, but the whole description of Arrian indicates a table-mountain. The fortification itself, though styled the rock, does not seem to have been very lofty nor formidable. Alexander assailed it without scaling ladders the night of its evacuation, and was the first, as has been said, to ascend it. This we learn from the remark, 'that the soldiers drew one the other up the rock.' No European in modern times has ascended the Mahabunn. The accounts of natives are so vague that it is difficult to trust them; it is certain, however, that the Mahabunn has been occupied by castles in two or three places. The best known of these is called Shahkote, or 'the royal castle,' a modern name, which may refer to the visit of Nadir Shah, who pitched his tent on that spot. Another castle is said to have stood on the brink of a precipice of several hundred feet deep. To the westward is the table of Mahabunn. To the north is a ravine, and beyond it a small hill of the same height as the rock, or mound, on which the castle stood. The water on which the garrison depended was a spring in this ravine. When the mound was lost the garrison had no choice but to surrender. This site appears to answer best the description of Arrian. Ptolemy might have easily passed round to the east, and have occupied the point on the mountain crest. The ordinary path of ascent would have placed Alexander also on the left, that is south of the fort. He would have broken ground at two hundred and fifty yards, that is beyond arrow-flight, and have driven his trench up obliquely to the fort. The capture of the small hill near, would not only have cut off the water of the garrison, but in case of assault, left them no choice but to fly down the precipice on the east, where every man must have perished in the hot pursuit, whereas, when favoured by night, the paths were practicable to mountaineers well acquainted with them. From Aornos Alexander went in search of the brother of Assacenus, who had rallied his forces in the mountains, and had carried off some of the elephants. From the summit of the Mahabunn the extensive valleys of Boonair and Chumla lie spread out to view—the probable retreat of fugitives from Sohaut. When, however, the enemy had mastered the Mahabunn by the north-western spur, Alexander would have found himself in Chumla. The country was utterly deserted by its inhabitants, and Alexander does not seem to have attempted to retain possession of it by occupying it with garrisons or colonies. He probably thought the valley too remote from support, and too much shut in by the mountains." *

This is a strong case of identity, and would have been conclusive could it be reconciled to the description of Curtius, who compares Aornos to a meta (the conical goal of a stadium), and says that the Indus washed its base—that at the first assault several Macedonian soldiers were hurled down into the river. This close juxtaposition of the Indus has been the principal feature looked for by travellers who have sought Aornos, but no place has yet been found answering the conditions required. The fall of Aornos, while it added greatly to the fame of Alexander, struck terror and dismay into the contiguous states. The Assaceni fled with their elephants to the mountains. Dyrta and the surrounding country were so wholly abandoned by the inhabitants, that not one could be found to supply any information to the Greeks.

Alexander, anxious to glean some knowledge of the customs of these clans, their mode of warfare, and the number of their elephants, dispatched Nearchus and Antiochus, with large bodies of troops, to endeavour to catch some of the inhabitants. He in the meantime prosecuted his journey towards the Indus, having sent troops before him to level the road, which was unfit for the passage of his army. His scouts having brought to him some of the natives, he learned that the entire population had fled to Barisades for protection, but that their elephants had been left in the pastures near the river Indus. Conducted by these natives, he set out in quest of the elephants. Two of them, in the endeavour to obtain possession of these animals, tumbled from the rocks, and perished, the remainder

* *Mahabunn* signifies mighty forest or mighty pool. The original name had been *Mahabutt*, "mighty rock," which would account for the Greeks calling it emphatically the rock.—ABBOTT.

* *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1854, p. 341, &c.

were safely secured, and conveyed to the army for their use. Near these pastures he opportunely discovered a wood, extending to the river, capable of supplying ample materials for building boats. To this use they were expeditiously appropriated, and the boats being built, were forwarded to the bridge which Hephæstion and Perdiccas had by this time completed. Alexander then entered that part of the country which lies between the Cophen and Indus. It was in passing through this district that he visited Nysa,* a city sacred to Dionysius (Bacchus). As soon as the inhabitants were apprised of his arrival, they sent to him their chief, Akouphus, and thirty elders, to claim his protection. These envoys having been abruptly introduced to Alexander's tent, surprised him, dusty with travel, and clad in his mail armour, his helmet beside him, and his spear in his grasp. In utter amazement at the figure before them they prostrated themselves on the ground, and for a considerable time kept silence. At length reassured by the king, their chief is reported by Arrian to have addressed to him the following extraordinary speech, which, if credit-worthy, evidences a far closer intercourse between the East and far West than is disclosed by any known passage of the ante-Alexandrian period. As a mythological illustration it proves the connection between the Asiatic and European superstitions, and historically confirms the conclusion arrived at in a former chapter, of the very early relations existing between the extremes of the ancient world. Akouphus thus accosted him:—"O king, the Nyseans entreat you, by the respect in which you hold Dionysius, to leave them free, and their own masters. Their claims are these: when Dionysius had conquered the Indian race, he returned to the Hellenic sea. From the outworn of his army, Dionysius founded this great city, as a memorial of his wandering and his victory to after generations,—even as thou thyself hast founded Alexandria in the Caucasian Mountains, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and many others hast thou founded, and shalt found, from time to time, even as thou hast shown greater exploits than Dionysius. Dionysius assuredly called this city Nysa,† after his nurse Nysa, and the country Nysaia; and that mountain which is near the city, Dionysius named Meros the Thigh, because according to fable he grew in the thigh of Jupiter. From that time have we dwelt in Nysa the free,—and we are free, and are a commonwealth, and peaceably have we lived under the protection of our own laws. And of our origin from Dionysius we have this undoubted testimony, 'the ivy, which here abounds, and grows nowhere else in Indian soil.'"

This oration, it is said, was most acceptable to Alexander, who had an interest in having the story of Dionysius and his travels accredited, and in his being believed to be the founder of Nysa. These being taken for granted, it would be universally recognised that his own conquests were not only co-extensive with those of the mythic and divine hero, but had penetrated far beyond them. It was also conducive to his projected measures to make these fables subservient to his designs. He knew the influence their being believed in would exercise over the minds of the Macedonians, who though now over three thousand miles distant from their homes, fatigued by the labours of eight campaigns, many of them loaded with honours and riches, were about to be led, through the insatiable ambition of their restless monarch, beyond that river which to them was the bounds of the explored world, to the perilous enterprise of attempting new acquisitions, and from peoples whose bravery they had to apprehend from the stern resistance with which they had been recently so effectively opposed. It is more than probable that at this early period were heard through the camp the sullen murmurings of that discontent which at a subsequent and not very remote period, terminated the onward course of the Macedonian conqueror. That the interview narrated took place there is no reasonable doubt, and that the speech addressed to Alexander, was faithfully reported, there is every reasonable assurance to believe. But the probability is that the king took advantage of the similarity of names, and the unusual presence of the ivy, and preconcerted the dramatic interview with the deputation from Nysa, in order to gratify the pride and vanity of his Grecian soldiers, and thus reconcile them to the campaign for which he was then preparing. He conceded to the Nyseans a full confirmation of their liberties, merely stipulating that they should furnish him with three hundred horsemen as a military contribution, and a hundred of their *best men* as hostages. At the last demand the king observed that Akouphus smiled, and when asked to state the cause of his mirth, he replied that Alexander was welcome to that number, nay, to double that number of the *bad men* in Nysa, but wished to know how any city could be governed if deprived of one hundred of its *best men*. Alexander, pleased with the answer, took the cavalry, but remitted the hostages.

* A small town in the country of the Assaceni, in the Western Punjaub.

† There were several towns of that name dedicated to Dionysius.

The observations on this passage by the very reverend Archdeacon Williams are so masterly conceived, and pertinent to the subject, though at variance with the conjectures above ventured, that they are considered worthy of quotation :—"It is difficult to account for those and other traces of Hercules and Dionysius which are gravely recorded in the writings of Alexander's most trustworthy historian. The arms of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had no doubt been carried to the Indus, and the rock Aornos might have been repeatedly besieged in vain by the Persians; Greeks also from Ionia, Doris, and Eolis, might have been settled according to the well-known policy of the Persians on this distant frontier, and have carried with them the mysteries of Bacchus: yet with all this it is difficult to believe that the Macedonians, who had travelled over the most enlightened and civilized states of Asia without discovering one trace of Hercules and Dionysius, should thus find vestiges of the supposed expeditions of both heroes in the obscure corner between the river of Cabul and the Indus. Might not some Macedonians have visited Nysa during the celebration of the festival of the Hindoo god Rama, and easily recognized his identity with their own Dionysius? The following passage, from Bishop Heber's *Journal in India*, is the best illustration of the subject: — 'The two brothers, Rama and Luchmun, in a splendid palace, were conducting the retreat of their army. The divine Hunniman, as naked, and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a baboon, and two great pointed clubs in his hands. His army followed—a number of men with similar tails and masks—their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the satyrs, smeared with wine lees, and the great Pan commanding them.'"

Alexander, with the companion cavalry, and the flower of the phalanx, ascended Mount Meros, that he might see a hill overspread with laurel and ivy, and groves of every variety of trees, and stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. The Macedonians delighted by beholding, after such a lapse of time, their fondly revered green ivy-plant, memorial of their homes and altars, wove it into chaplets and wreathed their brows, sung hymns to Bacchus, and invoked him by all his names. Costly sacrifices were offered in his honour, and sumptuous feasts of regal magnificence prolonged the solemnities. To such a pitch was the general enthusiasm inflamed that Arrian states, on the authority of some preceding writers, that Macedonians of the first rank during the banquet, their brows encircled with ivy, in religious frenzy made the mountains re-echo with long-continued acclamations of *Evoe!* and *Bacche!* From Nysa the whole army marched to the bridge erected over the Indus, as Alexander had commanded. The whole summer and winter, as recorded from Aristobulus by Strabo, had been spent in the march from Bactria and their late campaign among the mountains, and with the commencement of spring they descended into the plains.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### ALEXANDER CROSSING THE INDUS, AND SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS.

THE laborious operations accomplished amidst the severities of winter, despite natural obstacles of no ordinary magnitude, and against foes not to be despised, imposed the necessity of giving some little respite to the army previous to their entering on their ninth campaign. They halted for thirty days on the western bank of the Indus, and spent their time in the performance of religious rites, and gymnastic and equestrian sports, and the indulgence of all sorts of festivities. In addition to the bridge, which, as has been stated, was completed, he found two large vessels also built, with thirty oars, besides many more small ones.

It is presumed, on grounds sufficiently satisfactory, that the Grecian army crossed the Indus at Attock. At this period the region immediately to the east of the upper course of the river owned three independent sovereigns: Abisares, whose territories lay amongst the mountains; Taxiles, who ruled over the country immediately in front, stretching from the Indus to the Hydaspes (the Jhelum); and Porus, whose dominions extended from the Hydaspes eastward—a prince who from the military resources at his command, appears to have been an object of suspicion and fear to his neighbours on every side.*

* Williams's *Alexander the Great*, p. 286.

Taxiles, whose name appears to have been derived either from the capital of his dominions, or from the office which he bore, immediately proffered his submission, and sent a princely present of two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep and thirty elephants, and a reinforcement of seven hundred Indian horse.

The construction of the bridge across the Indus has not been described by any of the historians of Alexander's Indian campaign: Arrian, who regrets the omission, thinks it was composed of vessels close bound together; and to this conclusion he is drawn, not by the fact that the extraordinary depth of the river would prevent piles being driven, but because a great work so built could not be accomplished in the short time occupied by it.

Alexander, having gained the other side of the Indus, again offered sacrifices to the gods, and then proceeding on his journey he arrived at Taxilla,* a large wealthy city, and the most populous between the Indus and the Jhelum. By Taxiles and his subjects he was received in the most friendly manner, and in return for this reception he assigned to him as much of the adjacent country as he desired. Thither came ambassadors to him from Abisares, with his brother and some of his nobles, and from Doxareus, another prince of that country, with presents also. Although Alexander treated Taxiles with such high distinction and consideration, he nevertheless left a governor in the province, and placed a garrison in the city. Here he also left all his invalids for the recovery of their health, and then moved on towards the Jhelum, on the eastern bank of which he was informed a powerful prince, Porus, was encamped with a formidable force to dispute his passage. On receiving this intelligence he dispatched an officer back to the Indus with instructions to have those vessels with which he had crossed that river taken to pieces, and transported to the Jhelum, and there put together again, and launched upon it. This was accordingly done, the smaller vessels being divided into two parts, the larger (of thirty oars) into three.

Strabo asserts that the Macedonians marched in a southern direction from the Indus to the Jhelum. It is probable, then, that the advance of the army was along the main road leading from Attock to Jelliapore. On his march he was strengthened by the accession of five thousand Indian horse, under the command of Taxiles and other native princes. As he had previously heard, on his arrival he found Porus encamped on the opposite side, with his whole army surrounded by elephants. Every spot, both above and below the main road, that presented facilities for passing, was carefully and skilfully guarded, and instructions given that wherever the enemy attempted a passage they were to be confronted. Alexander, startled by these preparations, resolved to divide his army in the same manner into several parties, in the hope of distracting Porus, and thus rendering his arrangements fruitless.

Alexander was convinced by the preparations so skilfully made for his reception that he had no contemptible opponent to deal with, and that his policy should be to deceive Porus as to his immediate intentions. He ordered his troops to lay waste the surrounding country, and while on this duty covertly to survey the river, and ascertain where it might with greatest facility be crossed. He had large supplies of corn conveyed to his camp from all the country lying to the west of the Hydaspes. The object of this accumulation of stores was to induce Porus to believe that it was his determination to remain in his present entrenchments till the waters of the river had subsided, and an opportunity would be afforded him of effecting the passage despite all opposition. With his vessels stationed at every convenient point, and the covering of his tents stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank lined with horse and foot, he suffered the enemy to take no rest, and so distracted him, that he could not calculate where the attempt to cross would be made, or what provision to make for the repose and safety of his troops.

Alexander's Indian expedition was undertaken nearly at the close of the spring, when the rainy season had already commenced in the mountains, from which all the rivers of the Punjaub flow, and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. At this time of the year the snows on the mountains, melting with the summer heat, contribute to augment the floods, and consequently the streams are both muddy and rapid. In winter, when the snow congeals, the rivers become clearer and shallower, and, with the exception of the Indus and Ganges, are fordable in some places. Alexander caused a report to be sedulously circulated that it was his resolve to abide a favourable opportunity, and not to hazard an attempt till the season would favour the enterprise. In the meantime he was anxiously

* Taxilla, a place of great importance in the Upper Punjaub, between the Indus and Hydaspes. The country is reported to be more fertile than Egypt. There can be little doubt that it is represented by the vast ruins of Mankyala. Wilson considers it to be the same as Takhsasila of the Hindoos.—SMITH'S *Dictionary of Geography.*

watching an opportunity to pass over secretly and unobserved by the enemy. The dangers of attempting it openly were many and imminent. Porus was on the alert, and prepared for the contest. His tone was defiant. Curtius relates that Alexander imagined that the prestige of his name might influence the Indian prince to submission, and, with this presumption, dispatched Cleochares with a summons, "that he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass on his frontiers." Porus replied "that he had intended to perform one of these acts, and would meet the Macedonian at his entry, but with an army."* Alexander was also apprehensive of the effect which would be produced by the multitude of elephants in the Indian army, amounting to eighty-five of the best class, which were drawn up in the first line, well accoutred and excellently disciplined, in readiness to fall upon the Macedonians as they emerged from the stream; also lest his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants, which would meet them, and frighten them with their unusual noise and aspect; and, in addition to these considerations, he was in some doubt whether they could be kept on the inflated hides, and so conveyed across the river, for the appearance of the elephants upon the banks before them would terrify them, and force them to plunge into the stream. In the rear of the elephants were ranged three hundred war chariots, and thirty thousand infantry, including bowmen. Porus, himself was mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, which towered above the rest; his armour, enchased with gold and silver, set off with effect his gigantic person. His courage, the Greeks confess, corresponded with his stature, and "his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished barbarian."† The river, on the banks of which the armies were intrenched, is represented to be one English mile in breadth, its channel deep, and similar to an arm of the sea.

Influenced by these various and potent considerations, Alexander resolved on having recourse to stratagem, and thus secretly to secure the unopposed transport of his army. He dispatched, in various detachments, to several parts of the river, by night, his cavalry, with instructions to raise loud shouts, and sound alarms, and to have all things apparently ready for an immediate passage. This order being faithfully carried out, Porus was alarmed, and directed his elephants to be sent wheresoever these demonstrations were made, while Alexander kept a strict watch on his movements. These alarms having been repeated for several consecutive nights, without any further attempts being made, Porus began to relax his precautions, and eventually desisted from making his observations; and though the Macedonians persevered in their tactics, the Indians treated them with total indifference. The only precaution Porus continued to take was to place guards on several parts of the bank.

Having thus lulled the enemy into supposed security, Alexander made arrangements for a decisive move. During the explorations of the parties who were ordered to survey the river, an island was discovered about nineteen miles above the spot on which the Macedonians were encamped. This island was thickly wooded, and uninhabited, and opposite to it lay a rock, or high point of land, where the channel of the river takes a great sweep, and this also was covered with trees of various kinds. Alexander considered that this was a place suited to his objects, and that there might be advantageously and safely located a large body of his troops, without the cognizance of the enemy. He therefore gave orders for the conveyance thither of a large force of horse and foot. About nine miles up the river—that is, nearly halfway between the camp and the island—he posted some choice troops, and Craterus, with his own body of horse, was left in possession of the camp. He directed that the same uproar which had been indulged in for several nights previous should still be persevered in, and fires lighted through the camp for many nights together; and when he decided on immediately passing over, he made his preparations openly. He gave Craterus strict orders not to attempt to cross before he observed Porus on the other side either coming against them or flying from the field. "If Porus," said he, "should come out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part with the elephants in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then hasten over the river with all your force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses." To the detachment which was posted, as stated, halfway between the camp and the island, he issued instructions to divide the force, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, to ferry over. He had taken the precaution to have the vessels, by the aid of which he had transported his army across the Indus, forwarded to the Hydaspes, and also the hides which he had inflated, and made air-tight. Having completed all the

* Curtius, vol. ii. b. VIII. c. xiii.
† Ibid.

preparations which his great abilities had suggested, Providence came then to his aid. The night on which he had arranged for the passage to take place was ushered in by a fierce storm: a dense fog, say the Greek historians, covered the plain, the winds howled, the lightning flashed, and thunder pealed, while the rain fell in incessant torrents. The clash of armour, the tramp of moving hosts, and the noisy confusion of embarkation, were all silenced amid the uproar of the jarring elements. A little before day the winds were hushed, and the rain ceased, and during this auspicious respite as many of the foot and horse as the hides and ships could carry, passed into the island unobserved by the guards which Porus had placed upon the bank. Before they had passed through the island, and were ready to ascend the bank, Alexander, accompanied by some of his principal officers, followed in a vessel of thirty oars. After traversing the island the troops approached what appeared to be the opposite bank of the river, in sight of the enemy's outposts, who rode with all imaginable speed to carry the news to Porus. In the meantime Alexander, the first to ascend the bank, marshaled his troops as they landed, and then led them on in order of battle. As they prosecuted their march, however, they discovered that they had not yet reached the opposite bank —in fact, that they had passed from one island to another, separated by a small stream from the mainland. This stream was so swollen by the rain which had just fallen, that the cavalry could not find a place fordable, and apprehended that this passage would prove more formidable than the former. After some time and difficulty they were successful in finding a point at which they could cross, but even here the water reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers and to the necks of the horses. Having at length accomplished their arduous task, preparations were at once made for an encounter. A squadron of horse, composed of his best soldiers, was posted on the right wing, and the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry; the royal targeteers were placed in the front rank of the infantry, and some mixed amongst the cavalry; next to these were stationed the royal cohort; then the other companies of the targeteers in their several orders; and on the flanks of the phalanx stood the archers and the Arians.

Alexander's army being thus disposed, he commanded his foot, amounting to six thousand, to follow him leisurely, and in order, and, at the head of five thousand horse, he pushed quickly forward. The archers were commanded to follow. Alexander calculated that should Porus advance against him with all his force, he would be able to defeat him, or sustain the attack till his infantry came up; and that if on his approach the Indians should abandon their ground, he would be at hand to pursue them. As soon as Porus was informed that the Macedonians were crossing over, he dispatched his son with two thousand horse and a hundred and twenty chariots to obstruct or prevent their passage, but previous to their arrival Alexander had landed all his troops. On sight of the approaching enemy Alexander supposed that Porus, with all his forces, was at hand. Into this misapprehension he was led because the rest of the troops were shut out of view by the cavalry, which marched in the van. His scouts having reported to him the true state of the matter, he vigorously charged the Indians with his horse, and put them to flight. Four hundred of the Indian horse were slain, and amongst them was their leader, the son of the king. The chariots, in consequence of the slippery state of the ground, were rather an impediment than a service to the Indians, and most of them, with their horses, fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The communication of the particulars of this disaster, and of the death of his son, and that the greater part of the invading army had effected a passage, so painfully affected Porus that he knew not what measures to adopt; and his distraction was further aggravated by the fact that the troops commanded by Craterus, and posted directly opposite his camp, was endeavouring to pass the river. After some hesitation, he at length resolved to march against Alexander, and to give battle to his division as the strongest, and leave a part of his army and some elephants behind to resist the attempts of Craterus, and to intimidate his horse as they approached the bank of the river. The forces which he led were composed of four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, two hundred elephants, and thirty thousand foot. On his march he reached a plain both firm and sandy, which the late rains had not rendered unfit for the evolutions of his troops and chariots. Here he resolved on drawing up his army, which he did in the following manner:—First, he placed the elephants in the front, at intervals of one hundred feet from each other, in order to cover the whole body of infantry, and at the same time to strike terror into Alexander's horse. He imagined that neither horse nor foot would venture to penetrate the spaces between the elephants. The horsemen, he concluded, could not, because their horses would be terrified by the strange sight of the elephants; and the foot would not dare,

because the armed soldiers would be ready to receive them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot formed the next rank: they were not arranged in the same order as the elephants; they were stationed a little in the rear, and appeared to fill up the interspaces. On the extremes of the wings he stationed elephants bearing large wooden towers filled with armed men. The foot were defended on each flank by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were drawn up before them.

