The Second Sikh
War.

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THE SECOND SIKH WAR.

BY SIR HENRY DURAND.

Narrative of the Second Sikh War in 1848-9. By Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-Camp to General Thackwell. London. Bentley. 1851.

THE narrative of a war can seldom be correctly and faithfully laid before the public, immediately on the conclusion of military operations. The main facts of the struggle, its oscillations from partial success to partial failure, from victory to defeat, are indeed, in the present day, through the energy of the Press, very early before the public. With the assistance of such information, and the aid of an occasional bulletin from one or both of the belligerent parties, men draw their own conclusions (sometimes nearly right, oftener very wrong) during the progress of the contest, until at last the final issue puts a stop to many crude and a few reasonable lucubrations. At this stage, were truth generally safe and acceptable, many a man, whose sword had been drawn in the quarrel, would, on sheathing it, take up his pen, and give an account of the campaign in which he had been engaged. But wise men know the cost too well, and abstain; the field is left open to be occupied by men of a different calibre, who, neither aware of its difficulties or dangers, and protected by their very insignificance, plunge into their subject with the confidence of shallow minds. For one Eyre, who dares to come forward with a manly, sensible, truthful narrative at the close of a great event, there will always be on such occasions a score of Thackwells, aiming to accomplish that for which they are manifestly unequal.

We always take up the narrative of a campaign written by a British officer, with a two-fold purpose in its perusal, with a double interest in the work. The events of the war, as historical facts, are of course to be learnt therein—and that is one object: but it is one, which he should equally entertain, if reading any narrative of military operations written by a foreigner. War, however, is a great and a complicated science; and the attainments of our officers, in mastering its details and comprehending its higher principles, are matter of national importance. We are no advocates for war, and least of all for wars of mere aggrandizement: but, in spite of Cobden, Bright, and the Peace

Society, in spite of the dreams of well-meaning honest enthusiasts, or the hazy aspirations of self-deifying sceptical demagogues, we cannot perceive that our Old World is inclined as yet to belie its character. It seems very consistent in its ways ; has not even arrived at a transition-state with respect to its pugnacious propensities ; and seems obstinately bent on proving that, neither for an Autocrat of all the Russias on the one hand, nor for a Cobden on the other (though each in his line doubtless a respectable practitioner), is it reserved to put sound hearts into the millions, principle and wisdom into rulers, or to make peace and goodwill paramount on earth. Take it as you please—like the fact, or dislike the fact—hate or honour the red coat—it does not much matter : for there stands the dread inevitable before you—war, frequent war ; not to be denied, but (be it for weal or woe) necessarily to be encountered. It is therefore a matter of superlative interest to a State and particularly to such a State as England, to guage the qualifications of her officers ; to scrutinize the indications in their writings of a knowledge of their peculiar science ; and, from their works, to estimate their comprehensiveness of view and general ability. We read, therefore, a work written by a British officer with these important questions always present to the mind :—How rank our officers in the scale of professional depth of intelligence—of sound, clear apprehension of the higher principles of the art ? What is the promise of genius and ability for the vague future, when the sword may be again in conflict with half-disciplined millions, or engaged in the more formidable contest between nations representing, on the one side free, and on the other autocratic, institutions ? In that impending struggle, however much against our will, we may, before long, be forced to take a part.

With these questionings in view, what would be the impression left upon the mind of a military reader by Mr. Thackwell's work ? We do not hesitate to say that they would be most unfavourable. The reader, if wholly dependent for his knowledge of the war on the work before us, would rise from its perusal with the conviction that the author was ignorant of the very elements of his profession ; that he so stated facts as to make it appear that the commanders in the army were, alike with himself, grossly and inexcusably deficient, not only in the higher, but also in the elementary principles of the art of war ; that the military mind of our leaders was so effete, so wanting in conscious ability and ordinary self-reliance, that, whether a simple shift of camp or an action were in contemplation, a council of war was equally indispensable ; that, if there is a low range of qualifications and ability among the commanders, there is a low tone of military feeling prevalent among the subordinate officers of the army, to whom the comforts of cantonment life are more agreeable than the endurances of camp and conflict ; in short, that not only is the average of ability and soldierly qualities extremely mediocre amongst the regiments, but still more lamentably deficient among the staff, the commanders.

These would be very unsatisfactory and very painful conclusions to arrive at, from the perusal of a work by a British officer, who evidently had no intention of leading his readers to form such conclusions. We acquit him of any such design ; his range of intellect is limited ; filial reverence and partiality are excusable ; and, though Saidúlapúr, is brought up *ad nauseam*, we can pardon it on the score of a son's natural tendency to do all he can for his father's fame. Mr. Thackwell belongs also, or lately did belong, to Her Majesty's army ; and no man, who has the honour of bearing one of Her Majesty's commissions, would willingly tarnish the general character for ability and efficiency (let alone the honour) of her service. Willingly, therefore, we acquit Mr. Thackwell of purposing to bring his reader to such conclusions as those, the mere outline of which has been sketched ; but, that they inevitably follow from the premises he has put forth to the public, no reasonable man can deny.

We think we can modify the asperity of such painful conclusions, by dealing with the main features of the war somewhat differently from our author : and, as we rely on the accuracy of our information, we shall both praise and blame with the freedom of truth, confident that time will prove our main positions and statements correct, and that our views and opinions, consonant with those of men of the greatest military skill and experience, will be found faithful and just.

In the chapter, designated "Origin of the second Sikh War," the reader will in vain search for the real causes of that general rising of the Sikh nation in arms against us. They did so with one mind and one heart ; and the murder of the two officers, sent to Múltán, was merely the premature exhibition of the feelings, which pervaded the masses of the ill-subdued followers of Govind. Múlráj knew it well ; felt himself injured and insulted ; and either could not, or would not control the minds of his soldiery ;—but the great error lay at our down doors. Abbott, who had early given intimation that the spirit of revolt was on the wing and machinations were a-foot, was treated as a timid alarmist. Vigilance was fast asleep, where it should have been widest awake ; and no greater proof of this fact and of the real state of feeling in the Punjab, could have been evinced than by sending Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán on such a mission as theirs, at such a time, and in such a manner. It was virtually courting an outbreak—but courting it at the wrong season, and when we were wholly unprepared for it, and not at all desiring it.

There seems in the undisturbed course of a civilian to high place and power, something which wholly unfits him for the exercise of the latter in positions of difficulty. His rise is too smooth and sedentary ; so very regulation pace and fashion ; he has so little knowledge or experience of the working passions of the masses ; is so entirely ignorant of the fiery temper of armed, half-subdued, haughty enemies ; is so easily bamboozled by a few interested smooth tongues and faces ; brings himself with so much difficulty to conceive that the ordinary placid routine of *kacheri*, or board, or court, or secretariat, is something entirely different from sounding, mastering , controlling, and guiding turbulent levies, and masses infected with the ardour of military progress and conquest ; he is so incapable of justly appreciating what military force can, or cannot do—when it should be employed, and how, and under whom—that nothing but the predominant influence of the class-interest in the Government of India would perpetuate an error, which never fails to produce bitter and costly fruit. Any one, but a civilian, would have foreseen that to send Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán at the time and in the manner selected, was almost sure to produce an ebullition of feeling and of violence. It was very like rolling a live shell, with a lit fusée into a well-stored magazine, the chances in both cases being very decidedly in favour of an explosion. We despair of seeing it otherwise, when the training of the class is considered, whenever civilians are, in times of difficulty, in the position in which Sir F. Currie was placed ; and therefore we do not blame him, so much as those who should have known better, but who having purposes to serve by the presence in England, for a short time, of Sir H. Lawrence, took him away—willing to go because in weak health—exactly at the most critical period for the Punjáb.

When Sir Henry Hardinge, anxious to shew in how quiet and satisfactory a condition he quitted everything in India, largely reduced the army in order to cook a balance-sheet and found thereon a self-gratulatory farewell finance minute, it was clearly foretold by those, who had been long intimately conversant with the course of events on the N.-W. Frontier, that he was preparing trouble for his successor, and that the parting economy of Lord Hardinge would entail, in the course of a short time, enormous outlay on the part of Lord Dalhousie. Those persons, who said this, would probably confess, however, that they did not anticipate such an immediate fulfilment of their prognostications: and we doubt whether Lord Hardinge's Punjáb policy, had he not taken Sir Henry Lawrence home with him, would so rapidly and thoroughly have gone to pieces. It must have failed, because it was unsound, hastily patched up to cover our own exhaustion, and thoroughly well fathomed by the Sikh leaders and people; but the evil day would, in all probability, have been staved off by Sir Henry Lawrence, and Lord Hardinge would have been saved the mortification of seeing his Punjáb policy crumble into the dust before he had drawn the first instalment of his pensions. Hardinge took out his linch-pin, where the coach had a steep descent before it: and the result was a hopeless breakdown.

These were some of our errors, but there were others of internal administration of a different and deeper character, of which, for the present, we shall merely indicate the existence. Towards the close of 1848, many a village seemed to possess no other inhabitants than old decrepid men, women, and young children. Our two years' sway had not proved popular: and the ablebodied flocked to the rebel standards of the chiefs, even from districts under our immediate supervision and control, without the slightest check or hindrance.

We have said that Lord Hardinge, with the short-sighted vision of an ordinary mind bent on its own self-gratulation, sowed the soil with difficulties which his successor was to reap. Tares proverbially shoot up a-pace; and, under the genial warmth of an Indian sun, rather faster perhaps than elsewhere; so, whilst Hardinge's partisans were giving out in England that matters had been left in India in such an admirable state of quiescent security, that there would not be another shot fired for the next ten years, Sir F. Currie, though wedded to the Hardinge Punjáb policy, was forced to feel uncomfortably doubtful of the fact, and Lord Dalhousie gradually opened his eyes to the real state of affairs in the "Land of the Five Rivers," and began to entertain the unwelcome suspicion and forecast of the work his predecessor had left for him to execute.

Events followed fast after the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Múltán: but, though we may admire the vigour and the activity of Edwardes, and the courage and skill with which he brought his undisciplined troops into operation, we cannot award, either to Sir F. Currie, his superior, or to himself, the meed of a clear apprehension of the state of affairs, or of sound military judgment as to the measures suited to the circumstances, under which we then were placed in the Punjáb.

For Edwardes there is the excuse, that a clever man will dare much in order to acquire a reputation ; but Sir F. Currie, instead of being stimulated by his energetic subordinate, should have controlled him. It was an unpardonable error, known as Múltán was, to endeavour to besiege it with the insufficient means with which this operation was first undertaken. Sir F. Currie must, or ought to, have been well aware, both of the strength of ordnance which Sir Charles Napier, when in Scinde, had always kept in readiness for Múltán at Bukkur, and also of the strength of the force, which that General deemed essential for operations against the place. Sir C. Napier had never shown any disposition to be over-nice in counting heads on a battlefield ; a few men went very far with him ; and therefore it not only smacked of great presumption, but really was such, when, regardless of the opinions and example, Sir F. Currie undertook the siege with far inferior means. Prudence dictated a more cautious course.

We know that it was the fashion to make light of the place—this, too, not alone in India, but in England also ; and at the India House, where they ought to have been well informed, the Chairman was known to have said " that the Court of Directors " had a plan of it ; that it was nothing of a place--only about " 500 yards in length by 300 yards in breadth ; and that it could " be easily shelled into a surrender ;" in fact, they had been informed, on (what they considered) good authority, that it was a contemptible place ; and the expectation was, that the next news would probably be that it had fallen. At the Board of Control much the same impressions of course existed : and, when the President was frankly told that the place might not prove so contemptible, and that a check at Múltán might kindle the flame of revolt from the foot of the Himalayah to Scinde, or even to the sea, the idea was evidently as distasteful as it was new.

We cannot but blame Lord Dalhousie for his dilatoriness in arriving at the conviction that war, and war on a great scale, was unavoidable. A Governor-General, not very long arrived in Calcutta, new to the country, and ignorant of the men of the services holding at the time the posts of highest importance, cannot, however, for a while, do otherwise than see through the spectacles of those who are at the foci of political interest. If, as in the present instance, the Governor-General be not only labouring under the disadvantage of being new to his office, but also under that of thorough inexperience and ignorance of war questions, there are still broader grounds for excusing a somewhat tardy apprehension of the real condition of affairs, and an otherwise culpable neglect of all those timely preparations, which war necessitates. We cannot judge harshly of a nobleman thus circumstanced—all whose previous training, whether as a lawyer or as a politician, had been foreign to military affairs of moment and magnitude. The hope of staving off war and its charges, and of maintaining peace and its economy, was a laudable sentiment: and, therefore—though when taking a retrospective glance at our own conduct of affairs, we cannot but note as a very grievous error, the utter want of due preparation for military operations in November 1848—we do so, respecting the motives, and appreciating the individual circumstances under which that error was perpetrated. Once convinced, however tardily, that war was unavoidable, the Governor-General did all in his power to correct his own grave error. In selecting, for the head of that most important department—the Commissariat—Captain Ramsay, "an officer related by family ties to the Marquis of "Dalhousie," as Mr. Thackwell takes care to inform us, he selected the most active and the most intelligent officer available for such a crisis, and the man that any other Governor-General would at that time in all probability have chosen. Captain Ramsay proved the propriety of the selection, by at once pointing out that the absence of all preparation could only be remedied by the most prompt and the most energetic exertions on the part of his department, unhampered by the usual routine of the Military Board; and that he must have authority to act as the emergency required, if the army was to be fed, and the campaign to succeed. In no other way, at the eleventh hour, could the Governor-General have rectified his own neglect; and perhaps few other men, except Captain James Ramsay, would have succeeded, even so empowered and supported, in enabling the army to move when it did. He had great opposition to contend with, particularly from Colonel Benson, who was wedded to the Military Board system, and who could not preceive the utter inapplicability of that system to the urgent difficulties of the moment. Benson, a narrow-minded economist, would have perilled success rather than break a Board rule, and would have preferred having two distinct classes of commissariat agents and contractors to plunder the State, rather than one. Ramsay was of a different opinion. However much he might value Board rules, and theories of check and counter-check, he knew the futility of a system so complicated, that the accounts of a campaign are, under its operation, seldom wound up under from five to ten years. He preferred success to failure, though failure were accompanied with the intense satisfaction of having been in strict conformity to a Military Board rule; and he probably thought that one Jotí Persád, of ability and influence equal to the occasion, was better than half-a-dozen Jotí Persáds of less ability and influence, but to a certainty adepts at plundering the Government both individually and collectively. He preferred, too, a system under which accounts could be balanced and cleared in the course of a year, instead of requiring ten. Any one conversant with Indian campaigns will side with Captain James Ramsay's views ; and any one cognizant of the condition in which the army took the field on this occasion, will not doubt that Benson would have ruined the campaign. Lord Dalhousie is more indebted to his cousin for the ultimate success of the war, than perhaps to any other single individual, political or military, be their rank or position what it may. Impartial in blame, and plain too as we are in censure, it is gratifying to have to note a mind of vigour, rising to the emergency of a critical juncture, and bringing to a successful issue the great problem of suddenly provisioning a large army, for the existence of which no sort of preparation had been made, and which had subsequently to be fed and maintained, man and beast, under circumstances of very peculiar difficulty. This officer, Captain James Ramsay, single-handed, retrieved one of the greatest and most fundamental errors that could have been committed at the commencement of the war.

Not to fatigue the reader, we shall not revert in detail to the first unsuccessful operations against Múltán ; and we will concede it to be doubtful, whether an officer of even greater ability than General Whish would not have refrained, circumstanced as Whish was, from pursuing and attacking Shere Sing. Whish had been thrust into a false position ; and, perhaps, after the example of defection which he had experienced, his wisest course was to remain in observation at Múltán, until reinforced, and until some general plan of operations, on a scale corresponding with the emergency, was arranged. Shere Sing had first out-witted him ; then, baffling his vigilance, had out-manœuvred him and gained a start, which the long legs and light camp equipage of his Sikhs were not likely to lose, when followed by our more embarrassed columns. Shere Sing would have taken care not to fight, unless he pleased ; and Whish would have gained nothing by moving, unless he completely crushed Shere Sing. This was a feat he was not equal to : and any check or combat with indecisive results, was at that period very much to be deprecated. Shere Sing's object was clearly to place himself in communication with Chutter Sing, and to throw his army into a position, where he could assemble the Sikh levies, feed them, and have a strong country in which to operate.

When Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej in November 1848, he found his enemy, Shere Sing, well placed. The Sikh masses were on the right bank of the Chenáb, at Ramnuggur, drawing their supplies from the productive districts on the upper part of the Chenáb. In this position, Shere Sing could intercept Gúlab Sing's movements, if favourable to the British, or a junction was secured, if Gúlab Sing was amicably disposed to the cause of revolt. Communications with Chutter Sing were covered, and reinforcements of men and guns could be looked for from Peshawur (as soon as Attock should have fallen) for the final struggle. The Chenáb—the strong ground on the left bank of the Jhelum—the Jhelum itself—the remarkably difficult country between the Jhelum and the Indus—the Indus itself—all presented a succession of formidable positions, on some one of which Shere Sing might hope to fight a successful action. To the southward, Múltán held out. Múlraj, now hopeless of mercy, was sure to make a stout defence, and for a time occupy a large portion of our troops and guns. Shere Sing's object therefore ought to have been (and it apparently was so) to bring the British general to action, before Múltán should have fallen;—but, to bring him to action in a position unfavourable to the higher discipline and equipments of his force, and favourable to the larger numbers of the Sikh levies and their eagerness for conflict.

Lord Gough's course and position was marked out by the manifest objects of the enemy. To remain in observation on the left bank of the Chenáb; to regard himself as covering the siege of Múltán, and holding Shere Sing in check until that place fell; to give time for the completion of commissariat arrangements; to cover Lahore, and cut off all supplies from the districts on the left bank of the Chenáb reaching the enemy; jealously to watch the movements of the latter, whether to the northward or southward;—these should have been Lord Gough's objects. So long as Shere Sing was disposed to have remained on the right bank of the Chenáb, Gough should have left him undisturbed, and patiently have awaited the fall of Múltán.

To see, to keep clearly in view, and never to swerve from the objects of primary importance, and to subordinate to these the minor ones, is the stamp of military ability: to confound, to transpose, to invert things of major and minor moment, and to substitute the one for the other, are sure signs of military mediocrity. Tried by this standard, the operations at the passage of the Chenáb must be pronounced a normal strategetical blunder. They were untimely, objectless, fruitless, and a departure without cause from the principles which should have guided the General. As usual in military matters, where error is loss, the blunder cost him in the end very dear.

For the fall of Cureton and Havelock in the opening brush at Ramnuggur, and for the loss of a gun, Lord Gough is not to blame. Shere Sing was *à cheval* on the Chenáb, a position which could not be conceded to him ; and it was incumbent on Gough to make him withdraw to the right bank of the river : for, so long as he held the left bank, he could continue to draw supplies of men and provision from the districts, of the aid of which Gough was bound to deprive the Sikh General. The mode of executing this might, perhaps have been more judicious ; but even on this point it is difficult to pronounce ; for the ardour of Havelock completely disarranged everything, and Cureton, riding forward to bridle the fiery courage of the leader of the 14th, fell, struck mortally. Down went on that occasion the best cavalry officer we have seen in India ; almost the only one, who in command showed the nice judgment needed by the cavalry leader. Cautious, but quick and resolute, yet never carried away by his own, or any one else's impetuosity, he knew the arm thoroughly, and wielded it like a master ; knew when to charge, and when to draw bridle, and never made a mistake, as to what horsemen could or could not do. He was a great loss to the army ; for a good cavalry commander is rarely to be met.

We will not attempt to analyze the unfortunate proceedings at Ramnuggur, further than to say that they betrayed great preliminary ignorance on our part of the ground, and equal want of quickness in the faculty of *reading* ground (if such an expression be pardonable)—of taking in its features at a glance. The British horse artillery were permitted to dip into the low sandy channels of a bight of the river swept from the opposite bank by the enemy's heavy artillery. This was not exactly the proper position for light field batteries—whoever sent them there ; particularly, as the enemy was steadily withdrawing to the right bank, as fast as they could, when they saw our intention of denying them the left bank. Ouvry's unopposed advance, in order to cover the retirement of our embarrassed gun, proves this. Again, when once it was found that the gun could not be moved, further exposure of the cavalry was useless, and Havelock's request to be allowed to charge should have been met with a peremptory refusal. If the gun were to be saved in such a position, it must be so by infantry ; and Campbell, moving up his men and placing them under cover, of which the ground afforded plenty, might have prevented the gun being taken up by the enemy, and at night might himself have saved and withdrawn the piece. Our light field batteries and cavalry might have been withdrawn, so as to be out of range and reach of the enemy's heavy guns, yet near enough to Campbell, to support him if the Sikhs tried to drive him from his cover; which, however, they would probably not have attempted, because, in so doing, they must have placed themselves where the re-advance of our light pieces would have caused frightful havoc amongst them, whilst their heavy guns on the right bank must have remained in great measure silent.

Passing over the throwing up of batteries at ludicrously safe distances from the enemy, and other minor vagaries which followed this unlucky affair, and taking no note of Mr. Thackwell's cogitations on his friends, White, Scott, and Campbell, who must feel, we should opine, almost as much obliged to him as Sir J. Thackwell for the mode in which they are obtruded on the reader; and, for the present, abstaining from remark on the crude lucubrations of our author upon the native cavalry, regular and irregular, we must observe upon one very curious and very characteristic circumstance.

For two years the Punjâb had been in our hands. The Sikhs had been but partially overcome; and, though conquerors, we could not be said to feel very secure in our new position; and, if the provisions of the treaty were anything more than verbiage, it was clearly to be anticipated that there would be more trouble at a future day. Now any other nation so circumstanced, but ourselves, would have made use of those two years in causing a military survey of the country to be made. Especial attention would have been had to the great military lines of operation: these are always pretty nearly constants, being marked out by the natural features of the country, its practicable roads, fords, &c., and by the position of the capital, chief towns, rich districts and the like. A few officers of engineers, with suitable establishments, labouring under one head and on a well-arranged system, would have completed such a work in the course of the first year—certainly before the campaign of 1848-49 broke out; yet, so simple a precaution, if thought of at all, was so very inadequately provided for, that, when war broke out, our ignorance of the ground, on which the army was to operate, was as profound, as if Lord Gough and his troops had been suddenly thrown ashore in Kamschatka. A thorough knowledge of the ground, on which he was to act, would have been worth five thousand men to Gough, and possibly to Whish; but, though we could pay our civil or military resident highly, and expend large sums in pensions, and other questionable ways, the obvious and the useful were neglected. A few hundred soldiers lives, more or less, do not signify, nor the credit of our arms, nor the fame of our generals, nor the shake and perhaps peril of an empire; but the economy, which, whilst it stints the necessary and the useful, squanders on the day-hero and the questionable, is dubbed politic and wise, and lauded accordingly. Every main line of military operations—what may be termed the constants for Punjáb strategetical and tactical operations—should have been laid before Lord Gough, when the war again broke out: and it was very inexcusable, grossly culpable neglect, an unpardonable error, that such was not the case.

It has been observed, that, until the fall of Múltán, Lord Gough, unless the enemy committed some very glaring blunder, should have remained on the left bank of the Chenáb. He should have kept the Sikh general carefully under view, and watched his every movement: but he had nothing to gain by crossing the river to attack the Sikhs, for he could not hope to strike a decisive blow. The enemy was not likely to stand, and await imperturbably an attack on his left flank by a detachment; he would rather move up to meet an attack, taking care to have his line of retreat on the Jhelum clear; or to retire, when threatened. If, however, Gough had succeeded in driving him to the southward, he thrust him on the besieging force, which at that time had other irons in the fire, and did not at all desiderate the sudden appearance of Shere Sing in that quarter. Managed as the passage of the Chenáb was, the Sikhs were not likely to be ignorant of what was in contemplation. Quietly to withdraw his artillery of position, from in front of Lord Gough's distant batteries, was no difficult matter. To fall suddenly on Thackwell, and destroy the detachment before it could receive effectual support, was Shere Sing's proper course. If he succeeded, he could resume, if he pleased, his original position; if he did not succeed, his retreat on the Jhelum was safe, and his artillery of position already on its march, secure from capture; for Thackwell was evidently too weak to be able to maintain a hot pursuit in face of the Sikh masses.

Thackwell made a mistake in not occupying the line of the three villages of Tarwalur, Ruttai and Ramú-Khail; and in not throwing out his advanced guards and pickets well in front of them. The villages were unoccupied, when he came up to his ground; and there was nothing to prevent his taking up the position, which presented many advantages. As it was, when attacked, he was forced to withdraw his line, and thus gave confidence to the enemy, who took immediate advantage of his negligence, and themselves occupied the somewhat formidable position he had refused. The British artillery, opposed to about equal numbers, conpletely at last silenced their opponents; and the confusion, consequent upon this, was so apparent, that the line of infantry, Native and European, were alike anxious to be led against the enemy. It was the moment for an advance: and just at that critical time came Gough's order, leaving Thackwell free to act as his judgment might dictate. A portion of the enemy's guns were in his grasp, and victory sure:—but, instead of action, came a consultation, and the moment was gone for ever. Pennycuick was right in his soldierly advice: it was not a question of attacking Shere Sing's original position and entrenchments, as our author would suggest. Shere Sing had moved out far from his original position and entrenchments, had attacked, and had failed. The question was, whether to make his failure a defeat, accompanied by loss and dishonour, or to permit him to withdraw scatheless, and at leisure, without the loss of a gun. No one in his senses could have argued on the possibility of the original Sikh entrenchments being close in front of the villages: and that to push back the disheartened Sikhs, would be tantamount to knocking the heads of the British troops against such formidable field-works. Every one knew, that if they existed at all, they were miles off. The very doubt on such a head would betray a neglect of ordinary precaution, which is not Thackwell's character. That general deserves no such imputations, for he is wary, cautious, indefatigable in endeavouring to know his ground: and our author has himself told us that "patrols and scouts *were* sent "towards the Sikh entrenchments, the exact distance of which "from us was not known." He had evidently no suspicion whatever that such questions, as the following, might be founded on his representations: Why did not the general explore his front and flanks by the irregular or regular cavalry? What sort of alertness is that, which subjects a force to a cannonade, before any thing is known of the approach of an enemy? How long has it been usual in the Indian army, that round shot lobbing into a line of troops shall be the first intelligencers that the foe is at hand? Yet such must be asked, if we are to be guided by our author's work. We take the liberty to correct him. Sir J. Thackwell is a cautious, active, vigilant officer. Age has tamed the fire of youth, but it has given him much experience, and a calmness free from all precipitation on the battle-field. He may have thought himself not strong enough to press on, and turn the failure of the enemy into a decisive defeat; but he did so on no misconception, either of his own whereabouts, or of that of the Sikh entrenchments. Good soldiers make mistakes occasionally: and in our opinion Thackwell made two at Saidúlapúr. He, first, with his mind full of the expected junction with Godby, and his attention too exclusively rivetted on that, neglected to occupy the line of villages; and secondly, when the enemy failed and offered him victory, he stood fast, asked counsel, and let slip the moment. Notwithstanding this over-caution at a critical instant, Sir J. Thackwell is far from being the indifferent officer which the author's work would, in spite of its stilted endeavours to exalt the object of its peculiar laud, force upon the reader's conviction. All in all, he is a prudent, active, safe commander, and enjoyed the confidence of officers serving under him, whose abilities and experience were of a far higher order than Mr. Thackwell's.

If Thackwell was over-cautious at Saidúlapúr, Gough was still more slow at Ramnuggur. After harassing the European troops with the elevation of batteries at all imaginable distances, the gratifying result was, that shot and shell were flung away into an enemy's empty camp: and the fact, that there were no Sikhs to pound, being at last accidentally discovered, the main army crossed in support of Thackwell, about the time that the heads of Shere Sing's columns were composedly taking up new positions on the left bank of the Jhelum. Our false move had gained us nothing, except the power of somewhat circumscribing the sphere from whence the enemy, in Gough's front, could draw his supplies—an advantage counter-balanced by the greater difficulties cast on our own over-tasked commissariat department, which was straining every nerve to remedy the normal error of the campaign. The movement indeed elicited a despatch, but one that it would have been far better to have left unwritten. A few more of the same stamp would make the despatches of British officers as proverbial as bulletins.

The ill-advised passage of the Chenáb, the failure to strike a blow, and the withdrawal of the enemy intact, to positions of his own choosing, were doubtless sufficiently irritating. The press sang all sorts of notes. After having once made the forward movement, and effected the passage of a formidable river in order to close with the enemy, there was an indignity to the character of our arms, in suddenly and respectfully drawing up, when the patrols and pickets of the two armies were touching each other. Had there been a strong reserve on the river, no siege of Múltán in course of procedure, and field magazines complete, the passage of the Chenáb should only have been the prelude to a rapid advance on the enemy. There was, however, no available reserve; insecurity was felt at Lahore; Wheler was busy in the Jullunder: the siege of Múltán was far from concluded; commissariat arrangements were anything but complete; and, instead of an unfaltering march on the foe, hesitation and a protracted halt ensued, as if the British army dreaded to measure its strength with the Sikh force. It was felt by every one to be a position derogatory to the *prestige* of the British arms, and calculated to produce an unfavourable impression. Gough would, if left to himself, have moved against the enemy, and have tried the fate of battle: but the Governor-General, on whom the responsibility of Empire pressed, felt and wrote in a different tone. The result was half measures; and, next to error, half measures are the worst in military matters. A protracted halt at and about Heylah, from the 5th December to the 12th January, during which time Attock fell, and Chutter Sing was set free to act in support of Shere Sing, served to excite the impatience of the public, and to produce uneasy feelings that something should be done in almost every one. Strong minds that can withstand the surprise and abuse of the press, the fretting of the public, and the impatient importunities of an eager army, are rare, whether in Governors-General or Commanders-in-chief. After a month both gave way; and that which, if done at all, should have been done at first, when Attock had not fallen and when we had first crossed the river and closed with the enemy, was now done, on the ground that Attock had fallen, and that Shere Sing might therefore, unless beaten beforehand, receive reinforcements from the side of Peshawur. This, so far as it went, was true: but if the argument had weight against the reasons opposed to crossing the Chenáb, it would have been wiser to allow that weight to operate before Attock had fallen, and whilst Shere Sing, with troops somewhat disheartened by failure against Thackwell, was retiring before the British army. To delay a month, and then fight, was to allow time for the enemy to regain confidence, and to have the assurance that, as Attock had fallen, reinforcements, and a strong reserve were either at hand, or available to fall back upon.

At Dingí the plan of battle was determined upon, and explained to the divisional commanders and brigadiers. A tolerably good general idea of the position occupied by the enemy had been obtained, and the dispositions for the attack framed accordingly. The left of the Sikhs rested on the heights of Russúl, whilst the line, passing by Futteh Shah da Chuck, was said to have its right resting on Múng. It was known that the belt of jungle was thick along the front of this position; but a frequented road from Dingí led straight upon Russúl, and the country was known to be more open and free from jungle along this line of road: and, as the enemy's line must be very extended and weak to cover the ground from Russúl to Múng, and the great mass of the troops must necessarily be in the plain, it was clear that to march in the direction of Russúl, to force the enemy's left, and to double up his line, and thrust it back in the direction of Futteh Shah da Chuck and Múng, would be to cut him off from the fords of the Jhelum, his line of communication with Chutter Sing, and the strong country between the Jhelum and Attock; from Golab Sing's doubtful troops; from the aid in men and provision he still continued to draw from the Sikh districts at the upper parts of the Chenáb and Jhelum, and to push him south, hemmed in between rivers, he would not have the means of crossing, and upon a country, which could not afford him the means of supporting his force. This was well and soundly reasoned; and, to fulfil these objects, Gough's army marched on the memorable morning of the 13th January, the heavy guns on the main road, Gilbert on their right, Campbell on their left, and cavalry and light artillery on both flanks.

The attack, as planned, would have done credit to a Frederic, and was in his style. Virtually it would have been an *echelon* attack: Gilbert's division forcing the left of the Sikhs, whilst the heavy and field artillery, massed together, would almost have swept in enfilade along the curvilinear position of the centre and right of the Sikhs. As soon as Gilbert's division had shaken and broken in upon the left of the enemy, Campbell, who up to that moment would have been in reserve with the massed artillery, was, with Gilbert and the cavalry, to throw themselves fairly perpendicularly across the left centre of the opposing force, and to hurl it to the southward.

Advancing with these intentions, Gough halted his army at Chota Umrao, whilst he sent on the engineers to reconnoitre ahead. They advanced along the Russúl roads, until, finding pickets of Sikh horse close in front and on their flank, they returned, and reported the road, as far as they had been able to proceed, clear and practicable for the guns, and the enemy marching down in columns of infantry form the heights of Russúl, apparently to take up their position in the plain. This was about ten o'clock in the morning, or a little after; and Gough. on hearing their report, continued his march along the road to Russúl. After proceeding some little distance beyond the village of Chota Umrao, some deserters from the Sikh camp came to Major Mackeson, informing him that the enemy was in some strength, on the left of Gough's advancing column, in the neighbourhood of the villages of Mozawala and Chillianwala.

On hearing this, Gough inclined to his left, and quitted the Russúl road. He at the same time sent on the engineers to reconnoitre, directing them to explore in the direction of Chillianwala: meanwhile the army continued slowly inclining to the left of its original direction. The engineers returned, and reported small detachments of horse in advance of the mound of Chillianwala on the plain, and infantry on the mound. Upon this, Gough turned to his left, and marched his whole force straight on Chillianwala, leaving the Russúl road in rear of, and parallel to the line which it was deployed. It would have been a very [illegible] movement in front of an intelligent general, with troops quick and ready at manœuvre; for Gough offered his right to an enemy in position within four thousand yards of him, with a thickish belt of jungle, which would have covered their approach, until they debouched and formed across his exposed flank. However, the outpost of Sikhs retired precipitately from the mound, and fell back upon its main line by the Múng road

From the top of the mound of Chillianwala the enemy's position was distinctly visible, and the army had to bring up its left in order again to front the Sikh line. Whilst this change of front was being effected, and the British force was assuming its new alignment, their commander was examining the position of the enemy from the tops of the houses of the village of Chillianwala. The Sikhs were drawn out in battle array. Their right centre, which was immediately in front of Chillianwala, was about two miles distant from the village, but less from the British line, which was deploying about five hundred yards in front. The Sikh left trended off to rest on the heights of Russúl. There was a great interval between the left of the right wing of the Sikhs under Utar Sing, and the right of their centre under Shere Sing. It was evident that the enemy occupied a position too extended for his numbers; and, jealous of his extreme right, it was refused, and inclined back towards Múng. The British line did little more than oppose a front to Shere Sing's centre, the right of which it a little overlapped, so that Campbell's left brigade was opposite to part of the gap we have noted in the enemy's order of array—a circumstance to be kept in mind, as it told in the course of the battle. Front for front therefore the British army faced only the Sikh centre: their right and left, extending far beyond the left and right of Gough's force, were free to take advantage of the disposition if events favoured.

Being about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the troops having been under arms since daybreak, Gough determined to defer the action, if possible, until the morrow, for he had but a remnant of the short day then before him. The quarter-master-general was accordingly busy making the usual arrangements, whilst the troops, drawn up in front of the village, were awaiting the issue, whether that were a quiet encampment for the night, or immediate battle. Shere Sing had no wish to give them a night's rest, or to afford time for dispositions, which should favour an attack otherwise than on his front: so, perceiving that Gough shewed no intention of attacking, he sought, knowing the impetuosity of the British general, to bring on the action, and with this view, he advanced a few guns, and opened fire at a distance, which rendered it very innocuous and in no wise compromised his pieces.

The enemy's fire determined Gough to attack: the heavy guns were ordered to respond, and having got into position, opened fire at a distance of between 1,500 or 1,700 yards from the enemy. They had however to judge their distance by timing the seconds between the flash and the report of the enemy's guns, and could see nothing amid the thick jungle in which they were placed. They were not left long to play single at their blind, but, as it chanced, effective game; for Gough, feeling that daylight was precious, very soon ordered the British line to advance. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, or a little after. Steadily, and as well as the jungle admitted of its doing, that line advanced at the bidding of its Chief, whilst the enemy, relieved from the fire of the heavy guns, opened all his artillery on the approaching infantry. The Commander-in-Chief, who had at first given out that his staff would always find him near the heavy guns, advanced considerably in front of them, and was in rear of the centre and right of Gilbert's division, being desirous of seeing more than he could have done from the position of the heavy guns.

For a while nothing but the roar of the enemy's artillery was to be heard; but after a time, the sharp rattle of the musquetry spoke that the conflict had begun in earnest, and that the infantry was closing on the enemy's position. Campbell's right brigade (that of Pennycuick) came full in front of Shere Sing's right centre, which was strengthened by many guns. Though the fire of these had been rapid, the brigade had suffered comparatively little, until, breaking out of the jungle, it came to a more open space in front of the guns. Now the storm of shot and grape thickened, and the gallant brigade charged: but the jungle had necessarily disordered the formations, and, having to charge over about three hundred yards, the men were winded before reaching the guns, and broke from the charging pace at the moment that it was most important to have continued it. The brigade fell unavoidably into some confusion ; and a close, well-delivered fire of musquetry from the Sikh infantry, followed by a rush of their horse, completed the disorder and the defeat of the British brigade, which, already broken, now fled, pursued with great havoc by the Sikh sabres, almost up to the original position of the British line at the commencement of the action.