As soon as Alexander had reconnoitred their order of battle, he resolved to refrain from an engagement till his infantry had come up, and when they had arrived, fatigued by the operations of the passage and the march, he felt the necessity of affording them rest and refreshment. Having surrounded them with his cavalry, he left them to their enjoyments, and proceeded himself to review the disposition of the enemy. Their order of battle induced him not to charge them in front, where the great body of the elephants was posted, and the ranks of the foot much thicker in the intermediate spaces. The same apprehensions which led Porus to arrange his army thus, hindered Alexander from attacking him there first. In consequence of his great superiority in horse, he, with the best part of them, resolved on making an attack on Porus' left wing, and, if possible, to break through it. He at the same time dispatched a large body to the right, with orders to charge the Indians in the rear as soon as they were perceived to turn their horse to resist the fury of his attack. The phalanx of foot he commanded not to engage before they perceived the horse and foot of the enemy in disorder; but when they should have come within reach of their missives, to immediately dispatch a thousand archers against the left wing, that by the united charge of these and the cavalry they might be thrown into irremediable disorder. These directions were punctually and effectively executed; and when, as he anticipated and provided for, the left wing was thrown into confusion, he placed himself at the head of the auxiliary horse, and swiftly flew to complete the discomfiture which the archers had initiated.

The Indians, surrounded on all sides, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander. Conjointly, as was arranged, a fierce charge was made on the flanks, and thus they were separated into two parts. The best and most numerous were led against Alexander, and the other division faced about to sustain the attack made on it. This movement served to break the ranks as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander, the moment he perceived the diversion thus made, without hesitation, rushed forward to receive his assailants. The determined resistance which they encountered soon cooled their ardour; the Indians turned their backs, and fled for shelter to their elephants, whose leaders stirred them up to trample down the horse. The Macedonian phalanx made preparation for their reception, and attacked with their arrows not only their horses, but also their riders. This mode of fighting was not only new to them, but had never been heard of. Wherever the elephants turned, the ranks of the foot, however serried, were compelled to give way. The Indian horse, seeing the infantry in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again repulsed with loss, and forced to retreat amongst the elephants. By the casualties of the battle the Macedonian cavalry, which had been advisedly separated, were again united, and wherever they fell upon the Indians they made dreadful havoc, and the elephants, confined to a narrow space, and galled into ungovernable fury, were as destructive to their own men as to their enemies. As they plunged and rushed about, multitudes were trampled to death. The confusion was aggravated by the horse, who had fled to them for safety, and by the fact that several of the elephants had lost their leaders. The Macedonians were not so much exposed to danger from this quarter as the Indians, having the advantage of a more free and open space, and thus enabled to avoid them by wheeling out of the way, or opening a passage for them through their ranks. They slew several of them as they attempted to return. At last, worried and wearied with wounds, and toil, and "moving their fore feet heavily," they passed slowly out of the battle. Having surrounded all the enemy's horse with his, Alexander commanded his infantry to close their shields fast together, and haste, thus serried, to attack them. Few of the cavalry escaped from the carnage; the infantry shared no better fate. The Macedonians hemmed them in on every side; and at length all, except those who, as has been stated, were surrounded by the Macedonian cavalry, seeing the desperate situation of affairs, turned their backs, and fled. No sooner had the troops of Craterus perceived the advantages gained by their brother soldiers, than they began to cross the river; and being fresh, and elated by success, they pursued the flying enemy, and slaughtered thousands of them. Of the Indian foot little less than twenty thousand fell on that day; of the horse, about three thousand; all their chariots were destroyed. Two of Porus' sons were

amongst the slain; also the governor of that province, all the leaders of the elephants, the charioteers, and all the captains of the horse and foot. The entire loss of men sustained by Alexander, his historians say, amounted only to three hundred and ten.

During the engagement Porus neglected nothing which it became a consummate general and a brave prince to perform. Collected and circumspect, he was present in the thick of the fight; and as long as a single troop of his men held their ground, there was he to direct and cheer them. At length, being wounded in the right shoulder, he turned his elephant, and quitted the field. His bravery won the admiration of his adversary, and all his sympathies were roused for his preservation. He accordingly dispatched Taxiles in search of him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop, and receive Alexander's commands, for that all his efforts to escape were in vain. Porus, perceiving it was his old enemy Taxiles, by whom he was accosted, ran against him with his spear, and would have slain him had not the latter reined round his steed. This reception of his messenger did not destroy the interest which Alexander felt for his safety. He again sent an old friend of Porus in search of him, by whose persuasion and reiteration of Alexander's friendly intentions, added to the exigencies of the occasion, he accompanied him to Alexander's presence. The conqueror, being informed of his approach, advanced before his army to meet him, and, stopping his horse, was seized with surprise and admiration at his fine manly figure. Porus is said to have been seven and a half feet high; and such was his physical development, that his breastplate was twice the dimensions of any other in his army.* The impression produced by his imposing presence was further heightened by his kingly bearing. The vicissitudes of his fortunes had not humiliated his lofty and dignified tone of mind. Amid the wreck of his regal power he was still the king. Alexander's first inquiry of him was "what he should wish him to do for him." Porus replied, "To treat me like a king." Alexander, smiling, replied, "That I would do for my own sake, but say what I shall do for thine." Porus told him that "all his wishes were summed up in his first reply." Alexander was highly pleased by the nobility of these answers. He not only restored him to liberty and the full possession of all his dominions, but he also added another kingdom beyond his own, and treated him so generously, that he continued for ever after an attached friend.

To commemorate this decisive victory he caused two cities to be erected—one on the battle-field beyond the river, and the other on the site of the camp before he crossed the river: the former he named Nicæa (victory); the latter Bucephala, in honour of his favourite charger, which died in the battle without a wound, worn out by age and over-exertion.

The whole country from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Acesines (Chenab) was reduced, and placed under the direction of Porus. The population of this district is reported to have been great and wealthy. Thirty-seven cities, none containing less than five thousand inhabitants, submitted to Alexander. Ambassadors also arrived from a powerful prince named Abisares, with a proffer of the surrender of himself and kingdom. Alexander, being advised that he had made preparations to co-operate with Porus to resist his invasion, sent him a peremptory order to appear in person, or to expect a hostile visit.

The territories between the Acesines (Chenab) and the Hydraotes (Ravee) were ruled by another Porus, a powerful prince, and previously at enmity with his namesake, and who had therefore offered his submission. Now, having heard that his enemy was in high honour and favour with his conqueror, he lost all confidence, and fled with his troops beyond the Hydraotes. Alexander seized on his abdicated dominions, and bestowed them on his rival. Alexander, having traversed the Punjaub, passed over the Hydrastes, and then learned that a confederation was formed of the Cathaians and other free Indian states, and that they were prepared and resolved to oppose his further progress, and had selected the city of Sangala, strongly fortified by nature and art, as their ground for resistance. The Cathaians, and their allies, the Oxydracæ and Malli, had a high reputation for strength and bravery. Porus and Abisares some time previously had united their forces against them, but were repulsed. Their reputation was a further inducement to Alexander to make them bend to his superior military prowess. Without hesitation he marched against them, and on the third day found himself in presence of Sangala, and the enemy drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill neither precipitous nor difficult of ascent. Their waggons they had drawn up in a triple intrenchment, by which it was fortified as if by a triple wall, with their tents pitched in the middle. The manner in which the camp was thus protected, as also the absence of elephants, is presumptive proof that these

* Diodorus Siculus, p. 559.

were Scythian clans. Alexander here pitched his camp, and awaited the arrival of his troops still on the march. These having arrived, and being refreshed from their fatigue, were led to an attack on the waggons. The enemy received them in their intrenchments. The only movement they made was to ascend their waggons, and thence, as from an eminence, they discharged their missive weapons against their assailants, who were composed of the cavalry. Alexander, judging his horse unfit for such an attack, led a body of foot to the charge, and, after a fiercely contested conflict amongst the waggons, the Greeks prevailed, and the Indians fled for safety to the defences of their city. In despair at the result of the battle, they resolved to evacuate Sangala in the dead of the night. This movement Alexander anticipated, and took the necessary precautions to prevent it. He surrounded the place, which was inclosed with a brick wall, and had a shallow lake on one side. The besiegers had already constructed a double rampart round the town, except on the lake side. This lake was not only undefended, but its waters were sufficiently shallow to be waded. Through it the besieged determined to ford in the night, and escape. Of this arrangement Alexander was informed, and he gave orders to Ptolemy to prevent its execution. That general brought together all the waggons abandoned by the enemy, and with them formed a barrier round the edge of the lake. The Cathaians at midnight proceeded from the city, and made their way to the hastily raised rampart, where they were received by the besiegers, and driven back. By this time the walls had been battered down, and the Greeks took the place by storm, putting to the sword seventeen thousand Indians, and capturing, according to Arrian, seventy thousand more. The Grecian loss is stated at less than a hundred, and twelve hundred wounded, several of the superior officers amongst the latter. The very great disproportion between the wounded and the slain on the side of the Greeks is accounted for by the descriptions of weapons—arrows and hand missiles—used by the Cathaians. These seldom proved fatal to foes arrayed in good armour.

Two neighbouring towns in alliance with Sangala were abandoned by their inhabitants. Alexander pursued them, but could not overtake them, except five hundred invalids, whom his soldiers put to death. Sangala was razed to the ground, and the territory added to the dominions of Porus, who was present with a contingent of five thousand men.

Sangala was the most easterly of all Alexander's conquests. His further progress was here interrupted by the reluctance of his troops to accompany him in his projected campaign. He had reached the Hyphasis (Sutlej), the last of the rivers of the Punjaub, at a point conjectured to be below its confluence with the Beas. The country beyond was reported to be rich, the inhabitants were skilful agriculturists as well as good soldiers, and possessed of a greater store of elephants than any other Indian nation. Their elephants surpassed all others in stature and strength. These reports were incentives to Alexander; and though his historians do not afford any information on the subject, it is more than probable that he was influenced by the reports which must have reached him of the wealth and magnificence of Paliborthra, the Indian Babylon, reported to excel in wealth and power the Assyrian capital, the seat of the great monarch of Magada of the royal lunar race, whose sway extended over all the Indian peninsula, and who could bring into the field six hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and nine thousand elephants.

It must have been observed that since his approach to the Oxus, Alexander had to maintain a series of well-contested struggles to the day on which he pitched his tents on the banks of the Hyphasis. The resistance of the Sogdians was the prelude to many a perilous conflict, and in his recent engagements his losses were severe. It is true that from his conquered provinces contingents daily arrived to swell his diminished troops, and provisions and money to supply their wants, but now every day's march in advance added to the number of the disaffected tributaries in the rear, and removed him farther from those more reliable and kindred supplies from the Ionian cities, the Greek confederates, and his hereditary kingdom of Macedon. Before the Macedonian army lay nations reputed to be brave, well supplied, and prepared. Enough had been done for glory, honours, personal distinctions and competence, and therefore general discontent pervaded all ranks that his veterans should be jeopardized to gratify an ambition which seemed to be insatiable, and to seek an endless repetition of barren victories. The part of India already conquered had not yielded those incalculable stores of gold, the promised acquisition of which had inflamed the cupidity of the troops on their first approach; nor did they find all the portable luxuries which many-tongued rumour had reported in their far Western homes would recompense their toil when they had once crossed the Indus. Rich as was the Indian soil, its people were simple, frugal, brave, and patriotic. However long these

elements had been fermenting, it was on the banks of the Hyphasis they had their first ebullition. The discontent of the toil-worn veterans was aggravated during the passing campaign by the constant torrents of rain which deluged them, and most of them were worn out with wounds, fatigue, and privations.

Frequent meetings were held in the camp, and the numbers which thronged them, and approved of the outspoken dissatisfaction of the bolder men, showed to what an extent and how deeply the minds of the soldiers were agitated. The propriety of resisting every attempt to induce them to cross the Hyphasis, even though Alexander himself should lead the way, was generally and sternly advocated.

These proceedings failed not soon to reach the ears of the king, and to excite those apprehensions they were calculated to suggest. Fearing the contagion might extend, and the discontent result in active sedition, he resolved, with his usual foresight and promptitude, to summon a council of his commanding officers, to express to them his opinions, and elicit theirs.

Having minutely recapitulated the extent and nature of his conquests, he assured them that he recognised no limits to the labours of a high-spirited man, but the failure of adequate objects. He assured them that they were not then far from the Ganges and the Eastern Ocean; and this he ventured to assert was not far from the Hyrcanian Sea, for the great ocean surrounded the whole earth, and the Indian Gulf flows into the Persian, and the Hyrcanian into the Indian. That from the Persian Gulf his fleet would carry their arms round Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules, and subject that continent within the pillars of Hercules, and thus the boundaries of his empire would be coextensive with those with which the Deity had encircled the globe. He added his fears that the interruption of the prosecution of his scheme would stimulate peoples lately subdued to revolt. He favourably contrasted his labours with those of his most illustrious predecessors, and referred to his share of the dangers; recounted the liberality with which the territories conquered and the treasures acquired had been distributed to them; and, in conclusion, appealed to Jupiter to witness his solemn promise that when all Asia had been conquered he would not only satisfy the wishes but exceed the expectations of every individual.

This enthusiastic appeal did not produce the results which it was calculated to realize when addressed to the bravest of men. The disaffection of the troops was appealed to; the severe losses which had thinned the Macedonian ranks; the few of them that survived; the yearnings of these to revisit their native land, to behold once more their wives, their children, and homes. The king had failed. The gods were consulted; the omens conspired with the stubborn resolve of the army, and Alexander at length yielded a reluctant assent. Such is the story told by his own historians. It is to be regretted that no Indian version of it is known to us.

Before closing this eventful period of Indian history there is a passage of Alexander's speech—namely, the geographical—which demands a few observations.

Amongst his other qualities, as has been remarked by an historian of India, he was animated with an ardent thirst for knowledge. To gratify this was obviously one of the objects he proposed to himself. He had now reached, as he supposed, nearly the limits of the world. On the banks of the Sutlej he considered that he was very convenient to the Ganges and to the great Eastern ocean, which surrounds the whole earth, and that the Hyrcanian Sea (the Caspian) was connected with this ocean on one side, the Persian Gulf on the other; that after he had subdued all the nations which lay before him to the eastward towards the ocean, and northward towards the Caspian, he would be enabled to proceed by water first to the Persian Gulf, then round Lybia to the pillars of Hercules, and thence back through Lybia, and included all Asia as part of the Macedonian empire. It is also worthy of remark that while Alexander made so serious an error in limiting the extent of Eastern Asia, the Ptolemaic geography, recognised in the time of Columbus, fell into an error not less in the opposite direction, stretching too far to the east; and it was to this misconception we owe the discovery of the new world, Columbus having projected his voyage of circumnavigation from Western Europe in the expectation of coming to the eastern coast of Asia from the west, and after no great length of voyage.*

* Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 312.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### THE RETURN OF ALEXANDER.

THREE days were spent by Alexander in solitary seclusion, as was his habit when greatly agitated, before he announced to his troops that he had changed his resolve in deference to their united remonstrances. During this interval his most intimate friends were excluded from his presence. Arrian states that the king expected that some change of mind would happen amongst his soldiery, and that they might yet be prevailed upon to accede to his wishes; but perceiving no manifestation of such a change—on the contrary, that a sullen silence still prevailed, that they were more and more exasperated against him, and fixed in their determinations—he had it proclaimed that sacrifice should be offered, and the gods consulted. This was accordingly done, and the diviners announced that the victims showed omens entirely adverse to the passage of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). He then called together the oldest of his officers and the most confidential of his intimates, and through them announced to the army the unfavourable state of the auspices, that he submitted to the will of the fates, and gave immediate orders for return, to the entire satisfaction of the army.* Grote remarks that the fact that Alexander, under all this insuperable repugnance of the soldiers, still offered sacrifice preliminary to crossing the river, is a curious illustration of his character.

To perpetuate the limits of his Eastern conquests, he ordered twelve altars to be erected, built of hewn stone,† equal in height, to so many fortified towers on the western bank of the river. On these gigantic altars he offered sacrifices with due solemnity, which were followed with the customary festivities and gymnastic and equestrian exercises.

To consider the probable results of this forced (if such it were) return of Alexander would be suggestive of interesting speculations; but whether such speculations are objects of legitimate historical consideration would be as debateable a subject; and also whether the consequent extension of commerce, with geographical knowledge and the imposition of Macedonian polity and Greek literature and art, would compensate for the subversion of Indian independence and civilization.

Having committed all the territories west of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the government of Porus, he returned, and recrossed the Hydrastes and Acesines, and arrived at the Hydaspes, near the point where he first passed. The two new cities which he had directed to be built, as previously stated,—namely, Bucephala and Nicæa,—had suffered seriously from the rains and the overflowing of the river, sufficient allowance not having been made for its rising. These were now repaired, and experience suggested the adoption of precautions to save them from such disasters. At this juncture Arsaces, governor of one the contiguous provinces, and brother to Abisares, waited upon Alexander, and, amongst other presents, brought thirty elephants. Abisares was received into favour, and the amount of tribute which he was to pay arranged. Alexander also here received a large reinforcement both of cavalry and infantry forwarded to him from Europe, together with twenty-five thousand new panoplies and a large stock of medicines. Had he been thus strengthened during the hesitation of his troops on the Hyphasis, it is very probable his advance to the Ganges would not have been diverted. For these, his veterans, and what auxiliaries his tributaries Porus and Taxiles could supply, he had ample as well as novel employment in collecting the materials for and constructing a fleet to transport his army down the Hydaspes, and afterwards to the mouth of the Indus. During the whole of the summer months they were engaged in these preparations. The timber was found in the mountain forests through which the river descends into the plain, and consisted, according to Strabo, of firs, pines, cedars, and a variety of other trees fit for shipbuilding.* By the early part of November a fleet of two thousand boats, of various sizes, were ready. The rowers and pilots were carefully selected from the Phœnicians, Carians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, who followed his army, and were skilled mariners.

His forces he divided into four divisions: Craterus led one along the right bank; Hephæstion led another, constituted of the best men and largest number, with two hundred elephants, along the left bank; Nearchus, who wrote an account of the voyage, of which an epitome is preserved by Arrian, commanded the river fleet, on board of which was

* Arrian, *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. xxviii.
† Curtius, b. x. c. iii. xix.

* Strabo, b. xv. c. i. s. 29.

Alexander himself; and Philip, governor of a province beyond the Indus, was ordered to follow with all his forces.

When all the preparations had been completed, sacrifices were offered to the maritime deities; and Alexander, standing on the prow of his own ship, poured from a golden cup a libation into the stream of the Hydaspes, and invoked the deities of the Indian rivers known to him. These were rites exceedingly acceptable to the Hindoos as well as Greeks, and there is little doubt, as the Greek writers relate, when the vessels gave their canvas to the breeze, their departure was hailed by the enthusiastic greetings of the Indians of Bucephala and Nicæa, and that they accompanied their progress to a great distance, rushing in dense crowds to the edge of the banks, and demonstrating the intensity as well as the sincerity of their joy by wild chants and dances. The fleet pursued its course, slowly down the river, to where the Hydaspes unites its waters with those of the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis, and all discharge their confluent tributaries to swell the stream of the majestic Indus. In the month of November, B.C. 326, the fleet sailed, and reached, nine months after, in the August following, the mouth of the river and the Indian Ocean. This voyage was not performed without its interesting incidents; indeed, it was diversified by very active and important military operations on both sides of the river, of which Alexander was not, it may be concluded, an indifferent nor a quiescent spectator. He repeatedly disembarked to impose his yoke on all who had not made voluntary submission. He regulated the movements of the three divisions pursuing the land route. Of those who made resistance the most formidable, by far, were the Malli and Oxydracæ tribes, who had hitherto maintained their independence, and were now making preparations to defend it. The Malli occupied the tract of country which extends between the Acesines (Asikni), and the Hydraotes (Ravee), and constituting the south part of the district now known as the Punjaub. Their stronghold is supposed to have been the modern city of Moultan.* Want of cordial union, a curse that has blighted many a good cause, weakened and defeated their purpose. They at first decided on co-operation, and the plan agreed upon was, for the Malli to send their warriors lower down into the country of the Oxydracæ, and there to make a decided stand; the Malli relied on the natural advantages of their own country, and thought they had nothing to apprehend from a lateral attack, as they were separated from the river by a great extent of desert.

On the eighth day after its departure, the fleet had reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines. Hither Craterus and Hephæstion had been directed to march, and arrived when Alexander had decided on his expedition against the Malli. The elephants were ferried over, and placed under the care of Craterus, and he was commanded to proceed along the right bank of the Acesines; the remaining troops were divided into three corps. Hephæstion, with one division, commenced his march five days before Alexander; and Ptolemy was ordered to remain with another for three days after he had started. These dispositions were made with the design that Ptolemy's troops should intercept and cut off those who fled to the front, and Hephæstion's those who fled to the rear. The different divisions had commenced to reunite at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines. With a select cohort of horse and foot, Alexander proceeded from the left bank of the river Acesines to cross the intervening desert, and on the western confines of it he arrived at a small stream which separated him from the territory of the Malli. Here he encamped, and allowed his men to take repose and refreshments. Before they marched he commanded that each should provide himself with water. They then pursued their journey, during the remainder of the day and the entire of the night, and as the dawn broke he found himself before one of the Mallian cities. The inhabitants were completely taken by surprise; they had entertained no apprehensions of an attack from that side of the bleak desert. Several of them were outside the walls pursuing their daily employments. These having been easily captured or destroyed in their defenceless condition, he then surrounded the city with his cavalry, and awaited the arrival of the infantry, who were following. In the meantime he dispatched Perdiccas with some troops to another city of the Malli, within whose walls a great body of the Indians had fled for shelter; he had strict orders not to attempt to storm the place, but to confine himself to preventing the escape of any one who might alarm the country before he himself had arrived. The defences of the city which he first approached, after a smart resistance, were carried, and shortly after a strongly-fortified castle, erected on an eminence, was forced, and its defenders, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword. The Malli were taken entirely by surprise; the rapidity with which Alexander

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*; Grote's *History of Greece*; Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

had performed his forced march of over twenty-five miles across the desert, had deranged their plans, and their warriors were absent on some duty when the enemy appeared. The consequence was, that Perdiccas found the city against which he was sent abandoned and dismantled; and all the others, on the approach of the Macedonians, were similarly left to their fury. The inhabitants either fled beyond the Hydaspes, or sought the shelter of the dense jungles with which the marshy banks of the river were lined.

Having allowed his troops a brief respite from toil, Alexander set forward, and directed his course to the Hydraotes, and marching all night reached it early in the day, as some parties of the Malli were preparing to cross over. These he attacked, and slew many of them. He then passed the river, and found that several thousands had sought refuge there; vast numbers of these were slain and many taken prisoners, indeed, all who refused to surrender were put to the sword. The main body made good its escape into a city favourably situated for defence and strongly fortified. They were, however, unable to resist the assault of their enemies, the place was stormed and the garrison captured. Alexander then led his army against a city of "the Brachmans," evidently Brahmins. It is not possible to say whether all the inhabitants of this town were Brahmins, or whether it was the property of that predominant class. It is recorded that they made a noble defence. When their walls were undermined, and themselves galled by the darts of the Macedonians, they retreated from the city, and betook themselves to the citadel. The first body of assailants who approached they bravely opposed, and successfully repulsed, slaying twenty-five of them —this number of slain the Greeks admit. The citadel was so bravely defended that Alexander, who led the storming party, was the first to mount the scaling ladder, and was for a time the sole Macedonian occupant, till, as Arrian states, "his soldiers, ashamed of their backwardness, one after another climbed over the wall."* Thus was it at length won, and, when all hope was lost, the Indians set fire to their own houses and perished in the flames. Five thousand of them are reported to have fallen during the siege; and so great, says the historian, was their valour, that very few fell into the hands of the enemy.

Having afforded another day's rest to his wearied troops, a detachment was sent to scour the jungles, and to put indiscriminately to the sword all who refused to surrender. These orders were rapidly executed. Williams thinks it probable that it was in these jungles Peithon killed the largest snake which the Macedonians saw in India. It was twenty-four feet long, and although this is a small size for a boa-constrictor, it was a monster to which the Greeks had seen nothing similar, as the marshes of Lerna and the borders of the lake Copais had, since the heroic days, ceased to teem with these enormous reptiles. But the Indians assured them that serpents of far greater magnitude were to be seen.* According to Onesicritus, quoted by Strabo, the ambassadors that came from Abisares to Alexander reported that he kept two serpents, one eighty and the other one hundred and forty cubits long. It has been also noticed as a curious circumstance that the Macedonians did not see a Bengal tiger, although in modern days his ravages are very destructive between Gujerat and the lower Indus. They saw his skin, and heard some exaggerated reports respecting his size, strength, and ferocity. It is a fair inference from his non-appearance in the vales of the Indus and its tributaries, that the natives of these regions were, at the period of the Macedonian invasion, more powerful, populous, and warlike than in our days.

Alexander next led his forces against the chief city of the Malli, in which that warlike people, he heard, had concentrated, for better security, all who had abandoned the other cities. On his approach he found this town also had been evacuated, and that the inhabitants having crossed the Hydraotes, had drawn up their forces on its banks to dispute his passage. He did not hesitate, he intrepidly entered the river with the body of horse he led, although the bank which the Malli occupied was precipitous and the ascent steep and hazardous; his horse were followed and supported by the foot. The Indians, seeing him in the middle of the current, retired hastily and in good order from the bank, and were followed by Alexander. As soon as the Malli perceived that their pursuers consisted merely of a party of horse, they faced about and stood their ground, prepared for battle. Their force is stated to have been fifty thousand. Alexander having been joined by his reserves, the Indians declined an engagement, and retired into one of their fortified cities. He then pitched his tents beneath their walls, and resolved to besiege them in regular form. The late hour of the day, the fatigue of a long march and of crossing the river, induced him to defer any further proceedings till the next day, when his troops would have been cheered by rest and refreshment.

* *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. viii.

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*, p. 267.

Next morning his army was formed into two divisions. Perdiccas led one; the other was led by himself in person. A fierce attack was conjointly made on the walls; and when the Indians were unable to resist its force, they gave way and retired into the citadel. Alexander made an impetuous assault on one of the gates, burst it open, and took possession a considerable time before Perdiccas effected an entry. As soon as the latter had mounted the battlements, he perceived, from their being evacuated, that the city was already taken. Not so the citadel. To this the besieged had retired, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The Macedonians essayed, some to undermine the walls, others to scale them; and the latter force endeavoured, in every possible position, to fix their ladders, with the determination of storming the place. Ardent and daringly impetuous, at all times, in action, Alexander appears to have acted with far more reckless daring since he had retired from the Hyphasis, than he ever before exhibited. There was no peril which he did not risk. Was it his chagrin at the interruption of his contemplated designs, or his anxiety to convince his insubordinate troops that each individual of them valued his personal safety more than he did, or a frantic indulgence in those stimulants which at no distant period hastened his end—perhaps it was a combination of all—that superinduced that morbid excitement which he latterly so constantly manifested, and which exposed him to so many otherwise unaccountable dangers? The ardour of the troops, shown in the success which had already favoured them, appears to have been frigidity itself to the fierce spirit of Alexander. Not brooking such—to him—slow proceedings, he snatched a ladder from one of the soldiers, applied it to the wall, and covering himself with his shield, rapidly gained the summit. Three of his faithful friends were at his side in an instant. Alexander, in personal conflict, hurled headlong into the citadel the astonished soldiers who attempted to resist his ingress, and with the quickness of lightning cleared his way. The targeteers, in their eagerness to succour their royal master, crowded the ladders, these snapped beneath the pressure, not only hurling them to the ground, but obstructing the ascent of others. In the meantime, Alexander, all but alone, conspicuous by his armour, stood as a mark for the Indians—but none had the hardihood to confront him—recognized by every one. The imminent danger in which he stood suggested a bold resolve; he leaped from the wall into the citadel, conjecturing that so startling a feat would confound the enemy, or that his death would be more glorious, fighting in the midst of his foes. When inside, he placed his back against the wall; some of his assailants he slew with his sword, and amongst the first the Indian commander. Thus fighting he struck such terror into them that none dared approach, but all from a distance endeavoured to dispatch him with their darts and such other missiles as they could command. The three who ascended, as stated, before the ladders broke, leaped with him from the walls and fought like heroes to save their king. Abreas, one of them, fell dead, struck with an arrow. Alexander's breastplate was pierced by another, and so serious a wound inflicted in the breast, that Ptolemy states, such was the effusion of blood, it was for some time considered fatal. Though he still valiantly defended himself, he was at length seized with a dizziness in the head and chillness through his limbs, and fell forward on his shield. His two surviving companions, struggling to protect him, were seriously wounded. The excitement outside the walls was intense in consequence of the imminent peril of the king in the hands of his foes, and the means of scaling the walls being destroyed. At length, by the combined aid of iron pins driven into the walls, and by some of the soldiers mounting on the shoulders of others, the top was gained. The gate was shortly after forced, soon a rampart of his devoted soldiers was formed round his prostrate body; and thus was he saved from further peril.

Frightful was the carnage made amongst the brave Malli; every man, woman, and child that fell into the hands of the Macedonians was mercilessly butchered. Alexander was borne away on a shield, and very little hopes entertained of his recovery.

While the king's life was still in danger a report reached the camp, whence he had set out on this expedition, that he was dead. The alarm which this produced was intense and general, and only equalled by regret for a prince to whom they were so devotedly attached. The camp was one scene of lamentation as the rumour flew from mouth to mouth. When the first agony of sorrow had subsided, then succeeded feelings of perplexity and despondence. Who would succeed to the command of the army where many had equal claims, but none paramount? Who was qualified to conduct them, when the master spirit was no more, through so many fierce and warlike nations, several of whom had never experienced the prowess of the Macedonian soldiery, and who, in all probability, would fight, determinedly, for the preservation of their independence. Others, only

too anxious to avail themselves of any specious opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke, would consider that the death of Alexander released them from all fear. Besides, they were apprehensive of the obstacles they had to encounter in traversing countries so extensive and diversified, intersected with rivers as formidable, perhaps, as those they had so recently met with. These considerations produced the most profound sensation amongst all grades of the army. They were almost driven to despair. Indeed, every danger was exaggerated in the absence of their king. When correct intelligence was at length conveyed to the camp, the messengers were not credited: even when letters came announcing his intended arrival amongst them in a very short time, the news was pronounced apocryphal, and suspected to be the contrivance of his body-guards and his generals, to quiet the universal feeling of dissatisfaction.

Fearful that this state of uncertainty might lead to very serious results, and perhaps eventuate in an insurrection, the moment he felt that the state of his health would justify his removal, Alexander ordered that he should be conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotes, and thence by water to his camp. On his approach he gave directions that the cover of his royal pavilion should be hoisted upon the poop of the vessel, to be seen by the whole army. These demonstrations failed to remove the general incredulity. It was only when passing before their eyes, and he extended his right hand to salute his faithful followers, that confidence was restored, and the whole army felt that their living king, and not his lifeless body, was nearing the place of debarkation. A simultaneous shout of joy pealed along the expectant groups that crowded to bid him welcome. Some with hands extended to heaven poured forth their thanksgivings for his recovery. Others, under the influence of the sudden transition from grief to joy, melted into tears. He declined the attentions of his retinue, who wished to convey him to his quarters in his litter; he ordered his horse to be brought, and having mounted, he rode through the ranks, receiving as he passed the joyous acclamations of the whole army, the banks and neighbouring woods echoing with the sound. Before he entered his tent he leaped from his horse, and showed himself on foot, to assure them of his recovered strength and health.

The Malli and Oxydracæ both sent ambassadors to present their submission, and to tender to him the government of their nations: the Malli soliciting pardon for their resistance, the Oxydracæ for their tardy surrender, and to profess their obedience to him. They thought themselves not unworthy of his consideration, because, like other free nations, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws, which liberty, they are reported to have told him, they had enjoyed, free and unmolested, from the time that Bacchus conquered India to that day. As they understood that he was also the offspring of a god, if it were his pleasure they would accept a satrap of his selection, pay whatever tribute he thought proper to impose, and surrender to him as many hostages as he would require. From the Malli he exacted no further concessions; the loss they had previously sustained he considered sufficient to ensure their future obedience. From the Oxydracæ he demanded one thousand hostages, the bravest and noblest of their nation, whom he said he would detain or use as soldiers till he had conquered the rest of India. These were immediately sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers. Over both nations he appointed Philip as satrap, and being gratified with the munificent presents of the Oxydracæ, he freely sent back to them their hostages, and only reserved the chariots.

While he was under the care of his medical men, and restrained from active operation, the army was employed in constructing more ships near the confluence of the Hydraotes (Ravee), and Acesines (Chenab). As soon as his health was sufficiently recruited he resumed his voyage, having added to the strength of the land force on board, and sailed down the river slowly, to enable him to carry on more actively and efficiently his operations against the nations occupying both its banks. At the junction of the Acesines with the Indus (Pungnund), in the southern extremity of the Punjaub, Alexander ordered Philip to erect a new city, with adequate docks and every accommodation for ship building. His object in so doing was to command the navigation. Here he was joined by Perdiccas, who, with a part of the land force, had been engaged in the subjugation of the Abastani, or Avasthanas, an independent tribe of Indians. He also received the submission of the Ossadians, and an accession to his fleet from the banks of the Acesines. Of a city built here for the cultivation and preservation of Indian commerce, not a vestige remains. Thirlwal conjectures, or rather repeats a conjecture, that the small town of Mittun stands in its place. Alexander's father-in-law, Oxyartes, paid him a visit during his sojourn here, probably, as Thirlwal considers, to communicate to him the intelligence that a revolt had broken out among the Greeks settled in Bactria, and to report the misconduct of Tyriaspes, the satrap of Paropamisus. The latter was deprived of

his government, which was bestowed on Oxyartes. Having no further need of so great a land force on board, a large body, including all the Thracians, was left with Philip, and a considerable force with the elephants, was disembarked on the left bank of the Indus to pursue their course to the Delta. This route was judiciously selected, as the country presented few natural obstructions to their progress, and it was imperative, for the preservation of communication, that the natives should be overawed. Alexander next reached the capital of the Sogdi,* and transformed it into a Greek colony, which he named Alexandria. This town he also supplied with an arsenal, and other commercial conveniences, and refitted a part of his fleet there. The prince whose territories he next reached is by the classic writers named Musicanus. This state was reported by them to be the richest, in wealth and natural productions, of all the Indian nations visited by the Macedonians. The contemplation of its abundance filled Alexander with admiration. Burnes thinks that the traces of its capital are to be found in the ruins of Alore, four miles distant from Bukkur, which tradition repeats was once the chief city of a mighty kingdom, ruled by a Brahmin, who was slain by the Moslems in the seventh century.† "This description," says Williams, "suits well with the rich and well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy, and the Indus. Musicanus and Oxycanus, the appellations of neighbouring chiefs, point probably to the names of the territories governed by these princes; as the word *khawn* is constantly found, even to this day, on the lower Indus, such as Chuck-kawn, Khawn-gur, and Gurkhawn, and other different compounds. Musicanus, perhaps, might be probably described in the modern English fashion as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche."‡ Musicanus was permitted to retain the possession of his kingdom on condition that a fortress should be built in the city, under the superintendence of Craterus, to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. This precaution was taken, the situation being well fitted to command the surrounding country. The next subjugation was the territory of Oxycanus. This prince was slain or taken prisoner. During this expedition, the Brahmins, whose influence unfortunately for him was great, induced Musicanus to make a patriotic effort to expel the impious invader, who, they said, had sacrilegiously dared to violate their sacred soil with his impure footstep. Peithon, with a sufficient force, was dispatched against him; defeat followed defeat, patriotism fired by religious zeal failed. The king and his priests were crucified,—a conspicuous spectacle, and appalling warning to any of the adjacent states whose aspirations were for independence. Alexander had neared the terminus of his Indian voyage, and was approaching the upper part of the Delta, where the Indus divides into two branches of unequal extent. The enclosed space was named Pattalene by the Greeks, from its chief city Pattala, a little below the point at which the stream divides, and in all probability not far from the modern town Hyderabad. Hephæstion received orders to strongly fortify this place, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants on his approach, but these had been induced to return. A citadel was erected, a harbour constructed, docks built sufficient to contain a large fleet, and wells dug, and other provisions made for the supply of troops and travellers. Dr. Vincent considers that Alexander had conceived a plan of the commerce which was afterwards carried on from Alexandria in Egypt to the Indian Ocean, and that this is capable of demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at Pattala. In his passage down the Indus, he says, he had evidently marked that river as the eastern boundary of his empire; he had built three cities, and founded two others on this line, and he was now preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the point of the division of the river, and planning other posts at its eastern and western mouths. Droysen describes Alexander's object to have been nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India,

* *Sogdi*, in the language of the country, signifies valley. This is why it recurs.

† Burnes, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ These names are an etymological puzzle, says the Bishop of St. David's (*History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 53, note), tempting from the seeming readiness of solution. Mr. Williams thinks that they "*point to the names of the territories governed by these princes*, because the word khawn is constantly found *even to this day* on the lower Indus, so that Musicanus might be properly described as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche." "I am surprised," the bishop proceeds, "to find that Ritter entertained a similar opinion. Do we not require some better evidence that the *Turkish title* khan was in use before the time of Alexander on the lower Indus?" In the still existing obscurity in which the native Indian records are immerged, the right reverend historian cannot expect to obtain much information unless from companions of Alexander, *of what was in use before his time on the lower Indus*. The objection he makes to the philological solution of the difficulty here by Williams and Ritter, is entirely grounded on the improbability that khan is Turkish. Had he known as much of the *Celtic*, and of its close affinity with Sanscrit, as does the erudite author of *Gomer*, he would have been enabled to discover, with little search, that *khan*, a head chief, father of a clan, is to be found in a far older language than the Turkish—in its matrix, in fact, a language too which has left its nomenclature in the East as well as in the West.

and to open it for the caravans from the countries on the Ganges, and from the Deccan. Thirlwal sees a great difficulty in believing either that Alexander had acquired sufficient information as to the geography of India to form such a plan, or that he had the means of using it, and that his view seems to have been confined, for the time at least, to two points—the survey of the mouths of the river, and of the Delta, and the establishment of commercial intercourse with the west.* The two objections advanced against Droysen do not appear to be well grounded, as it is well known that Alexander's original design was to reach the Ganges. Its position, the productions on its banks, the commerce carried on upon its waters, he had means of ascertaining from the many persons of station and information with whom he had communication in the several kingdoms he had subdued. The condition of the Deccan he also must have known; and it is more than probable among nations, then, confessedly, in the same stage, at least, of civilization, as at present, that several of the towns laid waste by his troops were emporiums of a large and an extensive commerce, and that among his objects in erecting so many new cities, not the least was to attract and engross the commerce which, by their destruction, would be diverted to his own. It must not be forgotten, in addition, that the Indian caravans were no strangers to the monarchs of Persia and other western powers.

As soon as the works at Pattala had made some advance, Alexander began his preparations for his march homewards. Having no further occasion for so large a land force, as he apprehended no resistance on his progress to the mouth of the Indus, he had previously ordered Craterus, with three brigades of heavy infantry, some light troops, and the elephants, accompanied by the Macedonian invalids, to march westward through Arachosia and Drangiana to Caramania, and in all probability through the pass called Bolan by the moderns. He embarked late in the year 325, in a squadron of his swiftest galleys, and sailed down the right arm of the river, while Leonnatus, in command of eight thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, proceeded by land along the same side of the Delta. After encountering some difficulties produced by a smart gale, which, meeting the rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell, he for the first time came in sight of the Indian Ocean. The ebbing and flowing of the tides, by their fury, created much surprise and alarm to men hitherto acquainted only with the comparatively placid waters of the inland seas, or those convenient to the southern and eastern shores of Europe. Having passed the mouth of the Indus, Alexander put out to the open sea, that he might survey whether any land lay to the south. He then returned to Pattala to convince himself that the orders he had given were faithfully executed. He found the fortifications of the citadel completed, and Peithon arrived with a very satisfactory report of what he had done. The works of the harbour were yet unfinished; the time at his disposal till their completion he appropriated to the exploration of the left arm of the Indus. He found that here the stream expanded into a broad gulf, which he at once concluded would make a safe and capacious naval station. He had docks constructed, and magazines, in which he stored four months' provisions, and left a garrison sufficient for its protection. The home-bound fleet, entrusted to the command of Nearchus, was awaiting the arrival of a more propitious season. The recent observations made in the Indian Ocean, and the fact that it was boundless, of which three days' sail convinced him, led to the conclusion that no land intervened between the mouth of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Were the correctness of this speculation confirmed by actual survey, a new road would be opened for facile intercourse between the eastern and the western portions of his dominions both for commercial enterprise, and for all strategic purposes. Here were the means for consolidating a mighty and far-spreading empire. To expose Nearchus, after his invaluable services, to the perils of this voyage, Alexander was, or pretended to be, adverse. With such great and enlightened objects in view, as he here gets credit for, it is not too much to say that to this officer's experience he was anxious to entrust it. It is stated that he consulted him as to who was best qualified to lead the fleet home. When he is found himself in the command, it may be fairly presumed, he proffered his services to his sovereign. Thirlwal is justified in suspecting the reluctance which Alexander is said to have expressed, to permit so valued a friend to embark on so perilous an adventure; and that he desired the offer should be freely made by Nearchus for the sake of the confidence with which it would inspire those who were placed under his orders.

Some surprise has been expressed that there do not survive throughout India historical evidences or traditions of the Macedonian invasion. That there should not, would be by no means extraordinary, considering how small a portion of the peninsula was affected, and how transitory was the imposition of the foreign rule. In the

* Thirlwal's *History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 56.

archives of some of the princes of the north-western provinces, however, some records of it may yet be found; as also in the recent accumulation of coins, not alone in Bactria, but within the confines of India; and in the relics of discovered ruins, such as those of the ancient city of Brahminabad, which may reward their explorers with further and more elucidatory evidence than even the "glass and glazed earthenware," formed upon Greek models, which, as has been previously remarked,* will possibly throw light upon the interval between the Greek and Mohammedan periods of Indian history. Some traditional knowledge of Alexander's invasion of India is preserved in the northern provinces;† there is also a race of rajahs claiming descent from Porus. Among the inhabitants of Kaffiristan—still *terra incognita*—as also among those of Badakshan, on the other or northern side of the Hindoo Koosh, there exist traditions of Alexander, and a sort of belief that they themselves are descended from his soldiers.‡ A seid, who was a professor of theology in the city of Tatta, and looked upon by the Indians as a good historian, asked Captain Hamilton whether in his country he had ever heard of Alexander the Great. The captain replied in the affirmative, and mentioned the victory he gained over Porus as a proof of it. The seid then said, that according to their historians, Shah Hasander§ made war upon Porus, and that, being a great magician, he by his art collected above a million wild geese, which carried his army over the river; and that they also relate that Porus's elephants could not be brought to turn their heads towards the place where Alexander was.‖ The incident of the wild geese, fabulous as it is, is a verification of the fact that the historians referred to by the seid, alluded to the transport of the Macedonian troops; for the reader will remember by what an ingenious and singular contrivance that feat was accomplished, and how the white coverings of their tents were formed into bags and inflated. These were, naturally enough, transformed into wild geese in the fables of a simple and credulous people.

The close of the month of August (B. C. 325) witnessed the completion of the preparations for the departure of both armaments. And in the following month Alexander set out and marched westward, through the territories of the Arabitæ and the Oritæ, and then through the deserts of Gedrosia. Pura, the capital of the latter, was sixty days' march distant from the confines of the Oritæ. The incidents of the journey and voyage are interesting; but having dismissed the Macedonian conqueror from Hindostan, his future career is alien to our purpose.

The Macedonian episode in Indian history has been rather fully given, and an attempt made to trace the conqueror's approach to India from an early period of his Asiatic operations. The first impression made upon him by the reputed wealth and power of that country, the stimulant furnished to push forward in pursuit of the fugitive Darius, and subsequently of Bessus, till in Bactria, he found himself in communication with Hindoo exiles as well as Hindoo mercenaries—all these incidents are links in a chain of consequence, individually and collectively dependent; and the most remote exercised, and perhaps still exercises, and will exercise, an influence over India. The various stages of Alexander's progress to the Indus are subjects not of vague curiosity. The extension of British territory to the west of the Indus and advances towards Persia; the precautions that may be necessitated, to repress the appetite for Asiatic acquisitions in that direction; the requirements which, already, contemplate an electric communication through the valley of the Euphrates, may render the particulars detailed of Alexander's eastern progress not the least pertinent and important of the pages of the history of the British empire in the East.