Campbell happened to be with Hoggan's brigade. He had overlapped the right of Shere Sing's centre, and, marching on the gap we have already noted, he did not meet at first with the opposition which fell to the lot of Pennycuick's brigade. When the latter was attacking the batteries, Campbell, finding he had outflanked the enemy, brought up his left so as to place his brigade on the right flank of Shere Sing's formation ; and, as the pursuit of Pennycuick's brigade somewhat weakened Shere Sing's right by withdrawing horse from it and throwing the infantry forward, Campbell soon found himself in sharp conflict with the infantry and guns of the enemy, whom he now took in flank and at disadvantage. They were, however, quick to front him, and shewed no purpose of being easily beat. Meanwhile, although the cavalry under Thackwell and the guns under Brind kept in check to some extent the troops with Utar Sing, that is to say, checked their advance to their own front, they could not prevent corps of his infantry marching to their own left, and falling on the rear and left flank of Campbell. The latter, therefore, soon found himself engaged in front, flank, and rear, and his brigade's safety was to fight desperately. All honour to H. M.'s 61st for a most indomitable courage, during that mortal struggle, and on that strange day of stern vicissitudes.

Whilst matters stood thus on the British left, the right under Gilbert had as hard a contest to maintain ; for he, too, not only had to storm batteries supported by infantry in his front, but, owing to the break in the British line by the retreat of Pennycuick's brigade, and the repulse of the cavalry brigade with a loss of guns, both his left and right flanks were at the mercy of the enemy, whilst the repulse of the gallant 56th N. I., after severe loss, disconnected his two brigades, and made a gap in the centre of his division. He, too, like Campbell, found himself enveloped, forced to fight to front, rear, and flanks—a strange mixed combat, for even his two brigades were separated, and strove singly but bravely ! Dawes's battery of guns did good service on that day : for, in spite of jungle and every difficulty, whenever in a moment of peril he was most needed, Dawes was sure to be at hand ; his fire boxed the compass before evening, and Gilbert felt and handsomely acknowledged the merit and the valour of Dawes and his gunners.

The day wore a frowning gloom at one period for Gough. The grey-headed commander sat calmly watching the issue of events, when a staff officer rode up, and reported Pennycuick's brigade to have been beaten back to the village with heavy loss, and half the 24th down. Shortly after Gough himself had to witness the cavalry on his right retiring in confusion, and passing to the rear of where he stood : whilst the Sikh horsemen, only checked by Grant's being at last able, disembarrassed of the flying cavalry, to bring round a gun and fire a shot, were within a few hundred yards of the Commander-in-Chief. This was followed by a cloud of dispersed infantry retiring in confusion and dismay from the front, and giving the impression that Gilbert's division, too, was shaken. It seemed as if left, front, and right were yielding, and the day promised to be a black one in our annals. At length, however, the well-known cheer of the British infantry sounded exultingly over the roar of the artillery and the rattle of the musquetry : and gratefully it must have struck upon the old leader's ear, for he knew that it was the shout of victory, and that that stout infantry, which has so often upheld its country's fame and honour in moments of appalling difficulty, had again proved true to itself, and would come forth with untarnished lustre out of the sanguinary struggle which was raging around.

Penny's reserve brigade had been brought up on the repulse of Pennycuick's : but brigades were by that time disconnected, fighting as each best could ; and, by accident, he joined Gilbert's right brigade, and wisely stuck to it.

The enemy's artillery now fired more slackly and fitfully ; the musquetry rang sharp and fast ; and it seemed as if the brigades, unable to see or support each other, communicated by hearty cheers that each made good its ground.

Meanwhile, after Grant with a few rounds had driven back the small band of triumphant Sikh horse, the cavalry had reformed ; and we feel convinced, that, had Lord Gough ridden up at this moment to H. M.'s 14th Dragoons, spoken a few words to the corps, and bid them retrieve the lost guns and strike for the bright fame of their Peninsular honour, they would have swept on like a whirlwind, and dashed upon the retiring confused masses of the enemy, as heedless of numbers as Unett's squadron of the 3rd had done on Utar Sing's compact unshaken troops. It would have saved many a bitter pang, many a reproach, and silenced for ever the mention of the unhappy and unaccountable retreat, which gave our guns and gunners to the enemy. It would, too, have prevented the withdrawal of the infantry from the ground so hardly won ; and all the guns taken from the Sikhs, and all the wounded, of whom we had many would have been saved. Guns and cavalry were left, wher, they had reformed, as if useless ; whereas the horsemen, having come to their senses from the strange momentary panic into which they had been surprised, were themselves eager to wipe out the remembrance of the event, and were headed by officers that would have led them chivalrously. Grant's brigade of guns, though overwhelmed and forced back by the sweep of the retreating cavalry, had never partaken of the panic. Stern, calm, and as ready for battle as before a shot had been fired, he would have rendered invaluable service at the close of the action, when Shere Sing's forces, driven from their ground, were retiring to the heights of Russúl—guns, horse, and foot, in a confused and crowded mass. Grant's brigade of artillery and the cavalry were however left to their own moody thoughts and inglorious inaction ; whilst Gough rode forward to the infantry, which was close in front of him.

How much a mere handful of men could effect had been shown by Lane, who on the extreme right, even after the retreat of the brigade of cavalry, had isolated his position, kept in check large masses of the enemy's horse, and by his firmness prevented the Sikhs from taking advantage of the repulse of the main body of our cavarly on the right. More important service was never done to an army than by Lane's four squadrons and guns. But for their conduct, there is no calculating what the issue of the day might have been, had the masses of horse and foot on the enemy's left borne down upon our right and rear, both vitally exposed when the cavalry brigade gave ground. A few steady horsemen and guns may be said to have remedied this otherwise fatal event : yet, such is the discrimination of despatches, that this admirable service,so firmly, so judiciously, so timely performed, met with no mention, and no thanks ! For once we concur in Mr. Thackwell's remarks.

Sir J. Thackwell and his guns and cavalry on the left had also done important service. He held in check Utar Sing's force, and prevented its bearing down upon our left and rear, when Pennycuick's brigade was beaten. It was impossible for him to prevent Utar Sing from pouring some of his battalions upon Campbell's rear and flank ; for this could be done without Thackwell being either aware of, or able, from his position and the nature of his force, to prevent the movement ; but he, like Lane, did very great service on that memorable day, by maintaining an imposing front, working Brind's guns to advantage, and shewing by the gallant Unett's daring charge, that Utar Sing's advance from his ground, without the support of his batteries of position, would meet with no respect from those ready swordsmen, and that once in motion, the Sikh chief might look for rough handling from the 3rd Dragoons and their native comrades. Thackwell acted wisely, cautiously, and firmly.

It cannot be denied that the effect produced by the great loss sustained, the defeat of one brigade of infantry, the panic of the cavalry on the right, and the disgrace of losing guns, was to damp the confidence of the leader, and of some of his divisional commanders, and that it shook, too, when the amount of loss was known, the confidence of the troops ; nor was this feeling counterbalanced by our having driven the enemy from his position, taken or spiked many of his guns, and remained masters of the field. Yet, in our opinion, the latter consideration ought to have prevailed : and it was an error to withdraw the infantry from the ground they had very nobly won, leaving the wounded to their fate, and the guns taken to be recovered by the enemy. Night had come on ; and the Sikhs, who had retired in confusion were not likely to disturb the bivouac with more than a distant random shot. It was perfectly practicable to have bivouacked the infantry supported by guns, on the ground until daylight, by which time the wounded and the captured guns might have been secured, the weary troops refreshed, and, when day dawned, such dispositions made as circumstances warranted. Nothing was in fact gained by massing our force confusedly on Chillianwala ; and much was lost. Whether or not, when day broke, Gough would have been able to advance and drive the Sikhs from their position, may fairly be open to question. We incline to the opinion that the infantry, confident in their own unaided success, and scarce aware of the conduct of the cavalry, of the loss of guns, and of the havoc in Pennycuick's brigade, would have moved readily to the storm of the position. Our heavy artillery was intact, perfectly prepared for action ; our field artillery had suffered, and much ammunition had to be replaced ; but before morning all would have been ready ; and by massing heavy and light guns, the infantry would have advanced under cover of such a storm of shot and shell, that the shaken Sikh masses, already broken in confidence, would have yielded the position, and in all probability would have fled, even before the infantry moved up to close and storm. If, in order to avoid the shot and shell, the masses had taken to the ravines and broken ground, the havoc would scarce have been less from the lobbing shot and bursting shell : and, when the infantry closed, the execution would have been awful: for the field artillery could have moved up to the last in support of the infantry, and the heaped and confused masses of the enemy would have been devoted to a terrible carnage. The action would have been over before the rain of the 14th began.

This, however, was not the feeling, or the opinion, of the influential commanders; and, it must be freely allowed, that they had strong arguments to advance in favour of the course that was pursued. We had suffered very severely. The enemy's position, upon which they had retired, was close, formidable to appearance, and unknown. Our troops were in want of food, rest, and ammunition. To bivouac on the ground might deprive the infantry of water, and food, and refreshment, as they might be harrassed all night by the enemy's cannonade. There was a good deal of disorder; night was closing; the army should be concentrated, and, before more was attempted, the organization of the force restored. We will not pretend to say which was the correct view: but our own opinion is, that, having expected an easy victory, the sanguinary vicissitudes of the day had, although crowned with ultimate success, too much depressed some of the commanders, and that the Lion Counsel was on this occasion the best. Far be it from us, however, to pronounce authoritatively; for failure might have had most serious consequences. The issue could alone have proved the wisdom or the reverse of the more daring course. We know, however, that the Sikh infantry were desponding and dispirited at the close of the hard-fought day of the 13th January.

Lord Gough's original project of attack was admirable; and he committed a great error in departing from it. Had he advanced along the Russúl road without turning off to his left, he would have gained, at a distance of about two thousand yards from the foot of the hills, open ground, free from heavy jungle; and he would have found nothing in the form of natural obstacles to impede the execution of his contemplated mode of attack. He would, speaking with submission to the inscrutable will of an over-ruling Providence, have won a great and effectual victory, instead of a resultless action. Had he held on from Chota Umrao, he would have been in position about eleven o'clock, and before noon the battle would have begun.

When, however, he departed from his original intention, struck off to his left, and took up a position in front of Chillianwala, the gap between the enemy's right wing under Utar Sing, and Shere Sing's centre, merited attention, and a rapid attack, which should have placed the leading division, where Campbell broke in upon the enemy's line, would have given victory speedily, but not of so decisive a character as would have ensued from the original project; moreover, it would have required nice management and a departure from our every-day fashion of attack.

As it was, our attack, fair upon the centre of the enemy, gave the latter the full advantage of his very extended position; and, as his centre was covered by thickish bushy jungle, which dislocated all formations in line, and inevitably produced confusion in the brigades, besides offering difficulties to the movements of the guns and to bringing them into action, the troops were sure to come into contact with the Sikh infantry and guns in the most unfavourable condition, their organization disturbed, and nothing but their own courage and the example of their officers to compensate for every conceivable disadvantage. Verily, British infantry, British officers, and British bayonets are of such a character, so entirely to be relied upon, that it is no wonder that British Generals will dare and risk much. The dauntless valour of the infantry rectifies the errors of its commanders, and carries them through, what would otherwise be inevitable defeat and disgrace. But it redeems their errors with its blood: and seldom has there been more devotion, but alas! more carnage, than on the hard-fought field of Chillianwala, a field fairly won, though bravely contested by the Sikhs of all arms. Indecisive in its strategetical and political effects, it was not the less valour's victory: and, notwithstanding the remarks alleged to have lately been made by the Governor-General on that battle-field and the memorial to its slain, it is a victory, which, whether inscribed or not on the colours of the infantry, the latter may, and will be prouder of, than of most which decorate its standards: for it justly deems that struggle of two hour's deadly strife, to have ended, we repeat, in valour's victory.

We have dealt chiefly with the main features of the campaign, and have felt neither taste nor inclination for the exposure of the numerous errors and misrepresentations which disfigure Mr. Thackwell's work. Our object has been rather to convey a clear general conception of events and their causes, a bird's-eye view of affairs, than to descend into details. We cannot, however, altogether omit noticing his groundless animadversions; and, perhaps, the simplest and most effective method of doing so, is to reprint the gentlemanly, thoroughly truthful, and soldierly letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford, and that signed by the officers of the 45th Bengal native infantry. This is the more necessary, as our English readers, not aware of the extreme inaccuracy, the blunders and prejudices of Mr. Thackwell, might, if we omitted all notice of his ignorance, misstatement of facts, and crude presumption, have a very inadequate idea of the thorough untrustworthiness of the work:—

THE BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH.

To the Editor of the "United Service Magazine."

MR. EDITOR,—My attention has been called to an article in your Magazine, headed "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

The statement there given, as far as it relates to the 2nd brigade of cavalry, not only implies a want of exertion on my part in restoring order, after the command of the brigade devolved upon me, but the writer of it endeavours to fix upon me the odium of having given an order which, it is said, occasioned the disaster which afterwards occurred.

As I am not disposed to remain silent under such a charge, I have to observe in reply, that the circumstance of Brigadier Pope's having been wounded and disabled was only made known to me after the brigade had finally rallied; I was therefore not in a position to give any orders to the 14th Dragoons during the retreat.

I solemnly declare that I gave no order to retire, either to my own, or to any other regiment; nor did I hear such an order given; and the first intimation I had of the retreat of the brigade was, having it pointed out to me by one of my own officers, when we were in the midst of, and actually engaged with, the advanced party of the Ghorechurras; after which my whole energies and attention were necessarily directed to my own regiment, then giving way.

My trumpeter sounded the halt and rally repeatedly, which had the effect of halting the three troops of my own regiment engaged,* and other squadrons; but, our flank being by this time turned by the Ghorechurras, the retreat was continued, in spite of my exertions to stop it.

I may here mention, that although there was great confusion, yet the retreat of that part of the line, which I witnessed, was not such a "*sauve qui peut*" affair, as the writer in your Magazine describes it: for example, my regiment did not ride through the ranks of the artillery, or penetrate to the Field Hospital On the contrary, we rallied in the right rear of the guns, and many officers exerted themselves to stop the retreat; and the following fact will, in some measure, prove my view of the case:—a standard of another regiment, which had fallen, its bearer having been killed in the advance, was brought in during the retreat by a havildar of my regiment, and restored to its own, after we rallied.

There are several mis-statements which I desire to notice, apparently introduced for the purpose of throwing blame on the native cavalry and its officers.

1st.—The writer of this article has revived the story of a young officer of Light Cavalry having given the order, "threes about," as emanating from authority.

The story was sifted at the time, and acknowledged by the officer, who brought it forward, to be without foundation; and this the writer could hardly have been ignorant of.

2nd.—The account implies, that no squadron of direction was ordered, whereas Brigadier Pope named a squadron of the 14th Dragoons, and was seen in front of them, and he ordered the "trot" and "gallop."

3rd.—It is well known that the Brigadier led the 14th Dragoons, and was wounded in front of them; therefore, the supposition, which the writer indulges in, that the 6th Light Cavalry were the first to turn, because their Colonel was wounded, goes for nothing

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* The other three troops were detached with Colonel Lane's guns.

4th.—The other regiment could not have forced the 14th on the guns, as stated in the article in question, as we inclined to the left during the retreat, until after the temporary rally, when the troops inclined to the right, on the flank being turned. But I do not think this could have affected the dragoons, who by this time must have passed through the guns, having had a shorter distance to move.

If, as the writer states, "the turning of two troops" in a jungle is sufficient reason to convert an attack into a retreat (a fact which, though asserted by him, I apprehend most cavalry officers would be loth to admit), then why is it necessary for the honour of the 14th Dragoons, that a young officer of Light Cavalry should be conjured up to give the word "threes about?" Why is the camp whisper—satisfactorily disposed of at the time—to be re-echoed? and finally, why are faults to be imputed to me, of which I am wholly ignorant, and now hear of for the first time? Why are orders and actions insinuated and inferred, which never took place?

I can well imagine, Sir, that the fame and renown of a distinguished cavalry regiment are dear to their country: but does that justify the sacrifice of the reputation of others?

I think that even the most ardent admirers and anxious apologists of the regiment alluded to, would, on knowing the fallacy of the arguments, shrink from the disingenuousness of their advocate.

I hope, Sir, it may prove that the writer of this article has done as little *harm* to those, whom he involves in his false accusations and insinuations, as (in the minds of all men at all acquainted with the unhappy circumstances) he has done good to the cause of the regiment, of which he is, I conceive, the self-appointed advocate.

Requesting you will give this letter an early insertion in your Magazine.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
J. F. BRADFORD,
Lieut-Col. Commdg. 1st Lt. Cav.

Cawnpur, November 21st, 1850.

To the Editor of the "United Service Magazine."

MR. EDITOR,—We beg to send you an article, which we request you will publish in a conspicuous part of the *United Service Magazine.* It is only fair that you should do so, after the article on the battle of Chillianwallah, which appeared in your number for September 1850.

We have ever been averse to moot this subject, being unwilling that the slightest slur should be cast on a regiment of Europeans, our own countrymen. We believe them to have been over-eager—that they knew not the description of enemy they were about to meet,—that, in short, they despised the Sikhs. We believe them to be brave and good soldiers, and that it was only the severe and galling fire of the enemy, coupled with that of the enemy's resolution and other causes mentioned in our article, which caused them to retreat. But, in thus stating our opinion, we would observe that it has become too much the custom to decry the native troops—that corps of Europeans should not be praised at the expense of their native comrades,—that credit should be given where credit is due—and that we feel as deeply a stigma thrown on our native regiments, as on any in H. M. service under the same circumstances.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the action of Chillianwallah; and during that time we have remained silent, trusting that the affair would have been dropped. Now, however, when it is again stirred up, we consider it but due to ourselves, and but justice to our sepoys, to contradict the report of H. M. 24th outrunning the 45th. If need were, we are certain that Lord Gough would defend us. He knows the regiment well, and ever spoke highly of it. We give you full permission to publish this letter, and would account for the few signatures, by stating that, of those who were present at Chillianwallah—

Colonel Williams is absent with another Corps.
Captain Oakes is absent on political employ.
Captain Haldane is dead.
Lieutenant Oakes is dead.
Lieutenant Palmer is dead.
Ensign Evans is dead.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Your obedient Servants,

A. S. O. DONALDSON, *Lieut. and Adjt.*
J. FRASER, *Lieut., 45th N. I,*
G. C. BLOOMFIELD, *Lieut., 45th N. I.*
MILFORD TOZER, *Lieut.*
A. E. OSBORNE, *Lieut.*
W. L. TROTTER, *Lieut.*

I have perused the accompanying account of the action of Chillianwallah, and believe it to be essentially correct.

C. O. HAMILTON, *Capt. on Furlough, Med. Certificate.*

Feb. 11th, 1851.

In the September number of this Magazine there appeared an article, headed, "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

We also have a few words to say on that murderous, but not doubtful field. We say, not doubtful, though many think otherwise; for many there are who cannot distinguish between victory and the fruits of victory, between a conquered or only a beaten foe. The Sikhs at Chillianwallah were beaten, but not conquered. They were driven from the field of battle, only to take post in a more formidable position amidst the ravines of Múng Russúl.

Had two hours more daylight remained to Lord Gough on that eventful eve, he would have gained a far greater, though not so bloodless a victory as Gúzerat: for the Sikhs, cooped up in a bend of the Jhelum, and minus the whole of their artillery, which must have been left on the field, or at the foot of the heights, would have been almost annihilated. They never could have made head again: the campaign would have ended there. Yet, though fortune thus interfered, she did not abandon her ancient favourite. Twelve Sikh guns were left upon the field of battle—a larger trophy than remained to Napoleon after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen.

Our present object, however, is not to defend Lord Gough, who needs no defence, but to do justice to those who cannot defend themselves; and if, in the execution of our task, we should seem to speak questionably of the conduct of some, we beg to assure our readers we do so with the utmost regret. We do so from necessity, because we cannot, without dereliction of duty, allow those to be misrepresented, over whose welfare destiny has made us the guardians. We therefore now give a correct version of the advance and repulse of Pennycuick's brigade at the battle of

CHILLIANWALLAH.

This brigade consisted of H. M. 24th, the 25th N. I, and the 45th N. I. The 24th numbered about 1,100 bayonets, whilst the 45th N. I. had 600 We have more especially to do with this native regiment, to prove that the reflection cast on it in the Septemder number of this Magazine, is unjust; and to assure our readers that the 45th N. I was never outrun by the Europeans when approaching the enemy, but supported them throughout well and firmly.

We commenced our march in contiguous columns, the 25th N. I. on the right, the 45th N. I. on the left, and H. M. 24th in the centre. The halt was sounded about ten o clock, and each man opened three bundless of cartridges. After about an hour's halt, the brigade deployed into line and loaded. The battery attached to the brigade went to the front, and about 12 o'clock came on the enemy's advanced post.

It was a mound intrenched, and distant about 200 yards from the village of Chillianwallah. (On this very spot sleep most of our comrades who fell in the action).

The force of the enemy at this post was said to amount to five hundred men and two guns.

The first shot was fired by the enemy, and our battery replied warmly, whilst the infantry continued advancing until close in rear of our guns. A loud cheer was then given; and the enemy fled, carrying off, however, their guns and losing but few men.

We proceeded a short distance beyond this post, and halted a little to the left of the village of Chillianwallah. The reason of the halt was not known, but it was supposed that it was Lord Gough's wish to ascertain the true position of the enemy. In about half an hour, the quarter-masters of corps, with camp colours, were sent for; and it was understood we should encamp for that day. Our fatigues were, however, not yet over. The booming of artillery was soon heard. Our politicals (heavy guns) answered in style, and we could soon perceive an extensive line of the enemy's batteries by the smoke from their guns. All was now excitement!

After this cannonading had lasted for some time, our brigade was ordered to advance in line. It was soon anything but a line—marching through thick jungle, having to clear our way through enclosures of thorns, how could it be otherwise than broken? We could see no distance to our front. Our light companies were ordered to skirmish, but not to fire. They might have knocked over many of the enemy, who were among the bushes and up in trees taking our distance, had it not been for this extraordinary order. We received this order from Brigadier Pennycuick, with the remark that everything was to be done with the bayonet.

When about 300 yards from the enemy's guns, either with or without orders, our whole brigade gave a cheer, and set off at the double. Many round shot had passed over us, and our battery had not opened its fire. At length it did so, but only fired about four shots when the line went ahead, the 45th N. I. not losing a foot of ground, but keeping up all the way with the Europeans. As we advanced, the fire became hotter and hotter. The enemy commenced in earnest, finding we did not return a shot. Suddenly, a battery until then silent, opened unexpectedly on our left, and sent such a raking fire amongst us, that the ground was actually ploughed up. A battery, it is said, opened also on the right flank; almost every man killed and wounded in the 45th N. I. was hit from the left.

A short distance from the enemy's guns, the brigade was quite blown. It halted, 45th N. I. shoulder to shoulder with H. M. 24th. Then was shown the absurdity of charging so soon! The order not to fire should have been countermanded. The enemy's guns to the front were placed on a mound, and opened upon us with grape and round shot. Their infantry, also, poured in a galling fire: and still we were silent. A good rattling file fire would have soon driven the gunners from their guns. It was very lucky for us that their infantry fired so badly, and that, from our proximity, we were within the range of their guns. It was soon perceived that the enemy wished to concentrate their fire on the Europeans, easily known and quite conspicuous in their Albert hats. From the very long line of H. M. 24th, it is impossible for us to say what took place on their right; but we can safely affirm that the Grenadier company of the 45th N. I. was close to, and in line with, the left company of H. M 24th—not a single pace in the rear. Three of the enemy's guns were quite distinct in front of the 45th. Even the gunners were clearly seen; and the 45th were as near to those guns as the Europeans. The enemy never left those guns, whilst the brigade was near them. We repeat, that what H. M. 24th did on their right, we know nothing about; but this we know, that their left wing was never one foot in advance of the 45th N. I. when approaching the enemy.

We were under the impression that the Europeans were merely taking breath, and would immediately make the final spring; but the enemy's fire had been very severe, and, as it was concentrated on the Europeans, they could not stand it, but broke and made off for the village. The 45th N. I. followed their example. It was not to be expected that natives would stand, when Europeans would not. We rallied at the village of Chillianwallah.

After a time we were marched down to support Gilbert's division, which had got into the enemy's trenches. After getting near, we were ordered to concentrate on some batteries; here we remained until nearly dark. The dead of H. M. 29th, and of the 56th N. I., were lying thick, as were also numbers of Sikhs, most of them gray-headed men, and two of them Sirdars. Three shots then passed over us when the order was given to retire, and, after great difficulty in finding our way. we reached again the village of Chillianwallah. A very slight drizzling rain fell during the night.

The tremendous fire of the enemy—the difficulty of advancing through thick jungle—the broken line—the absurdly long charge—the sudden fire of flanking batteries, and the order not to fire, were the true reasons of the repulse, and would have been quite sufficient, without laying it to the shuffling along of the natives in English leather shoes. The 45th N. I. did not wear English leather shoes. The forced marches, preceding the battle of Múdkí, will show how well the natives pushed along, and that they are not easily out-marched by Europeans.

It is well known that the 45th, in the retreat, kept very well together; hence the small number of casualties in that corps, and the fact of their three colours coming safely out of action. The retreat of the 45th was also covered by a body of their own men, amounting to 52 files, with four officers. Three times were parties of the enemy beaten off by this body, who expended sixty rounds of ammunition per man. That their fire was effective, may be inferred from the fact, that only three men of the 45th were cut up, whilst the great loss of H. M. 24th was sustained in the retreat. This small party afterwards joined Brigadier Hoggan, and charged with his brigade. From the thick jungle, the other sepoys saw not, or did not notice this small force, or all would have rallied at once.

Before closing this article, we would remark that, in a work on the last campaign by Dr. McGregor, the blame is thrown on the native regiments. We were silent on its appearance, because we considered it beneath our notice, being written by one who was not present, and whose work is certainly nothing extraordinary; but, when an aspersion is thrown on the native corps in such a widespread periodical as the *United Service Magazine*, we are bound to point out the inaccuracy.

The European cavalry engaged on the right, needed no such self-appointed, indiscreet advocate as Mr. Thackwell, and its noble-minded officers will feel no gratitude for a defence, based upon an endeavour, by the resuscitation of a ridiculous rumour exploded at the time, and by the sacrifice of the reputation of gallant officers, to cast blame where none was merited, and thus to apologize for one of those events with which the military history of cavalry actions is replete. We could quote many instances, had we the space or leisure, but it would be useless; for some future day will show that the old spirit, which hurled two weak unsupported squadrons under Hervey upon the French at the Douro, and brought them back again through the masses that had closed in upon their rear after their daring charge, is not extinct, but fresh and living in the hearts and arms of men and officers. There will be many chivalrous Herveys to lead; and their followers will wipe out all memory of the strange retreat at Chillianwallah by noble bearing and gallant deeds. We mistake, if their next field day, should the opportunity be afforded, be not memorable in the annals of cavalry success.

We have stated plainly that, in our opinion, Lord Gough was in error in departing from his original project of attack. It will have been easily inferred that, on the field of Chillianwalla, though the aged commander merits all praise for his courage and firmness, there was little skill; and that, after his infantry had won him a victory, it is questionable, whether he was right in yielding his own more noble opinion to the sentiments of his subordinate commanders, and whether the throwing up half the symbols of his victory was well considered or wise. We shall now have the more pleasant task of showing that, subsequently to the battle, which had cost him so much in men and officers, and had added so little to his reputation, the course which he pursued, was on the whole the proper one to be adopted, and, as is well known, that it was finally crowned by entire success on the well-planned and well fought field of Gúzerat.

The day after the action of Chillianwalla, an error was committed in taking up too confined a position for the British camp. Instead of the compact parallelogram between Chillianwalla and Mozawala, the left of the army should have rested on Chillianwalla, the right on Kokri and its mound, and a strong outpost should have occupied the hill top opposite to Kokri. During the few first days before the Sikhs had regained confidence, there was nothing to have prevented this position being assumed; and, had it been taken up, the enemy would have been so entirely under observation from the out-post, so closely cabined in his narrow inconvenient position, that in all probability he would have withdrawn at night, and retired upon the fords of the Jhelum. The Britsh army, on the more extended but strong position which we have mentioned, would have covered the roads to Dingí, and to Ramnuggur by Heylah; would have commanded the main road by the Khúri pass between the Jhelum and Guzerat; would have threatened the Sikh line of retreat and operations between the Jhelum and Russúl; and would thus have rendered the Sikh position on the heights of Russúl untenable, without striking a blow or firing a shot to drive them from it. To coop up the British camp into a narrow parallelogram, answered no purpose except to facilitate the enemy's foraging parties, to restore his confidence, to enable him to harass and insult the contracted position of the British General, and to maintain the command of the lines of road at the moment so important to the Sikh General. Nor was this error obviated by the ultimate erection of a redoubt on the Kokri mound. This somewhat restrained the insolence of the Sikh patrols and foragers, and made them respect the right of Gough's position: but it secured none of the strategetical objects, which would have been attained had the British General taken up at first the position which was obviously, on every account the most desirable, and which it would have been practicable to assume without a chance of active opposition. Much was thrown away of the fruits of victory by withdrawing from the ground, which the infantry had so nobly won at Chillianwala: but, when this had been done, much more was lost and thrown away, in our opinion, by failing to perceive the strategetical importance of the position, which, for several days after the battle, the enemy left optional to Lord Gough to take up or not as he pleased. Afterwards, when our own timidity had restored their confidence, the Sikhs saw the momentous importance of what we had neglected. They became exceedingly jealous of the hill top looking down on Kokri, and any demonstration on the part of Gough to seize it would have been stoutly contested.

Múltán fell on the 22nd; and on the 26th, a salute was fired from the heavy guns posted on the mound of Chillianwala. The Sikhs turned out from their entrenchments to gaze upon the British camp, and wonder what the salute portended.

The Sikh army had been busily employed, ever since the 13th, in strengthening their Russúl position. When joined by Chutter Sing's reinforcements and the Affghans, their position became too confined for their numbers, and the difficulty of provisioning their forces was enhanced. It now became the object of the Sikh commander, if possible, to bring the British army to action, before the reinforcements, set free by the fall of Múltán, could join.

On the other hand, Lord Gough was in a position which, though inconveniently contracted, covered, and gave him the command of, the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur, and thus secured his communications with the expected reinforcements. He watched the hard-won field of battle and the open ground between Múng and the belt of jungle, so that the enemy could not well hazard a flank movement in face of the British force in that direction. He commanded the road from Russúl on Dingí, and observed that by Khúri on the same place. His proper course, therefore, was evidently not to gratify the Sikh general by an untimely, indecisive action, but to hold Shere Sing in check, until Whish's reinforcements came within the sphere of tactical operations. Matters stood thus, when the Sikhs, being in force at Púran as well as at Russúl, thrust their horse through the Khúri pass, and, on the 3rd February, thus threatening the road by Khúri on Dingí. Mackeson, who had the credit of having wrung from the Governor-General a qualified assent to an attack on the Sikh position, and of having thus brought on the fight of Chillianwala, now advocated such a change of position, as would bring the army opposite the Khúri pass, and prevent the Sikhs from issuing forth upon the plain and marching on Gúzerat. In order to avoid an action, the change of position was to be effected by two or three pivotings on the flank of the camp.

The objections to this were obvious. Such a change of position, if effected as suggested, laid open the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur; threw up the battle field, and allowed the enemy to resume his original positions—an event which was sure to produce a bad moral effect—besides leaving it optional with the enemy to threaten or act upon our direct line of communication with Ramnuggur. Not only would the battle of Chillianwala have palpably been then fought for nothing, but Gough must have fallen back from his new position across the Khuri road, and might have found himself awkwardly situated by one of the Sikh commander's bold and rapid movements.

Gough was very right in holding on where he stood. Provided he watched the movements of the enemy, there was nothing to be apprehended from his issuing forth upon the plain. On the contrary, the Sikh commander would thus, in all probability, afford the British General the opportunity of fighting a decisive action. All that it behoved Lord Gough to be careful of was, that if the enemy issued in force by the Khúri pass and threw up the Russúl position, he should not be permitted to march on Gúzerat and across the Chenáb, before the British army could close and prevent the passage of the river. With ordinary vigilance and prudence, Gough's position rendered the unimpeded passage of the Chenáb by the Sikhs almost an impossibility. He was in every respect justified, therefore, in giving weight to the objections against Makeson's proposal, and in standing fast.

The enemy finding that the show of their horse through the Khúri pass had produced no effect on the British General, encamped in force, on the 5th at the mouth of the Khúri pass, and, on the 6th February [illegible]ed on their horse to Dingí; but they held Russúl in undiminished strength. Again Mackeson argued for a pivoting change of camp to Dingí: but this was almost sure to bring on an action necessarily indecisive from the position and strength of the enemy, whilst it was open to all the various objections before stated. Lord Gough therefore stood fast.

The enemy, aware that the reinforcements from Múltan must be rapidly approaching, were now anxious to bring Gough to battle; and on the 11th February, they sought to induce him to quit his camp, and to bring on a general action. Their cavalry in some force advanced to Burra Omra, whilst their infantry guns formed a line in front of Khúri—their right resting on the strong hill ground which was a prolongation of the Russúl position, their left refused, and the Khúri pass and road in their rear. At Russúl, the Sikh force formed in front of its entrenchments—the infantry and guns half way down the slopes of the range, and a strong advance of horse, foot, and guns fairly in the plain, and within about a mile of our nearest pickets and videttes. The Sikh plan was evidently to draw Gough out of his camp, and to bring on an action in the direction of Khúri—the Russúl force taking the opportunity of falling upon his flank and rear, as soon as he was well compromised. The army was under arms, and a cavalry detachment properly supported was thrown out in the direction of Burra Omra to watch the Sikh horse. The skirmishers of the cavalry were for some time engaged, but nothing further ensued; as the Sikhs, when they found that, if they would bring the British General to action, they must attack him, withdrew to their original positions for the day. During the night, they threw up the Russúl line of entrenchments, retiring that part of their force on Púran, and thus brought both wings of their army upon the same line of road, and in close communication with each other. On the 13th, the enemy closed up their columns. At Khúri all was quiet during the day; but at midnight the army marched: and, on the 14th February, it became known to the British General that the Sikhs had gained a march, and were on the road to Gúzerat.

This movement had been anticipated, and, with a view to the speedy termination of the war, was the most desirable course that Shere Singh could adopt. But, instead of the 14th being lost in indecision and a sort of extemporised council, it should have found Gough prepared to make a corresponding movement, with the view of securing his own objects, and hindering those of the enemy. The troops were ordered to strike camp about 11 A. M., but the march was counter-ordered at one o'clock. Gough, however, sent orders to Whish to push up a detachment of troops to Wuzírabad along the left bank of the Chenáb, so as to check any attempt at the passage of the river. On the 15th the army moved to Lussúrí, a position which secured a junction with Whish's force, and was near enough to the Sikh army to paralyze any attempt on its part to commence the passage of the Chenáb. Whish had judiciously anticipated the orders he received, and had pushed up to the neighbourhood of Wuzírabad a force of foot, horse and guns under Colonel Byrne. This body prevented Shere Singh's placing himself *à cheval* on the Chenáb; whilst the proximity of the mass of the British army rendered a serious attempt to force a passage too dangerous and problematical an operation to be attempted.

The state of affairs was now delicate; for the 16th, a march had been ordered, and subsequently counter-ordered. Indecision for a time prevailed. Mackeson was for marching to Kúngah, a place within about five miles of the Sikh position: but a junction with Whish's reinforcements had not been actually effected; and it was so evidently the game of the enemy to bring Gough to action before he was reinforced, and the opportunity would have been so favourable after the troops had made a fifteen-mile march, that a battle was sure to follow. To have waited patiently a month and upwards for reinforcements, and then to have suffered himself to be brought to action without them, when a single day would suffice to bring up the advance of Whish's troops, would have been fatal to Gough's reputation as a General; and, if the action under such circumstances had proved indecisive, the wrath of England would justly have overwhelmed him with disgrace. An advance to Saidúlapur was free from the risk of collision with the enemy. At the same time that it must attract his attention, paralyze his movements, and force him to prepare for attack, it gave time for the reinforcements to come up, secured everything, and endangered nothing. Gough accordingly decided on the march to Saidúlapúr. On the 17th he made another short march towards the enemy, halting with his right on Golí and his left behind Isharah. He had the satisfaction of being joined by a part of his reinforcements : but Dundas was behind, preferring to march according to his own opinion of what was necessary, rather than attend to Whish's instructions ; and, therefore, he was written to peremptorily. His delay was injudicious and dreadfully inopportune. On the 18th the army made another short march, and halted its left on Kúngah. On the 19th, the army halted to allow Dundas to join, and Markham to cross the river at Gurré-ka-Putun ; and, on the 20th, another short march to Shadíwala, in battle order, brought the two armies face to face, with but a small interval to be traversed, before closing for the contest that was to decide the fate of the Punjáb. The Sikhs had, since the 16th, been kept in continual alarm and in daily apprehension of an attack ; and, having chosen their position, had repeatedly been drawn out in battle array, anticipating a more precipitate advance, and to be earlier assailed. But Gough, acting prudently, had determined to risk as little as possible : and knowing how much depended on the battle about to be delivered being a decisive one, he resolved to fight with well-rested troops and a long day before him.

Considering how long the country had been in our hands ; that Gúzerat is a place of great resort ; that officers and detachments had repeatedly been there—the ignorance of the ground, under which the Commander-in-Chief laboured, was truly remarkable. It proved how few men traverse a country with a military eye. Upon the little that was ascertained of the Sikh position, Gough formed his plan of attack.

When expecting an attack on the previous day, the Sikhs had drawn out their army, with its right, and right centre covered by the Dwara, a dry, sandy-bedded nullah of some breadth which, after passing to the west of Gúzerat, took a bend to eastward before striking off south to Haríwala and Shadíwala. The Sikh centre occupied the villages of Kabra ; and their left rested on the Katelah. They were supposed to refuse their right, which was thrown back nearly at right angles to their front, following the course of the Dwara, so that their left and centre, covered by the villages, was offered to the British. It was known that the Dwara, which bisected the British line, was no where at the time any real obstacle either to men or guns ; though of course it might be very useful to the Sikhs in affording their infantry cover. Gough, therefore, determined to attack their left and centre, and to thrust them back upon their right. With this purpose in view, the British army was to advance with the heavy artillery in the centre, Gilbert and Whish's divisions forming the right wing, which, as that expected to bear the brunt of the action, was supported by the greater portion of the field artillery. The left wing, composed of Campbell's division, Dundas's brigade, and a smaller proportion of field artillery, was expected to come into play later than the right wing, and was intended to complete the destruction and dispersion of the enemy's masses, when the Sikh left and centre should have been doubled upon its right. The Dwara, up to the enemy's position, was to be the regulator of the advance of the British line—the right and left wings being ordered, with their respective left and right flanks, to skirt the banks of the nullah, whilst the general alignment and the pace of advance was to be governed by the progress of Shakespear's elephant-drawn eighteen-pounders, a fine mark on that open-plain, and therefore a good "squadron of direction" to the British line of battle.

The morning of the 21st of February was clear and bright; and, as the enemy's masses had very early taken up their positions, there was no dust of moving columns to cloud the purity of the air and sky. The snowy ranges of the Himalayah, forming a truly magnificent background to Gúzerat, and the village-dotted plain, seemed on that beautiful morning to have drawn nearer, as if like a calm spectator, to gaze on the military spectacle. A looker-on might have thought the army drawn out on some gala occasion; for the baggage being packed in safety at Shádiwala, the force moved free of incumbrance, and the whole had the appearaace of a grand review.

In the order we have mentioned, his flanks supported by cavalry and horse artillery, and reserve brigades to each wing of his army, Gough marched at seven in the morning, and advanced until his centre reached Haríwala, a village on the Dwara. His right wing had now in its front, at a distance of upwards of two thousand yards, the Sikh left and centre, and the villages of Kabra, which they held in force. The Sikh artillery opened an innocuous fire; and our heavy artillery, taking up ground, began to respond, whilst the right wing deployed into line. The distance was however too great; and the cannonade beyond making a noise and burning powder, was ineffective on either side; so that our heavy guns had again to move, and assumed a more advanced, but still too distant, position. The field artillery threw themselves daringly to the front, and made their fire tell well upon the enemy's line: but the most forward of our batteries went through a sharp ordeal, the enemy's guns being neither few nor slow to answer our gallant gunners. Meanwhile, the left wing, advancing gradually, so as to keep pace and alignment with the right wing as the latter moved forward under cover of the artillery, remained in columns at deploying distance, and paid no respect to the ineffective fire of the Sikh artillery in its front. When, however, the columns had passed the villages of Jumna and Júnpúr, which the Sikhs had neglected to occupy, the enemy's shot, from pieces about twelve hundred yards distant, ranged up fair and free, and, threatening mischief, Campbell deployed, and moving up his line to within about a thousand yards of the Sikh artillery, made his infantry lie down; whilst Mouat's guns, trotting rapidly forward before the Sikh gunners got the range, unlimbered, and, at a distance of about eight hundred yards, opened a very effective fire on the battery opposed to him, and on the Sikh infantry supporting it.

Along the whole British line, except on the extreme left, the British artillery was now pouring shot and shell with rapidity and precision upon the Sikh batteries and masses; and the latter, unable to face the pitiless storm, began to yield ground. The centre and left of the Sikhs withdrew behind the line of the Kabra villages, still however holding these in force, for they afforded good cover; their right, having lined the bend of the Dwara in front of their guns with infantry, covered by the right bank from Mouat's shot, retired a few hundred yards, but in perfect order, and again fronted. In proportion as Mouat's fire told, Campbell pushed forward his guns, and advanced his division, making the line lie down when it halted. At length, the Sikh fire in front being greatly subdued, two of the Britsh guns were enabled to take up a position, such that they could sweep the bend of the Dwara, which they strewed with killed and wounded. This cleared the nullah rapidly of the Sikh infantry; and Campbell, with very trifling loss, by good management of the guns under his command, occupied the position, from which he had forced his opponents to retire, without firing a musket-shot.

Meanwhile, the right wing had had sharp fighting in carrying the villages of Kabra. They were stormed with great gallantry, but with heavy loss to the 2nd European and to the 31st Native Infantry, and with considerable loss to H. M. 10th, and to the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. Had Shakespear been permitted to expend a few minutes' attention and a few rounds upon Burra Kabra and its supporting batteries, the loss would have been less, or altogether avoided.

When the right wing had carried the Kabra line of villages, and the left wing had forced the Sikhs from the Dwara, the enemy, though he had fallen back, seemed at one time disposed again to advance. However dastardly the conduct of the chief sirdars, the subordinate commanders had stout hearts; and they could be seen actively re-forming their infantry lines and encouraging their men. As the organization of their corps was not shaken by what they had suffered, and they were in good order, there was a prospect of sharp fighting in forcing the sullen mass from the strong environs of Gúzerat, even if their commanders failed to induce them to advance. Campbell and Dundas, however, taking up the line of the Dwara, had thrown themselves across the right flank of the Sikhs; whilst Thackwell, who in the early part of the action had punished an insolent demonstration of the Affghan cavalry by the gallant charge of the Scinde horse, and had pushed back the Sikh cavalry by the show of his own, now passing well ahead and to flank of Dundas's extreme left, threatened very dangerously the right and rear of the enemy, and was in a position to interpose his squadrons, and preclude the possibility of retreat by the direct road on the Jhelum,—that by which the Affghan horse had fled precipitately. The right wing, leaving the heavy guns in their last position, had, in the course of its advance, almost necessarily thrown up its touch with the Dwara; and for some time there was a very awkward gap in the centre of Gough's line. The Sikh commanders opposed to Campbell, were quick to perceive this; and, finding themselves pressed and turned on their right, apparently thought that the gap might afford the chance of recovering the fortune of the day. They accordingly formed a body of infantry and cavalry opposite to and pointing at the gap, and even advanced, as if resolved boldly to break in upon the weakened centre of the British line of battle and disconnect its wings. Two troops of horse artillery were now brought up, and partly occupied the endangered centre; but their shot and shell had been expended, and they had to await the arrival of communication from the rear. The Sikhs, judging from the silence of these batteries that something was wrong, and seeing that the opening was very partially occupied, were evidently serious in their intentions of an advance of horse and foot upon the empty interval and silent batteries, when Campbell, becoming aware of the threatened movement, turned part of his artillery upon the mass. The latter finding that its advance must be performed under a flank fire from these pieces, and that Campbell would be able to throw himself upon them as they advanced, desisted, and, covered by cavalry, commenced an orderly retreat. Indeed, it was high time that they should ; for our right wing was advancing rapidly, and the Sikh left and centre were retiring fast, in heavy columns, covered by cavalry, over the open country, passing to the east of Gûzerat ; their right, completely turned by Campbell and Dundas, and driven in upon the camp and centre, was forced to withdraw from the field by the same side of Gúzerat as the other masses ; and the whole, being headed off the direct road on the Jhelum by Thackwell's advance with his cavalry, were driven to the northward. By one o'clock in the afternoon, Gough had overthrown the Sikh army, and had crowded it in heavy masses upon a line of retreat, which offered no hope of support, provision, or escape for the disheartened soldiery, if properly followed up. By two o'clock, Gough's infantry was in position to the north of Gûzerat, and the cavalry and horse artillery left to pursue the retreating foe.

Gough, very superior to the Sikhs, not only in weight of metal and in number of guns, but also in the skill of his artillery-men, made great use of this effective and terror-striking arm, and won his crowning victory mainly through its instrumentality. The battle was in fact a combat of artillery. Gough also had the merit on this occasion of not only forming a good plan of attack, but, an unusual circumstance with him, of adhering to it. We have already shown that all his movements prior to the battle were cautious and judicious—and that, too, in spite of advice, which at one time nearly prevailed with him, and would, had he followed it, most probably have been the ruin of his reputation as a commander.

On the field, errors of detail were committed, the most important of which was that our artillery, when it first opened its fire, did so at too great a distance, and therefore it was remarkably ineffective as to numbers slain, though completely effective in daunting the courage of the enemy.

Our author is wrong in stating that the chief objects of the enemy at Gúzerat were to turn our right flank and penetrate to the guns. The Sikh cavalry out-numbered and out-flanked our horse at both extremities of the British line ; and at both they made a show of turning our flanks and attacking. On the left, Thackwell dealt with this demonstration, as it deserved ; he charged with the nearest squadrons (the Scinde horse, supported by the squadrons, and the 9th Lancers), and made the enemy more respectful.

Lord Gough made a mistake, when he recalled the cavalry, and prevented Thackwell from carrying out his intention of bivouacking on the ground and continuing the pursuit in the morning. The horse artillery, after a night's rest, would have been perfectly able to move in support of the cavalry ; and the infantry ought, part by the direct route on the Jhelum, and part in support of the cavalry, to have been under arms and in full march before day-break of the 22nd. Gough was too slow in his proceedings after the victory : but to insinuate that this arose from such motives as are implied by Mr. Thackwell's work, and that Gough sacrificed the interests of his Government to a personal bias in favour of Gilbert, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of becoming a K.C.B., is equally ridiculous and despicable. Gough had no wish to prolong the war if he could avoid it : and the escape of the enemy's masses to the right bank of the Jhelum might have prolonged the war for another year. If open to be actuated by petty personal motives, the publicly-discussed and then anticipated appointment of his successor, Sir Charles Napier, under circumstances not complimentary to Gough's renown, was more likely to influence him than mere partiality for Gilbert, and to lead him to strain every nerve, that the campaign might be satisfactorily concluded, before Sir C. Napier could be sent to assume command. Willingly, and of purpose, with the puerile object of making Gilbert a K.C.B., to prolong the contest, was to afford Sir C. Napier an opportunity of stepping in, finishing the war, and depriving Gough of much credit. The thought of such a contingency was not likely to be palatable to one so peculiarly jealous of all affecting his military fame, as Gough always showed himself.

Our author says that " Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's agent, controlled the movements of the Chief ; and it was he who urged the advance of the British troops into the jungle at Chillian, as may be gleaned from Lord Gough's despatch." We have heard it affirmed on good authority that Mackeson was Lord Gough's own choice as a political agent. As the agent of the Governor-General, as the person entrusted with the duty of obtaining intelligence without restriction as to expense, and as the person charged with political negociations, Major Mackeson's advice was sure to have weight. But we have shown that, as a military adviser, Mackeson was neither a safe nor a judicious one ; and that, if he wrung an unwilling assent from the Governor-General, and induced the Commander-in-Chief to fight at Chillianwala, Lord Gough subsequently did not allow himself to be thus controlled but rejected Mackeson's pressing and reiterated suggestions, and followed better counsel. Mackeson, although a most gallant officer, was not qualified for an adviser on military operations, where the difficulties were many, the dangers great, and the position of the General delicate. He was well in place, in a pursuit like Gilbert's. There no nice discrimination between things of major and of minor importance was essential; energy, and a firm adherence to instructions, were the requisities. Associated with the resolute and active Gilbert, there was no chance of a slack pursuit; and the manner in which it was conducted was highly creditable to both. Gilbert's operations perfected the victory of Gúzerat: but, for that victory, Gough was indebted to his neglect of Mackeson's advice—the latter failing to evince comprehensive views of Gough's position. The political shackles, in which our author states the Commander-in-Chief to have been entangled, were entirely of Gough's own forging, if they existed: for Mackeson could have no other weight on military questions, except such as Lord Gough chose to concede to his arguments. That these were long-winded and pertinaciously obtruded was well known throughout the camp: but Mr. Thackwell is in error, if he thinks that Lord Gough was otherwise authoritatively controlled than by the Governor-General's views and policy.

When a country like England entrusts its armies, and, with those armies, the military renown of the nation, to a General, the people will never ask whether a Chillianwala was fought by the advice of a Mackeson: but, with great propriety, they hold the leader responsible for the use made of the armed thousands at his disposal. His fame and reputation are bound up with the fate of the troops he commands: his judgment, and his alone, must decide, under God, what that fate shall be: and it is ridiculous to suppose that the sound, practical common sense of the English nation will trouble itself to enquire, whether a Mackeson, or even a Dalhousie, wrote this thing, or advised the other. It will always ask, What wrote the General? what measures did he take? and how he did act with reference to the circumstances in which he was placed? A Mackeson may give bad, and a Dalhousie may give ambiguous, advice, but all the world knows that the match cannot be lit, or the sword drawn, without the commander's word; and the British people are not of a character to endure that paltry excuses be palmed off upon them, with the view of shifting responsibility to other shoulders than those which are bound to bear both the load and the honour. Our commanders should know and feel this truth: for most assuredly they will experience, that no excuse is taken for great military errors; and that the allegation of advice, given by high civil or political functionaries, will be met with the smile of contempt. When once the sword is drawn, it is impossible to foresee the bearing of a political question on the condition and circumstances of the army in the field, and no British General should contract his views upon the subject of his own responsibility. He should, whether invested with political powers or not, make himself thoroughly conversant with all that, either directly or indirectly, can affect the operations entrusted to him; keeping the fact clearly in view, that England ignores any advice, as relieving its naval or military chief from their great, but honourable, responsibility.

We think it highly injudicious, except under peculiar circumstances, to separate, when operations on a great scale are undertaken, the political from the military power. When these powers are in distinct hands, their representatives will, inevitably, to the great detriment of the public service, clash. We, therefore, concur generally in the expediency of investing military commanders in the East, when properly qualified, with political power. We would, however, stipulate, that they be not only able, but conscientious leaders, morally and mentally fitted for their high trust—men not likely to be swayed by the Siren charms of ribbons, rank, honours, and prize-money. These things are well enough in their proper places; some of them are necessary, and others advisable to prevent greater evils; but, whilst protesting against a system, which may cramp and obstruct our military commanders, and has, at times, produced evil results and left deep scars upon our renown, we would still more strongly protest against either military or political power being entrusted to leaders of low moral tone and principle—men disqualified, not alone by mediocrity or absence of diplomatic and military talent, but also by a want of those higher qualities, which confer real dignity on the profession of arms. Wherever that terrible necessity, War, calls forth a British army, be it in the East or in the West, let us have men in command, imbued with a keen sense of the not yet exploded truth, that a nation's honour and character are based on the justice and consideration evinced in its bearing to friends and foes; and that conquest and victory, where international laws and rights are trampled upon, disgrace the transgressor, and frequently bring down on the offending nation the just, but terrible, retribution of Providence.

We had intended not to have dismissed the author of the work before us without a more detailed notice of his many errors, of his ignorance of native troops, and of the crudeness of assertions and opinions, which, apparently taken up at second-hand without a capacity in the recipient for investigation or inquiry, are misapplied strangely; but, in endeavouring to give a general sketch of the broader features of the eventful campaign, we have already out-run our limits. We leave, therefore, the personal prejudices, and the petty spirit of discontent at the distribution of honours and promotion, without further remark, than that the work derogates, by its tone of captious murmur, from the dignity of the profession, and is calculated to give the impression, that Mr. Thackwell's brethren in arms are inclined, in the service of their country, to think more of purely personal questions and individual distinctions, than of the performance, on high principle, of their duty—to convey the impression of a pervading low tone of thought and feeling amongst the officers of the British army. Mr. Thackwell may not have meant thus to impress his readers: but, notwithstanding much verbiage of the pseudo-Napierian style, stilted talk of glory, gallant Sabreurs,. and the like, with very queer enlistment of would-be classical allusions, the effect of the work is incontrovertibly what we have represented: and, as such an impression is erroneous, it should be counteracted. We must, therefore, observe that, after sedulously decrying Lord Gough to the uttermost, both in his capacity as a commander in the field, and as the appreciator and rewarder of military merit; after taxing him with partiality, and implying questionable, if not dishonourable, motives to the aged chief; after seeking in every way to damage his reputation, and to give currency to opinions most unfavourable to Lord Gough, the endeavour to shelter himself, under cover of such a passage as the following, betrays on the part of the author a spirit, which we regret to find characterising the work of a British officer. We do not give the writer credit for any originality of thought, or for any depth or breadth of view, but we should pronounce him utterly deficient in common sense, were we to assume, that he could for a moment imagine that an author, after disseminating opinions and commenting favourably upon them, can screen himself by so transparent a subterfuge as the disavowal of being himself the originator of the opinions he takes up and puts forth to the world. The futile attempt is an insult to the good sense of his readers; an insult to that ingenuous truthfulness, which should be the aim of all writers on historical events; and, for an officer and a gentleman, an unworthy attempt to mask a hostile attack by the endeavour to charge the sentiments and feelings of the author upon an honourable body of men, few of whom, if we mistake them not, would be thus guilty of shrinking from the candid avowal of their opinions, and none of whom would be guilty of charging them on others. The passage, we allude to, is the following:—

"It will be seen that no opinion has been pronounced in "these pages on the policy pursued by His Excellency in these "operations; it has been my object merely to place on record "the plain facts connected with the action, and the different "opinions current in the camp respecting it. The letters which "appeared in the Indian newspapers during the progress of "the campaign, containing animadversions on Lord Gough, "were often based on false statements, and dictated by the "most paltry malice. Men, who had been unsuccessful in their "applications for staff appointments, vented their spite in elaborate articles, casting the most unwarrantable aspersions on the character of that illustrious soldier. Thus, they were able "to gratify their vindictive feelings, without any fear of detection; for the papers, to whom their dastardly libels were sent, "did not previously insist on their authentication.

"The injury, which Lord Gough sustained in this way, has "been somewhat counterbalanced, however, by the glorious reception with which he has been honoured in his native land. Such a reception was justly due; for England has not sent "forth a more successful General since the days of Wellington "and Waterloo."—p. 9.

If the writer of this passage was himself (as he was generally reputed to be) a frequent correspondent of the Indian press upon which he reflects, and also was not distinguished for over-accuracy in his communications, our readers may perhaps feel amused at his effrontery, and will feel inclined to think well of the temper, both of the press and of those whom he accuses. That ignorant and sometimes desponding letters were written, no one will deny; but that disappointed hopes or vindictive feelings gave rise to these communications, is a gross misrepresentation of the men in H. M. and in the E. I. C. army. We could wish that officers, whilst operations are proceeding, would be more guarded in what they write from camp, even when addressing friends and near relatives; for the impressions of the moment, which would often be corrected a few hours after, getting abroad, often do much harm. We however acquit this species of indiscretion of any such malevolent motive, as the author would clothe it with. The army considered Lord Gough no great genius of a commander; and certainly none of his campaigns in India warranted a different conclusion. That he was a successful commander was always allowed; but it had been experienced that his success, like that of other British Generals, was rather owing to the dauntless valour of the British infantry, than to any remarkable skill exhibited by Gough on the field. When, therefore, indecisive actions, accompanied by heavy loss, were fought, the opinions of the army naturally broke forth, and found vent through public and private channels. As soon, however, as that army found that its Chief could act warily and wisely, and could fight a well-planned battle, it gave him credit for the display, on his last field and crowning victory, of more proficiency and skill than he had hitherto ever shown: and it hailed with pleasure the triumph of the veteran, and the brilliant close of his military career in India. Personally, Lord Gough, from the urbanity of his manner and his kindness of heart and disposition, was always a favourite with the army: and, when he quitted India, there was but one feeling pervading the men and officers who had fought for and won the Punjáb—and that feeling was, that, if the Koh-i-Núr were honestly ours, the fittest man to lay it at the feet of Her Majesty was the one, who, after the sanguinary actions of Múdkí, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon, and Chillianwala, finally overthrew the Sikh power on the plain of Gúzerat. The army felt that the jewel, if fairly ours (which many doubted) was only so, as the emblem of sternly-fought and dearly-purchased victories; that the jewel, if any ornament to the British crown, could only be so, as symbolical of the valour of the troops, which added to the empire of India the country of the five rivers.

We must close with a protest, in the name of the known humanity of the men and officers of the British army, against a sentence, which implies the prevalence of conduct wholly foreign to the feelings and the practice of a beneficent profession, the members of which ever proved themselves alike brave in danger, and merciful and attentive to *all* who needed their aid. After praising Surgeon Wirgman of H. M. 14th Dragoons, for having wounded Sikhs conveyed to his hospital and their wants supplied, the author proceeds to remark—"This conduct should be placed on record, because mercy was "a rare quality in those times."

We, on the contrary, assert without fear of contradiction, that no such record was ever needed as an example; that to say that such a record was advisable, is an unfounded charge against the medical officers who were zealous in alleviating the sufferings of war, whether friend or foe came under their hands, and with whom mercy, instead of a rare quality, was the exceptionless rule. The labours of a talented and devoted body of gentleman ill deserve to be requited by such unmerited reflections; and the praise of Surgeon Wirgman, at the expense of his professional brethren, must be as little gratifying to him, as the author's injudicious advocacy and praise of others of his friends and acquaintances will indubitably prove to them.

War is a terrible, a hateful, necessity. The horror of its atrocities is only qualified by the rays of Christian mercy, which should break forth from Christian warriors. We are happy to know that British officers, at the hazard of their own lives, and in the very heat of conflict, sought to give and to obtain quarter for their infuriated enemies. Two officers were severely wounded by the men they had saved, or sought to save. More honour-conferring wounds could not have been received. They were wounds taken in behalf of humanity and mercy, and proved that the chivalry of the British officer is of the right stamp. Mercy was no rare quality even amongst the combatants, where Sikhs would receive quarter: but in general, they fought desperately and unyieldingly, and, as they had never given seemed never to expect quarter on a battle-field.

Not ourselves having the honour to belong to the faculty, we may be permitted, without a suspicion of favour or prejudice, flatly to disavow and contradict the allegation, that there was a want of mercy or attention to the wounded of the enemy. The medical officers were indefatigable; and their exertions were an honour to themselves and to their nation. Their conduct was throughout a noble tribute of respect to that Christian faith, which teaches and enforces sympathy, with an attention to the miseries of fellow-men—and that whether the sufferer be friend or foe.

BENGALI GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS.

BY REV. LALL BEHARI DEY.

Festivals, Games, and Amusements ; Ancient and Modern. By Horatio Smith. Family Library, No. 25.

THE games and amusements of a country take their colour and complexion from the prevailing character of its inhabitants. The sports of the warlike, active, and enterprising Romans were totally different from those of the voluptuous, sensual, and sedentary Persians ; the festivals and merry-makings of the vivacious and pleasure-loving Greeks had nothing in common with those of the thoughtful but gloomy and priest-ridden Egyptians ; while the war-dances of the North American Indians are in marked contrast with the elegant and somewhat effeminate amusements of the modern Italians. In this way, perhaps, the festivals, games, sports, and amusements of a people afford a criterion for ascertaining their prevailing national character. They also serve to indicate the progress of refinement and civilization. In the infancy of society, when habits are rude and manners unpolished, games and sports partake of the general rusticity. With the march of civilization and the progress of refinement, the very amusements of a people become polished. The sports of the heroes, described by Homer towards the end of his immortal epic, consisting in struggles of physical strength, were vastly different from the gay festivals and lively games of the Ionian Greeks of a later date ; and the bull-baitings of the days of Queen Elizabeth would scarcely be tolerated in merry England in the nineteenth century.

The Bengalis are second to no nation in the number and variety of their festivals and amusements. Europeans in this country are accustomed to see the natives in the hours of business, and infer, from the air of artificiality which they assume on those occasions, that they are a cold-hearted, dull, and, frigid people. Nothing can be a more erroneous conclusion. Were we to observe them in their seasons of recreation and leisuree when, divested of reserve, they shew themselves in their genuin colours ; were we to mingle in their diversions, their festivals, and sports ; were we to join in their evening talk, or their nocturnal merry-makings, we would find them a lively, vivacious and merry people.

It is not our object in the following pages to describe the almost innumerable festivals and holidays of the Bengalis. These may be handled in a separate paper in a future number : in this, we confine our attention to their games and amusements.

The most superficial observer of Bengali manners must know that their games and sports are, for the most part, sedentary. The amusements of a numerous people, that do not supply the British army with a single sepoy, cannot be expected to bear a military character. The Bengali is certainly the least pugnacious animal in the world. The gods did not make him warlike. Possessed of lax nerves, of a feeble body, and of a timid soul, nature has not meant him to handle a gun, or wield a sword. Unlike the horse mentioned in the book of Job, "who paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; who goeth to meet the armed men, mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the mighty," the Bengali quietly folds up his arms, smokes his *húka*, and carefully barricades his door at the approach of a red-coat. Placed as the Bengali is under the fervours of a tropical sun, and indisposed to frequent locomotion, we cannot expect him to be proficient in field sports. His maxim being, that "walking is better than running, standing than walking, sitting than standing, and lying-down best of all," it would be preposterous to expect him to excel in any sports requiring manly activity. Gentle in his manners, idle in his habits, timid in his dispositions, unenterprising in his thoughts, and slow in his motions, all his amusements and games must be for the most part sedentary. To a hasty description of some of these games, we now address ourselves.

The royal game of *Chess* merits the foremost notice. The history of this singular and intellectual game has been variously stated. The invention has been ascribed to the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Persians, Chinese, and Hindus. Sir W. Jones, in his ingenious dissertation, "On the Indian game of chess," ascribes it to the last-mentioned people. The Sanskrit name of this game, or of one similar to it, is *Chaturanga*, or the four divisions of an army, of which word the term *Shatranj*—the name by which the game is designated in Persia and India—is supposed to be a corruption.

"Thus," says Sir William, "has a very significant word in "the sacred language of the Brahmins been transformed by "successive changes into *axedres*, *scacchi*, *echecs*, *chess*, and by a "whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the "English word *check*, and even a name to the *exchequer* of "Great Britain."

It must be confessed, however, that the game of Chaturanga, as described in the Hindu books—in the *Bhavishya-Purána*, for instance, extracts from which have been given by Sir W. Jones, and in Raghu-Nandan's "Institutes of the Hindu Religion"—is materially different from the Persian chess. Instead of two, the Hindu Chaturanga consisted of four armies, which were ranged in battle array in four parts of the board ; and, what is more, the moves of the pieces were not regulated by the skill of the players, but by the throws of the dice. Sir William supposes this to have been a later invention, or rather modification of the original chess.

Whatever may be the way in which the *quæstio vexata* of the invention of chess is solved (and we leave the matter to professed antiquarians), it is interesting for us to know that the *Shatranj* is universally prevalent in Bengal. The Bengali chess-board is the same as the European, with this difference, that the shrewd Bengali, averse to extravagant expenditure, usually draws his figure of sixty-four squares on a common sheet of paper. The pieces used in Bengal are of the same number as those of Europe, some of them, however, having different names. The Rájá, or king, is of course the Commander-in-Chief in this mock battle : next to him is the *mantri*, or minister—the *pherz* of the Persians, the *vierge* of the French, and the *queen* of the English ; next in order are the *elephants*—the Persian *phils*, the French *fols*, and the English *bishops :* and the *horses*—the Persian *aspensuar*, and the English *knights*. The English "*castle*," the European "*rook*," and the Persian "*rokah*," has been ingeniously derived from the Sanskrita *Rath*, or chariot. But in Bengal the castle, or rook, has been most unaccountably changed into a *boat*. Sir W. Jones justly remarks that the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants and infantry on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The *banes* of the Bengali are the *beydals* of the Persian, the *pietons* of the French, and the *pawns* of the English.

The moves of the pieces are similar to those of the European nations. All the pieces on one side of the board, agreeably to their Bengali names, are as follows : the king, the minister, two elephants, two horses, two boats, and eight foot-soldiers : agreeably to the English way of naming them, in the words of the poet,—

> "A monarch strongly guarded here we view
> By his own consort and his clergy too ;
> Next those, two knights their royal sire attend,
> And two steep rocks are planted at each end ;
> To clear the way before this courtly throng,
> Eight pawns as private soldiers march along ;
> *Enfans Perdus !!* like heroes stout and brave
> Risk their own lives the sovereign to save :
> All in their progress forming a complete
> And perfect emblem of the game of state."

The deep fascination, with which this bewitching game captivates the mind, is known to every one practised in the art. It is related of a caliph of Bagdad, that when engaged at chess with his freed-man, Kuthar, a soldier informed him that the city, which was then besieged by the enemy, was on the point of surrendering: he is said to have cried out—"Let me alone, for I am about to check-mate Kuthar." The unfortunate Charles I., when playing at chess, was informed of the resolution of the Scots to deliver him to the Parliament; but his mind was so much occupied with the game, that he finished it with wonderful calmness.

The game of chess is held in high repute in Bengal. That the Bengalis are well skilled in the mysteries of this princely pastime, is not surprising. Their intelligence and sagacity, in which perhaps they are second to no nation, peculiarly fit them for eminence in this game. The deep cunning, moreover, which forms no small ingredient of the national character, enables them with facility to dive into the depths of State policy and to extricate the entanglements of political schemes, of which this "game of state" is represented by some to be an apt emblem.

The *Páshá* is considered to rank next to chess, which is regarded as the prince of all games. Its well-known board consists of two long rectangles, intersecting each other at right angles in the middle, and making four small rectangles besides the middle square. Each of these four rectangles consists of twenty-four squares; so that altogether there are ninety-six squares, excluding the space or large square contained in the middle. The pieces made use of in the game, are sixteen in number, four on each side of the board. Unlike chess, where every thing is left to ingenuity and skill, the moves of the pieces in the Páshá are regulated by the throws of three dice, of the usual form, generally made of ivory. This, like the preceding, is also represented to be a military game. That this game is of long standing in Bengal, is evident from the fact that *Yudhisthir* is said in the Hindu Shastras to have played it with *Dúryadhan.* There are two ways of playing at "Páshá"—the *Rang* and *Chaupári;* in the former, only two, and in the latter, four persons being engaged.[1] The Bengalis, naturally a talkative race, preserve wonderful taciturnity while engaged in chess. Around the chess-board every thing is quiet as the grave. The spectators look on the combat with mute attention; while the players themselves are too thoughtful to give vent to words. The ordinary *Kisti* (check) uttered in a slow voice is answered by the *Basti* (removal of the king) pronounced in a tone still feebler: the final check-mate being announced with due *eclát.* The Páshá-board is, on the contrary, a scene of noisy vociferation. The combatants breathe hatred and vengeance against each other; the throws of the dice are accompained with tremendous noise; and the sounds of "*Kache Baro*" and "*Baro-Panch*" are heard from a considerable distance. It is altogether a lively scene, in strong contrast with the apathy generally attributed to the Bengalis. Around the Páshá-board is thrown away much "excellent indignation," which, if properly husbanded and directed in one strong current against the oppressing zemindars of their country, might lighten the burdens of the people, and augment their social happiness.

In point of gentility, in the estimation of the Benali, *playing cards* occupy the third place. Every one is acquainted with the fact, that the mysteries of managing fifty-two quadrangular pieces of painted paste-board are not Hindu in their origin. Whether cards were invented in France towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century for alleviating the ill-humour of a king, or in Spain by an abbé; or whether they were introduced into Europe by the Moorish invaders, who imported it from the East, or by the crusaders of the eleventh century; whether the pack originally consisted of thirty-six or fifty-two; whether the "combat on the velvet plain" was an allegorical representation of the feudal system—the king representing the feudal monarch, the knaves, the powerful barons, (the queens being a later invention of French gallantry), and the numerical cards the degraded serfs; whether the suits symbolized the four classes of society, *spades* the nobility, *hearts* the clergy, *clubs* the husbandman, and *diamonds* the vassals or the soldiers; and whether the technicalities of the Aristotelian logic may not be conveniently taught by the apt-embelms of the quadrangular pieces, as a hot-brained friar of the sixteenth century is said to have imagined and actually practised—all these we leave to be determined by those who delight in such researches. We suppose the Bengalis learnt the art of dealing and shuffling from their enlightened conquerors—the Europeans. The king and the queen they style *Saheb* and *Bibi;* and the Bengali *Pramárá* is, doubtless, a corruption of the European Primero. It is scarcely necessary to add that the cards used by the Bengalis are precisely those used by the Europeans.

Besides Primero, the most usual play is what is termed *Grábu:* it is played by four persons with a pack of thirty-two cards—the twos, threes, fours, fives and sixes, being excluded. That gambling of some sort existed in the country from a remote age is unquestionable; but the Bengalis are by no means deep gamblers, and we are greatly mistaken if their gambling propensities have not been increased by the introduction of European cards. *Cowries* (shells) were, and are, still nsed by the peasantry for gambling purposes; but these, it ought to be remembered, are games of small hazard.

The chess, the páshá, and cards constitute the whole circle of the games of the largest proportion of the intelligent and sober part of the Hindu community. They are played in the halls of the rich, the *chandi-mandalas* of the middling classes, and under the shades of trees. The Bengalis are a very sociable and pleasure-loving people. Gregariousness is one of the prominent features of their national character. In every village the people assemble together in separate parties, subsequent to their afternoon nap, for purposes of recreation and interesting talk. We do not here speak of the lower orders of the people, but of the gentry of Bengal. In the cool of the evening, parties of respectable natives may be not unfrequently seen sitting under the umbrageous *Bakul*, and amusing themselves with chess, páshá, or cards. Laying aside for a season the pride of wealth and even the rigorous distinctions of caste, Brahmins and Sudras may be seen mingling together for recreation. The noisy vociferations and the loud langh betoken a scene of merriment and joy. The *húkah*, a necessary furniture of a Bengali meeting place, is ever and anon by its fragrant vollies ministering to the refreshment of the assembly; while the plaudits of the successful player rise higher than the curling smoke issuing from the cocoanut vessel. The games over, they separate for a short time; and, when the shades of evening thicken around them, re-assemble within-doors, and amuse themselves again with music and cards.

We have often thought that the degradation of the females of India has been generally drawn in exaggerated colours. That women in India do not attain to that state in society, which they do in Europe, is unquestionable; but that they are viewed here in the light of slaves, cattle, and household property, is not true. We speak not of the place which the Hindu Shastras assign to women in the scale of society, but speak of things as they exist before us. People at home, ignorant of Hindu manners and customs, and drawing their inferences from their theoretic knowledge of Hinduism, which is not deep, have a notion that Hindu females, like negro slaves, are doomed to unrelenting servitude, and subjected to all the ills of life without its enjoyment and pleasures. That much of their time is devoted to all sorts of in-door work is true; but is not that the case even in England? Were they allowed the privilege of improving their minds by the salutary exercises of reading and writing, they would stand on a par with the women of any part of the world. In this prohibition is to be found the real cause of their degradation.

With a view to show that the females of Bengal are not such galley-slaves as some represent them to be; that they are not always ruled over with an iron sceptre; that they have their leisure and their recreations; and that, to dissipate the tedium and lanquor of their illiterate life, they, in common with the males, have recourse [illegible] amusement, we shall mention some of their games [illegible] sports. We do not wish to present the reader with the [illegible] of the juvenile plays of the girls of Bengal [illegible] certainly the most graceful of their [illegible] in which the mysteries of marriage are [illegible] represented; of *Hide-and-seek*, known [illegible] children [illegible] parts of the world; of the *Blind* [illegible] or squeezing the eyes; of *Fúl-kúti*, in which the dexter[illegible] fingers [illegible] exhibited; and of that large class of plays [illegible] recitation of doggrel verses forms a principal part [illegible] as *A[illegible]dam-Bágadum*, &c.: these and such like plays sh[illegible] over.

When females [illegible] to the [illegible] of puberty, and are transferred from the paternal roof [illegible] of their husbands, they commence a busy [illegible] in the morning, in the houses of the middling class, for we speak not of the wealthy minority, females may be seen busy with domestic affairs. One may be seen with a vessel in her hand, containing a mixture of water and cow's dung, industriously engaged in sprinkling the fragrant contents on the mud-floor and yard, with a view to ceremonial purification; another with a palmyra, or cocoanut broomstick, sweeping every part of the house; a third, hastening to a neighbouring tank to [illegible]se and wash all the brazen pots of the family; while a [illegible]—the cook of the family—is preparing for morning ablutions. The morning work over, while the cuisinier plies her task in the heated kitchen, the other females bathe in an adjacent pool, and bring each a vessel of water for the supply of the family. The males—the lords of creation—are feasted first, on whom their wives and mothers attend. It ought to be remarked in passing, that attendance at the table is not regarded by the Bengalis as a servile occupation, that office being usually performed by elderly matrons and Brahmins. After the males and the children have eaten, the self-denying and modest women help themelves to their morning meal, which takes place in the middle of the day. Their meal over, they repair to their dormitories, and betake themselves to

Tired nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep:

and, before engaging in their evening work, which is slight compared with their morning portion, amuse themselves with one or other of the following games:

Ashtá-Kashte. This game is played on a board of twenty-five squares, with sixteen pieces of small *cowries*, which are placed on four sides of the figure. For regulating the moves of the pieces, four large *cowries*, instead of dice, are used. The pieces have all the same uniform motion. The throws are only five in number—the *un*, *deux*, *trois*, *quatre*, and *huit;* the first is technically called *Kashte* and the last *Ashtá*—whence the name of the game. It is played by four individuals, and is said to be finished, when all the pieces, traversing through the length and breadth of the board, enter into the central square—the heaven of rest and undisturbed repose; and those persons, whose pieces first attain to this position, are considered to be the winners of the game.