The rapidity with which Alexander had passed through and from India, had not allowed sufficient time for the consolidation of his newly-acquired dominions; and though we perceive that he took able precautions to perpetuate them, the premature termination of his career, the dissensions and conflicts which arose between his successors, the general insecurity, snapped asunder the ties which could preserve together such a mass of incongruous components. India, though the most remote province, was in all probability the first seriously affected. The detached garrisons left behind were but too eager to return home; and had they wished to remain, what support had they to rest upon? Those princes who bent to the foreign yoke were the bravest and the first of their race to resist the Macedonians. Their submission was a necessity, not a choice; and when the death of Alexander was made known, they probably were the first to raise the standard of revolt. If the Greeks were the Javans of the Hindoos they, after some years, are met with in Indian history merely as mercenaries.

* Chap. vii. p. 157.

† Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 301, note viii.

‡ Grote's *Greece*, vol. xii. p. 305.

§ The Mohammedan name for Alexander.

‖ Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 127. Edinburgh, 1727.

In the partition of the empire, which followed soon after the death of Alexander, it is evident that the Indian provinces, or those adjacent to them, were not considered the chief prizes; though their wealth and variety of productions should have made them the most desirable. That they were not so considered can be explained only by their distance from the seat of government, the insecurity of tenure, and the difficulty to displace their governors, principally native princes, who owed merely a nominal allegiance. Thus Taxiles was permitted to rule in India; Porus continued in his dominions; Oxyartes, in Paropamisus; while the southern provinces were committed to Peithon; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Archelaus; and in the west, Ptolemy had obtained Egypt, Arabia, and Lybia; Nearchus, Pamphylia and Lycia; Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia; and Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia: and in Europe, Macedonia and Greece, together with the western countries on the coast of the Adriatic, were divided between Antipater and Craterus.

He who, of all the generals of Alexander, alone figures after his death in Indian history, Seleucus, is not to be found amongst those who shared in the partition. The cause of this, perhaps, is to be found in the fact, that he was the friend and partizan of Perdiccas, who was then in the ascendant, and was retained by him near his person. Though no sharer, as it appears in the satrapies, he was entrusted with the Chiliarchy, the appointment bestowed on Perdiccas himself. This was a post of the highest importance, and, in the Persian court, was equivalent to that of prime-minister, or grand vizier of the whole empire. It was held by Alexander's great favourite Hephæstion, to whom he would not permit a successor. In the contests for power which succeeded, Seleucus, it is recorded, was obliged to abdicate the government of Babylon, but afterwards recovered and subjected to his sway all the provinces beyond the Euphrates. This brought him in contact with Sandrocottus, or Chandragupta, the King of Magada, already mentioned among the rulers of that kingdom. History does not relate the circumstance which brought him into collision with that prince. It is likely that Chandragupta was led by the dissensions which involved the Greek chiefs in war, to assert his own independence, and perhaps to encroach upon territories which were subject to them. Indeed, it is alleged that under the specious pretext of enabling the Indians to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, he assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and a prodigious number of elephants, and made himself master of India; and that it was in order to recover the dominions thus appropriated, Seleucus marched over the Indus, and seeing the formidable force at the command of the Indian, thought it expedient to enter into terms of amity with him, and not to hazard the force under his command, which were better preserved to meet the storm which he had to apprehend from the threatening aspect of affairs in the west, where Antigonus and his son Demetrius, not satisfied with having compelled him to fly his satrapy of Babylon, were prosecuting war against his friends, and had recently ravaged Babylonia. Seleucus yielded the conquests he had made, and to cement an alliance gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Indian. It is probable that the concession of territory included all that had been acquired by Alexander and himself east of the Indus, and all that which lay between the upper Indus and the mountains. From Chandragupta, among other presents, he received five hundred elephants; and some, perhaps, if not all, of the hundred war chariots which he had in his army—contingents which had no small influence in achieving shortly after the decisive battle of Ipsus, in which his enemy Antigonus was slain, and his son obliged to fly. Chandragupta reigned, according to the *Varu Parana*, twenty-four years, and according to the *Mahawanso*, thirty-four; and as Professor Wilson calculates, ascended the throne about B. C. 313.* The last-mentioned authority asserts that this is the most important name in all the lists of Indian kings, as it can scarcely be doubted that he is the Sandrocottus, or, as Athenæus writes more correctly, the Sandrocoptus of the Greeks.

Although from this time the power of the Greeks was no longer dominant in India, there is no doubt a commercial communication was maintained between Syria and India. As Professor Wilson remarks—"Now it is certain that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt in the latter part of the third century before Christ." Athenæus states that Amithrocates, King of India, probably of the family of Sandracottus, wrote to Antiochus, one of Seleucus's descendants, to request that prince to send him a quantity of sweet wine, dried figs, and a Greek sophist, for which he offered to pay whatever might

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 471.

be demanded of him. Antiochus, in answer to his letter, informed him that he would send him an abundant supply of figs and wine; but that the laws of the Greeks did not permit him to sell a Greek sophist. The result of this correspondence has not been transmitted to posterity.

The references to India, by the historians of the Roman empire, are few, disjointed, and therefore not very important. From the time of Chandragupta to the reign of Augustus, the Roman influence very partially operated on the eastern provinces of the Persian empire; and probably more slightly still, on the realms beyond the Indus. In the reign of Augustus the Roman power had reached the zenith of its glory. In person, or by his generals, he had crushed all opposition at home and abroad. Suetonius relates that by the character he had thus acquired, the Scythian and Indian nations, before known to the Romans only by report, sent ambassadors to court his friendship.* Orosius,† recording this circumstance, adds that the Indian envoys came from a prince called Porus, and found Augustus in Spain. The object of their mission was to form an alliance. Some considerable time having been spent in useless negotiation, another embassy was dispatched by Porus some years after to Augustus, whom they met at Samos, for the final adjustment of affairs. Nicolas, of Damascus, saw these ambassadors, who, he says, were reduced to three, their companions having expired at Antioch, from the fatigues of their wearisome and protracted journey. According to him, they brought with them a letter written upon parchment or vellum, in Greek, intimating that Porus ruled over six hundred kings; that he highly valued Cæsar's friendship, and was ready to serve him, in everything reasonable, to the extent of his power. The retinue of these ambassadors is described, and their costume is that of the Hindoos. They wore a sort of loose trowsers or drawers, and were perfumed with aromatic unguents. They were the bearers of presents from their royal master. Amongst these were articles which the Indians alone would consider worthy of royal acceptance. Several vipers of large size, a serpent above fifteen feet long, a river tortoise nearly five, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were likewise accompanied by a Brahmin Zarmanochagas, who afterwards burnt himself at Athens, as Calanus had done before at Pasargadæ.‡ Zarmanochagas is said to have destroyed himself in the height of his prosperity, to escape from future misfortune. He approached the pile with a smiling countenance, and had upon his tomb the following inscription:—"Here lies Zarmanochagas, the Indian, of Bargosa, who voluntarily terminated his life in conformity with a custom prevalent among his countrymen." Pliny states that in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Annius Plocamus, a freedman, having farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was, while sailing along the coast of Arabia, driven by contrary winds into Hippuros,* a port of Taprobane (Ceylon); here he was entertained during a period of six months with the greatest hospitality. To his royal host he gave an account of the power and greatness of the Roman empire. The king examining the money which Plocamus had brought with him, observed that the *denarii*, though coined in different places, were uniformly of the same weight. This circumstance gave him a high opinion of the integrity of the Romans, and induced him to send an embassy to Rome. The Ceylon embassy was composed of four persons, the chief of whom was named Rachias,† a man of great influence in the island. The object of their mission was to establish an alliance with the Romans. Pliny furnishes much of the information communicated by these on their arrival. According to their statements Ceylon was then in a flourishing condition, and the great probability is, that it was. Among other things, they told that there were five hundred towns in the island; that Palæsimundum, the capital, was so extremely populous that one part of it contained 200,000 inhabitants, and that from an extensive lake, named Mequisba, there flowed two rivers, one called Cydara;‡ that it abounded in gold, silver, pearls, and all kinds of jewels. Diodorus tells a remarkable story which has been generally held to refer to Ceylon. According to him, Jambulus, the son of a merchant, on his way to the spice countries, was taken prisoner by the Aithiopians, § and after a time, with one companion, placed in a boat, and left to his fate. Having been a long time at the mercy of the waves, he came to an island rich in all kinds of natural productions, and 5000 stadia round. Jambulus stayed there seven years, and thence went to Palibothra, the capital of Magada, where he was well re-

* *Lives of the Cæsars: Augustus*, chap. xxi.

† Alfred the Great translated this author.

‡ Pasargadæ, a great city of the early Persians, situated, according to the best authorities, on the small river Cyrus, now Kur, in a plain on all sides surrounded by mountains. —SMITH'S *Geographical Dictionary*.

* Hippuros may be identified with the modern Kudremalai, which has the same meaning in Sanscrit.

† Rachia, Rajaih, or Raha.

‡ Cydara, the Kundara, or Kadambo of the *Mahawanso*, or *Great History of Ceylon*; now Aripo. Translated by Turnour.

§ *Aithiopians*. Herodotus (b. iii. p. 94, vii. p. 70) mentions Aithiopians in Asia. It generally meant all the sunburnt, dark-complexioned races, and thus included the peoples of Hindostan.

ceived by the king, who is said to have been friendly to the Greeks.* Though the details of this voyage are fabulous, yet the narrative seems to be founded on facts and points—as is well observed in Smith's invaluable work, the *Roman and Greek Geography*—to an early intercourse between the shores of eastern Africa and India. Theophrastus in his *Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus*, makes mention of two Indian kings, named Phraortes, to the court of the younger of whom Tyanaeus paid a visit. The king is described as having, under the tuition of his father, made great progress in Grecian literature, and subsequently spent seven years with the Brahmins studying their philosophy. After Trajan had entirely subdued the Daci, A. D. 105, and formed into a Roman province their territories, which contained what is now called the Banat of Temesvar, Hungary, east of the Theiss, the whole of Transylvania, the Bukowina, the south point of Gallicia, Moldavia west of the Pruth, and the whole of Wallachia, and had subdued several nations in alliance with them, the fame of his conquests extended to the most distant regions of the earth. Ambassadors were sent even from the remote India to congratulate him on the success of his arms. Eutropius records that he fitted out a fleet for an Indian expedition, and to ensure success had informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting of the inhabitants. Indeed, the Romans had the vanity to assert that India had been brought under their sway, and equally groundless was their claim to the conquest of Arabia. Aurelius Victor records that an embassy arrived in Rome from the Indians, stimulated by the reports which had reached them of the great wisdom, justice, and moderation of Antoninus Pius. The objects they sought, or the results of their journey, do not appear. In the triumph which celebrated the overthrow of Zenobia, and the fall of her interesting kingdom, and the destruction of proud Persepolis, amid the groups who followed the triumphal car of the conqueror Aurelian, were several Indians, accompanied too by their neighbours the Bactrians, and the more easterly Seres.† Two Indian embassies visited the Emperor Constantine, one the bearer of magnificent presents. The latest mention of India by the ancients, is that by Cosmas Egyptius,‡ or as he is more commonly called Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the reign of Justinian. When Cosmas wrote, his friend, Thomas Edessenus, was promoted to the archbishopric, or primacy, of Persia, and probably sent some clergymen to Calliana (Calicut). There were many Christians at this time in India, whose introduction into the peninsula, and all that may be gleaned pertaining to their establishment and progress there, shall receive due attention, after having disposed of what little remains to be collected from Indian sources, of its ante-Mohammedan history.

As henceforth all trace, except a few disputed references, which will be noticed in their proper place, of Indian transactions, is lost in western history, till the appearance of the followers of Mohammed upon the stage, the only sources available are the native, and the information supplied is derived, chiefly, from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Purana*, which Professor Wilson affirms contains all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though this work contains a comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals, it is a barren record of events. It can be scarcely doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities, in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an inartificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility, nay, a probability, in some of the transactions which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that they are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information, the record, such as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside. It is not essential to its credibility, or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution among the several *yugas*, or ages, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his pundits, finds no countenance from the original texts further than an incidental notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled, or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the Mahabharata, or great war, and the beginning of the Kali age, both which events we are not obliged, with the Hindoos, to place five thousand years ago. To that age the solar dynasty of princes offers ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both commence at the same time. Some names may have been added to the former list, some omitted in the latter; and it seems most likely that, notwithstanding their synchronous beginning, the princes of the lunar race were subsequent to those of the solar race. They avowedly branched off from the solar line.

* Pliny, b. vi. c. xxii.

† Vopiscus, in *Vit Aurelian*, p. 218. These Seres are said to have dwelt on the confines of China.

‡ A monk.

"Deducting, however, from the larger number of princes a considerable proportion, there is nothing to shock probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications were spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahabharata; and, conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that date. This may or may not be too remote; but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that in the dynasties of kings, detailed in the Puranas, we have a record which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account, not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies amongst the Hindoos, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of the world." *

The grandson of Chandragupta was Asokavarddhana. In the annals of the Buddhists there is no prince so celebrated, nor one whose memory is so highly revered by the members of that widely spread and influential sect. Educated in the religion of the Brahmins, he embraced Buddhism, and as has been previously observed, became an energetic propagandist. India abounds with memorials of his zeal.

An epitome was given, in a preceding chapter, of ancient Indian history down to the failure of the descendants of Chandragupta, who were called the Mauryan dynasty. To them succeeded the dynasty of the Sungas. Their elevation to the throne was accomplished through the murder of his sovereign, the last of the preceding dynasty, by his general, Pushpamitra. This usurper is represented in an ancient Indian play as engaged in conflict with the Yavanas (Greeks) on the Indus. Hence it may be inferred that political relations were still continued with the Greeks or Scythians of Bactria and Ariana. Ten princes of this house wielded the sceptre; the last of whom, Derabhati, having surrendered himself to the indulgence of his libidinous passions, was cut off by his minister, Vasudeva, who usurped the throne. Four of the family reigned during a period of forty-five years. The last of them, Susarman, was killed by a powerful servant of the Andhra tribe, who became king, and founded the Andhra-bhritya† dynasty. Thirty of this family reigned, and during a period of four hundred and fifty-six years. This dynasty is of great chronological interest. Pliny notices the race of Andhra princes, and describes them as possessing thirty fortified towns, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and one thousand elephants, in the earlier part of the Christian era. Calculating from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta, according to the number of years assigned to the respective dynasties in the text, it will be found that the total of all amounts to about seven hundred and thirty; deducting from this date, B.C. 312, the reign of the first of the line would commence eighteen years before the Christian era. In the Chinese records, quoted by Des Guignes,* mention is also made of Indian potentates whose names appear to agree with some members of this line, as Yue-gnai (Yajnasri), King of Kiapili, A.D. 408, and Holomein (Puloman), King of Magada, A. D. 621. The Paranik lists place these two princes close together.† If the Indian Puloman be the same with the Chinese Holomein, there must be some considerable omission in the Paranik dynasty, but in the case of Holomein a prince of Magada is obviously alluded to. The place of his residence is called by the Chinese Kia-so-mo-pulo-ching, and Potoli-tse-ching; or, in Sanscrit, Kusuma-pura and Patali-putra. The equivalent of the latter name consists not only in the identification of the sounds *Patali* and *Potoli*, but in the translation of "putra" by "tse," each word meaning in their respective language "son," obviously Patali Putra, or Palibothra, the capital city of the kingdom of Magada is meant. A third not less singular verification of the historical entity of the Andhra kings, has turned up at Gujerat in the form of an ancient inscription, recently discovered and deciphered by the late Mr. J. Prinsep—who has done so much in the development of Hindoo antiquities—in which Rudra Dama, the satrap of Surashtra, is recorded as having repeatedly overcome Satukarni, a name which occurs the sixth in this royal line, described as king of the southern country. Though the inscription is without date, its antiquity is indisputable, the character being very old, and Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka being mentioned as existing not very long prior to its composition. Mr. Prinsep thinks that Rudra Dama lived about one hundred and fifty-three years before Christ.‡ To this dynasty succeeded seven princes of

* Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, Preface, p. lxiv.

† *Bhritya*, the last word in this compound signifies a slave.

* Des Guignes, vol. i. pp. 45, 56.

† Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. 478, note 63.

‡ See Prinsep's *Essays*, collected and lately published, —a valuable addition to Indian antiquities.

tne line of the Abhiras, ten of the Gardhabas, sixteen of the Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Mundas, and eleven Maunas. Altogether seventy-nine princes are stated to have been sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years.

This series of reigns, if consecutive, and the number of years specified added to the date assumed for the termination of the Andhra line, would infringe upon the present century. Professor Wilson helps to solve the difficulty which here presents itself, and which is further complicated by the successions which carry extinct dynasties, if the order were intended to be continuous, into the remote future. They are not, he says, however, continuous, but merely contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the west of India, the periods may not be very wide of the truth. There is probably some confusion of the two races—the Magada and Talinga kings. "Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties, *in some instances*," Wilson says, "perhaps with success—certainly *not in all*." The Abhiras he calls the shepherd kings of the north of India, but Wilson is inclined to believe them Greeks, or Scythians, or Parthians, along the lower Indus. Wilford's ingenious conjectures, with Wilson's interesting running commentaries, are here given from a note on the text of the Puranas:—"Traces of the name occur in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Ahirs as a distinct race still exist in Gujerat: Araish Mehfil. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria, or rather of Western India. The Tusharas he makes the Parthians. If Tushkaras be the preferable reading they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Murundas, or, as he has it, Maurundas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morundæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava, the Vayu calls them Arya-mlechchhas, query, barbarians of Ariana; Wilford regards the Maunas also as a tribe of Huns, traces of whom may be still found in the west and south of India. The Garddabhins, he conjectures to be the descendants of Bahram Gor, King of Persia, but this is very questionable. That they were a tribe in the west of India may be conjectured, as some strange tales there prevail of a Gandharba being changed into an ass. There is also evidently some affinity between these Garddabhins and the old Gadhia Pysa, or ass money, as vulgarly termed, found in various parts of Western India, and which is unquestionably of ancient date. It may be the coinage of the Garddabha princes, Garddabha being the original of Gadha, meaning also an ass." * Several other princes are mentioned by name in the Parana, but as there are no authentic particulars by which they are identified at home, and no reference to them in contemporary history, or discovered monuments, there are no means of ascertaining whether they be not imaginary creations: for it must be observed that the historical details narrated in the Parana are delivered, as if in a prophetic spirit, long antecedent to their occurrence, and consequently the real and the ideal are separated by no line of demarcation, and where the borders meet, the truth itself is as shadowly indistinct as the fiction. The Paranas are written in the form of a dialogue. He who performs the leading part is Lomaharshana, the recorder of political and temporal events, the disciple of Vyasa, whose communications he is merely the medium of conveying. The concluding paragraphs of this historic book of the Parana have intrinsic merits to recommend them, and may appropriately close this chapter, indicating as they do the moral feeling, depth of thought, richness of imagination, and glow of expression characteristic of the orientals.

Lomaharshana is supposed to address his audience or readers:—"I have now given you a summary account of the sovereigns of the earth; to recapitulate the whole would be impossible, even in a hundred lives. These and other kings, who with perishable frames have possessed this ever-during world, and who, blinded with deceptive notions of individual occupation, that indulge the feelings and suggest, 'This earth is mine—it is my son's—it belongs to my dynasty,' have all passed away. So many who reigned before them, many who succeeded them, and many who have yet to come, have ceased, or will cease, to be. Earth laughs as if smiling with autumnal flowers, to behold her kings unable to subjugate themselves. I will repeat the stanzas that were chanted by Earth, and which the Muni Asita communicated to Janaka, whose banner was virtue:—'How great is the folly of princes who are endowed with the faculty of reason, to cherish the confidence of ambition when they themselves are but foam upon the sea. Before they have subdued themselves they seek to reduce their ministers, their servants, their subjects, under their authority, they then endeavour to overcome their foes. Thus, say they, will we conquer the ocean-circled earth; and, intent upon their project, behold not death, which is

* Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. 474, note 64.

not far off. But what matter is the subjugation of the mighty earth to one who can subjugate himself. Emancipation from existence is the fruit of self-control. It is through infatuation that kings desire to possess me, whom their predecessors have been forced to leave, whom their fathers have not retained. Beguiled by the selfish love of sway, fathers contend with sons, and brothers with brothers, for my possession. Foolishness has been the characteristic of every king who has boasted, All this earth is mine—everything is mine; it will be in my house for ever; for he is dead. How is it possible that such vain desires should survive in the heart of his descendants, who have seen their progenitors, absorbed by the thirst of dominion, compelled to relinquish me, whom he called his own, and to tread the path of dissolution? When I hear a king sending word to another by his ambassador, This earth is mine, immediately resign your pretensions to it, I am moved to violent laughter at first, but it soon subsides in pity for the infatuated fool.'

"These were the verses which Earth recited, and by listening to which ambition fades away like snow before the sun. I have now related to you the whole account of the descendants of Menu, among whom have flourished kings endowed with a portion of Vishnu, engaged in the preservation of the earth; whoever shall listen reverently, and with faith to this narrative, proceeding from the posterity of Menu, shall be purified entirely from his sins, and with the perfect possession of his faculties, shall live in unequalled affluence, plenty, and prosperity. He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of the great who have perished, and the illustrious whose posterity is no more; of kings of great might, resistless valour, and unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more unbounded time, and are now only a tale, he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call either children, or wife, or house, or lands, or wealth, his own. The arduous penances that have been performed by men obstructing fate for countless years, religious rites and sacrifices of great efficacy and virtue, have been made by time the subject only of narration. The valiant Prithu traversed the universe, everywhere triumphant over his foes; yet he was blown away like the light down of the simal-tree, before the blast of time. He who was Kartaviryya subdued innumerable enemies, and conquered the seven zones of the earth, but now he is only the topic of a theme, and a subject for affirmation and contradiction. Fie upon the empire of the sons of Raghu, who triumphed over Dasanana, and extended their sway to the ends of the earth, for was it not consumed in an instant by the frown of the destroyer? Mandhatri, the emperor of the universe, is embodied only in a legend, and what pious man who hears it will ever be so unwise as to cherish the desire of possession in his soul? The most glorious have only appeared and passed away. Is it so? Have they ever really existed? Where are they now? We know not! The powerful kings who now are, or who will be, as I related them to you, or any others who are unspecified, are all subject to the same fate, and the present and the future will perish and be forgotten like their predecessors. Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands and property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own."

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA FROM ITS INTRODUCTION TO THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.