Mangal Patán. It is not a little remarkable that the females of the most unwarlike nation upon earth should delight themselves with the image of war. The fair ladies of England must, in this instance, at least yield to their dark sisters on the banks of the Bhágirathi the palm of superiority. Which of the ladies, we ask, who are so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the polka and crochet, ever conducted, with consummate generalship, a Mongol or a Patán army? Britain may boast of a Boadicea, France of a Joan of Arc, and Russia of a Catherine: but the females of Bengal are all Amazons, who display their martial abilities on the well-foughten field within the precincts of their gloomy zenanas. The game of *Mangal Patán* is a real military pastime; it is the representation of a battle between the Mongols and the Patáns. The battle-field is accurately drawn, consisting of sixteen squares: within this figure is inscribed a large square. On one side is ranged the Mongol army in a triangular form, and on the opposite side the Patán army. Each army consists of sixteen pieces, the moves of which are regulated, not by chance, but by the skill of the players. It is less ingenious than chess, inasmuch as the moves of the pieces are uniform. The fascination, nevertheless, which this less complicated game produces on the softer sex, is fully equal to that exerted on more robust minds by the pastime called *par excellence* royal.

Das-Panchish is another favourite game of native women. Its board is similar to that of the *Páshá:* the moves of the pieces, which are sixteen in number, are however regulated, not by three dice, but by seven cowries, thrown either on the floor, or against an inclined plane. The throws are two, three, four, six, ten, twelve and twenty-five, the game deriving its name from two of them, ten (*Das*) and twenty-five *(Panchish.)* This play is as animated as the *Páshá;* the long-veiled women of Bengal rivalling the noisy eloquence of the fish-wives of Billingsate. The long duration of the play, the fascination which it produces, the warmth of feeling which animates the opposing combatants, and its similarity to the genteel *Páshá*, render it one of the most favourite games of the females of Bengal.

Bhág Bandi, or the tiger enclosed, is another favourite pastime. Although the worthy males of Bengal have not either the courage and bodily activity, or the inclination to attack in their lairs the wild beasts of the forest, yet their wives, behind the *purdah*, amuse themselves with the image of a tiger-hunt.

The figure, commonly employed for playing the game, is composed of two triangles, united together in the middle by a big square. The tiger of the game occupies one of the triangles, and the goats, whose number is variable, the other triangle and a part of the square. The tiger springs upon and devours a good number of the goats, but is eventually pushed to a corner, whence it is impossible to escape. Sometime this game is played with two tigers, and a proportionately large number of goats; but the tigers are in the issue ensnared. Sometimes, also, the *Bhág Bandi* is played in the figure of the Mangal Patán; but in all cases the female hunters capture their game.

Passing over some games of minor importance, we conclude the Hindu female games with remarking, that the women of Bengal are by no means unacquainted with playing-cards. To avoid misrepresentation, it is also necessary to remark that the games, which we have ascribed to females, are not peculiar to them: they are also played by Hindu males.

The games of the peasantry of Bengal will now engage our attention. If any Bengali sports require muscular activity and frequent locomotion, almost all of them are confined to the peasantry. Addicted to works dependent on physical energy, and accustomed to exposure in the fields, their sports and games partake of their general activity. The peasantry of every country, owing to the simplicity and naturalness of their habits, must always be an interesting class. Plain in their manners, unsophisticated in their judgments, and uncorrupted with the vices of meretricious refinement, they form, as it were, a transition-link between the old and the new worlds of fashion and serve to mark the progress of society. The *ryots* of Bengal are as interesting a class of people as any peasantry in the world. Amongst them is to be found a vast deal of the simplicity of olden times; and some of the social virtues, which they exercise, entitle them to our respect and admiration. But they have been greatly abused; systematic oppression from time immemorial has paralyzed their energies, deprived them of their native manliness, and reduced them to the ignoble condition of slaves. Their own countrymen have proved to be their cruelest oppressors and most inveterate foes. The zemindar's *kacheri* is the scene of the ryot's degradation, where he is derided, spat upon, and treated as if he were the veriest vermin of creation. Let us turn, however, at present, from these unpleasant and melancholy reflections to a brief consideration of their games and sports, of which, although divested of every thing else that makes life comfortable, the rapacity of iron-hearted landlords has not been able to deprive them.

The Sling. No person can have gone one day's journey from the metropolis of British India without observing almost every shepherd or cowherd boy provided with a sling and stones, not unlike the great shepherd-king of Judah in his youthful days. The herdsmen of Bengal may be seen in the fields, vieing with one another in throwing stones to the greatest distance by means of their rudely made slings.

We pass over *Kite-flying*, the almost universal amusement of old and young, male and female, Mussulman and Hindu; as except in the construction of the kite, it differs in nothing from the English game.

In the cool of the afternoon a company of youthful herdsmen may often be observed under the grateful shade of a large banian tree, pacing across the ground with great activity. They are playing at *Hádu-Gudu.* This simple pastime of the children of the sun does not require many words to describe it. On the bare ground a line is drawn by a potsherd, on two sides of which the opposing combatants are ranged. The sport begins with an individual of one party transgressing the line of separation, and encroaching on the territories of the other. The transgressor with his body bent, his hands performing a variety of evolutions, attempts in one breath to strike his enemies: the continuity of the breath being ascertained by a sound which he makes. His enemies are on the alert to avoid his touch, which is said to be attended with complete disablement, or, in the phraseology of the play, perfect death. Should he succeed in striking an opponent, and in crossing the line to his own side in one breath, the opponent is said to die, and, separating from the rest of his companions, retires from the field ; but should the striking invader lose his breath before crossing the line, the struck opponent is not disabled. Should the transgressor be seized by his opponents, and he lose his breath on their side of the line, he is disabled and is said to die ; but should he succeed, when caught, in shoving himself during the same breath to the dividing line, he is not disabled. The sport concludes when the last combatant of either party is disabled. The number of the players is not fixed ; sometimes four, and sometimes fifty, persons may be seen engaged in this sport. The eagerness of the hostile parties, the swift evolutions of the hands, the agility of foot, the recitation of doggrel verses during the performance, the strategy of the combatants, and the loud bursts of laughter which attend the disablement of the opponents, render this sport one of peculiar glee and animation.

Dándá-guli is the bat-and-ball of the Bengalis. The *Dándá* is a stout stick, two feet long, and the *Guli* stouter still of the size of half a span. The sport resembles bat-and-ball in so many respects, that it is unnecessary to describe it. There are five ways of playing at *Dándá-guli*, the names of which we put down for the gratification of the curious—*Háral*, *Nama-sudra*, *Eri-dari*, *Eku-duku*, and *Kai-kátá*. At the festival of the first fruits in the month of November, and at the *pújah* of the goddess of wisdom in the month of January, boys, young men, as well as old men, go in together in merry groups, and partake of the pleasures of this exciting sport.

Wrestling is by no means uncommon among the peasantry of Bengal. In all seasons, but especially in the winter, they wrestle together on the outskirts of a village. The *stadium* of the Bengali wrestlers is usually a small space of ground under a tree, whither the candidates repair in the mornings or the evenings. Unlike the athletes in the Olympic stadium, who wrestled in the eye of assembled Greece, and had their names heralded forth throughout the length and breadth of that glorious land, the wrestlers of Bengal are unobserved and unapplauded except by their rustic comrades. The wrestling over, the simple peasants throw themselves into an adjacent tank or brook, wash their soiled bodies, and not unfrequently crown the amusements of the day with a swimming match. *Gambling*, to a small extent, obtains among the peasantry, but is so infrequent, that it hardly deserves notice.

Ram-fights in the villages of Bengal have nothing of the atrocity of Spanish bull-baitings or English bear-beatings of former days. We have heard of the natives amusing themselves with the fights of elephants and buffaloes; but these are few and far between. Rams fed with great care and attention in various parts of the country, are made to knock at each other for the diversion of the people. Two persons, each provided with a ram, stand several hundred yards from each other; they both let go the rams at the same time, who meet each other in the middle of the area with a tremendous shock of their horns.

Búl-búl fights must not escape our attention. These little birds are collected in multitudes and trained to wag their heads and fight with each other. Some of the wealthy millionaires of Calcutta are passionately fond of this amusement. Their gardens, for whole weeks together, are crowded with spectators from Calcutta and its immediate vicinity to witness these lilliputian fights.

From the list of the amusements of the Bengalis, *jugglery* should not be excluded. The worthy personages who play hocus-pocus tricks, are not natives of Bengal; most of them come from Southern India, and a few only from the Western Provinces. The juggling tricks of those who deceive the credulous Bengalis of the nineteenth century, are far inferior in ingenuity to those exhibited by the *Tragetours* of the fourteenth century witnessed by Chaucer, who, it is said, could produce water in a large hall with boats rowed up and down upon it, make flowers to spring up as in a meadow, and cause a vine to flourish and bear red and white grapes, and dissipate the conjured scene by their mystic wand. The Bengali *Bájikars* (so the jugglers are called) are men of inferior pretensions. They content themselves with exhibiting sleights of hand. They convert a pice into a mango, a plum into a cowrie. They create an egg in an empty bag, and cause a dead goat to drink water. They can dance upon a rope, vomit fire, and sometimes thrust a knife through a man's neck without injuring it—which may be reckoned their *chef-d'œuvre.* There are juggling women, who, unacquainted with the higher mysteries of the occult science, are only proficient in showing in their own gums a variety of *teeth*—teeth of monstrous size. The *Bájikars* pretend to work out the transformations of bodies by the magical influence of a piece of bone, which they carry about with them.

In connection with this subject, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to make a remark on those yellow-dressed strollers, who pretend to draw out snakes from their holes by charming them with a peculiar music. Sir W. Jones, in his dissertations before the Asiatic Society, remarks that a learned native of this country had told him that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes upon hearing tunes on a flute, which gave them peculiar delight. Whether serpents have been ever charmed by music at any time, we shall not take upon ourselves to determine; but this we may be allowed to say, on the ground of our own individual experience and observation, that the pretended charmers, who walk about the streets of Calcutta, with bones of snakes and musical instruments in their hands, are great rogues and cheats. Snakes do certainly make their appearance when the flutes are played upon: but they belong to the charmers themselves, who carry them in a bag carefully concealed beneath the waist, and which they adroitly cast on the ground, pretending that they came out of their holes. These juggling rogues also play at what is called *Tubri*. They pretend to be able, by their incantations, to endow a particle of dust, or a mustard-seed with the miraculous power of stupifying a person at whom it is struck. With these charmed particles they strike at each other, and, fall into fits of torpor to the infinite amazment of the unthinking mob.

From hocus-pocus tricks, we pass on to what may not be improperly termed the elegant amusements of the Bengalis.

Music. Says the prince of poets:—

"The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus:
Let no such man be trusted."

The Bengali may then be trusted, for there is certainly music in him of whatever sort. The husbandman in the fields, the pedlar with his pack, the grinder at the mill, the waggoner on his cart —all whistle and sing. Of instrumental music, there is not any lack. While we write, our ears are regaled with the choral symphonies of the *tom-toms* of a marriage procession; and the sounds of musical instruments may be heard at any time in any part of Bengal. But what is the character of their music—both vocal and instrumental? We do not speak here of ancient Hindu music, which, according to Sir W. Jones, was by no means contemptible. It would appear from his learned essay on the musical modes of the Hindus, that music was diligently cultivated in ancient times in India, and that there were four musical systems prevalent, *viz.*, those of *Iswara*, *Bharat*, *Hanumât*, and *Kâlinâth*. But whatever may have been the musical attainments of the ancient Hindus and of the modern amateur performers of Delhi, who are said to be exquisite musicians, the music of the Hindus of Lower Bengal at the present day is wretched to the last degree. We do not profess to be connoisseurs; but if harmony be an essential ingredient of music, or rather constitute music itself, nine-tenths of the performances of the Bengalis do not deserve that sacred name. To extract one particle of harmony from a vast deal of their music, is as hopeless as to extract sun-beams out of cucumbers. What music there may be in the Babel discord of *tom-toms*, *dhols*, &c., it is impossible for us to determine; and these, it should be remembered, constitute that general music, in which the majority of the people delight. That there is some really good music in the country, it would be unjust to deny; but all of it is learnt from Upper India, whither it was imported, we suppose, from Persia. The *Viná* is a good musical instrument; but how many Bengalis can successfully play upon it? We never could relish that pumpkin of a musical instrument, dignified with the appellation, *par excellence*, of *Tánpurá*, as if it was an harmonicon of the sweetest notes in existence. Young Bengal has, of late, ventured to say that Bengali music is better than European music, and that the latter is remarkably devoid of harmony. To be sure; for who in his sober senses would ever prefer the shrill piano-forte to the sweet-toned tom-tom?

Dancing. "Music and dancing," says an eloquent French dancing master, "are kindred arts; the tender and harmonious "accents of the one excite and produce the agreeable and expres-"sive motions of the other; and their union entertains the eye and "ear with animated pictures of sentiments; these two senses again "convey to the heart the interesting images which affect them; "while the heart, in its turn, communicates them to the mental "faculty: thus the pleasure, resulting from the harmony and intel-"ligence of these two arts, enchants the spectator, and fills him "with the most seducing pleasures of voluptuousness." Such grandiloquence is natural to a French ballet-master; but who could have expected the following from the grave English metaphysician, Locke? "Nothing appears to me," says he, "to give "children so much confidence and behaviour, and so to raise "them to the conversation of those above their years, as dancing." John Bull has, indeed, been always fond of dancing. Says an old poet:—

"The priestes and clerkes to daunce have no shame,
The frere or monke in his frocke and cowle,
Must daunce; and the doctor lepeth to play the foole."

Bengalis, however, are not much addicted to dancing. Plato reduces Greek dances into three classes, the *military*, the *domestic*, and the *mediatorial*, or religious : the object of the first was the invigoration of the body ; that of the second agreeable recreation, and the third was used for religious purposes. The Bengalis being an unwarlike nation, military dances cannot reasonably be expected to exist among them. The village chowkidars, however, some of whom are no mean proficients in fencing and *lattying*, practise a species of pyrrhic dance, of which there are no less than seven sorts. Domestic dances, properly so called, do not exist amongst the people ; for it is considered highly atrocious for a woman of good character to dance. Though the Bengalis neither dance themselves, nor make their wives and sisters do so for their amusement, yet they do not hesitate to entertain themselves with *nátches*, in which prostitutes, chiefly Hindustani women, are employed to dance. It would be difficult to find words sufficiently expressive of the licentious nature of these *nátches*. No man, who has any moral delicacy, can witness them without horror. Yet Bengalis of all names and ranks enjoy these impure dances with enthusiasm ; and we are sorry to add, that some Europeans, also Christians by profession, encourage and take delight in them. On religious festivals of high excitement, such as the Káli Pujah, *Shákta* Brahmins, reeling with intoxication, dance away before the bloody *Shyámá ;* and dancing forms an integral part of the devotion of the Vaishnavas.

Bengali Drama. The elegant amusement of dramatic representation has been always prevalent amongst all ingenious people. The noble tragedies of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, and the comic burlesques of Aristophanes, gave as much pleasure to the Athenians, as the matchless plays of Shakespeare did, and still do, to the English. India, in her high and palmy state, had also a dramatic literature of her own, and scenic representations to gratify the people. Of the ancient Hindu drama, some notice was taken in the last number of this periodical; we shall not therefore allude to it at all, but proceed to make a remark or two on the state of the drama as it now exists among the Bengalis.

Of the execrable representations, called *Jàtràs*, we dare not give here a detailed description ; they are wretched from the commencement to the fifth act. The plots are very often the amours of Krishna, or the love of *Bidya* and *Sundar*. In the representations of the Krishná-játrá, boys, arrayed in the habit of *Sakhis* and *Gopinis* (milk-maids), cut the principal figure on the stage. It would require the pencil of a master-painter to pourtray the killing beauty of these fairies of the Bengali stage. Their sooty complexion, their coal-black cheeks, their haggard eyes, their long-extended arms, their gaping mouths, and their puerile attire, excite disgust. Their external deformity is rivalled by their discordant voices. For the screechings of the night-owls, the howlings of the jackals, and the barkings of dogs that bay the moon, are harmony itself compared with their horrid yells. Their dances are in strict accordance with the other accessaries. In the evolutions of the hands and feet, dignified with the name of dancing, they imitate all postures and gestures calculated to soil the mind and pollute the fancy.

The principal actors during the interludes are a *máther*, who enters the stage with a broomstick in his hand, and cracks a few stupid jests, which set the audience in a roar of laughter ; and his brother *Bhulud́*, who, completely fuddled, amuses the spectators with the false steps of his feet.

Akin to the Játrás is the *Páchâli*, which is nothing more than the recitation of a story in measured lines, accompanied with singing and music. The stories recited are generally taken from the Hindu Shastras, as the marriage of *Śiva*, the battle of *Kurukshetra*, the lamentation of *Rádhá*, and such like ; but sometimes, also, original stories of an immoral tendency are recited. Of late the Páchâli has become very fashionable, and is annually celebrated in Calcutta on a grand scale. There are many Páchâli-versifiers now living: but the palm of superiority is certainly due to *Dásurathi Ráya*, a native of the district of Burdwan, whose poems already amount to several volumes The *Half-A'krais*, too, have of late become fashionable, especially in the metropolis: these are distinguished from the Páchâlis by more animated music and singing. During the Durgá Pujah celebrations, bands of *Half-A'krai* and *Páchâli* singers may be seen marching through the streets of Calcutta, with their flags hoisted, singing loud pæans of victory.

Our enumeration of the amusements of the Bengalis would be incomplete, if we made no mention of the *Kavis*, which deserve a place in this list, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because of the vast influence they exert, and the great attractions they possess for nine-tenths of the people of Bengal. *Kavi*, in the original Sanskrit, means a poet : but how this honourable appellation came to be applied to a crew of half-witted poetasters and songsters, it is difficult to say. A band of *Kavis* or *Kàvi-walas*, as they are oftener called, is composed of a number of songsters of different castes, leagued together under a leader, who gives name to the association. The leader may be a Brahmin, a confectioner, or of any caste. The *animus* of the *Kavis* is rivalry. Two bands under different leaders vie with each other in winning the applause of the audience. Their songs, in the first instance, celebrate the loves of Krishna and Radha, or the praises of the bloody goddess Kali ; but, these over, they indulge in songs of the most wanton licentiousness, and crown the whole with calling each other bad names. So far for the matter ; the manner of singing is one of which Young Bengal may well be ashamed. *Kavis* must be seen, heard, and tested in order to be known and appreciated. The houses of some of the rich Babus of Calcutta are annually the scenes of these disgraceful exhibitions. Others have got heartily tired of them, and have substituted the less barbarous, but not the less immoral, *nátches.* But the *Kavis* are in high repute in the mofussil ; and women, from behind the screens, may be observed greedily devouring their licentious effusions. The *Jhumurs,* or bands of female *Kàvi-walas,* are nearly extinct.

We conclude this imperfect sketch, in the hasty drawing up of which some games and amusements may have escaped our notice, with expressing our hope, that with the progress of improvement and the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, the sports and recreations of the people of Bengal will be more polished and rational than they now are. Games and amusement are but exponents of the national character ; when a change is effected on the latter, the former will alter of themselves.

INDO-BACTRIAN NUMISMATICS, AND GREEK CONNECTION WITH THE EAST.

By Sir R. Temple.

1. *Ariana Antiqua. A descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Affghanistan.* By H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., &c. London. Published under the authority of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the E.I.C. 1841.
2. *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Griechischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul, und Indien; durch Entzifferung der alt Kabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen: von Christian Lassen. Bonn.* 1838. Translated for the Asiatic Society. Calcutta.
3. *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Affghanistan.* By H. T. Prinsep, Esq. London. 1844.

IT is hardly more than ten years since James Prinsep, when about to read some of his Numismatic essays before the members of the Asiatic Society, apologized for troubling them with so dull a subject, and added, that many of his scientific friends had complained of being "deluged with old coins." Little did either the essayist or his hearers, at that moment, foresee the grand results which were one day to crown these seemingly fruitless labours. If they had known what the future would produce, they would have contemplated these embryo discoveries with the feelings of Belzoni, when he penetrated the Pyramids and unveiled the mummied remnants of Pharoah's line, or with the feelings of Layard, when his toilsome excavations at last revealed the Nineveh of Scripture. In awe and wonder they would have exclaimed—

> "Stop! for thy tread is on an Empire's dust;
> An earthquake's spoils are sepulchred below!"

This same Society, which then grudged a few minutes attention to the Numismatic treatises of its gifted secretary, would now, perhaps, be proud to own that its fame is partially based on the services rendered to Numismatical science, and would be eager to claim the honour of having tended the infancy, and fostered the growth, of discoveries that should pour a flood of light on the darkest portion of Asiatic annals. As the Society has appreciated the value of this science for the elucidation of history, so, we hope, will the public. And we feel assured that all who may study the coins of Indo-Bactria, will find their ideas enlarged and their trouble well repaid.

It has been the fashion to look upon Numismatics as one of the driest departments in antiquarian study. Ever since Monkbarns, the antiquary, was pictured by the greatest of our descriptive painters, the scoffing portion of the public have found an armoury stored with the weapons of wit, and a quiver, from which might be drawn at pleasure, the pointed shafts of irony, banter, and inuendo. These resources have often been brought into play for the purpose of casting ridicule upon Numismatics. Nor, indeed, can it be denied, that this, like most other sciences, has had, and may still have, some absurd accessories. There are, doubtless, in the world many coin-fanciers who gloat over rust-eaten medals of indescribable rarity, which have been grubbed up with infinite labour and cost, in order that they might be hoarded in a particular drawer of a particular cabinet. All this may, no doubt, furnish a very fair mark for the pop-guns of satire. But it surely does not follow that the whole science is an absurdity. What branch of science, however useful and laudable, has ever been prosecuted without shortcomings and errors, which excite the regrets of the educated and the laughter of the ignorant? May we not say with Sydney Smith?—" If it " is fair to argue against a science, from the bad method by which " it has been prosecuted; such a mode of reasoning ought to have " influenced mankind centuries ago, to have abandoned all the " branches of Physics as utterly hopeless. We have, surely, an " equal right to rake up the mouldy errors of all the other " sciences; to reproach astronomy with its vortices, chemistry " with its philosopher's stone, history with its fables, law with " its cruelty and ignorance: and, if we were to open this battery " upon medicine, there is no knowing where we should stop."* Nor should the learned labours of the Numismatist, the interpreter and illustrator of coins, be reproached with the vanities of the mere collector of coins, who cannot divine the meaning of the relic when he has found it.

But if it be really true, that the Numismatist is not, like Peter Schlemmil, running after a shadow, but is striving, with all his faculties to grasp a precious substance; then, let us think for a moment, what this substance is, and what are the *uses* of coins.

We all know the scriptural circumstances connected with the coin that bore the image and superscription of Cæsar. It will not be forgotten, that this coin was chosen as the aptest proof and illustration of Roman domination in Judea. It is evident, that a similar use may be made of the coins of all countries. They must all give the name of the ruler and of the country ruled. The power of issuing coins and of regulating the currency is an universal attribute of the Supreme Government, be it monarchical or otherwise. The discovery of numerous coins in a particular locality, would (unless it were shewn that they had been conveyed there in the course of commerce) furnish presumptive proof that a certain government, or dynasty, had reigned in that locality. If the coins of another dynasty were found there, it would appear, that the one had superseded or succeeded the other. But more detailed information than this may often be gathered from the coins. They were sometimes inscribed with political or constitutional maxims, or embellished with insignia, which typified the form of Government. Nothing can be more impressive than the manner, in which a recent writer on Prophecy has identified the coins of several great empires and potentates with the mysterious descriptions of Holy Writ.* Every coin must have a superscription written in the language of the country or of its rulers. If the language become gradually polished or barbarized : if it be modified : if it be amalgamated with other tongues : if it be abruptly altered : all these changes must be insensibly recorded on the coins. And it is superfluous to call to mind that the affinities and roots of languages are greatly relied upon by ethnologists, to trace the origin of nations, and the degrees of relationship which subsist between the several branches of the human family. Those, who are only conversant with the unadorned and uninteresting coins current in the British Empire during the present century, would scarcely have an adequate notion of the elaborate workmanship which has distinguished the mintage of other countries and other times. In ancient days, religious emblems were minutely depicted on the coins. Figures of gods and heroes—the symbols of ecclesiastical polity; of rites, ceremonies, festivals, and ordinances, were delineated with the best artistic skill that the country could boast of. Where all these points are thoroughly and accurately represented, it is needless to expatiate on the rich fund of information thus supplied, or the picture thus presented to posterity of the faith, manners, modes of thought, arts, and civilization of distant periods and nations. We cannot follow out this tempting subject, which would lead us into too wide a field of discussion. But, without pausing to particularize all the value of Numismatical science, we may exemplify its general utility by a familiar instance, drawn from English history.

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* *Vide* Sydney Smith's sketches of Moral Philosophy.

Suppose that there were no written records of English history, and that the only memorials of the past were the collections of coins in the British Museum and other places. Let us consider how much we should know under these circumstances. We should begin by observing some barbarous coins, bearing British names. There would be little difficulty in attributing these to the aboriginal Britons. Next would be found a set of medals, evidently Roman, commemorating victories gained at places known to be in England. The Roman invasion would be thus indicated. Then would be seen coins, denoting the minor kingdoms, which composed the heptarchy. The emblem of the cross, which now begins to appear on the coins, would point to the introduction of Christianity. A series distinct from the British and the Roman, which by a comparison of nomenclature, could be traced to the Saxons, would indicate a foreign invasion. Every name in the Saxon dynasties would appear. The development of ecclesiastical policy would be shewn by coins inscribed to saints, and by medals struck in the names of archbishops and bishops. Some regal coins of Danish mintage, bearing the names of Suein and Cnut, would shadow forth the advent of the Danes. Then a change would be perceptible in the names and figures of the coins. The most ordinary acquaintance with Norman affairs would enable the Numismatist to identify the figures with the family of the Conqueror. As the reigns of the several kings were followed out, allusions would be found, in the inscriptions, to the Irish acquisitions in Henry III.'s reign and the French conquests under Edward III. This latter point would be further elucidated by an interesting series of Anglo-Gallic coins, discovered in France.* The armorial bearings, emblazoned on the coins, would illustrate the progress of feudalism; and specimens of baronial coins would show what power was once claimed and exercised by the English aristocracy.† The constantly occurring figure of a ship would represent the foundation of our naval power. The severing of England from the Romanist communion, and the investiture of the Sovereign with ecclesiastical supremacy in Henry VIII.'s reign, are plainly told by the legends on the coins. Next, we should learn from the inscriptions, that Scotland had been incorporated with England. The civil dissensions in Charles I.'s reign, would be indicated by the medals struck in commemoration of the sieges which distinguished the campaigns, and by the currency of coins issued during the king's retirement to Oxford and stamped with the Oxford crown. From this time, the date of the coinage begins to be engraven. The Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration are all announced by the legends on the coins. The Revolution of 1688, and the enthronement of a foreign prince, would be shewn by the quartering of the arms of Nassau. The "coins of the plantations," bearing such names as Massachusets, New York, and Baltimore, would mark the foundation of our Colonial Empire.* In token of our growing naval superiority, we should find that ships and nautical devices were prominent objects, in what are called the figurations of the coins. After the time of Anne, British coinage ceases to be interesting, inasmuch as nothing more was engraven than the name and date of the Sovereign. In this rapid summary, we have not paused to sketch the national progress in arts, dress, manufactures, and general civilization evinced by the Numismatic devices. But enough has been said to shew not only the amount of historical corroboration furnished by Numismatical science, but the amount of positive knowledge afforded thereby, whether political, economical, or chronological. The coins alone, if interpreted with skill, labour and learning, would almost give us an outline of the leading facts of English history.

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* Rev E. B. Elliots *Horæ Apocalypticæ.*

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* Vide *Numismatic Manual*, by J. Yonge Akerman, F. S. A.

† *Numismatic Chornicle*, London.

We shall further perceive the value of coins when we come to analyse the nature of historical evidence—when, following the logical method and rigorous reasoning of such writers as Paley, we examine and arrange the grounds of our credence in narrated facts. A coin indicates certain facts, which, from their nature and publicity, could not well have been misrepresented: and with which those, who stamped the inscriptions, must have been particularly acquainted. The coin has been found, and produced under circumstances, which forbid the supposition of fraud or collusion; because its meaning was not understood at the time, but was only discovered after laborious research. We will not say that all coins fulfil these conditions; but a vast number certainly do. And when they are such as we have described, a valuable corroboration is afforded to history, and a firm foundation is laid for our historical belief. There is, indeed, much truth in the saying, that coins are witnesses which cannot lie. With the corroborative weight they have given to history, they do much to disprove the dogma of the virtuoso, who said "Do not read History to me; for that I know to be false." Let any period of history be illustrated by a complete series of coins, the discovery of which has been well authenticated; and most persons would admit that this apophthegm is a libel on knowledge. When a number of old coins are suddenly exhumed from the cavities of the earth, or the recesses of some neglected ruin, we feel, as if a host of co-temporary witnesses had risen from the dead.

History has always been considered to have two handmaids,

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* *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 352-353.

Chronology and Biography; but we think she has a third, namely, Numismatics.* Moreover, if coins are useful as collateral testimony, in periods where history is full and explicit, how much more useful must they be, in periods of which we know nothing or little, and where, perhaps, that little serves but to convince us of our ignorance, and to stimulate our curiosity? Such was the period to which the Indo-Bactrian coins related: and we shall see, in the sequel, to what extent they have enlightened us. Thus, while Numismatical science must always be useful as a bulwark and coadjutor of history, it may sometimes be indispensable as our sole guide, and our sole source of knowledge. Its vindication, therefore, rests on this broad basis, that, if the history of the human race is interesting, or useful, so are Numismatics, and *vice versâ*. Those, therefore, who declare that they derive no pleasure or instruction from Numismatics, might, with nearly equal reason, disclaim all interests in such things as Biography, Chronology, or Politics. Numismatics does not form an isolated department of learning, embracing a limited range peculiar to itself, and capable of being studied without reference to any other science. Its difficulties cannot be mastered by the mere exercise of taste, or by the dint of uninstructed talent: but varied and extensive learning must be brought to bear on the subject, and, in proportion as this may be done, so will the interpretation of the coins be successful or otherwise. This science, then, so far from being intrinsically dull and mono-ideal, is closely interwoven with all these sections of knowledge, which are most useful, most amusing, and most generally studied. It has been thought necessary to enter, at some length, into the general merits of Numismatical enquiry, in order that we might, thereby, justify the propriety of noticing the results of Indian Numismatics in the elucidation of Asiatic annals. This subject we shall introduce to our readers, by a brief narrative of the singular circumstances, which attended the discovery of the coins, that were to rescue from oblivion the history of Central Asia.

The year 1830 was a great epoch in Indian Numismatics. Coins, indeed, had been collected before that time by Messrs. Tod, Tytler and others. But they had not proved of any especial value in an historical or antiquarian point of view. No class of Numismatists had arisen.† Some private collections had been purchased by the Government on the death of the Collectors. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta had shewn no promise of the distinguished part it was afterwards to play in the nurture of Numismatical science. It had a scantily filled cabinet, of which no account had been given to the world.* Even the great *savant*, James Prinsep, who was almost to lay down his life for science, and to weary out his splendid faculties in the decyphering of unknown alphabets, had not yet learnt to take an interest in coins. In the particular department of Numismatics, which we are noticing, still less had been done. Some stray coins had been picked up, few and far between, and had been sent to Europe, merely to serve as inexplicable enigmas and to exercise ingenuity. But the winter of knowledge was now passing away and a rich harvest season was at hand.

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* Akin to the evidence of Numismatics, and of equal (or even greater) value and interest, is that of monuments, which carries us back to an antiquity, far beyond that of any hitherto discovered coins.—Ed.

† *Vide* Preface to *Ariana Antiqua.*

In the centre of the Sind-Saugor Doab, bounded by the Indus and the Jhelum, and half way between Jhelum and Attock, there was a village named Manikyala. Near this village, which was distinguished for its mural and sepulchral remains, there arose a peaked conical structure, which the natives called a tope, or sthupa. In 1831, M. Ventura, the well known General in Runjit Sing's army, happened to be encamped here with a small force. Having nothing better to do, he occupied his leisure by excavating the tope.† The cap of the cupola was opened, and layer after layer of masonry was removed. Here and there, between the interstices of the stone, coins, chiefly of copper, were found. After the perforations had been carried to a depth of nearly seventy feet, a copper box was discovered beneath a large slab of quarried stone. It was filled with liquid, and contained a golden cylinder and silver disc. Within it and around it, were found about sixty copper coins. With the utmost liberality, the General placed his new found treasures at the disposal of the Asiatic Society and its Secretary, Mr. J. Prinsep. The coins were ascertained to belong to the class, since well-known as the Indo-Scythian. At the same time, it was observed by M. Ventura's companions at Manikyala, that the ground, in the neighbourhood of the principal edifice, was studded with smaller topes. Some fifteen of these were excavated by M. Court, one of the officers serving under Ventura. Besides Indo-Scythic coins, there were dug up seven Roman specimens :—one of them bore the superscription of Julius Cæsar, another of Mark Antony. Such are the wanderings of a coin!

But we must now follow the movements of another labourer in the field of science. The existence of topes in Kabul had been observed by Mr. Moorcroft in 1820, when setting out on his ill-fated journey toward Samarkand. These observations were confirmed by Lieut. Burnes, when on his mission to Bokhara, in 1832. During the year 1834, Mr. Charles Masson, an individual residing in Affghanistan, resolved to examine a series of topes, which he had seen in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. For this purpose, he associated himself with a Dr. Honigberger, a medical officer in the service of Runjit Sing.

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* Professor Wilson, however, published an account subsequently in 1831.

† Vide *Ariana Antiqua*, and Journal of the Asiatic Society *passim*.

These topes proved to be not only Numismatic repositories, but also religious edifices. Now, if it could be determined to what sect they belonged, then this fact would help to shew what was the State-religion of those kingdoms to which the coins might be attributable. This led to an interesting comparison of these structures with kindred edifices in the extreme south of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. And, as the object of this comparison much concerns the ethnological and political questions about to be discussed, we shall devote a short space to a consideration of the meaning and nature of these topes.*

About fifty topes were discovered at Hidda, Darunta, and Chahar Bagh. Those localities are in the vicinity of Jelalabad. They were massive structures, ranging from 70 to 150 feet in height, and from 100 to 200 feet in circumference. They consisted of a basement, or pedestal, supporting a square tower, which was surmounted by a conical top. There was generally a flight of steps, leading up to the basement, and facing the East. There were also subterraneous passages conducting from the surface of the ground to the foundations, and, in the vulgar imagination, filled with hidden treasures. The building, generally, stood on an eminence, overhanging a ravine, or water-course. The presence of running water was indispensable ; and, where not furnished by nature, fresh and gushing from among the neighbouring rocks, it was supplied by means of beautifully constructed aqueducts. Though oftener separate, the topes were sometimes clustered together in a plain, as at Chahar Bagh. Near to every tope there was found an attendant tumulus, which seemed a kind of satellite to the main structure. The topes were not destitute of ornament. The superstructure, which rose above the basement, was generally encircled by a belt of mouldings, formed of bluish slate stone, which stood out in strong relief against the white painted surface. The interior was solid, with the exception of one small chamber in the centre. Within this hollow were generally found coins, and a metal chest containing relics. But both stones and relics were often scattered among the quarried stones, and even throughout the foundation below the surface of the ground. The relics were images, vases, instruments, cylinders, bits of bone, and ashes. Wherever the bones and ashes were plentiful, the other relics were scanty. The tumuli always contained bones, skulls, and ashes, but seldom anything else. Near many of the topes, there were carefully excavated caves with niches, doubtless meant to contain idols. The relics were seldom stamped with any distinct religious symbols. But one earthen-ware seal bore a Pali inscription, which was subsequently ascertained to be a formula of Buddhistic invocation. And on one of the vases was engraven the figure of Gautama, preaching to a Buddhist nun. The coins belong principally to the Scythian kings of India; some to the Sassanian dynasty; and a few to the Roman Emperors of the East,—showing how extensive the commerce of Upper India must once have been.

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* *Vide* Memoir on the Topes of Affghanistan, by C. Masson.

The first step in the investigation was to compare the Affghan topes with those observed in other places. One tope had been examined near Benares; some near Guntur; some near Bhilsa; a great number in Ceylon, of gigantic size and finished architecture, and accompanied by caves and tumuli, there called Dahgopas; and also a magnificent specimen at Rangûn. It was seen that the Affghan topes corresponded exactly with specimens existing among a people still Buddhist, and which bore unmistakable marks of Buddhist origin. This is quite enough to show what sect raised the buildings under consideration, especially as no sect, besides the Buddhists, ever claimed them.* And we have just seen that some of the relics offer internal evidence to the same effect. Assuming then these topes to be Buddhist, what was their purpose? Now there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the Ceylon topes, caves, and tumuli. The tope was the supposed burial place of one of the saintly Gautamas; the tumuli, or dahgopas, were the tombs of the saint's disciples; the caves were the shrines of his priests. It is surely, then, most reasonable to refer the Affghan topes to the same object.†

We suppose, then, that the topes were intended to veil the sacred remains of the Gautamas. There will be little difficulty in fixing their date. They were, probably, not prior to our æra: for they contain coins of princes, who are known to have reigned at, or after, that period. Those, which contained coins of Kadphises and Kanerkes (who will be hereafter mentioned), could not well have been earlier than the first and second centuries; nor those, which contain Sassanian coins, earlier than the fourth. Nor on the other hand, could they have been later than the eighth century, when the followers of the prophet began to vex the unbelievers in Kabul and Affghanistan. It will be seen, subsequently, that the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose coins are found in the topes, reigned from the first to the third century of our æra. The discovery of the topes in Affghanistan would certainly show that Buddhism had prevailed during that period in this region. It would also prove, that the Indo-Scythian princes encouraged Buddhism. This is confirmed by the fact, that Buddhist emblems appear on their coins. The few Roman medals may have been deposited in the buildings, because, not being understood—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*—they were looked upon as mysterious rarities. But such could not have been the case with the Sassanian coins, which, of course, bore emblems of Mithraism, or the worship of the elements. But what could Mithraism have to do with Buddhism? It could not be answered that its real purpose was unknown, as in the case of the Roman coins. For the Sassanian princes were, at that time, most notorious throughout Asia. As the religious and political reformers of the Persian empire, and as zealous propagandists, they had made their name universally dreaded. What then was meant by this admission of Mithraic coins into Buddhist temples? The coins explain this. In all the coinage of the Indo-Scythian kingdom, there is a palpable admixture of Mithraic, Buddhist, and Brahmanical emblems. It is clear, therefore, that the Indo-Scythians patronized all three forms of faith. What wonder, then, that the religious edifices, constructed at that time, should be decked with heterogeneous symbols? Such are the curious cross rays of light which the different departments of discovery throw upon each other. And, indeed, the concatenation of circumstances, attending these curious monuments, is wonderful. Who would have thought, that in the North of India, there would be discovered Buddhist buildings containing coins of Scythian kings with the names written in Greek letters, and with titles, partly Greek, partly Persian, partly Indian—or that rude imitations of the Greek Hercules and the Greek Victory, on Scythian coins, should be found in the same casket with coins also Scythian, but blending the emblems of Mithra, of Siva, and of Buddh, and yet exhibiting Greek inscriptions? What can be a greater conglomeration than these things, of which we are about to unfold the narrative? And yet not a mere conglomeration:—for, as enquiry proceeds, order is educed out of this seeming confusion. This meeting of all religions on the neutral ground of India was not fortuitous, but the result, as we shall see presently, of regular and intelligible mutations in systems, governments and races.

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* The Hindus, however, used to venerate them.

† *See* Professor Wilson's summing up of the evidence.

From this digression, we must revert to the advancing course of discovery. We have seen how General Ventura and Mr. Masson discovered Indo-Scythic coins, under circumstances, which materially aided the progress of research. We have yet to see how Mr. Masson disinterred a series of coins, which illustrated the history of the Græco-Bactrians, the predecessors of the Indo-Scythians.

About twenty miles east of the modern city of Kabul, there is a level piece of table-land, extending over six square miles, called the plain of Beghram. The surface was strewed with fragments of pottery, metals, and sculpture. Here and there arose solitary mounds of stone and brick, which seemed to indicate the remains of human habitations. The happy situation of this plain at a spot where rivers meet, and where the main roads and mountain passes converge from all the four quarters, and the interesting vestiges visible on the surface of the ground—all this would soon shew, even to the casual observer, that here had once existed a great capital. In modern times the plain had become a sheep pasture. A vague avarice induced the shepherds to scratch up the soil in search of treasure. Soon they found seals, rings, bits of metal, and coins in vast quantities. The coins, which were principally copper, they would hawk about the city of Kabul. As these "treasure troves" became frequent, the trade began to thrive. And soon the mint-masters and copper-smiths of the city would repair to the great plain, visit the tents of the shepherds, and purchase the coins by weight. It was estimated, that about thirty thousand coins a year used to be procured in this manner, and melted down. And thus were consigned to indiscriminate destruction, myriads of coins, which the greatest academicians in Europe would have honoured with a place in their cabinets, and which might have told us more about Central Asia than all the histories that ever were written! At last, in July 1833, Mr. Masson, being engaged in searching for the site of one, among the many Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great, happened to visit this plain. He first met with eighty coins. These specimens appearing to be valuable, he prosecuted the search, until he had amassed upwards of thirty thousand coins, of which the greater part were copper, and the remainder silver and gold. From this collection were evolved the annals of Indo-Bactria, and the history of Greek connection with the East.

The Asiatic Society's Journal was the organ through which these results were announced to the public. Mr. Masson himself contributed a great many papers. But the most elaborate analysis was made by James Prinsep.* A great difficulty arose at the outset. The inscription on the obverse of the medal were Greek; but, on the reverse, an unknown character presented itself. The first object, then, was to decypher this character. Mr. Masson had pointed out some Pehlevi signs, which had been found to stand for certain Greek names. "It struck me," writes Mr. Prinsep, "that if the genuine Greek "names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a "clue through them might be formed to unravel the value of a "portion of the alphabet, which might, in its turn, be applied to "the translated epithets, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed." This plan was followed out with infinite labour and skill, and met with complete success. This most arduous and valuable service to science was the last which he lived to perform.† The interest, attaching to these discoveries, was not confined to India. The news spread to Europe, and raised a sensation in the academic circles of London, Paris, Vienna, Gottingen and Bonn. The first great scholar who took up the subject, was M. Raoul Rochette. He was followed in his own country by M. Jacquet, and in Germany by the Grotefends, Müller and Arseth. The *Journal des Savans*, the *Journal Asiatique*, the Vienna *Jahr-bucher*, the Gottingen *Anzeigen*, and the Numismatic Journal of London, all vied with the Calcutta Journal in disseminating the results of Mr. Masson's discoveries and Mr. Prinsep's interpretations. For some time, England did less than the other two great European nations, to blazon abroad the exploits of her gifted sons in the East. But at length, in 1841, the appearance of the handsome work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, redeemed the character of the mother country. The celebrity of Professor Wilson's name in the world of Eastern literature, and his long and intimate association with Mr. James Prinsep in the Asiatic Society, give his work a peculiar value. And the Court of Directors have evinced the interest they take in this subject, by bestowing on the publication their pecuniary aid and their influential patronage.* At the head of the present article we have placed this work, as being the most complete and lucid exposition of the whole subject, besides, being embellished with a great variety of beautiful plates. With it we have associated a learned dissertation by Professor Lassen, on the history derived from the Bactrian and Scythian coinage. We have also added a small but useful volume, by Mr. Thoby Prinsep, in which the general results of the Numismatic discoveries are unfolded in a brief and popular form. Besides its intrinsic merit, this work possesses an additional interest from having been composed with materials left by James Prinsep at his decease, and from having been written by his brother.

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* *Vide* Journal of Asiatic Society, Vols. I.—VII., *passim*.

† The Arianic alphabet is given in Professor Wilson's work.

It has been already intimated that these discoveries relate to the mediæval history of Grecian Bactria. But before treating of this history, it is necessary that we should fix, with geographical precision, the limits of this somewhat undefined country. Bactria, as understood by the Greeks, was nearly coincident with Ariana, or Central Asia. Its northern boundary was the Jaxartes; its southern the Indian Ocean. The eastern boundary was formed partly by the Indus, and partly by a line drawn northwards from the sources of that river. The western frontier might be described by a line drawn from the south eastern corner of the Aral lake to the Caspian sea: and thence southward. The vast square tract thus marked off was divided into two halves by the Caucasian chain, the upper half being again subdivided by the Oxus. Above the great range of mountains are the Steppes of Tartary; below them is the desert of Gedrosia. Such was the country which the Macedonians styled the province of Bactria.

The ancient history of this country is well known as the birth place of some of the oldest languages and religions in the world. It was in primæval times a favoured land of fable and of song, and could boast of such names as Zohak, Ninus, and Semiramis. It formed a portion of the Assyrian and Median empires, and was eventually the scene of Macedonian triumphs. Its modern history is not less interesting, from the rise of the new Persian empire, the foundation and extension of Islamism, the sudden erection and destruction of barbaric kingdoms and the marvellous careers of Jenghìz, Timùr, and Baber. Its commercial importance had been considerable from the earliest ages, and was greater still in later times, when it was traversed by the routes through which the products of the

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* No bookseller could have afforded to publish the work with its present style and finish. The Court published it at their own expense. The bulk of the edition they presented to Mr. Masson's mother.

East and West were conveyed.* For many centuries it was eminently the country of great roads and vast caravans. But, between the ancient and modern periods of history, or more accurately, between the epoch of Alexander the Great, B. C. 330, and the epoch of Ardeshir Baba-jan, A. D. 230, there intervened a space of more than 500 years, which may be called the mediæval period of Central Asia. This period was almost utterly unknown ; and yet was evidently worth knowing, as being the transition æra from old things to new, and the point where conflicting systems in religion and politics met together. A few hints had been gathered from the scattered notices of classical writers, themselves ill-informed, and from the vague accounts of Chinese historians. All these paltry scraps of knowledge were ably arranged and set forth during the last century by Bayer. But his learned treatise only served to shew how little the highest scholarship could do in its efforts to pierce the impenetrable gloom.

The announcement that the missing links in the chain of events were to be supplied, would be interesting to all students of history. But the expectation of filling up the void by Grecian coinage, of all others, was specially calculated to attract the observation of Numismatists. For no coinage in the world is more instructive than that of Greece. Its artistic beauty alone would rivet the attention of every cultivated mind. The marble and the canvas did not express all the loftiest conceptions of the Greek. The precious metals were also made to bear the impress of his genius. The mould and the die, together with the chisel and the brush, equally became the instruments of imparting an outward form to Greek ideas. In the opinion of the Greeks, the bonds of commercial paternity, of political union, and of patriotic sympathy, among the numerous members of the great federation, would be strengthened, if the medium of exchange should be stamped with the marks of their common religion, of rites, games, and ceremonies, equally dear to all the states, whatever might be the differences in their constitution and Government. Nothing, therefore, can be more perfect than the figures of the gods and heroes, or the personifications of inanimate nature, engraven on the coins, which thus furnish a key to the whole mythological system and to the ritual of religious observances.

But ancient Greece is just as interesting for its multiform political developments, as for its pre-eminence in art. And here, again, the coinage is a most faithful mirror of this great national characteristic. In the inscriptions, the sacred Dèmòs of Athens had its place, as well as the kings of Lacedæmon, or of Macedon. If a city enjoyed its own laws, it would assume the title of Autonomos : if a naval power, that of Nauarchidos ; if a guardian of any great temple, that of Neokoros,—and so on.* Those states, that were bound together by treaties of amity, recorded the fact on the coins : either by a special inscription, or by the symbol of joined hands. There was scarcely a public office of note or rank, in any state, that was not denoted by coins. The Archons, the Ephori, the Amphictyons, the ministers of the games, festivals and mysteries, are all represented. With regard to colonial coinage, the Syracusan medallions are glorious instances of the high art attained in the distant dependencies of Greece. The geographical position of the states was also generally defined. If a city was at the foot of a mountain, or on the sea shore, the circumstance would be stated on the coins.† In the same way, there are few Grecian rivers of any importance which were not named: But, as the Greek coins had been the mute, though eloquent, witnesses of their country's glory in her palmy days, so also they became, in time, the sad records of her degeneracy and servility. They represented the deified Romè, and the Senate personified as a divinity : and they shewed, in the pompous titles bestowed on the Emperors, how conquered Greece could stoop to oriental flattery. Such was the coinage that Alexander the Great was to carry in his victorious train to Egypt, Syria, Persia, Bactria and India! The Macedonian mintage turned out specimens, that may be classed with the best efforts of Greek art ; and Philip of Macedon lived in the period, when Greek coinage reached its climax. The coins of Macedon preserved their celebrity even in the dark ages, and served as models to barbarous nations. It is supposed, that the first rude coins of ancient Britain were struck in imitation of Macedonian specimens that were current all over Europe. ‡ If so, how boundless must have been the influence of Macedon! Alexander's successors taught the art of medallography to the Scythians, who carried it across Central Asia into the heart of India ; and coins of Macedonia Proper found their way to the northern wilds of Britain, the " Ultima Thule " of the then known world. The chief divinities, figured by the Macedonian artists, were Apollo, Minerva, and Hercules. We shall find these constantly reissuing from the Bactrain mintage : we shall see with what fidelity the Greeks in Central Asia preserved, in their coinage, the style of the parent state, both as to design and execution ; and we shall further observe how Grecian ideas were reproduced, modified, and gradually barbarized as they passed away from the Greeks, and were adopted by Scythian dynasties.

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* *Vide* Heeren's summary of these commercial routes, in his "Researches into the history of Asiatic nations."

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* Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual.* pp. 25—28.

† Vide *Akerman's Numismatic Manual*, pp. 13–15.

‡ *Numismatic Manual*, p. 214.

We shall now touch on the history derived from the Greek coins of Bactria. On the death of Alexander, this province, esteemed one of the wealthiest in the empire, fell to the share of the Seleucidæ, and was placed under the control of a local Governor. But this viceroy soon raised the standard of rebellion. Antiochus marched against the rebels ; formed an alliance with Chandragupta, the monarch of Upper India (called Sandracottus by the Greeks), and ceded to him several districts of Lower Bactria—that is, part of the country lying south of the Caucasian range, and on either side the Indus. But the bonds, which held together the world-wide empire of Macedonia, soon began to loosen ; and the Bactrian governors, though shorn of half their dominions, took advantage of the general confusion, to declare themselves independent. The kingdom thus created, embraced Bactria Proper, that is the countries north of the great mountains, and some of the countries to the south. Eastwards were the Paropamisian dominions of the Indian monarchs—a line of kings ennobled by such names as Chandra Gupta, Asòka, and Subhàgasèna. Their policy was to profit by the dissensions which tore the Macedonian empire, and to side with whichever party had the upper hand. In this way, by helping Antiochus against the rebel Greeks of Bactria, they had regained a part of the Paropamisus. To the north were the Scythian hordes, at present tolerably quiet, but containing in themselves the elements of strife and destruction, which should one day burst upon Central Asia. On the west lay the formidable and aggressive kingdom of Parthia.* The Parthian Arsacidæ were originally Syrian subjects. Thirsting for independence, they revolted again and again. The first Bactrian prince purchased indemnity for his rebellion, by aiding the Seleucidæ against his fellow rebels of Parthia.

The second Bactrian prince reversed this policy ; made common cause with the Parthians, and helped to establish the throne of the Arsacidæ. He little thought that the power he thus raised, would one day be to his house the deadliest of rivals. Such were the circumstances and such the neighbours, with which the two first kings of Bactria, both named Diodotus (Theodotus ?), found themselves surrounded. The third, named Euthydemus, had to brave the vengeance of Antiochus, who strove to win back his lost dominions in Central Asia. The Seleucidæ defeated the Bactrians in a pitched battle, and again formed an alliance with the Indians, under king Subhàgasèna, to whom were ceded all the remaining Bactrian provinces, south of the Caucasus. But Antiochus spared the kingdom of Bactria Proper, because he thought it would serve as a convenient barrier against Nomad irruptions.

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* See Mr. H. T. Prinsep's account of the Parthian coins in the cabinet of the East India House, presented by Sir H. Willock.

The next Bactrian prince, named Demetrius, grieved at the loss of these southern Provinces, and sorely pressed in Bactria Proper by an aspirant named Eukratides, determined to reconquer the Parapomisus, and to found there a kingdom for himself, where he might reign secure from his rival. But while he pushed his victorious arms towards the south, Eukratides pursued him from the North Having first seized upon Bactria Proper, Eukratides possessed himself of Demetrius's Indian conquests, and again extended the Græco-Bactrian dominion to the banks of the Indus. He had now reached the limit of Bactrian power, and was the sole ruler of Ariana. But the close of his reign was harassed by aggressions from the Parthians and the Scythians ; and he was at last murdered by his own son Heliokles.* Before, however, we chronicle the parricide's reign, we must pause to note some internal changes that were in progress.

Hitherto the devices and inscriptions of the Bactrian coinage had been executed in a pure style of Greek art. The figures of the divinities were tastefully engraven. The emblems associated with the main figure, the helmet, fillet, spear, tripod, bow chlamys, ægis, the Herculean club and lion-skin, were all strictly classical. The inscriptions were in polished Greek, with the characters distinctly wrought. But, in the reign of Eukratides, a square copper coinage issued from the Bactrian mints, with bilingual inscriptions. On the obverse of the coin, the legend would be in Greek ; on the reverse, in a language and characters, designated by some as Arianian, by others as Kabulian. The task of decyphering and interpreting the words of this language was chiefly performed by James Prinsep. The language was at first supposed to be Zend ; but was eventually shewn to be Prakrit, a rude and colloquial form of the language, so well known as Sanskrit. It therefore belonged to the Indian family. But the characters were evidently not Indian, being written from right to left. They seemed to belong to the Semitic class, which include the alphabets of the Phœnician Hebrew, and a form of the Pehlevi, nearly allied to these which had a local currency in Western Persia. The precise locality of this language could hardly be Bactria Proper; otherwise, traces of it would have been found in the purely Bactrian coins. From these premises, it was inferred with tolerable certainty, that the dialect belonged to the people who dwelt w[illegible] of the Indus, and south of the Hindu Kush—a race par[illegible] Indian, and partly Semitic. Such being the language, wh[illegible] the Bactrian princes now adopted on their coinage, it is c[illegible] from this date, namely the re-conquest of Lower Bac[illegible] by [illegible]etrius and Eukratides, the Greek colonists began t[illegible] their ideas in an oriental mould, and to domesticate themselves in their Indian possessions; to conciliate and naturalize their Indian subjects; and to fuse together the Western and Eastern elements of the body politic. It will be found also that the finish of Grecian art in the coinage begir[illegible] decline. We sha[illegible] the dignity of the Minerva, the [illegible]y of the Apoll[illegible] with the rays of glory round his [illegible]d, the majesty of the thundering Jo[illegible], the massive strength [illegible] the club-bearing Hercules, the god-like energy of the charg[illegible]g Dioscuri, and the airy gracefulness of the winged Victory. All this must now gradually give place to ruder devices. The elephant's head will occur more frequently than heretofore, and the Indian bull will figure on the coins. In short, the exclu[illegible]ve idiosyncracy of Grecian [illegible]age w[illegible] begin to pass away.

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* It has been doubted whether Heliokles, the parricide, is the Heliokles of the coins. In this place we have followed Professor Wilson.

We return to Heliokles, [illegible]ast monarch, who ruled from the [illegible]xartes to the Indus. At [illegible]is time the destinies of Parthia were swayed by Mith[illegible]es the Gr[illegible]. Arsacidan aggression commenced during the [illegible]eign of Eukratides, was perseveringly continued now. The western districts of Bactria having been forcibly annexed to Parthia, and the central provinces severely harassed, the arms of the invader were carried even into the Indian provinces. Some ancient historians, indeed, have included India among the Mithridatic conquests. But Numismatic enquiry would seem to shew that the Parthians did not, at this period, gain any permanent footing south of the Hindu Kush, though subsequently they formed some minor principalities in that quarter. As regards the present period, the coins reveal the names of as many kings, not Parthian, as could have reigned within the ascertained interval of time. Even professor Lasssen, who attributes to the Parthians, instead of to the Scythians, the subversion of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, admits that these Parthians did not establish any dominion in India, or the Paropamisus. At all events, these Parthian invasions, combined with constant attacks from the Scythians, made the Bactrian empire totter to its fall. Its centralization being thus broken up, the several provinces became separate, and ranged themselves under distinct sovereigns.

The coins would shew that, between this date, *viz.*, 155 B.C., and the period of the great Scythian invasion, several synchronous dynasties of Greek origin reigned in different parts of Bactria. Hitherto, assistance has been derived from classical authorities in the composition of a consecutive history. But the coins are henceforth almost our sole guides in tracing the fortunes of these scattered dynasties. Even in the foregoing narrative, although the names engraven on the coins, had (many of them) been previously known to fame, yet the succession both of persons and events has principally been determined by Numismatic evidence. The sovereigns of one family fortunately adopted a coinage, which, though it differed in details, yet agreed in style. The modelling of the portraiture, the emblematical devices, the dress, and the figuration of the tutelary deity, generally corresponded ; just as in modern times, the armorial bearings among the members of the same family correspond. In the brief and eventful period, which intervened between the death of Heliokles and the Scythian invasion, similarity in Numismatic blazonry furnishes valuable data, by which the members of the same dynasty may be grouped together. Identity or similarity in monograms may also supply means of distinction.* The monogram is a mark or symbol introduced on the field of the coin. Whatever its particular signification may be, its value remains the same for purposes of identification. The Bactrian monograms have always been supposed to be something more than mere devices. Many efforts have been made to discover their import without any decisive success. They have been variously considered, as referring to places, to person, and to dates. But it is now generally admitted, that dates are not symbolized by them. From many of them, Captain Cunningham has, with great ingenuity, deduced the forms of letters, which letters he believes to be the initials in the names of various cities and places of mintage ; and thus he gathers a mass of collateral information as to the dominions which belonged to the several dynasties. As yet, however, this interesting path of enquiry has not been thoroughly explored.* Such, then, are the means, which the coins have afforded us of distinguishing the different dynasties in a period, where history is silent.

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* It is no new fact in Numismatics, that exergual abbreviations, which differ but little from monograms, and also devices, have been employed to mark the places of

The names of eighteen kings have been classified under five dynasties. The first four were anterior to the Scythian invasion. The fifth was, probably, founded about the same time with that catastrophe, and certainly survived it. Of the four dynasties first named, two existed in upper, and two in lower Bactria. Of the two southern dynasties, one was founded by the descendants of Demetrius. It will be remembered that this prince, flying from Eukratides in Bactria, raised his standard in the Paropamisus. Although Eukratides overran this territory also, yet, after his death, Lysias, the son or descendant of Demetrius, regained this portion of the patrimony. His coins resemble those of his predecessor in configuration, but differ materially from them in language. Demetrius's coinage was purely Greek. In Lysias's coinage, the inscriptions are partly in the language of Ariana. The former was essentially a Bactrian prince, though, towards the close of his career, he aimed at Indian sovereignty. The latter was a Greek sovereign, reigning over an Indo-Semitic people, whose language he adopted in his Numismatic superscriptions: hence the diversity in the coinage of two kindred sovereigns. After Lysias, Professor Wilson places a king named Amyntas and a queen named Agathokleia, whose husband has since been ascertained to have borne the name of Strato. The imagery of the coins would certainly seem to connect these persons with the Demetrian family. Beyond this, however, there is little information regarding them.

Another kingdom was founded by a prince, named Agathokles, in the provinces adjacent to the Indus.* The exact date of this event is as yet a disputed point. The coins of this king and of his successor Pantaleon are remarkable, as exhibiting, in some degree, the concurrence of Grecian and Asiatic imagery: the inscriptions are bilingual. But the Prakrit words are written, not in the Semitic characters of Ariana, but in the Pali letters of India. The divinity on the coins is Bacchus. An Indian mintage might possibly be thus devoted. Moreover, it is known, that the vine flourished in the mountainous

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mintage. The Greeks used to represent the sovereign cities, which issued the coins, by the initial letters of the names: and the Romans represented their places of coinage in the same manner. The British kings used to adopt fanciful devices for this purpose. The devices, however, are so arbitrary, and in such great variety, that, without explanatory information, no consistent theory or interpretation could be based on them. Consult Akerman on this point.

* The position of this king has been much disputed: he has been assigned to several different dynasties. We have again followed Professor Wilson.

regions of that quarter: and some relics have been discovered which shew, that the worship of the Grecian Bacchus was popular among the mountaineers, or it may have been that the Greek rulers introduced the orgies of their favourite god at the vintage seasons. There is also on the coins a figure of Jupiter, holding a three-headed Artemis, who bears a torch in either hand. In this device, M. Raoul Rochette has discerned the influence of Arianian Mithraism on Grecian mythology. In connection with this idea, we observe a somewhat elaborate female figure, dressed in the Persian, rather than in the Indian, style. This kingdom was short-lived. It was subverted by the still more interesting dynasty of Menander, which we shall advert to presently.

Of the two northern dynasties, one followed Heliokles in direct succession. It comprises the names of only two kings, Antalkides and Archebius. The imagery on their coins would seem to shew that they sprung from the stock of Heliokles. They probably reigned in Bactria Proper, and in the upper part of Arachosia, or the country lying immediately below the Caucasian range.* The other dynasty consisted of Antimachus and Philoxenus. The devices on their coins shew them to have been distinct from the other Bactrian dynasties, and, perhaps, to have imitated the design of the Syrian mintage. Their precise locality has been a matter of much dispute. The figure of Neptune holding a palm branch, and the device of the Indian bull, have been considered to indicate a naval victory gained in the southern seas, towards the mouths of the Indus.† No Numismatic specimens, however, have been discovered in those regions, which confirm this view. Indeed, the coins of this dynasty have been invariably found in more northern localities. Besides, there were so many other principalities, unquestionably founded in this quarter, that it is difficult to find space or time wherein to place an additional dynasty. We have followed Professor Wilson in locating them in a tract immediately above the Hazarah hills, from which post, it may be presumed, that they made a last stand against the Scythians.

The long threatened destruction at length arrived. Down poured the Scythian Sakas from the wilds of Siberia. The hapless empire of Bactria, dismembered by internal strife and harassed by its old enemies the Parthians, fell an easy prey to the barbarians in 127 B. C. The political ascendancy of Greece, which had long been waning north of the great mountains, now set for ever. The Sakas carried everything before them, till they reached the Caucasus, where, for the present, they rested, content with their triumphs.

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* Such is Professor Lassen's opinion. Professor Wilson does not bring them below the mountains.

† The rare occurrence of this figure of Neptune renders it difficult to form a decided opinion. Professor Lassen, being unable to account for the fact of a naval victory in the south, has conjectured that the scene of contest was the Lacus Drangianus, or Aral Lake.

We have only now to follow the fortunes of the last remnant of Græco-Bactrian power in the south-eastern extremity of the empire. For some years, previous to the great Scythian inroad, a prince, named Menander, had been overthrowing the petty principalities which had risen on the ruins of the Bactrian empire, and had consolidated a kingdom in Kabul and in the provinces east of the Indus. It is supposed, with much reason, that he held the upper Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and may have even penetrated much further, both southward and eastward. He might have shared the fate, which befel his countrymen north of the Caucasus; but the torrent of Scythian invasion was arrested, probably, by the Parthians. And thus, perhaps, the very nation, whose implacable rivalry had made the Bactrian empire defenceless against its barbarous foes, was instrumental in preserving the offshoot, which had established itself in the Paropamisus. So the branch continued to live after the parent trunk had been cut away. Many coins of Menander have been dug up in various parts of the North Western Provinces: and this, coupled with the statements of classical authors,* would go far to shew that his kingdom extended to this neighbourhood. Up to the first century of our æra his coins were current in Guzerat; and there is little doubt, that he held the Indus provinces down to the sea. The various attitudes of mortal combat in which the coins represent this prince, would shew the many struggles and difficulties by which he attained his regal state. But, when once seated on the throne, he diffused national wealth and contentment: and tradition has handed down, that eight cities contended for the honour of conferring the rites of sepulture on his remains. To his successor have been attributed the names of Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Hermæus. But as to the position of the first two names, both in respect of time and place, serious doubts may be entertained: and it is not improbable that they belonged to some of the earlier Bactrian dynasties. In the coinage of this dynasty, the devices are, for the most part, purely classical, interspersed occasionally with figures of the bull and the elephant. The regal titles and the representations of the tutelary divinities are, many of them, borrowed from the Syrian mintage of the

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* They assert that he passed the river Isamus. This river has been supposed by some to mean the Jumna; Major Cunninghan holds that it is the Eesun.

Seleucidæ. But the coins of the last king Hermæus exhibit tokens of decline. The figures, human and divine, the emblems and the letters, become barbarized both in design and execution. And thus the coins begin to tell, in silent but intelligible language, that Scythian influence had reached the last stronghold of Bactrian independence, and that the traces of the Macedonian policy in Asia were fast fading away—to be lost for ever. The dynasty of Menander became extinct about 50 B.C. But before we describe the collision of the Scythians with the races of Upper India, we shall pause to take leave of political Hellenism in Asia.

The Greeks had now ruled for 200 years in the very heart of Asia:—and to every thinking mind will be suggested the question, what influence had the Greeks on the Asiatics or the Asiatics on the Greeks? It is generally considered, that, in the eastern Satrapies of the Macedonian empire, the Greek did, to a certain extent, forget the rugged customs of his mountain home, and while revelling in the luxuries of the East, did adopt oriental manners and imbibe oriental ideas of worship. But the Bactrian Greek was an exception to this rule. The natives of Bactria differed from all the other orientals with whom the Greeks had mingled. The climate and nature of the country somewhat resembled Macedon. The Mithraic Fire worship, the adoration of the elements, and Zoroaster's doctrine of light were, perhaps, the purest forms of faith, which the unaided mind and feeling of man had ever invented. Professor Lassen says, speaking of Bactria, " Here, if any where, Zoroaster's doctrines must have been preserved most purely : and thus, in the amalgamation of the Oriental and Hellenic character, Bactrian Hellenism must have formed from the beginning a circle in the revolution of the East." The idea of this passage is a fine one: but Numismatic enquiry does not support it, or rather tends to prove the contrary. The many hundred Bactrian coins which have been discovered, abound in religious devices : but, with the exception of one doubtful instance, a Mithraic emblem is nowhere to be found. Neither are there any indications of Indian mythology. The figures of the gods are strictly Macedonian : and several of them, such as the Hercules, the Minerva, and the trophy-bearing Victory, the Bactrian kings seem to have borrowed from their great prototype, Alexander the Great. They would appear, therefore, not to have mingled any foreign elements with the religion of their forefathers : nor is there any reason to suppose that the native Bactrians imbibed any Greek ideas on religion, as the Scythians subsequently did. The Indo-Bactrians, that is, the people, south of the Caucasus and toward the Indus, certainly did not. In fact, they were more likely to proselytise than the Greeks. In India, the Sabæan, or Mithraic, religion, which probably had prevailed universally in the East, had degenerated and branched out into two systems, namely, Budhism and Brahmanism, both distinguished for the power and energy of their priesthood, and both aiming at universal sovereignty, political and spiritual. The established religions of India, therefore, effectually prevented the spread of the Grecian religion to the south of the mountains. In a religious point of view, then, there was probably no amalgamation between the Greek rulers and their Asiatic subjects: whatever union did subsist was political. That there was some such union, had been already evidenced by the bilingual inscriptions. Some of the regal titles (such as Nikè-phoros, or Soter) were much the same as those borne by the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. The kings, while they fully kept up the prestige of the Grecian name, appreciated the military resources of their subjects, and valued the fame of the Bactrain cavalry, as is evident from the constant appearance of the horse on their coins. That the country grew in material wealth under their rule, is proved by the prolific abundance of their silver coinage. Their mints not only sustained the currency of Bactria Proper, but supplied the wants of the eastern divisions of their empire The silver pieces of Bactria continued to be a medium of ex-. change for some centuries after our æra. And, vast as were the monetary and commercial transactions of Upper India, yet the Bactrian fund of silver coinage was so adequate, that it was not found necessary to issue any silver coinage at all in India, until after the decadence of the Indo-Scythian empire in the third century. Nor can any counter inference be drawn from the absence of gold Bactrian coins, inasmuch as the specific reason for this circumstance will be hereafter assigned. There was much wisdom in Antiochus's political principles, when he determined to spare the kingdom of Bactria, in order that it might stand as a dyke between the surging sea of Nomad invaders and the rich lowlands of Central Asia. At that time, the Scythians were hanging like a thunder cloud in the north, ready to rain destruction over the civilized east. The Parthian kingdom, at that crisis of struggle for its own independent existence, was unable to stretch forth the arm of resistance. Had the Bactrian kingdom been at that period annihilated, the Scythians would have overrun Central Asia, swept on to India, or even penetrated to the capital of the Seleucidæ. But when at last the Scythians did prevail, the Parthians had, in the interval, gathered strength, and the Indian monarchs had steadily consolidated a colossal power. Thus was the progress of the barbarians checked. Such were the benefits that Asia owed to the Bactrian dynasties, that for so many years shielded the east from desolation. And when the fated moment did arrive, the fair structure of Grecian civilization had been so well and firmly raised, that the conquerors were obliged to succumb to the humanizing influences of the conquered—an influence, the same as that which Horace declared the Greeks had exercised over the Romans also ;—*Greecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

Such were the interesting results of the extension of Greek dominion from the Caspian to the Indus. The political supremacy perished, but the moral influence survived. The dynasties, of which we must now treat, are chiefly interesting, because they used the Grecian language, adopted the imagery of the Grecian religion, and venerated Grecian art. They exhibit also the last instances, in which the symbols of Greece were blended, in the same coinage, with those of India. And thus, in the barbaric kingdoms which follow, we shall behold Greece faintly imaged, though "living Greece no more." Yet we shall see how Greece could "brokenly live on."

> "Even as a broken mirror, which the glass
> In every fragment multiplies ; and makes
> A thousand images of one that was—
> The same, and still the more, the more it breaks."

The Scythians, who overthrew the Bactrian kingdom, were urged on, not only by the love of conquest, but also by the spur of necessity. Scythia Proper was not large enough to hold all the Nomad hordes that were congregated within it. At this period, it was a kind of political volcano. Within its bosom were stirring and heaving all the elements of mischief. At length, with a tremendous eruption, forth there issued a fiery stream of lava, that was to flow resistless over the plains of Asia. The Sakas were the first tribe, that were driven out to seek their fortune in the South. And, in all probability, these were the destroyers of the Bactrian empire. The ancient records of India, when collated with the Chinese and classical histories, leave little doubt that these Sakas—after they had subdued, first Bactria and subsequently the Soter dynasty (of Menander) in the Paropamisus, and had brought all Upper India under their dominion—were eventually overthrown by Vikramaditya, king of Oujein, in B. C. 56. This monarch, who is a hero-divinity with the Hindus, was surnamed Sakari, or the foe of the Sakas. But either he, or one of his successors, was forced to yield to the Yuchis, a second tribe of Scythians, still more powerful than the first. These Yuchis founded a most important kingdom, generally styled the Indo-Scythian. In determining the time and place of these Scythian invasions, much assistance has been derived from the Chinese annalists and travellers. It may appear strange, but it is nevertheless true, that Chinese literature has been found of great practical utility in these respects.

It should be added, that a series of Indo-Parthian coins have been found, which would shew that, for a brief space, some Parthian princes must have ruled in the direction of the Paropamisus. In all probability, when the Bactrian empire was despoiled, they managed to seize a moiety of the plunder. We shall then first dismiss this line of Parthian kings; and then, passing on to the Scythians, we shall commence with the Sakas, and afterwards proceed with the Yuchis.

Doubts have been already intimated as to the Parthians having acquired any Indian dominions at an early period. The dynasty, of which we are about to speak, are certainly Parthians, both in name and in style of coinage. The inferiority of the characters, in which the Greek inscriptions are engraven, would shew that the coins belong to the later and declining period of Græco-Asiatic mintage; and the Arianian inscriptions on the reverse would mark an Indian locality. Various attempts have been made, with indifferent success, to identify the first prince Vonones, with personages of that name, who figure in the Arsacidan history of Parthia. The coins of the third prince, Gondophares, are distinguished by a pecular monogram, in which Professor Wilson discerns a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Ecclesiastical history corroborates most singularly the Numismatic evidence regarding this prince. Saint Thomas is said to have received a divine commission to visit the Indians, who were ruled by a prince named Gondoforus.* The coincidence is somewhat striking. Another prince, styled Abagasus on the coins, is connected with Gondophares by uniformity of monogram. There are several other princes included in this dynasty. But we do not know enough of their reigns or their policy, to make them interesting. And thus, we must close our account of this distant Indian offshoot of that dynasty, which the name of Mithridates has rendered famous in Roman history, and which was remarkable among the kingdoms of Macedonian origin, from having been finally subverted, not as Bactria, by barbaric invasion, nor as the Seleucidan and Ptolemaic kingdoms by the irresistible progress of Roman conquest, but by the zealous onset of religious fervour, by the enthusiastic vigour of Ardeshir Baba-jan, the perpetuator of the Magian tenets, the renovator of the Sabæan and Mithraic religions. And while we treat of the Indo-Scythian dynasties, and reflect how Budhism and Brahmanism (both offsprings of Mithraism) grew up under the shadow of Greek civilization, till they overspread the extreme East, we should not forget that a great day was at hand for the common progenitor of both; and that Mithraism was to be reinstated in the "high places" of Central Asia.

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* Sharon Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons. Note to p. 147. vol. ii., quoting a Saxon Life of St. Thomas, to be found among the Cottonian manuscripts. This passage was pointed out to us by a friend.