THE most marvellous chapter in the history of the world is that which records the successful mission of the carpenter of Galilee, and of the humble instruments—for the most part illiterate fishermen—whom he called to promote the promulgation of his gospel. All of humble birth; the disciples of no celebrated school of philosophy; possessing none of the recommendations which ordinarily command respect, distinction, and influence; abnegating the world in which they moved; and entirely devoted to the "kingdom of God;" despised of all men; excommunicated from all social intercourse by the Jews; cursed three times a day publicly in their synagogues; accused of many things, both absurd and detestable—of worshipping the sun, and the head of an ass—of being an idle and unprofitable race; charged with high treason, in conspiring to erect a new monarchy in opposition to that

of Rome; with killing a child and eating the flesh in the celebration of their mysteries; with being guilty of the most shocking incests and beastly intemperance in their feasts of charity;—yet, without other human aid than the purity of their lives, "eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, they grew in favour with all the people," and triumphed over prejudice, calumny, and enmity. Pliny the Younger, who was governor of Bithynia and Pontus between the years 103 and 105, in a letter to the Emperor Trajan, testified that "their whole crime, if they were guilty, consists in this, that on certain days they assembled before sunrise, to sing alternately the praises of Christ, as of a god, and to oblige themselves by the performance of their religious rites, not to be guilty of theft or adultery, to observe inviolably their word, and to be true to their engagements: the superstition of these people is as ridiculous as their attachment to it is astonishing." The Emperor Antoninus, in the year 152, in answer to charges preferred against them by the states of Asia, which had accused them of being the cause of some earthquakes which had happened in that part of the world, said "that they"—the pagans—"pay no regard to religion, and neglect the worship of the Eternal; and because the Christians honour and adore Him, therefore they are jealous of them, and persecute them even to the death." That a people so inoffensive, humble, and unobtrusive, should have provoked the virulent hostility and savage persecutions to which they were repeatedly subjected during the three first centuries, though it surprises, is still capable of easy solution. The purity of the Christian morality was a living reproach to the habitual corruption of the vain-glorious Roman and Pharisaical Israelite. The reiteration of the many calumnies of the Jews subjected them to much public odium, and they were frequently condemned, not for offences perpetrated, but for crimes of which they were suspected. In addition to these was the fact, too, that the worship of the Saviour was in violation of one of the most ancient laws of the Roman commonwealth, which expressly forbade the recognition of any god who had not been approved by the senate. All human opposition was vain; the wise ones of the world were confounded, the work of the Lord prospered, the harvest was ripe for the sickle, and such was the miraculous success of the teaching of the "lowly Jesus," that in the third century, "there were Christians in the camp, in the senate, in the palace, in short everywhere, but in the temples and theatres; they filled the towns, the country, the islands; men and women of all ages and conditions, and even those of the first dignity, embraced the faith; insomuch that the pagan priests complained that their revenues were ruined. So numerous were they in the empire, that, as Tertullian affirms, were they to have retired into another country, they would have left the Romans a solitude for occupation." As early as the apostolic times, devoted missionaries toiled their weary way through arid deserts, burning sands, and icebound realms, seeking the salvation of man and the glory of their heavenly father. That they penetrated to the remote parts of the world—east, west, north, and south—in obedience to the divine injunction, "Go forth into all lands and preach the gospel to every creature," in the first, or early part of the second century, is known to the historical student. Christianity was, at a very early date, carried to the shores of the Euxine. It was established in the far isles of the West. An Irish missionary, Abennus, under the British prince Lucius, A.D. 201, founded the abbey of Abingdon, called after his name.* It had taken root in Ceylon, and the apostle Thomas had propagated it from the gates of Antioch to India; and even in China it was preached with success.

Though much of what is recorded concerning the planting of the primitive churches is involved in fable, arising in no small degree from the ambition of attributing their establishment to an apostle, or some one deriving his mission immediately from him, and no means exist of separating the false from what may be true, there is very strong and presumptive evidence that the Christian churches in India were planted by the apostle Thomas. There is an ancient tradition, preserved by Eusebius, that that apostle had Parthia assigned to him, in order that he should preach the gospel there: Fabricius, Hieronymous, Nicetas, Origen, Rufinus, Socrates, Gregory Nazianzen, Hippolytus, and Sophronius, agree in assigning him Parthia; but all the martyrologists, together with all the Christians who have lived in the Indian peninsula, concur in stating that he had in addition preached to the Indians, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, Carmanians, Ethiopians, and Indians. The following

* See *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury. Just issued. The larger portion of Berkshire was granted for the support of the monastery at Abingdon:—"Obtenuit autem memoratus Abbennus a rege Brittonum, ad precum suarum instantiam. Maximam partem Berroccensis provinciæ, in qua de consensu regis et concilio regni monasterium feliciter fundavit, cui nomen Abbendoniam, vel a nomine suo vel a loci vocabulo, alludenter imposuit" (p. 2.)

verse from St. Paulinus Natali confirms this latter statement :—

"Parthia Matheum complectitur, India Thomas."

The eminent oriental scholar, Des Guignes, says, "a crowd of authors, both Greek and Syrian, are unanimous in stating that St. Thomas penetrated India to preach the word."

Sojourning at Antioch, where the followers of Christ first adopted the name of "Christian," and being made acquainted with the extent, population, and gross superstitions of the Indians, the inspired apostle was filled with holy zeal to rescue them from the fables and impure worship of the Brahmins, and to bring them from their state of darkness to the light of the gospel. It is related that on his way to India, he first visited the Island of Socotra, in the Arabian Gulf, the inhabitants of which he converted. Hence, he proceeded to Cranganore, where many were also won to the faith; he next reached Colanus, and there preached and converted many; he then crossed the intervening mountain range, and after a fatiguing journey arrived at the eastern coast, preaching Christ wherever he visited, and converting multitudes—particularly on the coast of Coromandel: he extended his journey to the Sinæ,* a people whose name and power were then greatly celebrated. Here his labours were crowned with success; and many temples were erected to the honour and glory of God. The apostle having given instructions for the regulation of the churches, returned back to Coromandel, to revisit and strengthen in the faith his recent converts. Meliapore was then the chief city of Coromandel, and the residence of the king. Here the apostle, proposing to erect an edifice to the Lord, was obstructed by the pagan priests, supported by their king Sagamas. The early Christian martyrologists relate, that, by the aid of a miracle, he conquered the obstinacy of the prince. The difficulty which demanded his special interference is one which might even, at that time, be overcome by ordinary human appliances; but as it is characteristic of the simplicity and credulity of the early Christians, and accepted by the Syrian Nestorians and other Christian churches in the East, and gravely related by Maffei and other Roman Catholic writers of authority, it may not be considered out of place in this notice of Christianity. The sea had cast the gigantic trunk of a tree upon the shore, then a distance of forty miles from the city of Meliapore. The king, for whom just then a palace was in course of erection, was most anxious to appropriate it to that purpose. The difficulty was to transport so unwieldy and weighty a mass such a distance. The stoutest of his subjects, with the aid of their machines, were unable to move it. The elephants were tried with equal results. The apostle then assured the king that if the trunk were surrendered to him for the construction of a temple to the true God, that he would undertake, without any human aid, to bring it to the city. Supposing that this was the proposal of a mad man, the king in sportive mood acceded to his terms. The holy apostle—the girdle which he wore being made fast to one of the branches, and having made the sign of the cross—in the presence of all the citizens who had rushed out to witness the extraordinary performance, with the greatest ease drew it to its destination, and there erected a stone cross, and then uttered this remarkable prophecy, "That when the waters of the ocean washed that stone, white men from lands remote, by the will of God, would come to perfect the work which he had then commenced."* The Jesuit Bohours, in his life of St. Francis Xavier, says, that the apostle had left this prediction graven on a stone pillar for the memory of future ages; that the pillar was not far distant from the walls of Meliapore, and it was to be read in the characters of the country when the Portuguese arrived there: "That when the sea, which was forty miles distant from the pillar should come up to the foot of it, there should arrive in the Indies white men and foreigners who should there restore the true religion." "The infidels," he adds, "had laughed at this prediction for a long time, not believing that it would ever be accomplished; and, indeed, looking upon it as a kind of impossibility that it should. Yet it was accomplished, and that so justly, that when Don Vasco da Gama set foot on the Indus, the sea which sometimes usurps upon the continent, and gains by little and little on the dry land, was by that time risen to the pillar, so as to bathe its base."† The biographer of Xavier then proceeds to show that the prophecy of St. Thomas was fulfilled in the coming of his hero. The Jesuits pressed a more singular prophecy than this into their service, to designate that their order was predestinated to the conversion of the Indians. "That holy

* Des Guignes' *Acad. des Inscript.*, lib. v. p. 23.

* Maffei's *History of India*, Col. Aq., 1590, p. 85.

† Bohours's *Life of Xavier*. This was translated by no less a man than Dryden the poet. It is worthy of remark, how credulous converts generally are. There are no more ardent or credulous believers in alleged miracles, than are the late Puseyite accessions to Rome. Dryden did not believe more than do Dr. Newman and Father Manning.

man, Peter de Couillan, a religious of the Trinity, who accompanied Vasco da Gama in quality of his confessor, was martyred by the Indians, on the 7th July, 1497, forty-three years before the beginning of the Society of Jesus; being pierced through with arrows, while shedding his blood for Christ, he distinctly pronounced the following words: —'In a few years there shall be born in the church of God, a new religious order of clergymen, which shall bear the name of Jesus, and one of its first fathers, conducted by the spirit of God, shall pass into the more remote countries of the East Indies, the greatest part of which shall embrace the orthodox faith, through the ministry of the evangelical preacher.' This is related by Juan de Figueras Carpi, in his history of the order of the redemption of captives, from the manuscripts of the Trinity Convent in Lisbon, and the Memoirs of the King of Portugal's Library." The wonderful success of the apostle of the Indies roused against him the bitterest enmity of the Brahmins, and every effort was made to thwart his exertions. One of that caste is reported to have had recourse to a most unnatural expedient to ensure his destruction. He put to death his son, and charged St. Thomas with the crime. Being summoned before the royal tribunal, and impeached for the murder, in the absence of all evidence, there were no proofs by which he could establish his innocence. In this extremity, with the predominating influence of the whole class of the Brahmins opposed to him, he is said to have vindicated himself by an appeal to his apostolic power of performing miracles. He requested that the corpse of the murdered boy should be brought into court, and when interrogated by him, he revealed the motive and the unnatural perpetrator of the murder, to the utter confusion and exposure of his enemies.* The king Sagamas, at length, convinced that Thomas was commissioned from on high, confessed his errors, and embraced the faith of Christ. Several of his courtiers and subjects followed his example, and the parricide was driven into exile. The manner of the apostle's death is thus related:—The Brahmins, enraged by the rapid spread of the Christian religion, and the general desertion of their temples, conspired against him and his followers. During the persecution that ensued, the apostle retired not far from the walls of Meliapore to a hillock which is called the "little mount," in which is a cave, where he was wont to perform his devotions. At the entry there was a cross cut in the rock, and at the base a spring gushed forth, the waters of which are reputed to be possessed of great virtue. From this small ascent there is a passage to a much larger hill, formed by nature for a lonely and contemplative life. On one side it commands a view of the sea, and on the other is covered with trees always green, forming a cool and agreeable retreat. Here, while with his faithful disciples absorbed in prayer, he was assaulted by the armed Brahmins, and slain with the thrust of a spear.

When the Portuguese first settled here, they erected a church over the cave and well on the little mount, and another on the spot where the apostle suffered martyrdom. The Portuguese pretend to have in their possession the very lance that killed St. Thomas, and the stone tinctured with the apostle's blood, that cannot be washed out. Captain Hamilton declares that he has often seen both the mounts and the relics of antiquity here mentioned, and also a cleft in the rock which the saint made with his hand, and from which he caused a stream of water to issue, and that ever since there has been clear and sweet water in it: when he visited it, he says it contained about three gallons. He also observes, with the Portuguese, that when St. Thomas was pursued by the Brahmins, he left a print of his foot on a hard stone near the little mount, to serve for a perpetual memorial of his having been there. The impression, which remains to this day, is sixteen inches long and in proportion narrower at the heel, and broader at the toes, than the impression of a human foot would be at this time.*

Christianity had made great progress in the peninsula even at a very early period.† The venerable Pantonus of Alexandria visited India about the year A.D. 189, and there found Christians who had a copy of the gospel of St. Matthew, in Hebrew, which he carried to Alexandria, where it existed in the time of

* "Tum ad exanimem puerum Thomas placido et sereno vulta conversus. Agedum inquit, per Christum, quem ego prædico, palam et sine ambagibus, puer, prome, quisnam cujusque tanti sceleris autor exstiteret. Mirum dictu, ad Christi nomen frigido et exsangui corpusculo vitales confestim rediere spiritus et clara voce ut omnes exaudirent; Thomas certum Summi Dei, legatum; et ipsius odio, ad struendam illi calumniam, nefarias a parente sibi manus illatas esse confirmat."—MAFFEI, p. 86.

* It is not a little strange, the gravity with which two Protestant gentleman, Hamilton and Wilford, relate the miracles ascribed, not only to Thomas the apostle, but to the reputed relics preserved at St. Thomas. Anxious to record all the particulars which it was possible to glean, that this chapter might serve as a reference to the inquirer into the history of ancient Christianity in India, some matters have been included which otherwise would not have been noticed.

† We are indebted to the research of Wilford for some of the facts about to be adduced, furnished by him in an elaborate essay on the "Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.

Jerome. Frumentius, the apostle of Abyssinia, who had resided a long time in India and spoke the language remarkably well, preached the gospel in the southern parts, where he had great influence and was highly respected, having been for many years prime-minister and regent of one of the kings during his minority. There he converted many Hindoos and built many churches, and then went to Abyssinia. He had come to India with his brother Adesius, along with their paternal uncle, a native of Tyre, who was a Christian and a very learned man. He travelled into the interior parts of India as a philosopher; and having satisfied his curiosity, he re-embarked on his way back with his two nephews; but happening to put into a certain harbour, in order to get a supply of water, they were, at their landing, suddenly attacked by the natives. Many of his crew perished, the rest were carried into captivity. Among the former was the uncle, but his two nephews were presented to the king, who took particular notice of them. They were afterwards raised by him to the first dignities of the state. They obtained leave to visit their native country, when Frumentius was ordained a bishop, and in that character sent back to India. At the council of Nice, in the year 325, "the primate" of India was present, and subscribed his name. In the year following, Frumentius was consecrated "primate of India" by Athanasius, at Alexandria. He resided in the peninsula, and the Christians had always a bishop, called the Primate of India.

In 345 Mar Thomas, a foreign bishop, was appointed to the charge of the Syrian Christians. He had been a merchant. Under his pastoral care Christianity made great progress in India, and its professors obtained important privileges from the native princes. The original plates, on which are engraved these grants to the Christians, were lost in the time of the Portuguese, but recovered in 1808 by Colonel Macauley, and are now in the college of Cottayam. The inscription on one of them, supposed to be the most ancient, is in the nail-headed or Persepolitan character, with four signatures in an old Hebrew character, resembling the alphabet usually called Palmyrene; and that on another is thought to have no affinity with any character now known in Hindostan.*

The Christian religion made also some progress in the north of India. Musdus, Bishop of Aduli, on the Abyssinian shore, visited the northern parts of India in the latter end of the fourth century, in company with the famous Palladius, a Goth from Galatia. When they arrived at the borders of India they were both disgusted with the climate; Palladius went back, but Musdus proceeded to the lesser Bokhara, where it seems he was more successful. Yet there was at Sirhind, or Serinda, a seminary for Christians in the sixth century; for in the year 636 two monks who had long resided there, returned to their native country, and being at Constantinople, the Emperor Justinian sent for them, to inquire into the nature and origin of silk. He prevailed on them to go back to Sirhind, in order to bring thence the eggs of the real silkworm. Theophilus—the famous Arian bishop—was a native of Divus, now Diu, in Gujerat, who, as he was remarkably black, was surnamed the Blackamoor. His Indian name was probably Deo Pal, perfectly synonymous with Theophilus in the Greek. He flourished in the times of the great Constantine and his sons, and had been sent to Constantinople with other hostages. There was a great trade carried on at that time to India by the Romans. There was an annual fair held at Batne for the sale of Indian and Chinese commodities, and a great concourse of merchants attended it, many of whom were settled there. It was situated at some distance from the eastern banks of the Euphrates, and nearly in the same latitude with Antioch. Theophilus was young when he was sent to Constantinople, where he studied and became a Christian, and embraced a monastic life. He was afterwards ordained a bishop, and sent to Arabia by Constantius, in order to promote the interests of the Christian religion. He met with great opposition from the Jews, who were very numerous in that country; but succeeded at last, and built three churches for the benefit chiefly of the Roman traders: one was at Taphar, or Tapharon, now Dafar, and the metropolis of that country; the second was at Aden, near the Straits of Babelmandel; and the third near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Thence he went by sea to Diu, his native country; visited several parts of India, comforting the Christians, introducing wholesome regulations, and spreading the tenets of Arius. Thence he returned to Antioch, according to Suidas, where he lived a long time, highly respected. He accompanied, afterwards, Constantius Gallus into Germany, as far as Patavium, now Pettaw, in Styria, A.D. 354.

Marutha, a Hindoo, and Bishop of Suphara, now Sufferdam, assisted at the Synod of

* Swanston, in a memoir of the primitive church of Malabar, read before the Asiatic Society, and noticed in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1833, asserts that Mar Thomas was the first foreign bishop who took charge of the Syrian Christians; that this is not correct will be seen from his foreign predecessors already named.

Sides, in Pamphylia, in the year 383. He was afterwards translated to the bishopric of Meyaferkin, on the borders of Mesopotamia, when Yezdejird I., King of Persia, charmed with his piety, was very near becoming a Christian. Chrysostom speaks highly of him. According to the *Notitia* of Nilus, Doxopatrius, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, ordained a certain Ramogyres, "metropolitan" of India, and from his name there is every reason to believe that he was a native of India, where the appellation of Rama-gir is by no means uncommon. Jerome, who died in the year 420, speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India, as a fact universally acknowledged in his time.

Cosmas Indocopleustes, who visited India about the year 522, says that there were churches and a liturgy in Ceylon, also on the Malabar coast, and in the north-west of India. "In those countries," says he, "there are a vast number of churches." *

In the sixth century Gregory of Tours, the father of French history, became acquainted with a respectable man called Theodorus, who had visited the tomb of St. Thomas in India.

In the year 825 two pastors were sent from Syria, and were succeeded by others for a long period of time. The Christians became then sufficiently influential to be able to elect their own sovereigns, but gradually declined till about the advent of the Portuguese.

In the ninth century, as is recorded in William of Malmesbury's† *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, "Alfred (ever intent on almsgiving), Huntington and Alured of Beverley say, in discharge of a vow, sent many presents to Rome, and to St. Thomas in India. Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne, was sent as ambassador for this purpose. He penetrated successfully into India, a matter of astonishment even at the present time. Returning thence he brought back many brilliant exotic gems and aromatic juices, in which that country abounds, and a present more precious than the finest gold,—part of our Saviour's cross, sent by Pope Marinus to the king."‡

Alfred's embassy to India to the shrine of St. Thomas, Turnour observes, "is as expressive of his mind and public spirit as any other action of his life. No other potentate in Europe could in that day have conceived it, because no other had acquired that knowledge which would have interested them in a country so remote and unknown. The embassy displays not alone the extent of Alfred's information, but that searching curiosity which characterized his understanding."

This journey is noticed by several chroniclers: the Saxon Chronicle,* Florence of Worcester,† Radulph,‡ Brompton,§ Huntington,‖ and Alured of Beverley,¶ but by none of them so fully as by the chronicler quoted. In a subsequent passage Malmesbury states that in his day some of these oriental presents were to be seen in the monuments of the church. That St. Thomas' conversion of Indians on the Malabar coast was in full credit in the twelfth century is evident, for Odericus makes it a part of his ecclesiastical history. That there were Christians flourishing during these early ages of Christianity in Hindostan, is confirmed by most satisfactory authority. The learned Assemannus, in his elaborate *Bibliotheca Orientalis*,—a collection peculiarly valuable for its introducing to European scholars many interesting Syrian authors, from whose works he translates copious extracts out of the Syrian into Latin,—asserts of the Syrians that they affirm that Thomas preached to the Indians;** and again, that not only the Indian Christians, but the Nestorians of Assyria and Mesopotamia, mention that he was the apostle of the Indians and Sinensians. He gives a Syriac letter from Jesujabus Abjabenus, the Nestorian patriarch, to Simeon, the metropolitan of the Persians, written in the seventh century, in which he calls to the metropolitan's recollection that he had "shut the doors of the episcopal imposition of hands before multitudes of the people of India," and that the sacerdotal succession was interrupted by the Indians; and that not only India, which extended over a space of more than twelve hundred parasangs, from the maritime confines of Persia to Colon (Ceylon), was buried in darkness, but also his own region of Persia shares a like fate.

There has been preserved a very valuable and interesting work of the ninth century, in the Arabic, containing the travels of two Moslems, who visited both India and China, and had been some time on the coast of Malabar, and in the town of Meliapore, soon after Sighelm. A translation of it in the French language, by the Abbé Renaudot,

* Cosmas has been edited by Montfaucon in his collection *Patrum Græcorum*, tome ii.

† Malmesbury was born about 1095 or 1096.

‡ Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, b. II. c. iv.

* *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 145.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 86.

‡ "Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Siuthelmus qui regis Alfredi elemosynam as S. Thomam, Indian detulit, indeque prospere retulit."—*Flor. Wig.* 320.

§ Rad. Dic. 451; he dates it 887.

‖ Brompton, 812.

¶ Huntington, 350.

** Lib. vii. p. 106.

was published in 1718, under the following title, *Ancient Relations of India and China*, by two Mohammedan travellers, who in the ninth century of the Christian era visited these countries, translated from the Arabic, &c. The translator having omitted to indicate the manuscript from which the translation was made, it was alleged that it was a forgery. But M. Des Guignes having found the original in the Colbert collection, No. 597, and proved the accuracy of the translation in the *Journal des Savans* of November, 1764, St. Martin attempted to show that it was only a fragment of a work by Masoudi, entitled *Mour-roudj-Eddheheb*. In 1811 M. Langles undertook to have it printed, with a new translation. On his death, in 1824, he left it without preface or notes. M. Renaud, celebrated as an oriental scholar, was repeatedly solicited to complete it. He declined, because there did not then exist adequate geographical knowledge to enable him to test the author's statements. The important additions subsequently made to that science, induced him to take it up. He revised both the text and translation, added a preface and copious notes, and has thus given to the literary world a really valuable work. These early travellers arrived at Meliapore soon after Alfred's ambassador, Sighelm, had left. They declare that there were many Christians, Manicheans, Jews, and Mussulmen in India and Ceylon; that the king encouraged their meetings, and the learned Hindoos used to attend them; that secretaries were kept at the royal expense to write down their respective histories, and the exposition of their doctrines and laws. That Manicheans existed in India at a very early period, is affirmed by La Croze in his *History of Christianity*.