Our view must now be turned towards the Saka-Scythians. In the earlier coins of this class, the letters can hardly be decyphered, being rude imitations of the Greek: and the names are frequently illegible. The three first names given in Professor Wilson's list, namely, Spalarius, Palirisus, and Mayses, we shall pass over summarily; merely remarking, with respect to the two former, that they are placed by many Numismatists among the Bactrian princes; and regarding the latter, that it corresponds with Màòs or Mâs, which Professor Lassen shews to be of Mithraic origin. We then come to the interesting set of coins, which bear the name of Azes. This prince must have been the greatest, that had appeared in Asia since the days of Alexander. The extension of his rule to the frontier of Central Asia has led many to suppose, that he was of Indian origin. He certainly does sometimes figure on the coins in an Indian attitude. But no Budhist or Brahmanist emblems are associated with him. Whether he be Indian or not, the Chinese theory, which identifies him with Asoka, or Ayu, is decidedly wrong. On the other hand, some of the best authorities, such as Lassen, conclude him to be Scythian. The figure of the mounted king (a Szu, or Saka device, according to Lassen) and the general aspect of the types would certainly favour this supposition. And it is improbable, that an Indian ever could have reigned north of the Cacasus, as Azes certainly did. His coins were found, chiefly, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and in Affghanistan, also in various parts of the Punjab, but not lower. They are numerous and greatly diversified both in type, device and monogram; and they are generally executed with much precision and completeness. The inscriptions are in Greek and in Bactro-Pali. The imagery is drawn from Grecian mythology. Beyond this, there are no religious emblems. There are no devices, that could represent Mithraism or Hinduism. The most important coins are those, which indicate the extent of his empire. There is the Bactrian camel,* the Indian lion and elephant, the bull of Kabul. There is also a remarkable device, which represents Neptune trampling on a swimming figure. This has been confidently referred to victories gained in the vicinity of the Indus. Connected with the coinage of this prince, are some specimens, bearing the superscription of Azilises, who was, no doubt, a kindred sovereign—whether successor, or predecessor, is uncertain. Belonging to the same series are a most numerous set of coins, displaying the title of "Great king of kings, the Preserver." One emblem of this set represents a male figure in a long robe, with a cap and fillet, and the right arm stretched over a fire-altar. This is interpreted as an evident allusion to the Magian religion. These coins have been found in the very heart of India, at Benares and at Malwa. The nameless title has, by some, been referred to a confederation of states. But it was, probably, the generic name of a line of kings.

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* See Professor Lassen's able interpretation of these emblems.

The coins, then, show that there arose upon the ruins of Bactria, a barbaric empire of Saka-Scythian origin, professing a mixed religion, composed of Mithraism, Hellenism, and perhaps Hinduism—an empire, that stretched from the confines of Tartary over the Caucasian range, and thence centring itself in Affghanistan and the Punjab, reached down to the mouths of the Indus—spread eastward, over the plains of Hindustan, to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna—and, southward, over Rajputana to the Vindhyan range of Central India. But for the coins, what historical speculatist would have dreamt of this? In fixing the dates of this dynasty, we must remember, that it came after the first Scythian invasion, and before the second, by the Tokhares, or Yuchis. It is well known that the Indian king, Vikramaditya, defeated some Saka power. And it may be inferred with tolerable certainty, that these must have been the Sakas so defeated. Then, if this be so, the date of their overthrow may be deduced with precision, for the era of Vikramaditya has been placed beyond doubt.* What became of the Sakas after their Indian defeats, neither history nor Numismatics inform us. It cannot be supposed that Vikramaditya pursued them into Bactria Proper. But whether they maintained their power in that quarter, or yielded to some other Scythian swarm, is unknown—a point too dark even for conjecture. That the Sakas, however, were succeeded in India, after no long in terval, by the kindred tribe of Yuchis, or Tokhares, may be regarded as an historical fact. They could not have followed in direct succession, inasmuch as it was Vikramaditya, who overthrew the Sakas. But it is known that the kingdom, which his spirit and patriotism had founded, fell into confusion after his death. And it is most probable, that the Yuchis took that opportunity of usurping his throne and power, and of raising up a great Indo-Scythian empire. We shall, henceforward, hear ho more of Bactria Proper; our attention will be confined to Upper India, including Affghanistan and the Paropamisus.

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* It is unfortunate that Archæologists have not been able to connect Vikramaditya with any one of the several kinds of relics, whether coins, or rock-inscriptions, or pillars; while they have succeeded to so great an extent in establishing the position of Chandra Gupta and Asoka.

The coins of the Yuchi, or Indo-Scythian, dynasty have been discovered in vast numbers. They are entirely gold and copper. There is only one silver specimen in the whole set. Now, it has been already stated, that the Bactrian coinage was entirely silver; while the Indian coinage was entirely gold and copper. When we consider that the two countries were conterminous, and that commercial intercourse and monetary exchange largely subsisted between them, it can hardly be regarded as a fortuitous circumstance, that, in one country, the more valuable coins should be nothing but silver, and, in the other, nothing but gold. It was not that the Indians never availed themselves of a silver currency; for, as was previously mentioned, the silver pieces of Bactria were current in India for some centuries after our æra; so numerous were they, that it must needs be concluded that the Bactrian rulers made special provision for the monetary requirements of India, and augmented the silver mintage accordingly. Why, then, did the Bactrians follow this policy? Some reason there must have been. A reason is supplied by the author of the Periplus, who says, that the silver denarii were exchanged with advantage against the gold kaltes of India.* But, when the Bactrian pieces became obsolete and fell out of circulation, and the resources of silver currency thus began to fail, the Indians introduced a silver coinage of their own. Towards the decline of the Indo-Scythic power, and the accession of the great Gupta dynasty, the Satraps of Guzerat † and the Gupta sovereigns of that region coined beautifully in silver, while the coinage of Kanouj, the then capital of northern India, continued to be gold. The monetary remains of the Indo-Scythic epoch seem to shew that this was a period of national wealth and commercial activity. That there was a brisk demand in the money market and the bazaar, is evinced by the immense issue of copper coins. The pice of the Indo-Scythian Kadphises and Kanerkes were current in the Hindu kingdoms of Upper India, and remained in circulation till the Muhammadan invasion. But, besides difference in metal, there will be observed other important changes in the specimens of the coining series. They cease to be bilingual. The coins of Kadphises, the first king on the list, form a single exception to this rule. The Arianian, or Bactro-Pali characters (of which so much has been said) are no more to be seen; the Greek alphabet alone remains. Heretofore, in each series, Greek mythology has supplied a goodly portion of the imagery: but henceforward that also disappears. Greek art is passing away; but the court language, and the fashionable orthography, are still Greek. It has been already stated that the general features of the coins, and the localities in which they have been found, prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that this kingdom comprised Upper India, that is the tract of country between the junction of the Ganges and Jumna and the Western extremity of the Paropamisus. The first king was Kadphises. Some of his coins were first discovered at Mathura (Muttra) and Allahabad. But the figurations had become indistinct from long friction, and the letters of the inscriptions could not, at that time, be decyphered. These specimens remained therefore unintelligible, until they were compared with the more recently discovered coins. A great number of fellow specimens have been dug up in Kabul and the Punjab. The king's dress, and the cast of his features, are unquestionably Tartar, or Scythian. In one coin, he appears worshipping at a fire-altar. In some coins, the Hindu Shiva is represented with his usual attributes, and his attendant bull, bedecked after the regular fashion. On the reverses of the coins (as we said before) the Arianian characters are seen for the last time. There are other coins bearing the same name: but, on account of dissimilarity of device, they are conjectured to belong to another Kadphises. It is agreed on all hands, that he was not the only one of his race who bore this name; and that, at all events, other kings must have intervened between him and the monarch we are now about to notice, namely, Kanerkes. That this king was of a different lineage from Kadphises, seems clear from the absence of bilingual inscriptions, and an additional set of honorific titles derived from the Magian vocabulary. But general uniformity of design and monogram, and identity in place of discovery, would show that both princes belonged to the same race and the same kingdom. On some of the Kanerkian coins, there appears the figure of the Sakya Sinha, one of the Múnis or patron saints of Budhism, in a preaching or benedictory attitude. Major Cunningham considers * that he has got a coin of this king, in which the aspect of the figure is eminently Budhist, and with an inscription, which he decyphers as an invocation to Budha. This prince has also been identified with Kaniki, or Kanishka, a king known to Cashmerian history, and a zealous Budhist.†

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* On this point consult Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, and Cunningham's *Numismatic Tract*.

† *Vide* "Saurashtra Coins," by E. Thomas, Esq., B.C S.

The coins of the next king, Kenorama, are in much the same style as the preceding. But the constant occurrence of the elephant would seem to denote the consolidation of the kingdom in the interior of India. Neither is their any thing that calls for especial notice in the coinage of the next king, Oerkes, except that his dress closely resembles the vestments of the Sassanian kings of Persia, as depicted on their coins. There is a fire-altar plainly represented in the coins of the next king, Baraoro. The regal head dress is unquestionably Sassanian.‡ We next come to a set of coins, inscribed with the name, Ardokro: whether it belonged to one, or to several monarchs, is uncertain. Their principal type is a female, sitting on a high-backed throne, and holding a cornucopia.§ The recurrence of this type in the Gupta coins of Kanouj (and it will be remembered that the Guptas succeeded the Indo-Scythians), associated with regular Hindu inscriptions in Sanskrit, marks the Ardokro coins as the last of the Indo-Scythian series, and as belonging to the transition period, when the last vestiges of Bactrian influence and Grecian civilization were fast fading from our view to be seen no more. From a comparison of the respective types and monograms, James Prinsep has pronounced the Indo-Scythian to have been the original model of the Kanouj coinage. And thus Indo-Scythic history may, perhaps, explain the Rajput tradition, which declares the founder of the Kanouj race of Rahtores to have been a Yàvan, or Greek, of the Asi or Aswa tribe. A Bactrian chief was, no doubt, meant. The tradition, however, is only useful as showing that Indian tradition preserved the remembrance of dominant races, who had come down from the north. It cannot have much historical significance: for the Rajput bard forgot, or ignored the fact, that it was the comparatively low caste Guptas, and not the high-born Rahtores, who drove back the Indo-Scythians. In Surat also, the southern extremity

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* *Numismatic Tracts.*—J. A. S. Bengal.

† See J. Prinsep's account of this king in the Journal of the Asiatic Society; also Cunningham's Treatise on Kashmerian coinage.—*Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VI.*, (1843.)

‡ *Vide* Wilson's Account of the Sassanian coins.

§ Lassen has observed that the Saka kings are generally represented as mounted, and the Yuchis seated in a chariot, or on a throne.

of their empire, the Indo-Scythians left their Numismatic devices to be imitated by their successors.* These Numismatic coincidences, while they prove what James Prinsep called "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj coinage," are still more valuable as establishing the consecutive order of events.† The later history of Kanouj is detailed in genuine and authentic narratives, and may form a sound basis on which to raise a structure of Numismatic facts. If, therefore, the connection of the Kanouj coinage with the Indo-Scythic, and the connection of the latter with the earlier Scythian coinage, and again the connection of this last coinage with the Græco-Bactrian and the Macedonian (when we again meet the domain of history) be all made out, as we trust it has—then something has been done to evince the fidelity and trustworthiness of Numismatic enquiry, and to vindicate, in legal phrase, the "admissibility" of the coins as evidence.

By this time, that is, the beginning of the third century, a race of Gupta chiefs had arisen. They expelled the Indo-Scythians: and, having thus rid themselves of foreign domination, they founded a kingdom, which extended from Nepal to Gúzerat and from Magadha to the Paropamisus. And thus Hindu supremacy was restored in the north of India, where it had not been known since the days of Chandragupta and Asoka.

But before this Indo-Scythic dynasty is finally dismissed from our consideration, there are one or two questions, connected with the religious emblems of their coins, which merit a brief discussion. What, for instance, meant the Mithraic emblems? How and from whence did they get to India? Elemental worship was the original faith of Central Asia. It is known by the several names of Magian, Sabæan, and Mithraic. This superstition, in itself purer and simpler than other forms of heathenism, soon became corrupted, and degenerated into a mythology, the most stupid and senseless of all.‡ As the religion spread, a number of strange names and epithets were incorporated into the sacred nomenclature, and the deified heroes of neighbouring nations were allowed the honor of apotheosis in the Mithraic Pantheon. But this Persian mythology, though it no doubt was venerated in the homes of the people, does not appear to have been more than tolerated by the successors of Alexander. As far as we know, it was not politically encouraged, and it certainly did not receive the allegiance of the kings. When the Greeks lost their political power, the barbaric conquerors at first adopted the Grecian, and not the Magian mythology. And thus, for many years, the Greek religion continued to be fashionable. The Yuchis, however, rejected the European, and adopted the Asiatic mythology. But when established in India, they deemed it politic to encourage the two prevailing religions of that peninsula, namely, Brahmanism and Budhism—which were after all only offsprings of the parent Mithraism. Hence it was that the emblems of Shiva, of Budh, and of Mithra, appear together on the Indo-Scythic coinage. We will first notice the names and figures characteristic of Mithraism.*

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* See "Saurashtran Coins."

† See *Tod's Rajasthan*—Connection of the Rajputs with the Scythians, Chapter I. and VI.

‡ See Malcolm's account of the process of corruption in the *History of Persia*.

The titular terms Miro, Mioro, or Mithro, attached to the regal names of the Kanerkian dynasty, are identified with the word Mithra, the Zendic name for the sun. This famous word, which has given a name to the Mithraic religion, reappears in Persian as Mihir, in Sanskrit as Mitra and Mihira. But in these two languages, it is only one name for the sun out of many: whereas the original Mithra means the one sovereign sun, and corresponds with the Hèlios, also found on the coins. He is seen in a flowing dress, with light radiating round his head. The Deus Lunus of Asia Minor appears on the coins under the Zendic name of Mao and Manao Bago, corresponding with the Sanscrit word Mas. The figure resembles that of the sun, only, instead of the rays, we have the lunar circlet. In connection with this divinity, the coins give the name of Nanaia, Nàna, and Nàna Rào. This goddess, a tributary of the moon, is the triple faced Artemis of Agathokles (the Bactrian king), the Anaitis of the Persians, the Anaia of Armenia, the Bìbì Nànì of the Muhammadans.†

Next we have Athro on the coins, the peculiar god of the Ignicolae, the personification of fire. The figure is encircled with the sacred element, and the hair seems to wreath itself into flames. The name is also Zendic, and agrees with "Atars,"Fire. The word "Oado" on the coins has been identified with the Zendic "Vato" and the Persian "Bad," Wind. Two words "Okro" and "Ardokro" have not been satisfactorily explained. The "Ard" has been reasonably conjectured to be the common prefix "Arta," Great, as in Arta Xerxes. Another name, "Pharo," on account of the similarity of the figure to which it is attached, has been supposed to be an epithet of the sun.

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* See Lassen's interpretation of these names and figures.

† Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua.*

Now, it must be steadily borne in mind, that *all* these names are written in the Greek character. Thus was the Greek language made the medium, by which the people of India were to learn the sacred terminology of the Persian Zendavesta. Until the discovery of the coins, no three things could be more separate—more irreconcilably disconnected—than this language, this people, and this religion. But now the coins have brought these three together ! And, thus corrupted, Mithraism was to run its course, not only in Ariana, but in the Indian peninsula. It was soon, however, to be driven out from the former by the Sassanian descendants of the great reformer, and from the latter by the Guptas.

The blending of Brahmanist symbols with the pantheistic imagery of the Indo-Scythians needs not excite surprise ; but the admission of Budhist emblems may suggest a few observations. For some time Budhism was denied its proper place in history. It had the misfortune to be overthrown by a system, in which historical mendacity, in support of religious tenets was held to be a cardinal virtue.* The Brahmanists, having established the most complete civil and ecclesiastical polity, and elaborated a polished literature, were reluctant to admit that there had been such a thing as a Budhism, which once ran Brahmanism very hard in the race of dominion. But the veil was gradually withdrawn. Chinese literature gave forth its stores of information. Accounts came pouring in from Burmah, Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon. The earth and the mountain yielded up their monumental treasures. Caves were penetrated —relics dug up—rock-inscriptions decyphered. The writings on the Delhi and Allahabad pillars were read. The coins began to tell their story. As our knowledge of the dynasties which ruled in Upper India and Kabul began to increase, the works of several Chinese travellers, who visited India during the first five centuries of our æra, were critically examined.† The correctness of their geography and the general truth of their statements were remarkably verified by the relics and the coins, which have formed the subject of the present treatise. From all this evidence, some scholars have believed that the Pali language was current, and the Budhist faith dominant, at a time, when the polished form of the Sanscrit was unknown, and when Brahmanism could not raise its head.* Without going so far as this, and without claiming any undue antiquity or pre-eminence for Budhism, we may safely say that for sometime, it was at least co-extensive with, and at one epoch, superior to, Brahmanism; that it extended as far north, and was probably carried into Indian kingdoms beyond the Indus and below the Caucasian range—countries, whither Brahmanism, perhaps, never penetrated; that some of the most illustrious Hindu monarchs were its disciples—monarchs, who made treaties with Antiochus the Great, and kept the Bactrian Greeks at bay; and that it took its place, side by side with Brahmanism and Mithraism, in the adoration of the Indo-Scythians, we have already seen. And this fact was further strengthened by Captain Cautley's exhumation of a Budhist city at Behar, near Seharunpur. Among the ruins were discovered, not only a series of Indo-Scythian coins with the Budhist symbols, but also a collection of undoubtedly Budhist relics. The discovery of Indo-Scythian coins in the Budhist topes of Affghanistan has been already described.

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* We do not, of course, mean to say that Budhism was not mentioned in Sanskrit Literature, but only that its position was not duly described.

† We need not give the names of these travellers. The accounts of their travels were most elaborately commented on by Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and others. The work of the principal traveller, Fa Hian. having been translated into French, was again translated into English by Mr. Laidley of Calcutta.

With the extinction of the Indo-Scythian power will close the historical drama allotted to this article. However incomplete our treatment of the subject may have been, we trust that, at all events, the history itself has been proved to merit attention. It has been seen that Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Græco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East; how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization in pristine purity, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects; how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity; how they held the barbarians in check; and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythians. The coins have shewn how the Bactro-Scythians raised a vast, but short-lived, empire, at one time, greater even than the Græco-Bactrian; how they borrowed the arts, policy, language, and religion of the Greeks; how, at the same time, they engrafted on this noble stock, the mythology and the forms of oriental worship. Lastly, the coins have shewn how, on the expulsion of the Bactro-Scythians, a kindred race of Indo-Scythians seized the southern and eastern portions of the old empire; how they augmented the material wealth of monetary currency of this new kingdom ; how they adopted and blended together the ideas and the superstitions of the three great sects of orientalism, but still retained the Greek, as the classical language of the court and the state. Such facts as these history had not shewn, and, unless new materials should be discovered, never could shew. Besides these points, on which coins alone have furnished the main body of the evidence, they have supplied a mass of collateral and supplementary information regarding the origin and growth of some of the oldest eastern languages and the most potent eastern religions. Those who imagine that this picture is overdrawn, we must refer to the many learned and elaborate treatises, both English and continental, alluded to in the foregoing pages, and to the plates, with which most of the works are embellished, and by means of which the reader may judge for himself, whether the inferences drawn from the coins are just and fair, or not.

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* See Colonel Sykes' treatise on the religious, moral and political state of India, before the Muhammadan invasion.

It must not, however, be concluded that the Numismatists of India are resting on their oars, or are content with the archæological trophies already won. There are, we doubt not, many acute and accomplished minds still labouring to throw additional light on the facts of this history. Not a year passes away without some circumstances being adduced in confirmation, addition, correction, or illustration. Much has been done in the way of correction. The position of individual kings, and even the dates and localities of particular dynasties have been occasionally altered ; but the cardinal points of the narrative, the nature and extent of the several kingdoms, the succession of races, languages and religions—all this has stood unassailed and unimpeached throughout the ten years of Numismatic scrutiny. And it is upon *these* points that we have endeavoured to dwell, rather than upon points of minor importance, which cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, and which do not affect general principles or theories. Much has also been done in the way of corroboration. And few portions of the subject have been more strengthened than that which relates to the geographical extent of the several kingdoms, both classical and barbarian, which existed in Upper India. The tendency of recent discoveries has been to shew that Kabul and the Punjab formed the pivot, on which often turned the fate of Central Asia and of India. It is, indeed, no newly discovered fact that this region has been to Asia, what the Netherlands were to Europe, the arena of incessant contest between the different aspirants to universal dominion. But for aught that history told us to the contrary, we might have supposed that it enjoyed a respite fromcontention during the long interval between the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander and of the Mussulmans under Mahmud. The coins, however, shew that during this period also, it was as sharply contested for, as it ever has been subsequently ;—that it was the battle-field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions and opinions ;—that it was the scene of such contests, as might be anxiously looked upon (to borrow the Homeric notion) by the gods of Greece, by the Hindu Triad, by the Gautamas of Budhism, and by the elemental divinities of Zoroaster.

Nor must it be supposed that Indian Numismatics stop here. We have only traced the History of India for six hundred years. But the coins, to use Professor Wilson's words, have followed the destinies of India for two thousand years. Following the Indo-Scythian dynasty in close order, there come several series of Hindu coins, which explain much that was obscure in the Ante-Muhammadan period of Indian history, and which conduct us down to the epoch of Muhammadan conquests. Then, following the tracks of authentic history, the coins accompany us through the periods marked by the several Muhammadan dynasties, and by the different policies which they pursued ;—until at last there appears a coinage, which has spread even further than the Macedonian, which heralded a civilization higher than that of the Greeks, and which belonged to an empire greater than that of Alexander. These subjects may perhaps be treated of in a future article : but we shall not touch upon them at present, inasmuch as we have confined ourselves to the limits of Greek dominion and influence in the East.

RESULTS OF MISSIONARY LABOUR IN INDIA.

By Rev. J. Mullens, D.D.

1. *Thirty-Eighth Report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.* Calcutta. 1851.
2. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.* Madras. 1851.

INDIA is the largest appendage of a great empire, which the world ever saw. It is not merely a country, but a continent, which, in ancient days, contained numerous kingdoms, independent of one another. Stretching 1,800 miles in extreme length and 1,300 in extreme breadth, it includes within its mighty boundaries all varieties of climate, scenery and soil. The giant range of the Himalaya, capped with eternal snow; the sandy deserts of Rajputana; the fertile plains of the lower Ganges and of Tanjore; the mighty Ghâts and the salubrious plateau of Mysore, alike rank among its territories. It contains at least one hundred and thirty millions of people, distributed in twenty-four provinces, and speaking thirteen polished languages. The resources, with which Providence has gifted it, are fitted to promote the comfort of human life in a thousand ways. It supplies the cheapest food of numerous kinds: and the warmth of its largest provinces requires but scanty clothing. It furnishes fields of coal, beds of copper, lead and iron, and mines of salt. It has giant forests of the most useful trees, especially sâl, teak, segun and oak; while its bamboo topes, its cocoanuts and palms, furnish the poor with the posts, roofing and thatch of their houses, and with a variety of articles besides. Its dry plains produce in abundance varied kinds of pulse and vegetables, together, with wheat, indigo, cotton, sugar and opium: while, in its vast swamps, are grown luxuriant crops of rice. The noble rivers of Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces furnish a ready highway for trade, while the cheapness of labour brings their vast produce into the market at a low rate. Not only in the necessaries of life, but in its luxuries, does the value of this mighty continent appear. It has given to the world its largest jewels and finest fabrics. The shawls of Cashmere, the muslins of Dacca, the filagree jewellery of Cuttack, are to this day unrivalled. The might of European machinery has, in these things, yielded the palm to the taper fingers and ingenious skill of the natives of India: while their carvings in ebony and ivory, their curious musical instruments, their rich embroidery, viewed in connection with other features of their character and occupations, prove them to be a unique and wondrous people. The population has its features of interest, as well as the country. It includes the clever and cunning Brahmin; the submissive and patient Sudra, the poor outcast Paria of Madras, and the licentious Mussulman. It includes the coward yet cunning Bengali; the spirited Hindustani; the martial Sikh, Rohilla and Gurkha; the fighting Mahratta and Rajput; the mercantile Armenian; the active and honest Parsi; the busy Telugu, and the uncivilized Gonds, Khunds, Bhils, Todawars, Garrows, Lepchas, Kassias, and the like, who now inhabit the hill forests, but who once roamed as lords over the outspread plains. The revenue paid to the Government is equal to twenty millions a year: and the annual trade of the three ports of India amounts to not less than forty millions of pounds sterling.

But its people are not happy. Though the land contains immense resources for the production of wealth, and the population that must develop them, swarms upon its surface, the motive to industry is wanting. The cultivator is in the hands of a grasping landholder and greedy underlings. Caste divides the nation into sections, setting tribe against tribe, family against family, and one pursuit against another. A tyrannical priesthood lays its grasp upon every source of gain, and exacts fines and fees from every transaction of the Hindu, from the time of his birth till he is burnt on the funeral pyre. A debasing idolatry, which has sanctified by religious worship the most odious vices, and calls the vilest of characters incarnate gods, rules over millions of votaries. To the *dicta* of their priests and the assertions of their Shastras, they yield implicit obedience; sacrificing to their cruel sway, the appeals of conscience, the conclusions of reason, and the evidence of their very senses. Can it then be wondered at, that all the power of this people is grossly misused—that their intellect is debased and perverted, or that there moral sense is often all but dead? Is it strange that their should be found among them so little of truth, patriotism, justice, or heart-purity; while covetousness, revenge, licentiousness and lying, are as common as the light of day? The Hindus may be clever, acute, and skilful to a certain point, but their moral character as a nation is debased in the extreme.

For what purpose, then, we may ask, has this great continent, with its vast resources and countless population, been placed under the rule of a small island in the western world? Why is it that, in the far east, 'regions, Cæsar never knew,' should be governed by the people of that barbarous island, which Cæsar's legions were the first to conquer; and that their steamers should bring within five weeks' distance of each other, countries, which to him were the extremities of the earth ? Why is it that this conquest should be effected without great cost to England by the people of India themselves, in spite of Charters, Acts of Parliament, and the voice of public opinion ? The hand of God has been in it. Even statesmen and politicians, who never acknowledged a Providence before, have confessed that they see it here. But for what *end* has it thus been given ? Not that the pride of England may be flattered by tales of prowess and deeds of arms ; not that its armies may reap 'imperishable glory' on well-fought fields, or that its generals may be raised, by their victories, to an English peerage : not that India may provide place and pay for the numerous relations and dependents of its governors ; not that it may yield three-quarters of a million in dividends to East India proprietors, or that it may enlarge the trade of English merchants, give work to English artisans, and bring an annual gain of eight millions sterling to the English nation : not for these and a thousand other earthly objects has this mighty trust been committed to England's charge. It is given to her, that the blessings which have made England great, may elevate degraded India too : that her high civilization may be shared by her dependent ; that the knowledge, which has enlightened her intellect, may enlarge the mind of the Hindus : that the mental vigour of the conqueror may be imparted to the conquered ; that the justice, the moral tone, the truth of England, may be infused into a people, who have not known them for ages. Above all, that the BIBLE, which has made England and America the missionaries of the world, may destroy India's idolatries and caste ; raise her people from their degradation ; purify them from the immoralities which their religion now teaches ; make them just, truthful and happy ; raise the female population, give them joys in this life, and animate them with the hope of eternal bliss. It is that Christianity may " raise the poor out of the dust, and " lift up the beggar from the dunghill ; to set him among " princes, and make him inherit the throne of glory."

In accomplishing this end, all who come to India, have a work to do. The Government, in all its branches, civil, military and financial, has to show the influence of Christian principles in wise legislation ; in the just administration of sound laws ; in the faithful protection of the life, the freedom, the conscience, and the rights of all its subjects ; in justly apportioning the burdens of taxation among all classes of the community ; in promoting intercourse between all parts of the country, and in endeavouring to preserve peace. Merchants, traders, factors of all kinds; officers of Government in all grades; and all Christians, whatever be their station, ought to shew the excellence of their faith in their consistent life, and by taking all proper opportunities of pointing out the errors of false religion, and using efforts to remove them. "Seek ye," said the prophet, " the peace of the city, whither ye are carried captive; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. But by far the largest share of the great work of India's renovation belongs to the Church of Christ; and all the agencies which it can put forth, it is bound to exert to its utmost power. The door is now open for the fulfilment, in India, of the great commission which its master has appointed as its duty through all time.

Now that the opportunity of discharging this important duty has existed for many years, the questions naturally arise, how has the trust been fulfilled, or what measures are in progress for its faithful discharge? These questions we propose to take up in the present paper, deeming the close of the half century just past, a fit opportunity for reviewing what has been effected, and for enquiring what amount of agency is being employed for carrying out the end designed. We do not now enquire at any length, what the Government has done. We make no search into the character of its legislation, the efficiency of its army, its magistracy, or police; into the state of its roads, its revenue and public debts; neither shall we examine into the character and proceedings of the merchants, the planters, and other classes of English society, scattered throughout the country.

We fear that, on several points, we should derive little satisfaction from either investigation. There are great leading facts in the history of the Court of Directors, which might well serve to moderate the warmth of their admirers. They opposed the opening of England's trade with India in 1813, and the opening of her trade with China, and the free settlement of Europeans in India in 1833. They now derive a vast revenue from supplying opium for the iniquitous traffic, in which men, calling themselves Christians, seek gain by selling poison to myriads of Chinese. In the battle between Christianity and Hinduism, throwing their sympathies and aid into the scale of idolatry, they imparted fresh vigour to the falling cause, by renewing the temples and beautifying the pagodas; they compelled their officers to take charge of the funds, brought their troops to attend the festivals, and received the fees of pilgrims at the pagan shrines. They opposed the abolition of

Suttee; they resisted the introduction of missionaries into India, and sanctioned the deportation from its shores of men like Judson and Gordon Hall. They have done little to promote the simple vernacular education of the great mass of the people. They govern the country by means of a small exclusive service, the members of which are, every one, sent out to be provided for life with large incomes, however unserviceable they may prove: and the monopoly of this service, consisting, as it does chiefly, of their own relatives and connections, they preserve, with a jealousy, which every Governor-General lives to find, is one of the chief elements of their policy. Of the Europeans in India, generally, we must equally fear, that the truest account would be the most unfavourable. We have heard of some, who regarded themselves as Hindus, rather than as Christians: of others, who deemed Muhammadan festivals fit objects for special patronage; and of others, who directly counteracted the instructions of missionaries, by advising young men not to become Christians, and teaching them that Deism was the true religion for men. We have heard, too, of thousands, who lived as though they regarded gentleness, mercy and spiritual worship, less than the heathen by whom they were surrounded.

It would be unjust to deny or conceal that, in recent years, there has been a considerable improvement both in the spirit of the Government and in the example of the European population. In the Madras Presidency especially, there has been a large increase in the number of the Europeans, who fear God and count his service an honour. The days, when a sepoy could be dismissed from the army, simply for becoming a Christian, (a fact in the time of Lord Hastings) have, we trust, passed away, and the influence of upright Christian laymen is rapidly on the increase. There is, too, a decided improvement in the character and principles of our rulers. Doubtless there were, in former years, a Charles Grant and a Parry in the Court of Directors, but the predominant influence was that of the Scott Warings and Twinings, who wished to exclude all Christianity from India. Things are different now, as many recent despatches show; and far be it from us to pass lightly over the gratifying fact. But much remains to be improved. When it is remembered that only three years ago, the acting Resident at Nagpore compelled the missionaries to give up a convert to be imprisoned by the heathen Rajah, on the ground that the treaty forbade the English authorities to '*aid*' his '*discontented subjects*;' and that this extraordinary measure, justified by this strange reason, was formally sanctioned by the present Governor-General—it will be seen at once, that the improvement we speak of, is only comparative. But on these topics we shall not enlarge further than to express our earnest desire that men of Christian zeal and courage may be raised up to rule this land; and that henceforth the name of Christian may not be spoken of among the heathen as it was in former days.

At present we shall confine our view solely to the direct promotion of Christian Missions in Hindustan by Christian men, as such, and to the efforts of Missionary Societies. And when we consider the gigantic field open to those efforts; when we consider the perfect freedom, protection and safety, with which they may be carried on; when we survey the vast regions, the thickly peopled towns and villages, the millions of people within our reach; when we see the strength of those superstitions which hoar age has hallowed, and a spurious learning has defended and explained; when we behold the power of the Brahminical priesthood and the firm bonds of the caste system; when we see how, in the vast population, reason has been perverted and conscience degraded—we shall feel compelled to ask;—"*Is there not a cause*" for the warmest zeal, the purest self-denial, the greatest tenderness, and the most scrupulous fidelity, on the part of all, who are called to take up this great duty, and to engage in this gigantic toil?

Attempts to Christianize India, in whole or in part, have been repeatedly made, during a period of more than three hundred years; and four distinct plans of operation have been adopted, for accomplishing that end. The Portuguese, backed by King John, and led on by their fighting priests, endeavoured to compel the people of Ceylon and South India to receive their faith, by bloody massacres, cruel persecutions, imprisonments and fines. We read of no sermons preached; no distribution of the Bible effected by them; but we find, that they 'demolished, burnt and rooted out' the 'pagan temples,' sought to abolish the heathen sports, and 'severely punished' obstinate recusants. The Jesuits, in the same part of the country, endeavoured to accomplish the same end more thoroughly, by a persevering system of the most stupendous frauds ever committed under the sun. They pretended to be Brahmins of the highest caste; they dressed like Sanyasis; adopted their manners, dress and food to those of the heathen; forged a Veda; denied that they were Europeans; and, to support their character, resorted to the most unblushing lies, during a period of many years.

The Dutch Government next entered the field; and, in addition to setting before the heathen the same example of dishonesty, covetousness, falsehood, licentiousness, cruelty and intolerance, which they had seen in their predecessors the Portuguese, they sought to bribe the Singhalese to adopt Dutch Presbyterianism by the offer of places and situations; and to terrify them into it, by refusing all Government employ, and even the farming of land, to all who were not baptized, and had not signed the Helvetic Confession of Faith. Each of these three plans acquired thousands upon thousands of nominal converts, but nothing more. Neither cruelty nor fraud, nor appeals to self-interest, laid the foundation of a sincere and permanent Christian community. It naturally followed, therefore, that these thousands of converts returned to the heathenism of their fathers, as soon as the efficient cause of their profession was withdrawn.

> 'They melted from the field, as snow.
> When streams are swollen and south winds blow,
> Dissolves in silent dew.'

In 1802, there were 136,000 Tamil Christians in Jaffna: but in 1806, after the English conquest, Christianity was '*extinct.*' Of the 340,000 in the Singhalese district, in 1801, more than half had relapsed into Budddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. The Roman Catholics of South India, the descendants of the Jesuits' converts, and numbering some 40.000, are at this day scarcely distinguishable from the heathen. Their ceremonies are, to a great extent, the same; the names only of their deities differ. Such are the results of the early attempts to convert the natives of Hindustan: attempts, of which two were made, not by the teachers of Christianity, but by the Governments of Europe.

The *fourth* and last plan of missionary operations adopted in India, is that employed by modern Missionary Societies. It is that of endeavouring to convince the Hindus of the evils of idolatry and of the truth of Christianity, by preaching to the old, by teaching the young, by giving to all the Bible and Christian books in their own tongues, by endeavouring, in a word, to enlighten their understandings, to instruct their ignorance, to convince their judgments, and draw their hearts, so that they may become willing converts, and abide in the faith which they are persuaded to embrace.

The series of efforts made in India, on this plan, began with the labours of the Tranquebar missionaries in 1706. In that year, Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, the well-known founders of that useful mission, entered on the work of preaching the gospel in the vernacular tongue, and, for more than a century, did they and their successors continue to carry it on. Until a few years ago, little was known of the extent and character of their work, of the stations they had founded, the missionaries who had laboured, the incidents which had happened, and the results by which their labours had been followed. A recent work,* however, has brought the subject prominently to light, and has enabled the Christian Church to see on what an advantageous ground the work of missions was placed in South India during the last century. But that mission was almost entirely a Continental one. Begun by the King of Denmark, it was supplied almost entirely in men, and subsequently in money also, from the Evangelical Church and University of Halle, sustained by Augustus Herman Francke, and his illustrious successors. The light, which God had kindled in that Prussian town, sent its rays far into Southern India: so long as it continued steady, the mission stations prospered greatly: but, when it faded and at last expired, the missions languished and expired too. During last century, more than fifty missionaries arrived in India, in connection with the Trenquebar Mission. Amongst them, Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, and Gericke, are well known to English readers. But Dr. Schultze of Madras, the first Telugu scholar and translator of the Telugu Bible; Huttemann of Cuddalore; Breithaupt, Fabricius, and Dr. Rottler, all of Madras—the last, a man of science and a scholar; Kohlhoff of Tanjore, the companion of Schwartz; Dr. Cæmmerer; Dr. John of Tranquebar, the first founder of English Mission Schools; with Klein, Zieglin and Weidebrock, Pressier and Pohle. Horst and Kiernander, some of whom continued their patient labours for more than fifty years, deserve no less esteem. Through those labours the mission branched out in various directions. From Tranquebar it spread first to Tanjore, then to Madras and Cuddalore; then to Negapatam and Palamcottah: and from these servants of Christ, the province of Tinnevelly received its first right impressions of Christian truth. They employed the same agencies in their work, as others do at the present day. They preached in the native languages: they undertook extensive journeys; they gathered Christian congregations, taught numerous schools, translated the Bible into Tamul, and laid the foundation of a Christian literature. Several of their native converts were ordained to the ministry, while others aided them in their schools. The number of their baptized converts amounted, altogether, to more than fifty thousand: and had their labours been properly sustained, and the places of those who died been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But the springs, whence their waters came, began to dry up. German neology usurped the place of Bible truth. The missionaries that came towads the end of the century, were few and far between: and at last ceased altogether. In 1806, only six missionaries, and in 1816 only three remained, supported, with one exception, entirely by English funds. Under these circumstances, many of the native churches, as was natural, fell away and were scattered; the schools were closed; the missions lost their distinctive character; and at length, their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active missionary agencies. Perhaps one cause of their rapid decline arose from the mighty error, which had been committed from the first, of allowing native converts to retain the caste usages, which they had followed as Hindus: an error, which long existed in subsequent missions, and is retained by the successors of the Tranquebar missionaries at the present hour.

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* Hough's History of Christianity in India, vols. iii. and iv.

The modern era of missions in India begins with the founding of the Serampore Baptist Mission in 1799. The continental Christians had retired from the work; but the churches of England and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years, stations were established in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the Presidencies of Hindustan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The LONDON Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah; to Travancore; to Madras, Vizagapatam and Bellary; to Surat; and lastly to Ceylon. The AMERICAN Board, after some opposition from the Government, occupied Bombay. The CHURCH Missionary Society entered first on the old Missions at Madras, Tranquebar and Palamcottah: but soon began an altogether new field, among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chunar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The BAPTIST Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinajpore and other places; and also began its mission in Ceylon. In the latter island, the

WESLEYANS speedily followed them ; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American Board. North, south, east and west, the church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the inspired word, and, within a few years, it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages, for the first time. In thus endeavouring to occupy the vast field opened before them, the missionaries and their advisers were at first compelled, from want of experience, to act much at random. Numerous were the errors and mistakes they fell into ; mistakes to which all new colonists are liable in all lands. Much of their time and energy also was devoted to the spiritual benefit of their destitute countrymen, who suffered from a most grievous deficiency of the means of grace. They had to create facilities for acquiring the languages of India, for learning the superstitions, notions and habits of its people. They had to create their various agencies, and to begin the very simplest plans for applying gospel truth to the ignorant objects of their care. But they had a spirit powerful to meet difficulties and put them down: they had a noble object in view ; and they laboured, looking to that fruit which begins already to gladden the eyes of their successors. In spite of inexperience, in spite of discouragements and difficulties, arising from the language, the people, and their irreligious countrymen, they laid a broad and solid foundation for future sure success. And now their successors can enter at once upon their work, with abundant facilities of every kind, for its speedy and effective application. Honour be to the men, who thus bore the burden of the first and hardest toil ! Eternal honour be to that Lord who enabled them to exalt the valleys and make low the hills ; to make the crooked straight and the rough places plain, that the glory of the Lord might be revealed and all flesh see it together !

Steadily advancing in their efforts, in the year 1830, after a lapse of twenty-five years from the entry of most societies into India, the missionary agencies stood thus : There were labouring in India and Ceylon, TEN Missionary Societies, including the great Societies of England and the American Board : the missionaries were a HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN in number, and their stations were a HUNDRED AND SIX, scattered over all parts of the country. Since then, however, the interest felt by European and American Christians in the conversion of this country, has greatly increased, and renewed exertions to secure it have been put forth with vigour. The discussions concerning the

Suttee; the removal of old restrictions by the last charter; the publication of numerous works on Indian Missions; and the appeals made to Christian churches, have shown that India is one of the noblest fields where missionary labour may be carried on. The result is that, during the last twenty years, those churches have nearly TREBLED the agency previously employed, have greatly enlarged the sphere of their operations, and are beginning to reap the most substantial fruits. With a view to exhibit these results completely and with scrupulous exactness, we have lately entered into very extensive correspondence with missionaries in different parts of India, and passed under careful review a large collection of Missionary Reports, together with the recent religious literature of the various Presidencies. The facts thus elicited have been formed into a statistical table, and the following is a brief statement of its results.

At the close of 1850, fifty years after the modern English and American Societies had begun their labours in Hindustan, and thirty years since they have been carried on in full efficiency, the Stations at which the gospel is preached in India and Ceylon, are two hundred and sixty in number, and engage the services of FOUR HUNDRED AND THREE MISSIONARIES, belonging to twenty-two Missionaries Societies. Of these missionaries, TWENTY-TWO are ORDAINED NATIVES, assisted by FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE NATIVE PREACHERS; they proclaim the word of God in the bazars and markets, not only at their several stations, but in the districts around them. They have thus spread far and wide the doctrines of Christianity, and have made a considerable impression, even upon the unconverted population. They have founded THREE HUNDRED AND NINE NATIVE CHURCHES, containing seventeen thousand, three hundred, and fifty-six Members, or Communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted. These church members form the nucleus of a NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, comprising ONE HUNDRED AND THREE THOUSAND individuals, who regularly enjoy the blessings of Bible instruction, both for young and old. The efforts of missionaries in the cause of education are now directed to thirteen hundred and forty-five day-schools, in which *eighty-three thousand*, *seven hnndred boys* are instructed through the medium of their own Vernacular language; to seventy-three boarding schools, containing *nineteen hundred and ninety-two boys*, chiefly Christian, who reside upon the missionaries premises, and are trained up under their eye; and to one hundred and twenty-eight day-schools, with *fourteen thousand boys and students*, receiving a sound Scriptural education, through the medium of the English language. Their efforts in Female EDUCATION embrace three hundred and fifty-four day-schools, with *eleven thousand, five hundred girls;* and ninety-one boarding schools, with *two thousand four hundred and fifty girls*, taught almost exclusively in the Vernacular languages. The BIBLE has been wholly translated into *ten languages*, and the New Testament into *five*, not reckoning the Serampore versions. In these ten languages, a considerable Christian literature has been produced, and also from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for distribution among the Hindu and Mussulman population. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. While preaching the gospel regularly in the numerous tongues of India, missionaries maintain English services in fifty-nine chapels, for the edification of our own countrymen. The total cost of this vast missionary agency during the past year amounted to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS; of which thirty-three thousand five hundred pounds were contributed in this country, not by the native Christian community, but by Europeans. A few comments on these expressive facts may put them in a clear light.

The various Missionary Societies, from whom these efforts spring, are twenty-two in number. Besides the great Missionary Societies of England, the Established and Free Church of Scotland's Missions, and the American Board, they include the American Presbyterian Church; the American Baptist Missions; six societies from Germany, of which the Society at Basle ranks first in its amount of agency: the General Baptist Society; the Wesleyan Society; the Irish Presbyterian Church, and others. To these we must add the six Bible and Tract Societies of England and America. It is a most gratifying fact that, notwithstanding the numerous and sometimes bitter controversies which occur among Christians of the western world, their missionary messengers in the East Indies exhibit a very large amount of practical and efficient Christian union. While occupying stations apart from each other, and thus avoiding occasion of mutual interference with each other's plans, in numberless instances the labourers of different societies cultivate each other's acquaintance, and preach together to the heathen. Almost all use the same versions of the Bible; and the Christian tracts and books written by one missionary become the common property of all others. At Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the missionaries of all Societies are accustomed to meet monthly, for mutual conference and united prayer. In these meetings, all general questions relating to the more efficient conduct of missionary operations, to common difficulties and common success, are brought forward and discussed; while frequent occasions are furnished in private, for cultivating personal friendships of the closest kind. Of the exceeding value of such union, as well as of its duty, scarcely too high an estimate can be made. In a land so given up to all moral abominations, as India is, never could "the Prince of this world" obtain a greater victory over the preachers of the Cross, than by inducing them, on trivial grounds, to turn their arms against each other. And never can the agents of Christ's church so justly hope for a sure triumph, as when they obey their Master's command in striving, with common efforts, with undivided affection and united prayers, for the extension of His kingdom and the conversion of perishing souls. Let us hope that the "evangelical alliance" of Indian missionaries throughout this great continent, may become more close, more pure, more sincere, and more efficient every day; and that the few, who, in pride of sect, stand aloof from others, may lay aside their estrangement, and become *one* with their brethren and fellow labourers in the Lord's work! It is when men "see eye to eye" that the Lord has mercy upon Zion.

The Missionary agency, connected with the direct preaching of the gospel to young and old, is thus distributed :—

	Missionaries.	Native Preachers
In Bengal, Orissa and Assam	101	135
In the North-West Provinces	58	39
In the Madras Presidency	164	308
In the Bombay Presidency	37	11
In Ceylon	43	58
	403	551

The numerous bands of missionaries here mentioned constitutes more than one-fourth of the entire body of missionaries sent into all parts of the world, and furnishes a splendid proof of the deep interest which Indian Missions have aroused in the church of Christ. It must, of course, be supposed, that of the whole number, some were absent from their stations during the year, through ill-health: and we believe, that *twenty* were so situated. The number of missionaries, that died during 1850, was four. A careful examination of the different periods during which these missionaries have laboured in India, will at once explode a fallacy widely circulated among the friends of missions, in relation to the length of missionary service. It is generally believed that in this country, owing to the deadly climate, the average duration of missionary life is seven years ; and many have come out as missionaries under the idea, that they would be certain to meet with a premature death. But this is a great mistake. From a careful induction of the lives or services of two hundred and fifty missionaries, we have found, that hitherto the average duration of missionary labour in India has been sixteen years and nine months each. It was, doubtless, much less at first ; and numerous cases can be adduced, in which young missionaries were cut off after a very short term of labour. But a better knowledge of the climate and of the precautions to be used against it, the use of airy dwelling-houses and light dress, with other circumstances, have tended very much to reduce the influence of the climate and preserve health : so that the average duration of life and labour is improving every year. As an illustration of this fact, we may state, that out of the 147 missionaries labouring in India and Ceylon in 1830, fifty [we can give their names] are still labouring in health and usefulness ; while of the ninety-seven others, who have since died or retired, twenty laboured more than twenty years each. Several living missionaries have been in India more than thirty years. It is a remarkable fact, that the average missionary life of *forty-seven* of the Tranquebar missionaries, last century, was *twenty-two years each.*

The NATIVE PREACHERS associated with missionaries form, on the whole, a large body, though in each station they appear few in number. They constitute the best portion of the native church in India, and are engaged in the useful work of instructing their converted countrymen, or of preaching to those still in idolatry. Whilst missionaries rejoice in the co-operation of these native fellow-labourers, they are quite alive to the imperfections of their religious character, and their want of ability to carry on the work of missions by themselves. Some have attained to character of a high rank, and give much satisfaction by their consistency, their earnest zeal, and readiness to seek other's good : but the majority share in the weaknesses and defects of their fellow countrymen, and often give pain to their friends by the inconsistencies and follies, into which they occasionally fall.* Were the great body of native Christians better, some, who are now native preachers and have been appointed from the necessity of the case, would be set aside for others of a higher Christian character. Efforts are being made in all parts of India to train a superior class of preachers; and, if it be made a *sine qua non* in all missions, that native preachers shall be men of clearly manifested piety and of active intelligence, and that they shall receive a good education (especially in their own language) before they are appointed, we may hope to see the great body of teachers greatly improved in character and influence during the next thirty years. The rule to be adopted in choosing them is clearly stated in the Bible, and ought to be scrupulously observed:—"The things which thou hast learned among many witnesses, the same commit thou to *faithful* men, who shall be *able to teach* others also."

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* It is but fair to state that not a few of the better educated converts are young men of distinguished ability and exemplary life, and give promise of great future usefulness.—ED.

The various STATIONS occupied by missionaries throughout India are TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY in number. They are scattered very unevenly over the surface of this great continent, but form a pretty continuous chain throughout the three Presidencies and the island of Ceylon. They are thus distributed:—

Bengal, Orissa and Assam have	69
The North-West Provinces	24
Madras Presidency	113
Bombay Presidency	19
Ceylon	35

In the Bengal Presidency, they are situated chiefly in the larger towns that lie on the great rivers by which the country is intersected, as the Ganges, Hooghly, Jumna, Megna, and Brahmaputra. In that of Madras, they have been fixed in the towns between the hills and the sea, on both sides of the continent; and in Ceylon, along the sea-coast. A few mission stations are located in the salubrious climate of the hills. A slight glance at the map of India will shew how little these stations can effect for the thorough proclamation of the gospel in all parts of India: and how thoroughly insufficient the present amount of agency is for the grand object which it is intended to effect. It is true that the chief towns of the Presidencies, as is most just, are not ill supplied with missionaries. Calcutta, the metropolis, has twenty-nine missionaries, labouring at twelve different stations in the city; Benares has eleven; and Agra eight. In Madras there are twelve stations and twenty-five missionaries: in Bombay, four stations and thirteen missionaries; while Colombo has but two missionaries at two mission stations. Other stations have but two or three missionaries; and the majority only one each. Scattered throughout the country, there are whole districts, with numerous towns, villages, and a dense population, that never hear the word of God at all. The position occupied by Europeans in India proves that "the Lord hath surely called us to preach the gospel" to its idolatrous people; but the cry "Come over and help us" is in many places unheeded. Were missionaries to be thoroughly successful in their present spheres, they would have yet to acknowledge: "There remaineth much land to be possessed."

The NATIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES in India established by missionaries, now amount to THREE HUNDRED AND NINE. Some of these contain numerous members; but the great majority have but a few. It must be remembered, that the standard of admission into these little societies is not every where the same. Some missionaries admit members only upon good evidence of their conversion, arising from competent knowledge and consistency of Christian conduct. Others require merely a certain amount of knowledge in their communicants, and the absence of great inconsistencies. By some the communion of the Lord's Supper is considered a church privilege, to be enjoyed only by those who can appreciate it. By others it is counted a means of grace, which shall fit men for understanding its ends. The number of members admitted on the higher standard is *five thousand two hundred:* of those on the lower, *twelve thousand.* The care of these infant churches constitutes one of the missionary's hardest trials. While it is a matter of thankfulness and joy to see their members forsaking idolatry, seeking the true salvation, and attending regularly the means of grace, their defects, their backslidings and the grievous falls into sin which sometimes occur, prove how imperfect their character is, and give him many a bitter hour. It is scarcely just to look for any high general development of Christian excellence amidst the dense heathenism of India, and amidst a people as low in moral goodness as any in the earth. The evil may be accounted for; how to devise a remedy is more difficult. Careful pastoral superintendence and instruction, raising the standard of admission into the body of communicants and members, and the faithful administration of Scripture discipline, may, under the divine blessing, tend to the elevation of native Christians, and by degrees, diminish the evils which prevail among them.

Connected with the native churches, is a body of individuals, cut off entirely from the great communities of Hindus and Mussulmans. It includes not only the families of native Christians, but of many others, who have cast off the restraints of heathenism, and placed themselves under the influence of the gospel. Though but nominally Christian, they are all under regular Christian instruction ; the children especially are cared for in schools ; and, under the blessing of God, much good may be effected among them in the future. It only remains to state how they are distributed :—

	Churches.	Members.	Christians.
Bengal, Orissa and Assam ……	71	3.416	14,401
North Western Provinces ……	21	608	1,828
Madras Presidency …………	162	10,464	74.512
Bombay ………………………	12	223	554
Ceylon ………………………	43	2,645	11,859
	309	17,356	103,154

The labours of missionaries in the education of the young occupy an amount of time and attention, second only to those connected with the preaching to adults. The share which Education occupies in the great work of India's renovation, must, from its amount, greatly astonish, as well as gratify, all who are interested in that object. The school for boys are of three classes. VERNACULAR SCHOOLS have been established, chiefly, for the benefit of the heathen ; but are, in many localities, beneficial also to the children of native Christians. Of course, the Scriptures are taught in them all, either by a missionary or native preacher, or both. In the majority of these schools, the general education given is not of a high character ; consisting of reading, writing and the elements of general knowledge, in addition to Scripture instruction. In some, however, in North India, and in others among the large Christian congregations of South India and Ceylon, the education is of a very superior kind.

BOARDING SCHOOLS have, in many stations, been established upon missionaries' premises, for the benefit of orphans and the children of native Christians. Besides imparting a good vernacular education, they have the advantage of keeping their young charge away from the evil influences of private heathen life, and retaining them continually under the power of Christian example and discipline. Several of the boarding schools in South India and Ceylon, exhibit this extraordinary peculiarity, that *Hidu boys and young men reside on the mission premises and eat food there, without losing their caste.* Such a fact is utterly unheard of in North India, and shews, how different, in some of its practical details, the caste system of

South India is from that of other parts of Hindustan. The same is true also of Female Boarding schools.

THE ENGLISH Missionary schools are confined to those parts of the country, where a strong desire is felt for acquiring the English language. They are most numerous, and have the largest number of scholars, in and around Calcutta. In that city and its neighbourhood they amount to nine schools, or Institutions (as they are generally called), and contain more than *five thousand scholars*, of whom three hundred are young men, deserving the name of college students. The same desire for an English education, though to a smaller extent, we find in Benares, in Bombay and Madras; in which cities also most efficient missionary institutions have been established. In other parts of India, the scholars are comparatively few in number. The English Missionary Institutions occupy a sphere of usefulness peculiar to themselves. They convey Bible truth, in connection with a high degree of intellectual training, to the minds of lads and young men some of them belonging to the upper and wealthy ranks of Hindu society This class is left almost untouched, in many districts, by vernacular education, or vernacular preaching; but, through the English schools which they attend so eagerly, they receive the gospel as well as others. A great change has already been produced by means of these schools. Missionary schools are distributed throughout Hindustan, as follows:

	Vernacular day Schools.		Boarding Schools.		English Schools	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools	Boys.
Bengal, Orissa and Assam ...	127	6,369	21	761	22	6,054
N. W. Provinces	55	3,078	10	209	16	1,207
Madras Presidency	852	61,366	32	754	44	4,156
Bombay Presidency	65	3,848	4	64	9	984
Ceylon...	246	9,126	6	204	37	1,675
	1,345	83,787	73	1,992	128	14,076

FEMALE EDUCATION has occupied much of the attention and anxieties of missionaries; but such powerful hindrances lie in its way, as to have greatly crippled the efforts which they were desirous of making. Boarding schools for orphans and the daughters of native Christians have been most successful; many of the most intelligent and best-behaved of the native Christian women have there received their education. Many of the orphans, saved from desolating famines, or from the murderous Meria sacrifice, owe life and name to these Christian sanctuaries. But female day-schools have, in most parts of India, met with little encouragement. The habit of secluding females prevents the wealthy from attending them; and the early marriage of the scholars (at the age of eleven or twelve) takes away [illegible] attend, just when they are beginning to learn. [illegible] there are very few of these schools now; though [illegible] the[illegible] were most numerous, especially in Calcutta. In Madras, however, and in Bombay, they flourish much better [illegible] female schools are thus distributed:—

	Day Schools.		Boarding Schools.	
	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, &c.	26	690	28	836
N. W. Provinces	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency	222	6,929	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency	28	1,087	6	129
Ceylon	[illegible]	2,030	5	172
	354	11,549	91	2,446

A portion of missionary labour in India is employed in ENGLISH RELIGIOUS SERVICES, for the benefit of our European countrymen. Though this is not professedly the duty of a missionary, it is frequently beneficial to many, who would otherwise be deprived of the means of grace altogether. By maintaining such services, missionaries may 'save souls from death;' may remove hinderances to their work among the heathen, and raise up friends, who will aid them in carrying it on. The total number of such services regularly maintained is FIFTY-NINE; of which twenty-one are in the Bengal Presidency, seventeen in that of Madras, and twelve in that of Agra.

Lastly, the work of TRANSLATING the Word of God and of publishing Christian works in the various languages of India is another object, to which considerable missionary labour is devoted. There are in India eight Bible Societies in all, auxiliary to the two great Societies in England and America, and to those of the Baptist churches. During last year, they published 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages ; and distributed 185,400 copies. These Societies are endeavouring, in some parts of India, to supply every family with a portion of the word of God. There are also fifteen Tract Societies, who receive grants of money, paper and books from the English and American Societies, and are engaged in supplying works for native Christians, short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth for the heathen, and school books for missionary schools. These Societies help greatly to make the preaching and teaching of missionaries more effective, and to render their agency more lasting.

The total cost of all these missions, as we have already stated, including all items of expenditure, amounted in 1850, to ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS. The items included are, the salaries of missionaries, the expenses of missionary journeys, the expenses of native preachers of schools, and of the circulation of Christian books. Of the whole sum, £153,460 were drawn from Europe and America, and the munificent sum of £33,540 was contributed by Christians in this country. It is surely a remarkable fact, that while the East India Company, with an annual revenue of twenty millions, has expended so little for the physical improvement of their great empire, for roads and bridges, and the acceleration of safe and rapid communication, the Christians of Europe, America, and Hindustan, are found devoting, of their own accord, the sum of more than *eighteen lakhs of rupees* to the spiritual interests of the Hindus ; a sum not drawn from Government resources, but made up of the free-will offerings of Christians of all denominations.

Such is the amount, and such are the varieties of agency, employed at the close of the half century just past, for spreading Christianity among the people of India. Each kind of agency has long been in operation in the older localities ; and missionaries are seeking to render all efficient, wherever they are employed. Each, too, has met with the most gratifying results. The public preaching of the gospel in the bazars and markets, in private houses, and in the great assemblies of idolatrous pilgrims, has led many a Hindu to become the disciple of Christ, and has induced many more to doubt about the efficacy of their own religion. The instructions of day-schools have brought numerous young men to give up all for the gospel ; and the Christian influence of boarding schools has led those, who were Christian in name, to seek for conversion of heart. Through their means, Christian young men have come forward to teach their countrymen, and Christian women have maintained a consistent profession before many witnesses. The circulation of the Bible and of religious tracts has not only excited enquiry and given instruction, but has proved, in numerous individual cases, the direct means of converting the soul. And the continued preaching of the gospel and administration of the ordinances of the church have been the means of building up small bodies of native Christians, the nucleus of larger communities yet to be gathered. The approval of the Lord, in whose name the work is carried on, has rested upon all these branches ; and, amid many difficulties, has encouraged his servants to persevere.

But the question is often asked ; Does the number of native church members, and of natives under Christian instruction, exhibit such a result, as all the great labours of the past fifty years lead us to expect ? In other words, have missions been successful, or a comparative failure ? Missionaries and others interested in the conversion of India have often discussed the matter ; but different opinions have been entertained ; some considering that the results are fully equal to what might have been expected ; others thinking that, for some reason or other, they fall short of them. It is not difficult to perceive that these differing conclusions arise from the different expectations which their advocates had previously formed, from the kind of results looked for, as well as from the standard by which those expectations were measured. Before examining into the question, we must remember *first*, that a large portion of the missionary agency now employed has been in operation too short a time to allow us to judge definitely of its final fruits. Nearly two thirds of the missions existing in Hindustan have been established less than twenty years ; and several even less than ten. How could they have brought forth finished results within so short a time ? We must remember, also, the peculiar manner in which missions work on the country. An indigo planter or sugar manufacturer can soon tell whether the district he cultivates gives him a due return for his labour and for the expensive factories he has erected. A farmer can tell, after a complete season, the capabilities of his farm. But it is not so with missions. Human society is slower in changing its views, than is the physical world in bringing forth its fruits. In undertakings beset by great obstacles, as in railroads, vast labour is expended before the uses, to which they are designed, are effected in the smallest degree : and form any years after they have begun to succeed, the 'block,' the 'fixed capital' expended at first, is regarded as the source of present gain. Apart from the actual converts already gained (no mean number, however), we consider the 'block' of Indian missions one of the greatest results attained. A most valuable and effective agency has been prepared and set going; and long will it be before the results of labours, hitherto done, are exhausted and cease to flow. Of this we shall speak more fully hereafter. We will only mention a single fact here, to show the folly of too great haste in looking for the spiritual fruit of missions in India. In the beginning of the present century, the Rev. D. Palm was sent by the London Missionary Society to the province of Jaffna in Ceylon: but, after several years' labour, the mission was reported a failure, and it was abandoned. The missionaries of the American Board entered upon the abandoned station; and, on coming to Tillipally, the natives immediately brought to their notice a lad, who had been one of Mr. Palm's scholars. He became their *first* Tamul schoolmaster, was baptized in 1824, was licensed as a catechist, and died as such, after exhibiting for many years a consistent Christian deportment. "The fruit of six cocoanut trees near the mission-house, planted by Mr. Palm, and of which the American missionaries have eaten for thirty-five years, is but emblematical of the higher fruits they have gathered from the labours of one, whose mission was accounted a failure."

To form a sound and correct judgment on this matter, we must examine the missions in Hindustan by the measure of success, which has been granted to other missions in other ages and in other countries of the world. We must find cases parallel to our own in all their bearings, and judge of our results by theirs. To do this thoroughly would require an immense induction of a great variety of particulars, and would lead us away from the immediate object of this paper. We can only indicate therefore, in few words, the view we hold of this important subject. We cannot compare the modern missions in Hindustan with the establishment of Christianity among the Franks by Clovis; among the Saxons by Charlemagne, after a thirty-three year's war; among the Danes by Otho the Great; in Norway, by Olaus Trygvesen, or his successor Olaus the Saint; among the Sclavonians, by the Dukes of Saxony; among the Russians, by Vladimir; or in Prussia, by the Teutonic Knights. Most of these missions were missions of force, not of persuasion: they were carried on by warlike Governments with swords and spears; —not by believing men, who aimed to enlighten and convert. Neither can we compare them with the Spanish missions to Mexico and Brazil, or with the missions of the Portuguese and Dutch in this very country. Persecution, civil disabilities and fraud, are not the agents, which the saviour of men bade his followers employ in Christianizing the nations; and we have wisely given them up. We must, therefore, for a just comparison, fall back upon the early missionary success of the apostolic age, or look to modern missions in other lands. A glance at both will help to put our position in India in a clear light.

The missionary labours of the apostolic age were grand in their character, rapid in their operation, and gigantic in their results. But from what agencies did those results spring? We must look for them not merely from the day of Pentecost;—not merely from the time, when the preachers began to declare their gospel message of mercy. The work of preaching to be successful must have ready hearers, as well as zealous teachers: and although it was only from the day of Pentecost that men began to preach, yet the Providence of God had been preparing the minds of the hearers for more than three hundred years previously. For more than three hundred years, He had been moulding the nations, uniting them together, removing hindrances and creating facilities, for the conversion of the world: and it was not till "the fulness of time" was come; not till all the preparations were completed, that "God sent forth his Son." Without due attention to this important fact, we cannot correctly estimate the progress of Christianity on its first establishment. By the wars which took place during those centuries, old societies were broken up and old notions scattered; while the frequent intercourse of different nations with each other tended to expand the minds of all. The universal empire of Rome became the means of binding all those nations by one common authority under one common law: especially when accompanied by the great privilege of Roman citizenship. The wonderful spread of the Greek language, of Greek manners and Greek notions, tended to the same end. The different religions of the world were brought into contact, and their follies and mutual contradictions brought them all into contempt. Philosophy tried to fill up the void produced, but miserably failed: and the desire for religious truth being unsatisfied, led men to look for a special deliverer who was to enlighten all nations. The dispersion of the Jews also wonderfully aided the desired result. From the days of Shalmaneser, they went eastward; from the days of the Ptolemies, they went westward, until Syria, Asia-Minor, Greece, and Italy, were filled by their synagogues and their religious discussion. By their zeal for Judaism, they gained over thousands of proselytes, and so annoyed the old idolatrous parties, as to draw down on their head severe persecutions. Under these circumstances it was, that the pure gospel of Christ was preached, "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven," accompanied with the gift of tongues and the power of working miracles; and the influence of this grand and extensive preparation met with magnificent success. How differently placed is the work of missions in India at the present day! With the Apostles the preparations were completed: with us they have had to begin. With them old things had passed away; with us they exist still. They had but to reap: we have to sow. Who can wonder then that with few agents, in a foreign clime, and speaking foreign tongues, the work in Hindustan has fallen, and will continue to fall short of the splendid results which they attained?

Neither do we find an exact parallel between missions in India and the successful missions of modern days elsewhere. We cannot compare them with those in Greenland, or South Africa, or the West Indies, or among Brainerd's Indians, or in the South Sea islands. A mighty difference meets us at the very outset. The tribes in these localities were uncivilized in the last degree; while the Hindus have a civilization extending back more than three thousand years. Those were without a written language: these have thirteen polished languages, each with its own character, and an extensive literature in one of the oldest languages of the world, the Sanskrit. Those were debased and ignorant: while the Hindus are educated. In those, reason was undeveloped: in the Hindus it is perverted, and has become an enemy far more difficult to deal with. Those had but few gods and a small number of priests; these worship numerous principal deities, honoured by expensive festivals, by a daily ritual, and upheld by a powerful and exacting hierarchy. Those had fettered the natural ties of kindred and social union with no unnatural laws; but these have superadded to natural ties the stringent rules of *caste*, the breach of which renders the transgressor a vagabond and outcast. Even with all the facilities for the progress of truth among those tribes, years passed, in each instance, before great results were attained in the conversion of many souls. What delay, therefore, might we not expect in Hindustan, amid the numerous difficulties which its case presents?

The circumstances of our India missions seem to us altogether unique and peculiar. In its idolatries, India resembles other lands, it is true; but in its numerous ancient and venerated Shastras; in its lordly and powerful priesthood, the monopolists of its ancient learning; in its well-bound family-system; and above all, in its bonds of caste, it presents difficulties and obstructions to the progress of Christianity, such as it has not met before. Triumph it will over all these obstacles; it has begun to triumph already: but there may, there must be, delay, before the complete triumph is achieved; and when it does come, it will be one of the most signal and illustrious that the world has ever seen. The dam, which stands before the trickling rill, and leaves its tiny waters to fall in slender strings over its grassy ridge, shakes, quivers, falls before that rill, swollen to a mountain torrent, and pressing forward its pent-up waters. And thus is it with Christianity in this 'day of small things.' Caste may form a barrier to its passage; but the knowledge of the gospel is increasing and accumulating among the people whom the bonds of caste restrain. Already has it begun to shake, and its defenders, fearful of a crash, have rushed to its defence: but they cannot stay the weight and force of Christian truth. In due time their system must give way; and there will be a steady and continuous flow of Hindu families into the church of Christ.

We look, with some satisfaction, on the little band of native converts already gathered from among the people of India. They may be few in number; but they are proofs that the work of the church has not been carried on in vain. They are an earnest of the great results, at which missionaries aim, and which must ultimately follow. They may be few in number; but considering the difficulties that have been encountered and overcome, we need feel no surprise. Even in their fewness, we learn a fact most encouraging in relation to the future. It has been shown that the ratio of their increase is steadily progressing. A statistical paper, laid before the Missionary Conference in Calcutta a few years ago, shewed that in Lower Bengal, exclusive of Krishnaghur, the accessions of native converts to the Christian church had been made thus:—

From 1793 to 1802	27
„ 1803 to 1812	161
„ 1813 to 1822	403
„ 1823 to 1832	675
„ 1833 to 1842	1045
In 1843 and 1844, *two years*	485

With the increased agency now employed, and its greater efficiency, we may hope for results far higher and more numerous than these.

But the accession of native converts is but a small part of the results which missionary labour has secured in India and Ceylon. The wide and extensive preaching of the gospel; the spread of Christian knowledge; the infusion of Christian ideas into native minds; the preparation of an efficient system of agency, and of materials which that agency may employ; the acquisition of valuable experience, and similar results,—all find their use in smoothing the path of future labour and securing future and more rapid success. Such a result of past efforts has frequently been noticed by missionaries of long standing, who knew, from their own hard experience, what valuable helps are now provided for the missionaries of modern days. The following testimony of the Rev. W. Fyvie of Surat, given in 1847, on his departure for America, illustrates the case so clearly, that we quote it:—

"Persons arriving at Bombay now visit it under different "circumstances, from what it was twenty-five or thirty years "ago. When I landed on your shores, there was only one "church in Bombay, and one service on the Lord's Day, very "thinly attended indeed. There are now six places of public "worship on this island for divine service in English, and a "seventh is now building. Thirty or thirty-five years ago, "evangelical preaching was, I fear, but little known on this "island; but now the case is happily very different and has "long been so. Less than thirty-five years ago, there were no "Educational, Bible, Tract, or Missionary Societies here. Is "not the case now very different? Then one hardly knew where "to look for a decidedly pious person, for the worship of God in "families, and prayer meetings in public. In how many pious "families, in this place and at other stations, is the voice of "prayer and praise presented to God, morning and evening, "at the family altar: while weekly prayer-meetings are also "numerous. In viewing all that has been done among our "countrymen, have we no cause to say, 'what hath God "wrought!"

"Thirty years ago, if any native had wished to become ac-"quainted with Christianity, there was then no Bible, Tract, "or Christian book in Mahrathi or Gujurati, to put into his "hand. During the last twenty-five years, however, the Bible "has been translated and printed in both these languages, so "that the people can now read in their own tongues the won-"derful works of God. Tracts, discourses, prayers and cate-"chisms have been prepared and widely circulated, and are read "by thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land. "Some of the heathen at the different missionary stations have "believed the gospel-report; others, an increasing number, "are convinced of the truth of Christianity, but have not yet "sufficient moral courage to put on Christ, and to forsake all "for his name: some of the converts have become preachers "of the gospel. When I arrived in India, the American "brethren, Messrs. Hall and Newell, were labouring amidst "many discouragements to establish their first native school. "Now there are numerous schools at all the different missionary stations, and they might be greatly increased. When "I arrived, with the exception of the two American brethren "mentioned, there were no missionaries in the whole of Western "India. Since that time, the great Lord of the harvest has "thrust forth many labourers from Great Britain and Ireland, "America, and the Continent of Europe. Let us bless God "for this; and pray that they may be upheld, directed, comforted, sanctified, and their labours greatly blessed. No "doubt, but in due time, they, or their successors, shall reap "largely, if they faint not."

This interesting passage will apply to the whole of India, except the Serampore mission and a few stations in the Madras Presidency, which had been established previously to the time referred to: and it will suggest to the reader one class of results which missions have already produced. These results we shall now describe in detail.

In addition to the actual conversion of a goodly number of native Christians, missions in India, in preparing the way for far more numerous conversions hereafter, have spread a large amount of Christian knowledge throughout the country, and have produced deep impression upon the native mind, both in relation to the follies of Hinduism and the truth of the Bible. For many years missionaries have preached with steady perseverance in chapels, bazars and schools, in the neighbourhood of their stations. They have undertaken extensive preaching journeys over districts of the country seldom visited. They have distributed thousands of tracts and portions of the Word of God. They have held conversations, and not unfrequently long discussions with the disciples of Hinduism and of Muhammad in chapels and shops; by the way-side and in the thronged bazars; at the weekly markets, and in the great annual festivals. They have maintained thousands of schools, both in the vernacular and English languages; and thus have brought home the word to young and old.

After all this, is the country the same as it was fifty years ago? Far from it. The knowledge which they have spread, has sunk among the community, and is working, like leaven, in silence but with certainty. The Hindus have learned that their system is full of errors; that the science of their Shastras is contemptible and worthless; that their idol-worship is foolish and insulting to Him, who is a SPIRIT; that the characters ascribed in the Shastras to their many gods are full of vice and crime; that those Shastras are full of inconsistencies; that their worship is unworthy of reasonable beings, and their priesthood is grasping and ignorant. They have learned in contrast, that there is but one God; that He loves the souls of the sinful, and has sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. Many have been led to acknowledge that their system must decay, and Christianity surely triumph. Acknowledgments to this effect are made repeatedly in all parts of the country; and a conviction, more or less deep, that Christianity will destroy caste and idolatry, has entered thousands of minds. Temples are being allowed, to a great extent, to fall into decay, while the number of new ones erected is by no means large. In those parts, where missions have been carried on most extensively, a considerable falling off in the attendance at the great festivals is distinctly observable. The swinging festival, for instance, in Lower Bengal is very different from what it used to be. The number of idols sold at festivals is greatly diminished, and the offerings at the great temples are of far less value than they once were. A great change has taken place in the views and in the spirit of the people at large. Formerly they knew nothing of what true religion really is; but they have been enlightened on the nature of moral obligation, the duty of love to God, of love to men, and the nature and evil of sin. Missions have gone far, during the last fifty years, in developing a conscience amongst the natives, in whom it was in a deadly sleep. Is not this alone a great result? The Hindus, too, have begun to lay aside some of their old notions. The Brahmins are no longer so highly honoured; the clever Sudras thrust them aside from place and power without scruple; by far the greater increase of wealth and wisdom has been diffused among the latter. Thousands now approve of female education; and, in the great cities, the ladies of numerous families are being privately taught. Even the re-marriage of widows is discussed by the native papers, and its advantages fully acknowledged. A numerous body is coming forward in society, possessing far more enlightened notions than their fathers did; a body of men, who put little faith in the Shastras, and look upon the old pandits and teachers as ignorant bigots. The great contrast between these two parties shows how great a step has been made in the process of public enlightenment. The spirit, in which Bible truth is heard, has also greatly improved. Formerly, when a missionary preached, he was compelled to enter into disagreeable and apparently useless controversies; the same objections were brought forward again and again; and the discussion was frequently closed, with the practical application of broken pots, sand, dirt and cries of 'Hari bol!' But now, in all the older missionary stations and even beyond them, discussions seldom occur. The people come to the chapels, and often listen to the end: frequently acknowledging aloud the truth of what is said. What is even more singular, is that small companies have been found in various parts of the country, who have gathered a little collection of Christian books, and meet together to read and study them. These facts are full of encouragement from the proofs they furnish, that the word of God, though hidden, is not lost; but that like good seed, it *will* spring up and put forth, first the blade, then the ear; after that the full corn in the ear. Only let this word, so extensively known, be applied with power 'by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven,' and, at once, 'the little one will become a thousand, and the small one a great nation.'