Marco Polo, who reached India about the year 1292, long before the Portuguese had found their way thither, states that the Christians and Mohammedans were both very numerous at that time in the peninsula.

In the year 1504 four monks of the order of St. James the Cenobite, in Mesopotamia, consecrated bishops of the Indies, whose names were Thomas, Jaballah, James, and Denham, gave to the patriarch of the Nestorians a document in Syriac, in which was given a census of the number of Christians of that sect in the vast regions of Hindostan, and an intimation of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. Prefixed to this was the following short history of the last Indian bishops, dating from the year 1490:—In the year of Alexander 1801*—

* The Syrians and other Asiatics dated their era from the time of Alexander.

1490 of the Christian era—three faithful Christian men came from the remote parts of India to Mar Simeon Catholicus, patriarch of the East, to obtain bishops for their provinces, and to conduct them thither. One of them, by the decree of the Creator, died on his way, the others arrived safely to Mar Catholicus, who was then in the city of Guzartæ. They were gladly received by him. Their names were George and Joseph. They were both ordained by the venerable patriarch in the Church of St. George, in Guzartæ, when they had been sufficiently instructed. They were afterwards sent to the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. Here two monks bearing one name, Raban Joseph, were associated with them, whom Mar Catholicus likewise consecrated bishops in the holy Church of St. George; the one he called Thomas, the other John, and gave them their credentials signed and duly sealed with his ring, and dismissed them with prayers and benedictions; and he ordered them with the Indians to repair to the Indian regions. They reached in safety, by the protection of their divine Redeemer, their destination, and were received by the faithful with transports of joy; and they with equal satisfaction presented to them the gospels, cross, thurible, and fasces. These they introduced with great ceremony, and chanting of psalms and hymns. They consecrated altars, and ordained as many priests as they could, having been a long time without any. Mar John remained a bishop in India, but Mar Thomas and his companion returned after a short time to Catholicus, carrying with them first offerings, oblations, and one servant.

It happened before Mar Thomas returned to India, Mar Simeon Catholicus departed this brief and transitory life, A. D. 1502, and was buried in the monastery of St. Eugenius. Elias Catholicus succeeded to the patriarchate. He selected three, the most worthy of the monks of the convent of St. Eugenius. The first of these was Ruban David, surnamed the Long, whom he appointed metropolitan, and called Mar Jaballaham; the second was called Ruban Georgius, him he consecrated bishop, and ordered to be called Mar Denham; the last, Ruban Masudus, he also consecrated a bishop, and called Mar Jacobus. All these he consecrated in the monastery of St. John, of Egypt, brother of St. Achæas, in the territory of Guzartæ (Zebedee), 1503. Shortly after he dispatched these four into India, and the islands situated between Dabag, and Sin, and Masin. They arrived safely, and there found Mar John, the bishop of India, still living, who, together with his flock, were greatly delighted by their arrival. The fol-

lowing year the fathers wrote to Mar Elias Catholicus, but he did not receive their letter, having been gathered to his fathers, and was buried in the Church of Meschintas, in the city of Mossoul. His successor was Mar Simeon Catholicus. In this letter was given an account of the state in which they found the churches of India, and the following very interesting historical details. There were then thirty thousand families of the same faith with themselves, residing in the same district. They were about erecting some churches, and had ample means for the purpose; the houses of St. Thomas the apostle were occupied by Christians, who also were about repairing them. Meliapore was a distance of twenty-five days' journey from their residence, and situated in the province of Silan, and in a region called Malabar. This region contained twenty cities, three of them celebrated and powerful—Carangol, Palor, and Colom. There were other cities in their neighbourhood, all inhabited by Christians, having churches established among them, and a very great and wealthy city not far distant called Calecutum (Calicut), inhabited by idolatrous infidels; our brothers the Franks, they write, have sent hither from the west large vessels. The voyage occupies a year. They first sailed to the south, and passing by Chus, that is Æthiopia, arrived in India. They trade in pepper and other articles of commerce. The letter then proceeds to state that six large vessels had arrived, and that the Christian Franks were at Calecutum; that several Israelites dwelt there, who, inflamed with their usual animosity to Christians, had stirred up the jealousy of the native ruler, by telling him that the foreigners were greatly taken with the beauty and fertility of the country; and on their return home they would so report to their king that a powerful fleet would be sent by him, a fierce war be waged, and the kingdom be laid waste. That the Indian king, impelled by these insinuations, put to the sword all of them who had landed, to the amount of seventy men, and among these five priests. Those who were on board had hoisted sails and come to Cocen, to the native Christians, as if they were their kindred. An infidel prince ruled also in Cocen, who, moved by the injuries inflicted on the Franks, swore that he would protect them. The King of Calecutum, hearing of their safety, marched against them,—but in the meantime several vessels had arrived from their country; they gave the Indians battle, routed them with the loss of three thousand men, took the city of Calecutum, having attacked it by sea, destroyed the vessels they found there, and put to death about one hundred Jews, who were employed by the natives as pilots. They then proceed to describe the friendly reception they met with from the Franks, the presents of vestments and gold they received, the performance of their religious rites, and conclude by stating that they were about four hundred in number, natives of Portugal, and subjects of King Emanuel.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar was an event which not only affected the pious, simple-minded, and prosperous Christians of India, but it produced a sensation in Europe not less profound than the previous discovery of America. Both events, nearly contemporary, roused mankind from the lethargy by which they had been torpified for ages, and opened new fields of enterprise to the startled energies of Europeans, gave a wholesome impulse to their mental faculties, and were the precursors of those revolutions, religious and political, which fiercely agitated Christendom, and which, whatever were their immediate attendant irregularities, opened a fairer, more exhilarating, and ennobling vista of the future.

Though the authorities quoted by Assemannus imply the existence of a community of feeling between the Syrian Christians and the new arrivals from Portugal, there is no evidence that they had previously any intercourse whatever with the western churches. The discoveries of Vasco da Gama, as shown in a previous chapter, encouraged several Portuguese adventurers to visit India. Of these Pedro Alvares Cabral was the first who conveyed to Europe intelligence of the Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. He spent some time among the native Christians, and on his return to Europe was accompanied by two brothers anxious to visit Europe, and from Portugal to prosecute their journey to Mossoul, to visit the Syrian patriarch, the acknowledged head of their church. Soon after their arrival at Lisbon the elder, Mathias, died, and the younger brother, Joseph, at the instigation, it would appear, of the Portuguese priests, proceeded to Rome, and thence to Venice. Whether he reached Mossoul is not recorded. During his stay in Venice a Latin version of his travels, and an account of his co-religionists in India, was published under the title of the *Voyages of Joseph the Indian*. He returned to Portugal, and thence sailed for his native land, and there closed his career.

On the 20th of May, 1492, the inhabitants of Calicut were surprised by the entrance of four strange vessels into their harbour. These were commanded by Vasco da Gama. Fortunately for the Portuguese they found here

a Moor, who understood the Spanish language. The question which he first put to them, as well as their answer, was characteristic: — "What the devil brought you here?" the Moor pertly asked. "We have come," said the Portuguese, "in search of Christians and spices."

In 1502 Da Gama made a second voyage to India. While he remained, executing the commands of his royal master, a deputation from the native Christians who dwelt in the neighbouring town of Cranganore waited upon him. These the Portuguese manifestly, on the information supplied by themselves, describe as "descendants from the very old stock of those whom the apostle Thomas had converted to sound religion and the faith, from fables and impure superstition." They complained of the oppression and exactions to which they were subjected by the king and the rajahs, and besought the protection of the King of Portugal. They presented to Da Gama a staff of vermillion wood mounted with silver, and ornamented with three bells, which they assured him was the staff of the last of their princes, who had recently died, as a token of their submission, and a tender of their allegiance to his sovereign. This the admiral courteously received, and gave them every assurance that protection should be extended to them, and that such were the instructions he had received from his royal master.

At this time the south-western coast of the peninsula was divided between three powerful princes, who had under them several influential rajahs: these were the Zamorin of Calicut in the centre, the Colastrian rajah to the north, and the rajah of Cochin to the south. Previous to the arrival of the Portuguese the Mohammedans were the chief traders on the coast, had consequently had great influence, and were much courted by the several rivals, and more especially by the zamorin, to whom they paid a duty of ten per cent. on their commercial transactions. The jealousies of trade soon embroiled them with the Portuguese.

In those days the Spaniards and Portuguese were the most enterprising people in the world, and on no theatre did the latter play a more prominent or more successful part than on the coasts of Hindostan. In the course of a few years the shore of Malabar was studded with their factories; in 1510 Calicut, besieged by them, fell into their hands, and in rapid succession they became masters of Diu, Choul, Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and Damaun. Their factories were established at Dabul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon; their rivals were overpowered; their flags commanded the ocean. All the native vessels were compelled to take Christian passes for their safety on the waters; and the Mohammedans, acknowledging their superiority, submitted implicitly to their government. On the opposite shores of Coromandel, they also established a flourishing trade. Though the Portuguese came avowedly for the purposes of cultivating religion and commerce, it does not appear that the first in the order of expression was their primary consideration, very little results of their missionary zeal is apparent in the first forty years of their Indian occupation. This, it must be admitted, was not the fault of the home government. The kings of Portugal were most sincere in their anxiety for the propagation of their faith. There is on record a letter from John III. of Portugal, which clearly proves that the work of conversion was not left entirely to spiritual influences and missionary zeal. His majesty lays down the principle that "pagans may be brought over to his religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment;" and in conformity with his views, he directs that the proselytes, on professing Christianity, be provided with places in the customs, and exempted from impressment in the navy, and sustained by the distribution of rice out of the public revenue. Sir Emerson Tennant remarks, "that those acquainted with the national character of those with whom the Jesuits were so successful, and their obsequiousness to power, and the pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their interest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehending the ease with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions; and although the peculiar religion of the Hindoos in the northern provinces necessarily presented obstacles more formidable than those opposed by the genius of Buddhism in the south, the missionaries engaged in the task were not devoid of expedients by which to overcome both. In the instance of the Cingalese, the miracle was accomplished with ease—the mountain submissively came over to Mohammed; and in the other and more obstinate one of the Tamils, Mohammed was equally prepared to succeed by making his own approach to the mountain." The apathy of the Portuguese colonists in advancing the interests of the church in their newly-acquired territories became the subject of remark at home, and was soon echoed through Europe. The power of

the papal court was at that time in the ascendant in the exclusively Roman Catholic courts of Spain and Portugal. No wave of the Reformation had approached their shores. Their fidelity to Rome was hereditary and unshaken. The papal remonstrances soon stimulated the activity of its agency, and the results were manifested. The devotees of the West were aroused by the miraculous intelligence from the East with which every home-bound vessel was freighted.

To the men of the present day, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, no idea can be conveyed of the electric influence the publication of a miracle produced in the middle ages, and the credulity with which every reported miracle, however apocryphal, was received. The multitudes of those published served but to whet the appetite for more. In the year 1544, a great discovery was announced—the cross and reliques of St. Thomas were found in Meliapore. The Portuguese, as they were pulling down the old chapel, in order to erect a new one, met with a large-sized stone several feet under ground. Having lifted this with miraculous ease, they found all the earth beneath saturated with blood that appeared quite fresh, and thereon was a cross exquisitely executed, after that of the military order of Aviz in Portugal, and over it a dove or peacock—the learned were not agreed which—and above that a blood-stained dagger. On the stone was an inscription in characters not known to any one. There was also a cross with this inscription found, "at the time when Thomas founded this temple, the King of Meliapore made him a grant of the customs of all the merchandizes that were brought into that port, which duty was the tenth part of the goods;" with this cross were also found the bones of St. Thomas, though several writers maintain they had been translated centuries before to Odessa. There was also found an old record of the conversion of the King of Meliapore. This miracle was soon followed by another. The bones of three kings were found in the same grave with those of the apostle, and identified by an ancient manuscript, which gave the following account of them:—The King of Nubia and Arabia was Melchior; Balthasar was King of Goli; and Saba Gaspar was King of Tursi, Insula, and Grisola, or Malabar, where the body of St. Thomas lieth, by whom they were all three consecrated bishops, and were afterwards martyred with him.

A new impulse was now to be given to the Christian missions. Ignatius Loyola had laid the foundation of one of the most remarkable of the many orders of the Roman Church. Recruiting its executive from all peoples and all classes, and recognising, as the passports to favour and distinction, ability, an apparent propriety of demeanour, an unquestioning devotion to its interests—disassociating its priests from all mundane concerns, and those social relations calculated to divide their allegiance, by binding them to a life of celibacy and implicit submission—that church commands an organization prepared for any exigency. The Reformation was making gigantic strides. The most energetic, as well as some of the most able, men of their day, threatened to overthrow its long-established supremacy in all the northern kingdoms of Europe. The Teutonic nations were declaring in favour of national and independent churches, and would in all probability have succeeded, were it not for the new clerical order, the Jesuits, instituted for the repression of the movement. These men combined abilities of the highest cast, zeal never surpassed, activity that never paused, resolution defiant of every difficulty, an absolute submission to the will of the Roman pontiff, and a pliability to adapt every or any means to the accomplishment of their end.

One of the first as well as one of the ablest and most successful of these—the early friend of the founder—was Francis Xavier, better known as the Apostle of the Indies, as his co-religionists love to call him. In his college days, associated with some of the master-minds who had embraced the views of the reformers, he inclined, as did those "who had the greatest reputation for wit," to the doctrines of Luther, and in a letter to his brother declares that were it not for the ascendancy which Ignatius obtained over him, "he could not have defended himself from those young men." The means adopted by Ignatius to mould this youthful enthusiast to his purpose, shows his keen insight into human character. Having one day found Xavier more than ordinarily attentive, he repeated to him these words in a very impressive tone—"What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?" He then added that "a mind so noble and so great as his ought not to confine itself to the vain honours of this world; that celestial glory was the only object worthy of his ambition; and that right reason would require him to prefer that which was eternally to last before what would vanish like a dream." On a mind so sensitive and unsophisticated these laudatory exhortations left a deep impression. After many serious thoughts, and a hard struggling, his biographer states that he took up a solid resolution of treading in the footsteps, and resigning himself unreservedly to the conduct of Ignatius. In reply

to an appeal made to him by John III. of Portugal, for some missionaries for India, Pope Paul III. remitted the whole business to Ignatius, who had lately presented to the pontiff the model of his order, by which he proposed to himself no less a design than the amelioration of the whole world, and the extirpation of the doctrines of the Reformation, which he called heresies. Ignatius recognised in the docility, entire submission, and zeal of his disciple Xavier an agent best adapted to his purpose, and in communicating to him his selection, he omitted nothing that would serve to fix his attention and inspire full confidence. There is in this address an assumption of authority and divine delegation which cannot fail to exhibit the character of Jesuitism at this very early period of its history, when that body consisted of only ten members. "Xavier," said he, "the Almighty has nominated you this day for the Indies. I declare it to you from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive an employment committed to your charge by his holiness, and delivered by my mouth, as if it were conferred on you by our blessed Saviour in person, and rejoice for your finding an opportunity to satisfy that fervent desire which we all have for carrying the faith into remote countries. An entire world is reserved for your endeavours, and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and zeal. Go, my brother, where the voice of God has called you, where the holy see has sent you, and kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you." His naturally susceptible temperament, thus ingeniously worked upon, was kindled into the most fervid zeal. His imagination, so highly wrought upon, assured him that he was the predestined instrument for the conversion of the East, and in this state of ecstatic excitement he was soon fully persuaded that he had special visions and revelations from heaven. Thus prepared, he went to take his leave of Pope Paul, who assured him that heaven had employed him in the mission of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies, for the conquest of souls; that it became him to labour generously in reviving the faith in those countries where it had been planted by that great apostle; and that if it were necessary for him to shed his blood for the glory of Jesus Christ, he should account it his happiness to die a martyr.* On the 15th of March, 1540, as apostolic nuncio, he took his departure from Rome to Portugal, on his way to the East; and on the 7th of April, 1541, he sailed under Don Martin Alphonso di Sosa, viceroy of the Indies, and arrived at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, on the 6th of May, 1542.

The town of Goa is situated on this side of the Ganges, in an island bearing the same name, the seat of the bishop and viceroy, and under the Portuguese the most considerable place in the East for commerce. It had been built by the Moors forty years before the Europeans had passed into the Indies, and wrested from them in 1510, by Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque.

The Portuguese, as has been already remarked, did but very little in the interests of religion. Their zeal soon cooled, and in a very short time they were wholly absorbed by their ambition and avarice. Instead of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of gaining souls to Him, they thought, as their own historians and the biographers of Xavier confess, of nothing more than enlarging their dominion and enriching themselves; and many of the Indians who had been converted to the faith, being neither cultivated by wholesome instructions, nor edified by good examples, forgot insensibly their baptism, and returned to their ancient superstitions. The proselytes who dwelt on the coast, and faithfully persevered in the profession of the faith, were persecuted with great cruelty by the Mohammedans, who were uppermost in many localities, and very wealthy; while the Portuguese authorities were indifferent spectators of the cruelties thus inflicted on them. This cruel usage deterred thousands from professing Jesus Christ, and was the reason that, amongst the infidels, all thoughts of conversion were laid aside. But what appears more wonderful, the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolaters than Christians. In a report which was sent to King John III., by a man of high rank and authority, and worthy of all belief, some months before the arrival of Xavier, it is recorded that "every man kept as many mistresses as he pleased, and maintained them openly in his own house, even in quality of lawful wives. They bought women or took them away by force, either for their service or to make money of them. Their masters taxed them at a certain sum per day; and for default of payment, inflicted on them all sorts of punishment, to such an extent, that those unhappy creatures, not being able sometimes to work out the daily rate imposed on them, were forced upon the infamous traffic of their bodies, and to become public prostitutes, to satisfy the avarice of their sordid masters. Justice was sold at the tribunals, and the most enormous crimes escaped from punishment when the criminals were affluent enough to corrupt the judges. All methods for accu-

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 39.

mulating wealth were considered lawful, however opposed to honesty and justice, and extortion was openly advocated. Murder was reckoned but a venial trespass, and was frequently boasted of as a proof of bravery."

The Bishop of Goa, to little purpose, threatened them with the wrath of heaven and the thunders of excommunication. No dam was sufficient for such a deluge; their hearts were hardened against spiritual threatenings and anathemas; the deprivation of the sacraments was no punishment to such wicked wretches, who were glad to be rid of them. "The use of confessions and communions —observances of the greatest religious obligation among Roman Catholics—were, in a manner, abolished; and if any one by chance was struck with remorse of conscience, and desired to reconcile himself to God, *at the foot of a priest* he was constrained to steal by night to his devotions, to avoid the scandal to his neighbour." *

There were not four preachers in all the Indies, nor one priest without the walls of Goa. In many fortified places whole years were passed without hearing a sermon or a mass.

If this were the degraded and sickening aspect of affairs presented in a professing Christian community, what estimate may be formed of the condition of native society? Indeed, the Indians are represented as leading the life of beasts rather than of men. "Uncleanness had risen to the last excess among them, and the least corrupt were those who had no religion."

The author of the *History of Christianity in India*, after stating that Xavier had waited on the Bishop of Goa with his credentials, and was received with all the kindness and confidence due to one so accredited, makes the following pertinent and interesting preliminary observations:—"The bishop promised to support him in his mission, for which he was no doubt thankful, but he sought the protection of a higher Power, without which he knew that all human aid would be of no avail. For this purpose he shut himself up in one of the churches, and spent the whole of the first night in India in prayer—an example worthy the imitation of missionaries of a purer creed. His first attention was given to the Portuguese. Xavier must have felt that it would be in vain to endeavour to convert the heathen to a religion, the moral character of whose professors was so inferior to their own. He, therefore, set himself vigorously to work to reform this state of things; and although there was much puerile superstition in the means he used, yet they were such as the Portuguese were accustomed to; and in a short time, it is said, he had the satisfaction of observing a general improvement in their conduct. There were several circumstances which would tend to conciliate them, and insure their attention: the novelty of his appearance and zeal, the eloquence and boldness with which he rebuked their vices, the great humility and self-denial of one whom they knew to be of such noble origin, and, above all, the countenance of the viceroy, who was known to have the King of Portugal's commands to afford him every protection, gave him an influence which could not be resisted, and induced many to lay aside the sins against which he so ardently and so steadily inveighed. But must all the honour be given to these means and motives? Notwithstanding the defect of his own knowledge, and the absence of all proof that he preached the unadulterated gospel of reconciliation, yet may we not hope that the Holy Ghost was vouchsafed, in answer to his midnight prayer, to produce these convictions in the hearts of some, whose sins he vehemently denounced, and before whom he placed the awful consequences of their lives in the future world? And may there not have been enough of the Saviour in his preaching to encourage the humble penitent to hope for pardon and peace through the atonement of the cross? Such a hope is too cheering, amid all this darkness, not to be gladly entertained." *

Xavier was convinced that the best course for him to pursue was to instruct the Portuguese youth in the principles of religion, and that by those means Christianity would be seen to revive in Goa. He had crowds of them constantly about him, whom he led to the churches, and there expounded to them the apostle's creed and the commandments of God. Thus they soon became attentive and modest, and a silent censure of that debauchery which appeared in their seniors. The unerring evidences of a thorough reformation soon manifested themselves. They cancelled their unlawful bonds and covenants of extortion; they set their slaves at liberty; made restitution of their ill-gotten goods; and, lastly, turned away their concubines, whom they were unwilling to possess by a lawful marriage.

While at Goa Xavier was invited to take charge of a seminary, established there for the education of the native heathen youth.

* See the Jesuit father Bohour's *Life of Xavier*. All these particulars are taken from works by Roman Catholic priests—not one from Protestant writers.

* The Rev. James Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 173.

The students had come from all the adjacent countries, and spoke nine or ten different languages. The superior importance of his missionary duties impelled him to decline this invitation; but his good sense made him appreciate the advantages to be realized from such an institution properly managed. He had so organized this establishment as to make it subservient to his designs for the conversion of the natives. He called it the College of St. Paul, and obtained its transfer to his own society, and hence it is that the Jesuit missionaries in India are frequently called "the fathers of St. Paul." The sphere of his operations had now so enlarged, that in writing to Rome he said, that "if it had been possible for him to have been at once in ten places he should not have wanted for employment."

This was the promising state of affairs when Michael Vaz, Vicar-general of the Indies, informed Xavier that on the oriental coast which extends from Cape Comorin to the Isle of Manaar, called the coast of Fishery, there dwelt a tribe called *Paravas*, or fishers, who were chiefly occupied in pearl, chank, and other fisheries. These people had nothing more of Christianity than baptism and the name, through want of pastors to instruct them. On this mission he embarked about the midst of October, 1542, in a galliot, which carried the new captain of Comorin, accompanied by two young ecclesiastics of Goa, who were tolerably acquainted with the language of Malabar. Having ascertained that the two churchmen who accompanied him as interpreters were not equal to the task they had undertaken, he ceased to address the natives through them, and had recourse to another expedient. He managed to engage in his service some of the people of the country who understood Portuguese. These and the priests he consulted for many days together, and by persevering labour he translated into the tongue of the Paravas the words of the sign of the cross, the apostle's creed, the commandments, the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, the *confiteor*, the *Salve Regina*, and, in fine, the whole catechism. Having finished his task, he committed to memory as much as he could of them, and made the circuit of the villages, thirty in number, about half of which were baptized, the rest being idolaters. "I went about," he himself records, "with my bell in my hand, and gathering together all I met, both men and children, I instructed them in the Christian doctrine. The children learnt it easily by heart in the compass of a month; and when they understood it I charged them to teach it to their parents, to all of their own family, and even to their neighbours. On Sunday I assembled the men and women, the little boys and girls, in the chapel. All came to my appointment with an incredible joy and most ardent desire to hear the word of God. I began with confessing God to be one in nature and triune in person. I afterwards repeated distinctly and with an audible voice the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, and the apostle's creed. All of them together repeated after me, and it is hardly to be imagined what pleasure they took in it. This being done, I repeated the creed singly, and, insisting on every particular article, asked if they certainly believed it. They all protested to me, with loud cries, and their hands across their breasts, that they firmly believed it. My practice is to make them repeat the creed oftener than the other prayers, and I declare to them, at the same time, that they who believe the contents of it are true Christians. From the creed I pass to the ten commandments, and give them to understand that the Christian law is comprised in these precepts; that he who keeps them all, according to his duty, is a good Christian, and that eternal life is decreed to him; that, on the contrary, whoever violates one of these commandments, is a bad Christian, and that he shall be damned eternally in case he repents not of his sins. Both the new Christians and the pagans admire our law as holy and reasonable, and consistent with itself. Having done as I told you, my custom is to repeat with them the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation; once again we recite the creed, and at every article, besides the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, we intermingle some short prayer; for having pronounced aloud the first article, I begin thus, and they say after me, 'Jesus, thou Son of the living God, give me grace to believe firmly this first article of thy faith, and with this intention we offer unto thee that prayer of which thou thyself art the Author.' . . . . The same method is observed in all the other articles, and almost in the same manner we run over the ten commandments."

This is a fair specimen of Xavier's usual mode of proceeding with the natives, whether heathens or nominal Christians. From what is here stated, on his own authority, it is manifest that he did not possess the miraculous and apostolic gift of tongues so boldly claimed for him in after years. But it appears also that after this laborious exercise he both thoroughly understood and spoke the Malabar language. It is generally believed that in a very little time he learnt the most difficult languages, and, by the report of many persons, he spoke them so well and naturally, that he

could not have been taken for a foreigner. Such was his success, that, as he testifies in one of his letters, he wanted words to tell it; and the multitude of those who had received baptism was so vast, that with the labour of continual christenings he was not able to lift up his arms, and his voice often failed him in saying so many times over and over the apostle's creed and ten commandments, with a short instruction, which he always made, concerning the duties of a true Christian, before he baptized those who were of age. He spent fifteen months among these people; he appointed catechists for their instruction; he built churches in most of the villages, and was enabled to provide funds for the mission out of the public treasury. His efforts among the Brahmins had so little success, that he desisted, and confined himself to the Paravas. When he departed for Goa he selected some of the most promising of their youths to accompany him, and these he had educated for the ministry in the College of St. Paul. This establishment is another singular instance of the shrewd appreciation of circumstances and provisional caution blended with the enthusiasm of the members of the Jesuit Society, which should not be overlooked by the preachers of the gospel. It having been observed that previously to Xavier's missionary labours Christianity had made no progress, it was concluded that the causes of the failure were chiefly these: the difficulty the Europeans had in mastering the Indian languages, and overcoming local prejudices, so strong that if an Indian happened to be converted his kindred exercised no charity towards him; and the children of the faithful who died poor were left destitute of succour in their need. To remedy these growing evils the College of St. Paul was founded, and so amply endowed, that all the idolatrous children who turned "Christians, of whatever country, were received into it."* How humiliatingly does the apathy of the Protestant clergy in India, in the beginning of this century, contrast with this zeal. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches*, draws a picture in striking colours of the shameful neglect of the Protestant churches—and not neglect merely, but the studied hostility to the preaching of the word of God; writing from Ceylon in 1808, he says, "the Dutch ministers who formerly officiated here (in the Protestant vineyard of Jaffnapatam), some of whom had congregations of two thousand, have gone to Europe. The whole district is left in the hands of the Romish priests, who, perceiving the indifference of the English nation to their own religion, have assumed quiet and undisturbed possession of the land." "'What wonder,' said a Romish priest to me, 'that your nation should be so little interested about the conversion of pagans to Christianity, when it does not even give teachers to its own subjects who are already Christians.' I was not surprised to hear that great numbers of Protestants every year go back to idolatry. It is perhaps true that the religion of Christ has never been so disgraced in any age of the church as it has been lately by official neglect of the Protestant church in Ceylon." Ceylon had then a population of half a million Christians, and not one complete copy of the Scriptures in the vernacular. The reverend doctor elsewhere remarks—"Perhaps it is not generally known in England that our Bengal and Madras governments do not patronise the native Christians. They give official patronage to Mohammedans and Hindoos generally in preference to natives professing Christianity. The chief argument for the retention of this system is precedent: it was the practice of the first settlers. It is certain that this system confirms prejudice, exposes our religion to contempt in the eyes of the natives, and precludes every ray of hope of the future prevalence of Christianity at the seats of government."*

The policy here stigmatised differs widely from that which is now likely to prevail in the councils of the Indian government.

Enough for the present purpose has been said of the labours of Xavier. The results may be summed in a sentence. The inhabitants of whole districts professed Christianity; such was the number of catechumens who presented themselves for baptism, that it is affirmed that the arms of the priests fell down from fatigue. Many episcopal sees were created: in 1517 and 1611 the archbishopries of Goa and Cranganore, and 1557 and 1606 the bishoprics of Cochin and Malacca and St. Thome de Meliapore. After the example of the Jesuits the other principal orders founded missions in different parts. From the frontiers of Thibet to Cape Comorin there was nearly a million, nominally, in spiritual subjection to Rome; and the missionaries assured an over-credulous world that this was merely the seed of an over-abundant harvest. Though the reputed number of his proselytes was so considerable as to obtain for Xavier the honour of canonization after his death, it must be confessed that the present condition of the descendants of those poor converts who crowded to hear him, and listened with such ardent devotion to his discourses, testifies neither to their increase of human or divine knowledge,

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 135.

* *Christian Researches in India*, p. 93.

and afford but small corroboration of the preternatural gifts claimed for this great man; indeed, the annals of the Portuguese church in the East, during and immediately after his ministration, are as frequently disgraced by credulity and bigotry as they were in the parent state.*

In the quotations previously given from Assemannus, it has been seen with what gratification the resident Christians of the coast of Malabar had hailed the arrival of the Portuguese. The expectations they so sanguinely entertained of sympathy, protection, and community, from the assurances made to them, were never realized; indeed, very little mention is made of them in the proceedings of the European papal missionaries for several years. The cause of this was, that though the Portuguese were agreeably surprised to find, on their arrival, upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar, after a short time they ascertained that they repudiated many of the doctrines and observances which in the West were considered orthodox. "These churches," said the Europeans, "belong to the pope."—"Who is the pope?" said the natives; "we never heard of him." The priests were yet more alarmed when they found that these Christians maintained order and discipline distinct from the Roman,† that they were all Jacobites or Nestorians, and acknowledged the authority of a bishop, sent sometimes by the Jacobite patriarch of Nineveh, and sometimes by the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon, who assumed the title of Bishop of Angamale. So little were they acquainted with the subtleties, subsequent to the apostolic period, that the Roman Catholic writers state, in a tone of reproach, "they could not distinguish between the conflicting creeds of Eutychus and Nestorius. The bishops, not less indifferent than the clergy and people, were satisfied with possessing, exteriorly, the doctrines of the patriarch from whom they received their mission."‡ "We," said they, "are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be, for we come from the place§ where the followers of Christ were first called Christians." When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil and independent churches, established in the mountains and along the coast, seized some of the clergy, and doomed them to the death of heretics. Then for the first time was heard among these congregations, that Christianity pressed into its service such instruments as the Inquisition, and that for their conversion it had been imported into the neighbouring town of Goa. The terrors of such agencies did not here, as they did not elsewhere, contribute to change the convictions of their victims. On the contrary, as might be expected, the people more resolutely adhered to their ancient tenets, and forced their persecutors, for conscience' sake, to have recourse to other means of a conciliatory character. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon. They shortly after this aggression convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches, at a town called Diamper, near Cochin, on the 20th of June, in the year 1599, at which the Roman Catholic archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod a hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. The objects which the archbishop had in contemplation are revealed by himself in the circular with which he summoned the synod:—"Pope Clement the Eighth, our Lord Bishop of Rome, and Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, by virtue of his pastoral office, and that universal power bequeathed to the supreme, holy, and apostolical chair of St. Peter over all the churches in the world by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord and Redeemer, he commanded us, upon the death of the Archbishop Mar Abraham, to take possession of this church and bishopric, so as not to suffer any bishop or prelate coming from Babylon to enter therein, as has been hitherto the custom, all that come from thence being schismatics, heretics, and Nestorians, out of the obedience of the holy Roman church, and subject to the patriarch of Babylon, the head of the said heresy."

The proceedings of the synod of Diamper are of great significance. They supply an historic record, from the most unquestionable authorities, of the faith and practice both of the Roman and Syrian churches at the time of their publication.

The following are the three leading doctrines of Christianity which appear always to have been held by the Christians in India:—1st. Salvation by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ for the sins of mankind. 2nd. The necessity of the new birth, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost, before any can believe and be saved. 3rd. The Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, as defined in the Athanasian Creed, but without its damnatory clauses. In these fundamental tenets the Syrian church agreed with every orthodox church in Christendom. From the summary subjoined, and drawn from authentic sources, it will appear how far she agreed with the

* See Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 206.

† Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 107.

‡ Memoir addressed by Dr. St. Anne, Bishop of Amala, and Vicar Apostolic. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40.

§ Antioch.

reformed churches of England, Scotland, and other nations, and in what respects she differed from the church of Rome.

The Syrian church rejected the papal supremacy, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, condemned the adoration of images as idolatrous, but respected the figure of the cross, which was venerated, and placed in all their churches. She maintained that the church of Rome had corrupted the true faith, and had set up many human inventions. The Syrian church knew nothing of the intercession of saints—of purgatory—of masses and prayers for the dead—of the use of holy oil in the administration of baptism—of extreme unction—of auricular confession, nor of the celibacy of the clergy. The wives of the ministers were called *cataniaries*, and took precedence of other women at church, and every where else. They were distinguished with a gold cross, or one of inferior metal, suspended from the neck. This primitive church denied matrimony to be a sacrament; recognised but two orders amongst her ministers, *kasheeshas* and *shumshanas* (pastors and deacons); no bishops, in the sense Episcopalians apply this title to the minister of greatest authority in their churches.* She celebrated the communion with cakes, mixing the meal with a little oil and salt: Mar Joseph was the first who introduced the wafer and wine of Portugal at this sacrament. The elements were consecrated with prayer, and administered in both kinds to all communicants; the members of all the churches were admitted to communion; nothing was known of the papal doctrine, that regards as heretics all that are not members of their own church, believing that every faithful disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ would be saved to whatever communion he belonged. In all questions of doctrine an appeal was made to the authority of the sacred Scriptures as decisive, and not to the traditions of the fathers, or decisions of the church, or interpretations of their ministers. She is said to have held three sacraments—baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders; it is doubtful, however, whether she admitted more than the first two of these ordinances under that designation.

To correct all these "errors" and "abuses," as the Roman authorities have thought well to stigmatize them, and to subject the native Christians in all things to the see of Rome, was the design and business of the council of Diamper. How precious was the boon thus intended to be bestowed, may be inferred from the following description, furnished by a Carmelite missionary, of the Portuguese Christians with whom it was proposed to associate them in religious worship:—"The Christians who live in the Portuguese colonies in India are composed of three classes: the first are the soldiers, who come from Portugal, and are called *regnicoles*; the second are called *metifs*, the descendants of the former; the third are the slaves that have been converted to the faith. The first class—the nobility among them excepted—are the dregs of Portugal, for the most part a seditious people, covered with crimes, and banished from their country. The second class are ill-educated, extremely effeminate, and abandoned to all kinds of sensual indulgence. The third are a wild race, totally incapable of instruction, and ferocious in the extreme. In a climate so warm as that which these people inhabit, their natural propensity to evil is always on the increase—indeed, many of them actually believe vice to be necessary. It is incredible with what envy and thorough malevolence they persecute one another, and that for the most trivial offence. Such is their immodesty that we cannot venture to describe it. The men and women live in continual idleness, passing all their days together perfectly naked, without the least respect for each other, or any regard to the difference of sexes. They are incessantly chewing betel, cardamons, and areca, which are heating and intoxicating drugs. They are also perpetually smoking tobacco. This mode of living is enough to set their bowels in a flame, which are already almost burnt up by the heat of the climate which they inhabit. From these general causes one may easily comprehend what must be the conduct of this people; but I will gladly omit a more particular detail in order to spare the reader's feelings." *

The benefits which the native Christians derived from the benevolent intentions of the council of Diamper will be best appreciated by a brief consideration of their condition and status previously, and the changes which resulted. The Christian communities, some time previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, were independent, and ruled by a king of their own creed and lineage; and when they came to be governed, on the decline of their former consequence, by Hindoo princes, they were almost on a par with their sovereigns. They were allowed to have a military force of their own, which was composed principally of Shenars—the caste that culti-

* Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 109, note. Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. ii. p. 13.

* Vincenzo-Maria, lib. II. c. xviii. pp. 202, 203. To the testimony of the missionary here quoted might be added that of Linschot, Tavernier, and other travellers, all Portuguese or Italians. See Hough, vol. ii. p. 331.

vates the palm-tree. Beside the Brahmins, they were the only people permitted to have inclosures before their houses. They possessed the right of mounting and travelling on elephants, a distinction which they and the heir-apparent exclusively shared. They were allowed to sit even on a carpet in presence of the rajah and his ministers of state, an honour conceded to foreign ambassadors. During the sixteenth century the Rajah of Paru proposed to extend this last-named privilege to the nadis of his dominions, but the Christians immediately declared war against him if he persevered, and he was compelled by that threat to relinquish his design. These immunities and honours rendered the dignity of their recognised chief, spiritual or political, so considerable, that, as the Italian missionary, Vincenzo-Maria, has testified, he was as highly esteemed as a king.

To obliterate all evidences of the former independence of their churches, the council decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned, in order, as they averred, that no *pretended* apostolical monuments should remain. The reconciliation effected by the decrees of the council was partial, conditional, and short-lived. The churches on the sea-coast alone submitted to the supremacy of the pope; the churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. The Latin rite was accepted, but they insisted on the retention of the liturgy and language of the Chaldean church. They were not long submissive to the yoke imposed upon them. After a show of obedience, for a little time, they strenuously protested against the Inquisition, and in the year 1653 repudiated the authority of the Roman bishop who then governed them, the pope, and the Roman church. They returned to their primitive mode of worship, and placed at their head a superior of their own rite. Four hundred families alone of the nation, and the Latin parishes to the number of eleven, remained faithful to papal authority.* Such was the hatred engendered against the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, a very numerous body, and influential, that Pope Alexander VII., in 1656, sent four Italian religious from Rome of the Carmelite order, who commenced a mission in Malabar, which exists to the present day.

To a person carefully recapitulating the efforts of the Jesuits in India, and the means which were employed for the conversion of the natives, it does not at all appear strange, that with the apparent success which attended the labours of Xavier, no permanent good was effected. His personal character had done much towards securing his success. "It appears," says the reverend historian so often referred to, "to have been unexceptionable; and this, as well as his standard of Christian morals for his disciples, may be fairly attributed to the instructions and impressions he had received in early life through his Protestant associates at Paris. His missionary character, also, in many respects, is worthy of admiration. For grandeur of design, and diligence in the execution, for disinterested love to man, for bold fidelity to persons of the highest, and engaging condescension to men of the lowest estate, for unwearied devotion, self-denial, renunciation of the world, intrepidity in dangers, and many other estimable qualities, he has left behind him an example which has never been surpassed since the apostles' days. Could all this pure metal have been detached from the dross with which it was mixed, and cast into the mould of God's word, he would have formed one of the brightest and best instruments ever used to deliver mankind from the bondage of Satan, and restore them to their rightful Lord. . . . Let us pray that every future missionary of a purer creed may have grace to live as much to the Redeemer's glory, and to the extension of his kingdom in this world, as Francis Xavier lived for the reputation of his order, and for the interests of the Roman church." *

The religious influence and high perception of moral duty which regulated the conduct of Xavier, found no reflex in the conduct of his associates and successors. The sketch drawn of their operations by a friendly and sacerdotal hand, even in its mellowed tints, is a revolting picture of what sophistication is capable. The following is from the pages of the *Annales de Propagation de la Foi*:— "After St. Francis Xavier had departed from the Indian peninsula, other missionary Jesuits arrived from all the Catholic countries of Europe to labour for the conversion of the natives, so gloriously begun by that great man. He had confined his preaching to the coast; they penetrated to the interior. Having studied the genius and character of the people, they believed that in order to command attention, gain their confidence, conciliate their esteem, and induce them to listen to them, it became them to respect their prejudices, and even to conform to their habits, and to adopt their manners and costumes."

The better to promote their designs, they publicly proclaimed that they were European Brahmins, and had come from a country five

* *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40, p. 149.

* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 211.

thousand leagues distant, to acquire the learning of the Indians and to communicate their own. The knowledge which a great number of the missionaries had of astronomy and medicine, contributed to win for them the respect and confidence of men of every rank and condition. Having announced themselves as Brahmins, they studiously began to assimilate themselves to that caste in their social intercourse, manner of dress, frequent ablutions, and in their abstinence; they absolutely refrained from eating flesh meat, desiring as the Apostle Paul, "to make themselves all things to all men," the more easily to gain people to Jesus Christ. It was by such contrivances and privations, scarcely credible, that the Jesuits introduced themselves to the Hindoos, and won their confidence. Reared on such an unstable foundation, it is no matter of surprise if the edifice which they erected soon crumbled into dust, and left barely the remembrance of its temporary existence.

This short sketch of the religious history of India, from the days of St. Thomas to the arrival of the Dutch, may be appropriately followed by a summary of the present condition of Roman Catholicism in India, and a statement of the papal ecclesiastical divisions into which it is now partitioned. Too little attention is paid in this country to the comprehensive and well-arranged schemes, and persevering labours of the emissaries of Rome, to make proselytes in the East. The zeal manifested by them to propagate their tenets, is calculated to put to the blush the Protestantism of Great Britain, and other Bible-reading nations.

The archdiocess of Goa, created in 1567, comprises the territory of that city, Gujerat, and perhaps the Deccan, and Nagpore. San Pedro is the archiepiscopal residence, it is near the Villa Nova de Goa, where the population of the ancient capital, now depopulated, is concentrated. This see has been vacant for some years, but it is provisionally filled by an administrator named by the Portuguese government, in opposition, the papal advocates say, to the laws of the church. This diocess is distracted by schisms.

The French settlements, which are subject to the colonial administration, are placed under the jurisdiction of a prefect-apostolic, who resides at Pondicherry; the other four districts are entrusted to the priests of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost, in Paris; there is, however, but one at Chandernagore. Kankal is under the spiritual government of the Society of Foreign Missions. The rest of India forms seven vicariates-apostolic: —

1. The vicariate-apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan comprises the north of India from near the tropics, Nepaul and perhaps Bhotan, which may be considered provinces of Thibet, a part of the country of the Mahrattas, and that of the Rajpoots; the Sikhs, and Affghans, as far as Persia, are also within its circumscription, but do not contain any Roman Catholics.

2. The vicariate-apostolic of Bengal comprises the missions which the Jesuits possessed in that country. Calcutta contains about ten thousand Roman Catholics, and possesses three churches; there may be the same number at Dacca, and in other parts of Bengal. In 1840 the mission and college were attended by six Jesuits, assisted by six Portuguese priests who have submitted to the new jurisdiction, and three who have been educated at the Propaganda.

3. It is not easy to determine with precision the circumscription of the vicariate-apostolic of Madras. The bull of 1838 assigns it to the ancient dependencies of the diocess of San Thome de Meliapore, which had not previously been disposed of. It is supposed that it comprises the coast of the Carnatic to the south, the cities of Gondalore and Porto Novo to the north, the shore as far as Masulipatam or the mouth of the Kistna, as far as Bengal; it would even seem that the interior of India, to the north of that river, is to be added as far as Nidzam and Nagpore, for the vicar of Madras sends missionaries there. The ancient episcopal city of Meliapore, near Madras, is included in this vicariate. Madras is the episcopal residence; there were three churches in the city in 1840, and four others in the suburbs and vicinity; the number of Roman Catholics was then computed at twenty thousand, ministered to by an Irish vicar, assisted by seven of his countrymen.

4. The vicariate-apostolic of Bombay extends along the coast from Surat in the north to Rajpore in the south. The priests here are numerous, the most of them Italian Carmelites, with a few natives. The Christian population, though not ascertained, is said to be considerable.

5. The vicariate-apostolic of Verapolio is formed of the archdiocesses of Cranganore and the diocess of Cochin. It comprises Malabar and Travancore; that is to say, the whole coast from Cape Comorin to within a short distance of Goa. The chain of the Ghauts forms its limits towards the interior. Five missionaries and a considerable number of native priests, who follow the Chaldean rite, exercise the ministry. There were, at the date above given, seventy-eight churches or chapels, and near two hundred thousand Christians.

6. The vicariate-apostolic of Pondicherry was erected in 1777, in favour of the Society of Foreign Missions, who for a long time had supported many priests there. The bull of 1838, by enlarging its jurisdiction, has added to it the south of India, from Cape Comorin to the Kistna, with the exception of those parts of the coast reserved to Madras; all that part of the vicariate of Pondicherry to the south of the river Cavery, with the exception of Tanjore and its provinces, and the port of Nagapatam, is entrusted to the administration of the Jesuits, who, however, are subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and receive their faculties from him. This part, which comprises Madura and Marava, is divided into three districts, that of Trichnopoly to the north, that of Madura in the centre, and that of Tinnevelly. Six Jesuits, assisted by some native priests, are charged with a Christian population of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. This is the classic soil of their boasted ancient triumphs, and of the conquests of Francis Xavier. The territory which has remained under the exclusive administration of the Society of Foreign Missions is divided into twelve districts, including Tanjore; twenty-two missionaries and three native priests were charged with the spiritual instruction of eighty thousand Christians; the episcopal residence is Pondicherry. The Maldive Islands have been attached to this mission.

7. The vicariate-apostolic of Ceylon was erected in 1836. This island, the entire population of which amounts to over one million and a half, contains no less than two hundred thousand professing Christians. The Roman Catholic clergy boast of the possession of two hundred and fifty-six churches.

The details here given are collected from the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, and are to be received with the reserve due to an *ex parte* statement. Further particulars respecting this interesting island will be found in a previous chapter.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE MOHAMMEDANS IN INDIA.

THE year 622 is the first of the Hegira, or the Mohammedan era—an epoch, one of the most remarkable in the history of the human race, distinguished by the introduction of a new religion, an important revolution, and a personage whose achievements and power have left a lasting impression.

Arabia is a peninsula separated from Persia by the Persian Gulf, from Egypt by the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. The inhabitants claim descent from Joktan, the son of Heber, who they allege laid the foundation of the Arabian empire, shortly after the dispersion of Babel, and the confusion of language. A long list of kings from Joktan to Mohammed is preserved by the Arabs; but there is very little doubt that many of those who swell it are purely imaginary, and, indeed, like the early chronology of all countries, it is not within the power of man to verify that of Arabia.

Interesting and instructive would be an inquiry to ascertain,—by what means the Arabs preserved themselves independent of the ancient Egyptians; what enabled them to treat so contemptuously the power of Alexander the Great, that when he threatened their destruction, they disdained to send ambassadors to deprecate his displeasure; the forces which they opposed to the armies of Antigonus and Demetrius; the incursions they repeatedly made into Syria, even when that kingdom was subject to the Romans; why Pompey refrained from conquering them, and rested satisfied with some annual tribute; what obstacles arrested the expedition organized against them by Augustus Cæsar; to what extent the Roman historian exaggerated the successes of Trajan and Severus in that country, and what coerced both these emperors to abandon it; whence came the Saracens; at what period they allied themselves to the Arabs; the extent of their ravages in Egypt, in Palestine, in Phœnicia, before the Mohammedan era. All that is accurately known is, that Arabia was free, independent, and peaceable; that the Jews and Christians, persecuted elsewhere, here found refuge, and, forgetting their mutual animosities, were united in amity amongst themselves and with the heathen,—conflicting tenets no longer estranged them. To an artful master-mind, imbued with no fixed opinions, prepared to adopt every expedient to ensure success, was presented an opportunity of uniting in one mass, on the basis of common objects, men who had become indifferent to creed. In 569 was born at Mecca a man whose destiny it was to accomplish such a feat, and to produce a radical change in the aspect of the East. Ignorant, ambitious, and originally of ardent temperament, he became a fanatic, and soon after an impostor. He pretended to special

communications with the angel Gabriel, and claimed the power of working miracles. He was a man of strong feeling, cruel and enthusiastic, and in every way qualified to exercise the greatest influence over his countrymen. Having elsewhere given an elaborate portrait of this singular man, enough has been said of him for the present purpose. The tenets of his religion were few and easily remembered. "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The rewards promised to his followers were calculated to develop to its fullest extent the warlike propensities of his race. "The sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."* The alternative left to the foe was "the Koran, tribute, or the sword."

The results of such a system, with such a people, responded to the sanguine expectations of the prophet chief. He soon conquered Arabia, laid waste the fertile plains of Syria, set at defiance the Eastern empire, founded a new one, and converted millions to his creed. At his death, like Alexander the Great, he left no son to occupy the throne; his empire lay exposed, the prize of the most enterprising of his followers. Though Ali was not only his cousin and son-in-law, but also—a claim of far greater weight with his fanatical followers—the first of his converts, Abubekir, the father of one of his many wives, succeeded to his temporal and spiritual power. In a campaign in Palestine Abubekir achieved many victories, and with equal success he propagated the pretended revelations of Mohammed. He reigned only two years. Although the followers of the Prophet were thus early severed into two sects—the Shites, the followers of Ali, and the Sonnites—the brilliant career of Omar, who succeeded to the supreme power, under the imposing title of "Commander of the Faithful," magnified the dignity and power of the caliph, or vicar of the Prophet. Wherever this intrepid prince directed the tide of war, conquests crowned his arms. On the banks of the Yermuk forty thousand Greeks paled before the Crescent, and Palestine was wrested from the feeble hold of the Christians. The capture of Damascus, the fall of Jerusalem, the rout of the Persians, the conquest of Egypt, and the acquisition of all the northern parts of Africa to the waters of the Atlantic from the Romans, were some of the achievements of Omar. To him is ascribed the destruction by fire of the library of Alexandria in 641. In the midst of triumph he fell in 644, in the tenth year of his reign, by the hand of an assassin, and was succeeded by Othman, who, during the twelve years of his reign, was a zealous propagator of the doctrines of the Koran, and a successful prosecutor of the Eastern conquests commenced by his predecessors. He was the victim of a conspiracy, and perished in the thirty-fifth year of the Hegira, and 656 of the Christian era. Ali at length was proclaimed caliph, though strenuously opposed by Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, and mother of the faithful. He overcame Zobeir and Talher, who took up arms in her defence, and eventually got possession of herself, and had her conveyed with every mark of respect to Medina. In an insurrection he was slain, and was succeeded by his son Hassan, who was forced to abdicate, in A.D. 661, after a short reign of six months, in favour of Mauwiyah, who was the first caliph of the race of the Ommiades.

At the death of the second Caliph Omar, the kingdom of Persia, as far east as Herat, lately in possession of English troops, was overrun by the Arabs, and in A.D. 650 the Arab frontier had been extended to the river Oxus, including Balk and all of the country to the north of the Hindoo Koosh. The Indus became its eastern boundary.

Ferishta relates that in the year 664, the third of the reign, the Caliph Mauwiyah, an Arab ameer of distinction, marched from Merv to Cabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons, and that a detachment from thence penetrated, in the direction of India, as far as Mooltan, and having plundered the country, returned to head-quarters at Khorassan, bringing with them many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts.

Cabul about this time was reduced to subjection, as the Persian historian records that Yezeed, having learned that the prince of that country had thrown off his allegiance, marched against him with a force to recover the province, but was defeated in a pitched battle.* In revenge for this disgrace, Tilla, governor of Siestan, having collected a large force, subdued Cabul, and appointed an Arab governor over it. Eighteen years after this Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, led in person a large army against Cabul, and having taken every precaution to escape further surprise, he entered it, and soon reduced it to entire submission. A singular circumstance induced Abdurehman to forfeit his allegiance.

* The Koran, *passim*.

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 5

At this time Hejaj was governor of Basra, and to him all the generals in Persia were subordinate. Hejaj was a man of the most violent and sanguinary character. He is said to have remarked after an interview with Abdurchman that he was very handsome, but that he never looked upon him without feeling an unaccountable inclination to cut his throat. Apprehending serious results from this antipathy, he immediately contracted an alliance with the lately chastised Rajah of Cabul, and assembling a numerous army, waged open war not alone on his enemy Hejaj, but on the caliph himself, whom he defeated, and seized on Basra, and thence marched to Cufa, lately the capital of the empire, and took possession of it. However, he was eventually defeated, after a struggle protracted through two years, and obliged to fly to his old government, and was on the point of being made prisoner at Siestan, when the prince of Cabul arrived to his relief. He now a second time renewed his preparations with similar results, and to escape falling into the hands of his enemies he put an end to his life.*

Ferishta relates that during all this time the Affghans were Moslems, and, according to their own traditions, were converted in the time of the Prophet. He further adds that in the year 63 of the Hegira (A.D. 684-5) they issued from their mountains, and invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries,—as Kirman, Sheownran, and Peshawur,—and with their allies, the Gukkurs, defeated the Rajah of Lahore, and compelled him to cede in perpetuity a portion of his territories. In return it was secretly provided by treaty that they should protect the Indian frontier from Mohammedan invasion.

The first appearance of the Mohammedans in India was in A.D. 664. Mohalib, a chief who had distinguished himself in Persia and Arabia, was detached on that occasion from the invading army, and penetrated to Mooltan; but it is a fact, and not accounted for, that no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.†

The next invasion is described as of a more permanent character, and is said to have proceeded from the south-eastern point of Persia into the country stretching from the mouth of the Indus, then ruled by a Hindoo prince called Dahir by the Mussulmen, whose capital was at Alor, near Bakkar, and whose territories included Mooltan and all Scinde, with probably the adjoining plain of the Indus, extending to the mountains at Calabagh.

Arab incursions are alleged to have been made in the reign of the Caliph Omar, and Ferishta states that the Affghans gave an asylum to the surviving Arabs, who were driven out of Scinde in the second century of the Hegira. If they took place so early as the days of the second caliph, they were in all probability piratical expeditions for the purpose of abducting the women of that district, who, according to the tastes of the Arabs, were supposed to possess considerable attractions, and were greatly prized in the seraglios of that country.

At length, in the reign of Caliph Walid, the Moslem government was provoked to more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Dival, or Dewal, a seaport connected with Scinde, restitution was demanded of Rajah Dahir. He refused compliance, and pleaded in his justification that that port belonged not to his dominions. The Mussulmen sent a body composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horse to enforce their claim. These were cut off by the natives. Hejaj, the governor of Basra, raised a regular army of six thousand men at Shiraz, and placed his nephew, Mohammed Casim, then not more than twenty years of age, in command, and he successfully conducted it to the walls of Dewal. Casim was supplied with catapultas and the other machines requisite for a siege. He commenced his operations by an attack on a temple a short distance from the town. This was a pagoda greatly celebrated, in high veneration among the people. It was strongly fortified, being surrounded with a high enclosure of hewn stone, defended by a large garrison of Rajpoots, in addition to numerous inhabitants of the Brahminical caste. A flag was displayed on the lofty tower of the temple, and to this was attached a superstitious legend that, as long as it retained its position, the pagoda might bid defiance to all the art and power of its assailants. This prophecy soon reached the ears of Casim. He directed the engines against the sacred standard. It was brought to the ground, and those whose hopes rested on its safety, losing all confidence, abandoned their post in despair, and the place fell without a struggle into the hands of the invaders. Casim recommended to the inhabitants the rite of circumcision; this they rejected. Incensed by their contumacy, he ordered all the males above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and the rest, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to the speedy submission of the town. A rich booty fell into the hands of the Arabs, a fifth was reserved for Hejaj, and the rest divided among the troops. A son of Dahir's, who was in

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 501.
† Ibid., p. 503.

Dewal either as governor or as an ally, retreated to Brahminabad, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was pursued by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Casim then advanced on Neerun (now Hyderabad), and thence upon Selwan, to which he laid siege. This place, though strongly fortified, was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Salem, which also surrendered. The Rajah Dahir was not an inattentive spectator of passing events, nor of the progress made by Casim. His son, with a large force, was dispatched to oppose him. He soon after joined him with a body of troops, thus forming an army of fifty thousand men. The Arab force did not exceed six thousand. The Indians had penetrated the ranks of their enemy, and were on the point of achieving the victory, when one of the Arab firemen threw a naptha ball on the white elephant on which Dahir was mounted. The terrifying effect of the liquid flame so alarmed the animal, that he fled to the river, and plunged into the stream, in spite of all the efforts made by his rider. The Indians, perceiving the speed with which their prince was hastening from the conflict, and unconscious of the cause, were panic-stricken, and instantly followed, abandoning the field to their fortunate adversaries. The elephant having emerged from the water, Dahir presented himself again to his flying troops, arrested their flight, and vigorously renewed the contest on the banks of the Indus. Fortune again was unfriendly; struck with an arrow, he fell from his seat. He nevertheless insisted on being placed on horseback; and although the wound was very severe, he gallantly charged into the thick of the Arabian cavalry, and there found the death of a hero. The loss of their brave prince disheartened his army, they fled in confusion from the field. A great amount of booty was obtained by this victory. The widow of Dahir, with a heroism worthy of her valiant spouse, assembled an army of fifteen thousand Rajpoots, and prepared to meet the invaders of her country. Though she offered the enemy battle they declined it, and she sought shelter within the defences of Adjur, which was closely invested. Being reduced to the last extremity, the garrison sacrificed their wives and children on a burning pile, and, headed by the widow of Dahir, attacked the Mohammedans in their camp, and all lost their lives fighting to the last.

One more desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Mooltan seems to have fallen without a struggle, and the Arabs pursued their success till all the territories of Dahir came into their possession.

On the first invasion each city was summoned to embrace the creed of the conquerors or pay tribute. Those who did not accept either alternative, if they did not make an absolute surrender, were put to the sword, and their families sold into slavery. Four cities rejected these terms, and in two of them, the soldiers, to the amount of six thousand, were butchered. A strange exception was made in these cases. The merchants and artizans were not included, and to those who agreed to pay tribute all their privileges were restored, and also the exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

Casim himself, though young, was prudent and conciliatory. Several of the Hindoo princes were won to his side during the war; and when it had been terminated he nominated the prime minister of Dahir to the same office under him, on the express grounds that he was best qualified to protect old rights and maintain established institutions.

It is said on the authority of contemporary historians, that he was contemplating a march to Kanouj, on the Ganges, and had reached Odeypore, when his career was arrested by a very singular and romantic incident. When the Arabs had obtained possession of Adjur, they found in that town some who had escaped the immolation. Among them were the two daughters of Dahir. They were women of great personal attractions, and considered to be a present worthy the acceptance of the caliph; they were consequently sent to Hejaj to be forwarded to the seraglio of Walid, the commander of the faithful. When these beauties reached the court the caliph became enamoured of the elder, and wished her to submit to his embraces. She assured him that she was entirely unworthy of such a high honour, having been the victim of Casim's licentious passions. The enraged caliph, whose will was law, in the first paroxysm of his anger, wrote with his own hand an order to him that he should be sewed up in a raw hide, and his body forwarded to Delhi. Upon its arrival Walid invited the vindictive Hindoo to his presence, and thus addressed her:—"Behold Mohammed Casim in his shroud! it is thus I punish the sins of those servants who presume to insult the deputy of the Prophet of God." She replied, with a smile full of triumph and sarcasm, "Know, caliph, that Mohammed Casim paid me the most delicate respect. He, however, put to death my father, my mother, my brother, and my countrymen, and in his death, indifferent to my own fate, I have gratified that revenge which has so long been

consuming me." The gratification of revenge in Indians, where their honour is concerned, is so strong, the fortitude of Hindoo females so great, and the devotion of the servants of the caliph so pure and disinterested, that the translator of Ferishta says the story may be allowed to hold its place among other romantic tales, not less remarkable, in the annals of the world.

On the death of Mohammed Casim a tribe who traced their origin from the Ansaries established a government; after which the zemindars usurped the power, and held independent rule for the space of five hundred years, but neither the names nor the histories of these princes are extant. In the course of years—the number unknown—this dynasty subjected the country of another dynasty called Soomuna. During their reigns the Mohammedan kings of India proper—such as those of Ghizni, Ghoor, and Delhi—invaded Scinde, and, seizing many of the towns, appointed Mohammedan governors over them. Among these rulers Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha asserted his independence.

With the death of Casim ceased the progress of the Mohammedan arms. His conquests devolved on his successor Temim, in whose family they continued for about thirty-six years—that is, to the downfall of the Ommiades, A.D. 750—when, by an insurrection, of which the particulars have not survived, the Mussulmen were expelled by the Rajpoots, and all their conquests restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly five hundred years.

In the history of Bahawalpur, by Shahamet Ali, a statement at variance with the above, quoted from Elphinstone, is given.* According to this Indian authority governors were sent out by the Abassides to Scinde and the Punjaub, of which they took possession without much resistance, and this dynasty continued in the possession of their Indian possession without molestation until the caliphate of Kadir-Billah, being a period of two hundred and eighty-six lunar years, when the hostile advance of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, at the head of a large army, laid waste the intermediate country between Ghizni and Mooltan.†

Elphinstone, judiciously remarks, that it is extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Mooltan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overran India as easily as they did Persia, and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had a firm footing.* This result he endeavours to account for by the existence of a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government, and deeply revered by their countrymen; by a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an invisible influence over their very thoughts; and by a horror of change, and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindoos were in their favour; the downfall of one rajah only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind, and the invader diminished his number, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion. However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them must be ascribed the slow progress of Mohammedanism in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form it assumed in that country.

At this period the power of the followers of the Arabian reformer had culminated to its height. The fertile regions of Northern Africa, the seats of Egyptian grandeur, and of the commercial greatness of the proudest of the Tyrian colonies, the rich and extensive plains of Spain, the Eastern continent, the luxuriant parent of the great primitive empires, where towered from time immemorial Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Persepolis, Mecca, and Jerusalem, and the awe-inspiring, mountain-excavated, cave-structured city of Petrea, all capitals of successive empires, had submitted to the crescent, but already the seeds of dissension were broadcast over their empire. Even in the first half century of the Hegira the murder of Othman with his Koran on his knee, and the imbecility of Ali, led to a successful revolt, and the establishment of a caliphate beyond the confines of the birth-land of the Prophet. The Ommiades, who were elevated to the newly-established dignity for ninety years, were harassed with the repeated assertion of the supposed rights of the posterity of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatima, whose claims furnished a respectable pretext for revolt and rebellion, and eventuated in the uprising of the powerful province of Khorassan, which humbled the power of the reigning house, and placed upon the throne in 750 the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. Spain adhered to the fortunes of the old dynasty, and the integrity of the Moslem empire was broken for ever.

* *History of Bahawalpur*, p. 5.

† Ghizni consisted of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria after the division of Alexander's empire—namely, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus, and south of the Oxus.

* *History of India*, vol. i. p. 512.

When the caliphate of Bagdad was thus rapidly on the decline, a tribe of Tartars from the Altai Mountains, and since known by the name of Turks, had gradually and steadily risen to great power. By a series of vigorous incursions they had subjected to their rule all the neighbouring tribes. In the degeneracy of the Arab troops contingents from these warriors were largely incorporated with them. Their chiefs soon, by deeds of personal valour and strategic ability, rose to the command of armies and the government of provinces, and on them was soon conferred the distinguished honour of selecting from their ranks the body-guard of the "commander of the faithful."

As soon as the power of the caliphs began to decline, and the energies, devotion, and enthusiasm of the Arabs began to wane, the results which invariably accompany such symptoms of course manifested themselves through the Mohammedan empire. The standard of rebellion was raised by the governors of remote provinces.

An obstinate revolt in Transoxiana, called Haroun-al-Reschid, the well-known caliph of Arabian history and romance, and the fifth of the house of Abbas, from the seat of government. His death was accelerated by the circumstance. It was quelled by his son Mahmoon, who took up his residence in this disaffected province, and was thus the means of preserving it to the empire. It was by means of an insurrection here that he was enabled to wrest the sceptre from his brother Amir. He had scarcely taken possession of his capital, and formed his court, when Tahir, to whose attachment he owed his successes, began to lay the foundation of his own independence. His territories included Transoxania and Khorassan, the latter extended from the Caspian to the Oxus, and were never after united to the caliphate. The commanders of the faithful, reduced to a state of abject dependence on the Turkish guards, were a mere symbol in their hands, and from that period may be dated the complete downfall of the Arab empire.

Tahir and his posterity, under the title of Tahirites, enjoyed sovereignty in that province from the year A.D. 813 to the year 872, a period of fifty-nine years. They were dispossessed by the son of a brazier, called in the Arabic Soffar, who, forcing his way upwards through the various grades of military adventure to be the chief of an army, was enabled to place on the throne his family, known in history as the dynasty of the Soffarides. This house was supplanted by a similar adventurer after a period variously stated to be thirty-four and fifty-seven years, who established the house of the Samanides. The princes of this race are celebrated by the Persian historians as lovers of justice, and liberal and enlightened patrons of learning, and are said to have despoiled the legitimate commanders of the faithful of some of their most valuable territories, and to have exercised kingly authority over Bokhara, Khorassan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Affghans.

The Samanides ruled for (from A.D. 892 to 1004) one hundred and fourteen years; and though not invaders of India, they had more connection than any of their predecessors with the history of that country. They had originally come from Balk.

In the reign of Abd-el-Melek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, Aluptugeen, a Turkish slave, acquired distinction, and was appointed governor of the vast province of Khorassan. On the death of his sovereign he made an attempt to snatch the sceptre from the feeble hold of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince, but the emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Aluptugeen quitted the royal city of Bokhara. The ambitious governor retired with the adherents of his fortunes and the admirers of his courage to the town of Ghizni, situated on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers tributary to the Indus. Every effort was made to crush his growing power, but in vain; and during a period of sixteen years he added both to dominions and to his reputation. The forces by which he was enabled to preserve his independence were composed of a body of three thousand disciplined slaves, or Mamelukes, Turks of his own original condition, who accompanied him to his retreat. Doubtless he was joined in after time by soldiers who had served under him when governor, but it is highly probable that his chief strength consisted in the resources supplied by the country of his adoption.

Sebektegin, at one time his slave, who by successive steps became his general counsellor and son-in-law, became also his successor. Although master in Ghizni, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. He endeared himself to his officers and soldiers by his liberality and military qualities, and by his affability secured the love and admiration of his subjects. Peace during his government smiled on the land. His arms and his faith were successful in India. He destroyed the monuments of paganism, laid waste the Punjaub, built the towns of Bost and Kosdar near the Indus. Noah, the successor of Mansour, treated him rather as an ally than a subject.

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