These facts must not, however, be reckoned of more value than they are worth. Much has been done, it is true, to enlighten the Hindus, but infinitely more yet remains. Their ears are opening to listen to the gospel, and their minds are beginning to receive it, while an awakened conscience feels its power. In the neighbourhood of many stations, it is true, that many declare that Hinduism is false and Christianity true; but very few perceive the duty which arises from a fact so important. Truth and duty are, in their ideas, not necessarily connected. They do not yet possess the feeling that they need the physician, whose skill they acknowledge; and no where has any spirit of enquiry been aroused on an extensive scale. Missionaries have therefore to go on;—preaching and teaching still—preaching and teaching still. They can see that they are not labouring in vain, and that the word of God will not return to Him void. In confirmation of these views, we will quote the testimony of a missionary, who has laboured in Bengal for forty-five years, and mention two most extraordinary facts described in missionary reports. The Rev. W. Robinson of Dacca, after a missionary journey, says:—

> This little trip has fully convinced me of one important fact; viz, that the time for *preaching* is come. Go where you will, the people will hear. It was not always so; far, far otherwise was the state of things nearly forty years ago, when Chamberlain and I were together at Cutwa. Then the people used reproachfully to ask; "What is the use of all this labour? Nobody will hear you; no one will become a Christian." Chamberlain's reply usually was; "We are throwing a little fire into the jungle—burning the jungle to prepare the land for cvltivation" I think we may now boldly affirm, the jungle is burnt; the field is ready for cultivation. Our business is now to drive the gospel-plough through the length and breadth of India. But where are our labourers? Paihful thought! we have none. Here are whole districts without a labourer.

The avidity with which books are now received, is a marked feature in the present state of the Indian mission. Former periods of the mission were those of clearing and ploughing ; but now the time for sowing is come. Go and preach where you will, the people will hear you ; carry books where ever you please, and they will be most gladly accepted. Tell our good friends at home, that the sowing time is indeed come ; and that, if they wish to reap bountifully, they must sow bountifully. We want seed to sow :—books, books in quantities almost innumerable and we want men to sow the seed. It will be a sad blot on the churches in England, if, after the ground is thus prepared for the reception of the seed, that seed is not cast in abundantly.

The extraordinary facts, described in the following extract, took place during a fearful outbreak of cholera in Assam in 1847, and are described in a letter from one of the Assam missionaries :—

The ravages of this disease have been fearful among us. Some days there have been as many as eleven or twelve deaths ; one hundred and ten were swept off in twenty days, which is a very great mortality for so small a station as this. During this period of distress, we have seen some striking proofs of the diminished confidence, with which many of the natives regard their own religion. Several of them, in the hour of their extremity, have been found calling upon the name of Jesus Christ. Others have spent nearly all their time in making pújas ; and the temples near us have resounded day and night with their idolatrous songs. Soon after the disease broke out, the Brahmins and others of the better class, made a grand festival, and sacrificed a large number of goats, ducks, &c. At the close of their celebration, one of the Brahmins, who has been in my employ as pandit for the last two years, was called upon to make an extempore prayer to the deity, which he did in the presence of some thousands. Having a curiosity to know how a heathen would pray, I requested of him a copy of his prayer, which he readily gave me ; and was not a little surprised to find how nearly he had imitated the prayers which he has, from time to time, heard among the Christians. He had not once used the name of any of their gods, but had simply addressed God as the Supreme and Eternal ; in fact, if it had not been for the omission of the name of Christ, it would have been precisely such a prayer as a Christian might make. This, amongst a people like the Asamese, who consider that all religion consists in repeating the name of *Râm*—in whose Shastras it is declared again and again, that the word *Râm* is the centre and substance of all religious merit, and the only ground of salvation—appears somewhat extraordinary, and would seem to indicate that the native belief is undergoing an important change.

The last extract, we quote, is from the Rev. G. Würth of Hubli, on the borders of the Bombay Presidency, and not far from the district of Goa :—

When travelling last year in the southern parts of the Dharwar Collectorate, I met with a man, who told me that there was a Lingaite Swami, in a village called Maruli, who advised the people to throw away the Ligna, which they wear on their breast, and to put no confidence in their idols, but to believe in Christ. I was very much surprised to hear this ; and went one day to the village where the Swami resided. I did not, however, find him at home ; but, some of his disciples telling me that the Swami would be very glad to see me, I wrote him a letter, inviting him to come and pay me a visit. He very readily complied with my request, and came to the temple where I was, followed by many of his disciples (Lingaite priests), who carried with them a great number of books. Among these were the New Testament, Genesis, the Psalms, and the Prophets, all in Canarese. The Swami having taken his seat in the midst of his disciples, I thus addressed him: "You have, I see, many of our sacred books; you have read them; do you believe what is written in them?" He said, "Why should I keep them, if I did not believe their contents?" After I had spoken to him and his disciples about the necessity of receiving the remission of their sins through Jesus Christ, of whom all these books bear witness, and of confessing him openly before all men, the Swami said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God, and that the Holy Trinity, God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, is the only true God; and, though the people call me a madman, I shall not give up this my conviction." Then taking the Evidences of Christianity in Canarese, he read from it the article on the Divinity of Christ, to show me that he entirely approved of what was written there on the doctrine. He has formed a circle of disciples around him, who are to believe that of which their master is convinced. I was quite astonished to hear a Swami, of the Lingaites, speak in this way, who was never in close connection with a missionary. He had drawn his knowledge from Tracts, but especially from the Scriptures, which, in their divine simplicity, are the best teacher for everybody. He did not, it seems, till now seek the remission of his sins in Christ, but rather admired the sublime truths of the Christian religion. But I entertain a good hope, that the word of God, which has led him on so far, and which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, will, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, become to him, in this respect also, "a lamp unto his feet, and a light to his path."

Though missions have apparently accomplished little in most parts of India, in certain districts they have made most substantial progress. Three years ago, considerable religious enquiry was awakened in the neighbourhood of Barisal, to the east of Calcutta. A careful examination has shown that the enquiry was, in numerous instances, sincere and well based, and is even not yet come to an end. In a short space of time, 188 natives have been admitted to the Communion of the Lord's Supper, and 1,085 individuals been brought under Christian instruction. The great anxiety of these new Christians for further instruction, their willing obedience to church discipline, their patience under much oppression, and the continual accessions to their number, furnish evidence, that the work going on among them, is a really Christian work.

The religious movement in the Krishnaghur district is so well known, that we need but name it. The spirit of enquiry, in which it began, seems to have been sincere; but the famine of 1839 brought so many inferior motives into connection with it, as greatly to depreciate, if not to destroy, its usefulness. But as famines in India have, in no case but this, led to large accessions of natives to the Christian church, it must be allowed, that there was something peculiar to give it a religious direction. Be this as it may, by its means, 4,400 natives have been brought under Christian instruction, six missionary stations have been established among them, and churches, mission-houses, and schools erected. It is allowed, even by the friends of the mission, that the state of religion is low ; and that many old habits still remain among the people. But it is not all evil. One-half of the people regularly attend public worship ; and one-sixth is under daily instruction in the boarding schools. Faithful labour will do much, under the Lord's blessing, towards completing the work thus begun.

In the province of Jaffna, in Ceylon, several circumstances evince the deep impression made on the population by the American mission during the last thirty years :—not that the native Christians are very numerous, but they are intelligent and well educated. This mission has directed its efforts chiefly to education. Under the looser notions of caste prevalent in Ceylon, they have been able to instruct *heathen* boys and girls in boarding schools (a circumstance unheard of throughout North India) ; and, of the many hundreds trained by their Christian care, a very large proportion have made a public profession. An intense desire for education has spread through the province—for the education of females as well as males ; the whole district has been greatly enlightened, and a conviction established that Hinduism must be destroyed. So extraordinary is the desire for knowledge now prevalent, that when certain Hindus in Jaffna established a school in opposition to that of the missionaries, they were compelled *to introduce the Bible*, in order to keep their school open !

By far the greatest progress has been made in South India, in the provinces of Tinnevelly and Travancore. Missionary work has long been carried on in these districts, and the people are far more open to the gospel than other Hindus. In Travancore there is a native Government, and the Brahmins are both numerous and powerful. But the majority of the people, both there and in Tinnevelly, are not Hindus like those in Northern India. They are Shanars, a large body devoted especially to the cultivation of the palm-tree : and, whether immigrants, or a portion of the aborigines of the land, who have been enslaved by Brahmin conquerors, they still retain their original customs. They are all devil-worshippers, and worship the objects of their fear with horrible ceremonies and disgusting dances. They continually add to the number of their devils : and, singularly enough, in one district, *an Englishman was worshipped as such*, for many years. The offerings presented on his tomb, were *spirits and cigars!* The Shanars are said to be "the least intellectual people found in India." Their long servitude and oppression have debased them to a very low level: and, though a few are found to possess considerable ability, the majority are marked by apathy, indifference, ignorance and vice, and are unable to carry out a process of thought for any length of time. Their social bonds, such as those of parents to children, are feeble, and their social amusements few. But withal they are a docile and pliant people, and decidedly willing to improve. The causes, which led to such a rapid progress of Christianity among them, are readily discernible. Their religion sat very lightly on them; their caste is low; the religion of Europeans was, of course, looked upon with favour. In Travancore a special reason existed. Many years ago, General Munro procured an order from the Rani, that Christians should be exempted from work on their sabbath, and from employment in the Hindu festivals. These circumstances have contributed much towards the easy passage of so many converts from heathenism to Christianity. The whole number, now under instruction, we reckon to be 52,000. It must not, however, be supposed, that they are all true Christians. None know this better, or have spoken it more plainly, than the missionaries who instruct them. Yet had they only given up their abominable devil-worship, a great thing would have been accomplished. But they have done more. They have placed themselves under an evangelical ministry; they regularly attend public worship: more than 17,000 children and young people are daily instructed in Christian schools, some of whom are being educated as teachers, and others as preachers to their countrymen. Best of all, a goodly number have exhibited in their lives the fruits of conversion to God. A great improvement has taken place in this numerous body of Christian natives; a great desire is evinced for increased instruction; family prayer is not uncommon; the public services are well attended; and a large sum in the aggregate is annually contributed for Christian books and for the poor. The whole Shanar population, 120,000 in number, is open to missionaries; and, if Societies are faithful, and missionaries faithful, we may hope, in two or three generations, to see the whole of the southern provices of India entirely Christianized.

The wonderful progress of the American missions at Moulmein and Tavoy might well be described at length, even in a short sketch like ours. They are carried on in the territories of the East India Company, and enjoy the protection of its Government. But we have omitted them altogether from our enquiry, inasmuch as the races, whose conversion they seek, are generically different from those of Hindustan, and their languages entirely of another character. We will only add that the history of these missions from their commencement by Dr. Judson, including their apostolic success among the Karens, may well claim a notice of its own. Our American Baptist brethren have thrown nearly their whole energies into Burmah, and have reaped deserved success. We trust that they will give somewhat more of their zeal to the work of missions on the continent of Hindustan. Not only is there ample room for all the churches of Christ, but the country appeals to those churches, with the assurance that they can never sufficiently supply the labourers required. Our enterprising brethren, then, across the Atlantic, will find in India an open field, and be welcomed heartily into it, as honoured fellow labourers.

As another fruit of their labours, missionaries are able to point to a large number of individual converts, now dead, in whom the fruits of religion were decidedly evinced. They can show, not merely thousands of Christians under instruction, and a small band of professors, but native converts distinguished from their brethren by the peculiar consistency of their lives, and the triumphant hope which they enjoyed in death. There is no vague generality here ; no mere display of numbers ; no boast of thousands of nominal converts, who, on the first opportunity, relapse into their fathers' heathenism. We see the gospel received by individuals on their personal conviction of its truth. We see them adopting it willingly, professing it openly, bearing reproach for it with patience, and obeying its precepts. We see them purified by its law, strengthened by its motives, encouraged by its promises, holy in life, and happy in death. So frequent and so decided is this individuality in Indian missions, that one can scarcely open a Missionary Report without finding evidence of it. It is not confined to one Presidency only, but exists in all ; and proves that the Spirit of God is at work in them all. bringing forth the same fruit in all parts of the country—fruit the same as that which the church has borne in all places and in all time. The large number of converts, whose death or conversion is recorded in the history of Indian missions, enables us the better to point out those who have been distinguished above their brethren. Many there are, whose names are known, not only in India but in Europe. In the recently published "Oriental Christian Biography," we find nearly ONE HUNDRED such described. Among them, *Rajanaiken*, the active and devoted catechist of Tanjore ; *Abdul Massih*, Henry Martyn's convert, and a faithful missionary at Agra ; *Krishna Pál* and *Pitamber Singh*, the early converts of the Serampore mission ; *Hingham Misr*, the first convert at Monghyr ; *Ramji*, the first convert to the south of Calcutta, and his excellent son-in-law, *Radhanath ; Mahendra* and *Khailas*, the first catechists of the Free Church in Calcutta ; *Lakhan Das, Krupa Sindhu, Radha*, and many others, whose holy lives and happy deaths have cheered the hearts of the missionaries in Orissa ; *Samuel Flavel* of Bellary, the native ordained missionary of the London Missionary Society ; *Nyanamutto* of Tinnevelly ; *Christian Thomas* of Vizagapatam ; *Mohun Das* and *Tajkhan*, the pensioned sepoys of Chunar ; *Brindabun*, the disciple of Chamberlain ; *Gunganarayan Sil ; Narapat Singh*, who gave up his property that he might be a Christian ; —with many others, are conspicuous and well known. Others not so conspicuous, have enjoyed peace in death, and left to their sorrowing pastors the assured hope, that they have entered upon eternal life. A goodly number of the native converts, as we have shown, have been appointed preachers to their countrymen, and a few have been publicly ordained to the Christian ministry, in the same way as European missionaries. Many others have been appointed as readers, school teachers, and school-mistresses. Thus is the way being opened for making Christianity an indigenous religion ; and, though the beginnings are but small, they must not be forgotten or passed by in ingratitude and contempt.

But the pleasing results of missionary labour, in commencing or maintaining spiritual life in the heart, have not been confined to native society. From the first, the destitute condition of our own countrymen at many stations attracted the missionaries' eye ; and the fruit of their ministry among them has been seen both in the conversion of some, and the maintenance of true religion in others. *Mr. Robert Money* of Bombay ; *Captain Page* of Monghyr ; *Captain Paton* of Lucknow ; *Mr. Robert Cathcart* of Dharwar, and *Judge Dacre* of Madras ; *Donald Mitchell*, the infidel officer of Surat, and subsequently the first missionary of the Scottish Missionary Society ; *Mr. Casamajor*, the friend of the Mangalore mission ; *John Monckton Hay* of the Bengal Civil Service ; *Mr. Cleland*, the Calcutta barrister ; *Major Hovenden, Captain Mills* and *Lieut. St. John*, are but specimens of those, who readily acknowledged the lasting benefit, which missionary instruction and counsel had conferred upon them. Many now living, the friends and supporters of missions, we forbear to name. Numerous soldiers in the European regiments have had no other instructors than missionaries ; and great have been the benefits they have received. Missionary labour, too, has done a great deal towards raising the tone of European society from its thoroughly irreligious condition at the opening of the present century, to that which it now exhibits, after a lapse of fifty years. Then, there were but few churches and ministers of the gospel: now, both are numerous. In the Presidency of Bengal, for instance, there were but three chaplains and three churches. Now there are seventy churches for the use of Europeans, occupied by more than sixty episcopal chaplains and ministers, besides those we have already mentioned under the charge of missionaries. Then the attendants on public worship were but a handful: now every station has its worshippers. Drinking and gambling have greatly decreased, and marriage is honoured. Much, very much, of this is owing to the improvement of English society in England itself, which has been reflected upon this and other dependencies of the empire. But much, in all justice, must be attributed to the efforts of missionaries in the country, who, by their character, their spirit and their direct instructions, have aimed to advance the religious welfare of "their kindred according to the flesh."

Again, the LITERARY LABOURS of missionaries in India, have been by on means insignificant. Coming to a foreign land and to nations speaking a variety of polished languages, it has been their duty to adapt their instructions to the capacities of their hearers, to address them in their own way, and construct, *ab initio*, a system of agency, that shall directly apply Christian truth to the native mind. This object they have kept steadily in view. To missionaries the languages of India owe a great deal. They found the higher range of terms appropriated by the learned, and they have given them to the common people. They found many of the languages stiff; they have made them flexible. They have brought down the high language of the Brahmin; they have elevated the *patois* of the Sudra, and thus formed a middle tongue, capable of being used with ease and elegance by the best educated classes. The Tamul and Bengali languages have, especially, been formed and established in this manner. Missionaries have compiled more DICTIONARIES and GRAMMARS of the tongues of India than any other class of men. We have Bengali grammars by Drs. Carey and Yates; Bengali dictionaries, large and small, by Dr. Carey and Mr. Pearson, with volumes of dialogues. We have a Hindui dictionary by Mr. Thomson of Delhi; a Hindui grammar and dictionary by Mr. Adam of Benares; a Bengali dictionary by Mr. Morton; an Uriya grammar and dictionary by Dr. Sutton; a Hindustani dictionary by Mr. Brice; a Hindustani grammar by Dr. Yates, and Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries by Drs. Yates and Carey. We have Tamul grammars by Ziegenbalg and Rhenius; the Malayalim dictionary and grammar by Mr. Bailey of Cottayam; a Gujurati grammar by Mr. Clarkson of Baroda; and a Singhalese grammar by Mr. Chater of Colombo. Of other languages we are unable to speak, but doubt not that many such efforts have been made in them likewise.

Their great work, however, in this direction, has been THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, a work which ranks first in importance among the agencies employed for India's conversion. Besides the numerous Serampore versions, including thirty translations of the whole, or parts of the Bible into Indian tongues—and which, however good for a beginning, and however useful in powerfully directing attention to the greatness of the object, are acknowledged to be unfit for standard use—apart from the great products of these mighty minds, we have translations of the whole Bible into the following languages, carefully revised during the last twenty years. There are versions into Hindustani or Urdu, and Hindui ; into Bengali and Uriya ; into Tamul and Singhalese ; into Canarese and Malayalim ; into Mahrati and Gujurati. We have ten versions of the entire Bible—not first attempts by scholars at a distance, but the work of ripe years, by missionaries who were constantly in intercourse with the people for whom the versions were intended. The complete New Testament has been similarly revised and published in five languages ; *viz.* in Assamese, by the American missionaries ; in Telugu, with much of the Old Testament, at Vizagapatam ; in Tulava by the Mangalore missionaries ; and in the ancient languages of India, the Sanskrit and Pali. Besides these again, we have a gospel or two published in four languages, spoken by the barbarous hill tribes ; in Santal, Lepcha, Khassia, and the Tankari of Koteghur. Translations have also been commenced in the Punjabi. Thus are the civilized Hindus and Mussulmans of all India and Ceylon enabled to read, in their own tongues, the wonderful words of God, clearly and intelligibly set forth. The value of such a book who shall declare ? How many years of thoughtful labour are concentrated in this small library of Bibles ! How many millions of immortal minds will draw from it the streams of instruction, which shall convince the sinner, make the Christian grow in grace, comfort the sad, rebuke the backslider, warn all of hell, point all to heaven. Had missionaries done nothing else but prepare these excellent versions, incalculable good would have been effected. Apart from all good to the natives, they have lightened the labours of their successors, and given them an immediate entrance to their work, for which the first missionaries long sighed. This is an effect of past missionary labour which it will take a long time to develop fully. As an illustration, we quote a passage from the letter of a Ceylon missionary, on lately receiving Mr. Percival's beautiful translation of the Tamul Bible :

" For several years all the Tamul Scriptures, which I obtained, " were some half-a-dozen copies of the Serampore edition of " the New Testament, and one copy of the Tranquebar edition of " the Old Testament by Fabricius, the printing of which was so " bad as to be scarcely legible. What a pleasing contrast to " that state of things does our present supply of Tamul " Scriptures exhibit! Now we have the whole of the Old and " New Testaments beautifully printed and bound in one volume. " We have it also in parts of almost every form and size, suitable " for distribution among the people, and for the use of our " numerous schools."

The translation of the Bible constitutes but one portion of the results of missionary labour in the native languages. In all the languages above mentioned, missionaries have prepared a small library of Christian books, to explain and enforce the truths which the Bible teaches. In each of the chief languages, they have prepared from twenty to fifty tracts, suitable for Hindus and Mussulmans, exposing the errors of their system, and urging the claims of the Bible upon their attention. A few books and tracts also have been similarly published for the instruction of native Christians. In almost all these languages we find translations of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; the *Holy War*; *Doddridge's Rise and Progress*; and similar works. We have books on the Evidences of Christianity; on the doctrines and duties of the Bible; exposures of Hinduism and Muhammadanism; and in Tamul, an exposure of the errors of Popery. There is also a goodly collection of vernacular school books, Instructors, Readers, books of Bible history, and the like. Christian and Papist, Hindu and Mussulman, will find in every language of this land, useful instruction in the gospel of Christ: and the stores of knowledge thus opened are enlarging every year. A fresh impetus has been given to these efforts only recently, by the proceedings of the Calcutta Tract Society; the Madras Society has followed it up; and there is every probability of two very extensive Christian libraries being rapidly formed in the Tamul and Bengali languages, containing numerous standard works thoroughly adapted to the people who use them.

There is one circumstance, which greatly contributes to the production of these native works, and in connection with which Missionary Societies have not, perhaps, receive that meed of praise which is their due; we refer to the establishment of Mission Presses. At the present time there are no less than *twenty-five* printing establishments in connection with missionary stations in India: and it is from the facilities they furnish for producing tracts and books, as well as from the liberal donations of the English and American Bible and Tract Societies, that missionaries have been able to publish so much for the instruction of this country. Not only directly, but indirectly, have they promoted the extension of information throughout India. This example, and that of their countrymen engaged in the periodical press, have led the natives likewise to import presses for themselves; and at the present time, in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, there are no less than fifty-four presses belonging to natives, engaged in printing vernacular works or publishing newspapers and magazines. Of these, twenty-six are in Calcutta.

Missionary literature does not stop here. Indian missionaries have done much towards drawing the attention of the Christian world to the claims of Hindustan upon their sympathies and prayers. Many of our countrymen engaged in Government employ have described its scenery, its productions, its history, its resources, and the social life of the Europeans that reside within its borders. But to missionaries are we indebted for full accounts of the religious systems professed by its people; of their religious rites, their religious errors, and their social condition; of the character of their priesthood, their caste system, their debasing idolatry, the ignorance and vice which every where prevail, and the great difficulties in the way of the people's conversion. While but three or four such works describe the religious condition of China, or of the South Sea islands, or South Africa, or the West Indies, we can name at least thirty works written about India by missionaries, or containing the lives of missionaries who have died in the country. These works embody an immense amount of information respecting the natives of India, and fully illustrate the attempts which have been made to spread Christianity among them. Neither are these of an inferior kind, nor written by inferior men. They include works by the Serampore Missionaries; by Dr. Duff, and Dr. Wilson of Bombay; the works of Messrs. Weitbrecht, Long, Wilkinson, Buyers, Leupolt and Smith on Missions in the Presidency of Bengal: those of Messrs. Peggs, Sutton and Noyes on Orissa; those of Messrs. Campbell, Hoole, Hardey and Smith on the Missions of South India; and the admirable work of Mr. Arthur, published not long since. They include the Memoirs of Carey, Schwartz, and Rhenius, the 'Sketches' of Mr. Fox, and the 'Journals' of Henry Martyn. Shall we pause to describe the usefulness of these valuable contributions to the missionary literature of our missionary age?

Missionaries also maintain several English periodicals, descriptive of their work and its details. Of these two monthly periodicals, and one quarterly, are published at Madras; two at Bombay; and four in Calcutta. These have been most useful in recording the difficulties and encouragements of Indian missionary life, in developing the experience of friends, and meeting the calumnies of opponents. Two of them have existed twenty years, and contain a vast accumulation of useful information.

In connection with this subject, we must in justice refer to the speeches and writings of Indian missionaries when in Europe, and to the good they have done, in placing before the Church, the claims of missions in their proper light. Missionaries, when they return to their native country even on account of sickness, do not eat the bread of idleness. It is a well known fact that they are extensively engaged in travelling among the churches, imparting information, making appeals, fostering the missionary spirit, and as eye-witnesses, relating its results. To such journeys the churches owe a great deal of what they know concerning the heathen world. Many a Christian mother learns from a missionary's appeal to devote her sons to the good cause; and many a youth receives those impressions, which end in his own consecration to the salvation of the heathen. All the churches are enlightened, and the zeal, the liberality, the prayerfulness, of all are called forth afresh. England, Scotland, Germany and America have all benefitted in this way by the reports of the men whom they themselves had sent to the eastern world.

Let these literary agencies and literary products of missionary labour in India be taken in connection with other efforts in other departments of their work—and it will at once appear that great things have been accomplished and great hindrances removed. Demands are now speedily met, and wants readily supplied. How differently situated, therefore, is missionary work now from what it was at the commencement of the present century. When a missionary lands for the first time in this country, he no longer finds himself in the destitute circumstances, which awaited his first predecessors. There are books at his command to inform him of the country and the people to whom he has come, to describe their superstitions, and shew him how to meet them. He finds grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies to aid him in studying the native languages. He finds, in many places, Hindu students in missionary institutions, able at once to receive his Christian instructions, though delivered in his own language. He finds native chapels erected wherein he may preach; and finds the people prepared in spirit to understand his message ; he finds school-houses built, scholars gathered, and school-books, suited to his scholars, waiting for him ; he finds Christian tracts and translations of the Bible ready for distribution. His theological nomenclature is already settled, and he has only to learn it as fast as he can. He finds small societies of Christians already gathered, in which his halting efforts in the vernacular may be commenced, and to which converts may be introduced. He finds that a vast amount of secular work, in building houses, churches and schools, has been completed ; all the elements of an efficient agency have been prepared ; an agency suited to the country in every way, in language, and in thoughts, embodying the knowledge and experience of many men, who spent years of toil in acquiring them. The more this matter is studied, the more highly shall we value the past labours of Indian missionaries. If human agency must be employed ; and if efficiency in the agency is conducive to the speedy attainment of the contemplated results ; then it must be allowed that, in their literary and other labours, apart from actual conversions, missionaries have already completed much toward the object of their efforts, the regeneration of Hindustan. "Other men have laboured, and we are entering into their labours." We have been sent to reap ; let us remember those that sowed.

Missionaries, and the religious public, which supports them, have, during the past fifty years, exerted a great influence upon the Government, by inducing it to remove some of the most glaring abominations current throughout India. Dr. John of Tranquebar and Sir Fowell Buxton were the first, who brought before the Government of India and the British Parliament respectively, the dreadful practice of *Suttee*. Under the orders of Lord William Bentinck, that great Indian Governor, the Suttee disappeared ; and, when he left the country, the noble Lord declared that nothing in the course of his administration gave him so much pleasure in the review, as did the removal of that great evil. *Infanticide*, too, especially in Western India, has been greatly checked, although not perfectly exterminated. The *Human Sacrifices*, systematically offered in Goomsur, have been forbidden, and an agency has been established to save the unhappy victims, the Meriahs, by removing them from the district. *Thuggee* has been almost entirely put down, and an institution established at Jubbulpore for training the families of Thugs to various useful employments. *Slavery* has been abolished throughout the Company's territories ; though it still exists to a lamentable extent in Travancore. Some of the bonds which connected the Government with idolatry have been severed. And lastly, by the celebrated Act of last year, it has been declared, that all natives of India are free to hold their own conscientious opinions in religion, without fear of legal penalties. These improvements have been effected within the last twenty-five years ; and the result of the efforts made to secure them cannot but encourage those who strive to see other great evils checked, such as the Charak puja, Ghat murders, and the support of idolatry by the Government itself. To these subjects, over and over again, the attention of the Government and of the public has been called by missionaries ; and the direct and indirect effects of their disinterested advocacy of the claims of humanity cannot be too highly estimated.

These brief statements contain ample proof that missionary labour in Hindustan has been anything but unsuccessful. If the small number of native professors do not inspire entire confidence, or fall short of the high expectations which some had formed, on a survey of the amount of labour bestowed on the country, we think that a wider view of the results of missions, in not only converting a few, but in consolidating a powerful and widely-spread agency, must tend to excite the strongest hope in relation to the future. In the increased attention directed to India by the churches of Europe and America ; in the large number of missionaries located throughout its great districts and in its most influential towns ; in the complete establishment of many stations, including the erection of buildings wherein all varieties of labour are pursued ; in the numerous and useful translations of the Bible or New Testament : in the formation of a Christian library, suitable both for the conversion of Hindus and the enlightenment of converts ; in the successful study of the native languages and the formation of aids for future students ; in the faithful description of the superstitions and social evils prevailing throughout the country ; in the record of painful and long tried experience ; in the extensive improvement of European society ; in the removal of enormous evils from among the native community, and the public exhibition of the *fact*, that some parts of Hinduism are too monstrous to be allowed, and must be put down by law ; in the securing of liberty of conscience for all ; in the gathering of a native church, some of whose members have been distinguished by their Christian consistency and fidelity to the gospel ; in the substantial progress made in certain provinces of our Indian empire ; and in the deep and wide impression made upon native society by Christian truth, the loosening of the bonds of caste, the extension of knowledge and the enlightening of a sacred conscience;—in all these important results, we think that great things have been accomplished by our Indian missions, and that we have the most ample encouragement to carry out what we have begun. "Thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph!"

It should be remembered, that these results have not been secured without great efforts, without great difficulties, without many trials. Difficulties meet the gospel everywhere—difficulties arising from the sinfulness of the hearer, and from the human weakness of the preacher, in every country of the globe. But in India, there are special hindrances, and trials with special peculiarities, which help to retard the efficiency of the preacher, and the entrance of the word into the hearer's heart. These difficulties are not connected with physical privations: even the heat, which is so trying to health and patience, is borne by missionaries in common with thousands of their countrymen with aims far inferior to theirs. They arise from the great power of the superstitions of the country, of the ancient Shastras, of Brahminical rule and Sudra servitude; from the iron system of caste and family connection; from the ignorance of the people; from their great apathy and utter indifference to the subject of true religion; from their constant levity respecting sacred things; from their subtlety and cunning; from their total want of moral courage, and from their dependence upon others. The native churches add to these trials. Their small numbers; their imperfect character; their frequent faults; their want of earnest zeal; their dependence on their teachers; all try the faith and patience of the missionary, and hinder the swift progress of the gospel among the heathen. The worldliness and irreligion of Europeans also increase these difficulties. In past days, much more than at present, the immoral lives, the injustice, and the corruption of Europeans, put a great stumbling-block in the way of many well inclined to the gospel; and the evil, though much diminished, still exists. Again, with one or two honourable exceptions, we believe, the whole political press of India is either indifferent to missionary labour, or downright hostile to it. If occasionally a few encomiums appear upon the missionary character in general—encomiums which are intended to propitiate that powerful body, but are valued at just their proper worth—at other times gross misstatements and misrepresentations of their work are admitted without a word of comment; or principles are advocated, which cut away the very foundation on which missions rest, and declare them to be chimerical and vain. Happily, the missionary body has a press of its own, and contains some of the best writers in India. But surely a class of men, who, with all their deficiencies, have come to India solely for its good, and are spending £187,000 a year within the country for that end, may justly claim a better treatment than some have given them.

One difficulty in the way of their labours deserves special mention, both from its importance and extent; we mean the *support of idolatry* by the Government. There was a time when, through the extensive preaching of the gospel by the Tranquebar and Tanjore missionaries and other causes, the temples in the Madras Presidency began to be deserted and perceptibly to fall into decay. Then it was that the Government of Madras took them under its own protection, appointed the officiating priests, received the offerings, disbursed the expenses, publicly presented gifts, and restored new vigour to the dying system! Voluntarily, deliberately and knowingly the Government of Madras made itself trustee of the pagoda lands, for the perpetuation of that debasing idolatry, which the God of Heaven has determined to overthrow. In times of drought, the "Collector" ordered the Brahmins to pray to the gods for rain, and paid money for their expenses. European officers joined in salutes to the idols. Some, of their own accord, would make their obeisance: and others would ride in front of the cars, shouting with the multitude, "Hari Bol!" Villagers were summoned to draw the cars by order of the Collector, and were whipped by the native officials, if they refused. The temples were kept in repair by the Government; and the illuminations at the festivals were paid for from the treasury.

The same guilty course was adopted at the other Presidencies. In Ceylon, all the chief Buddhist priests were appointed by Government; and expenses for "*devil dancing*" continued at Kandy for seven days, were paid, as per voucher, "FOR HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE!" Again the Government of India, by one of its Regulations in 1810, recognises Hindu and Mussulman endowments as pious and charitable uses; places the superintendence of them in the hands of Christian officers, instead of leaving them, like all other trusts, solely to the parties interested; and, by this regulation and by the practices we have described, has established the closest connection between themselves and the shrines of abominable idolatry. These are a few facts illustrative of the Government connection with Hinduism: we are acquainted with many more, but find it impossible, in this sketch, to enter into detail. We will add only another fact on the subject of Muhammadanism.

We hear much from England of the endowment of Maynooth by the British legislature; yet that legislature consists partly of Romanists, and the fact of the endowment, though matter of sorrow, cannot altogether be viewed with surprise. But what shall be said of the Indian Government, calling itself Christian, and supporting a large church establishment, while at the same time, it supports the CALCUTTA MADRISSA—a college for the education of Muhammadans in their own creed? The privileges denied to the Bible, which is repudiated as a class-book from the Government schools, are allowed to the Koran; and that false and fanatical system is patronized, and its zealous proselyting priests are trained by our Christian rulers! The late Mr. Bethune, we believe, wished to change this system, and to make the college the means of conveying sound knowledge to the scholars. We fear, however, this purpose is not likely to be soon carried into effect. So long as the present system continues, shall we have obvious reason for finding fault with the position of the Government in relation to the false religions of India.

There are some who make excuses for this open violation of the law of God, who can find reasons for delaying the entire severance of the East India Company from this plague spot. But we are sure that every right-minded man, who looks at the simple fact of a Christian Government's lending the prestige of its name to the cause of Hinduism or of the false prophet, must condemn it as a crime. That the religious people of England so regard it has been shown in many ways. Their numerous remonstrances with the Court of Directors; their numerous petitions to Parliament; the declared assent of Her Majesty's ministers, and the stringent despatches of the Directors themselves, all agree in affirming that the Government connection with idolatry is a thing which *must* be put a stop to. Some features of the case have already been corrected: the Government of India has not been wholly averse to diminish the evils which it still cherishes. The pilgrim taxes at Allahabad and Gya have long been abolished, and the temples given back to the Brahmins. Oaths, in the name of Hindu idols, have been abolished. The attendance of European officers on idolatrous ceremonies has, at last, been dispensed with, and salutes in honour of the idols have ceased. The colonial office has given up the tooth of Budh, and determined "to separate the British Government from all active participation in the practices of heathen worship." The Court of Directors, in 1847, gave stringent orders, that the guardianship of the temples and mosques in the North-West Provinces, and the contributions paid to them, amounting to Rs. 1,10,000, should cease. But a great deal yet remains to be done. The temple of Jaganath still receives its Rs. 23,000 annually: and, to this day, the Residents at Nagpore and Baroda, the representatives of the Government, take a share in the heathen festivals. In the Madras Presidency, the evil continues to a fearful extent. Down to 1841, more than £400,000 a year passed through the hands of the Madras Government, in connection with heathen temples; and the annual profit was £17,000. Even after the receipt of the orders of the Court in 1841, Mr. Chamier, the secretary, in communicating these orders to the Board of Revenue, and informing them, that the withdrawal from the management of the pagodas is to be 'final and complete,' writes thus: "It is not, however, the desire of Government, that the revenue officers should relinquish the mangement of lands attached to religious institutions, which have been assumed for the purpose of securing the public revenue, or in order that protection may be furnished to the ryots.........*There is no intention of withholding any authorized and customary payments and allowances.*" To this day, therefore, the donations continue. To this day, the temple priests, the dancing women, and the idols' clothes are paid for by our rulers! With such orders from the Local Government, to *explain* the views of the Court of Directors, we can easily understand the following statement, in Sir Herbert Maddock's Minute in 1844, on the grant to Jaganath:*

"The temple of Jaganath is only ONE of INNUMERABLE HINDU TEMPLES, *the establishments and worship of which are partly maintained by money payments from the public treasury:* and it cannot be proposed to commute all these payments in a similar manner (*i. e.*, by an assignment on the land revenue), though there is no other reason for making Jaganath an exception, than such as arises from its greater celebrity and from the notoriety of the Government's late connexion with its management."

It must not be concealed that the complete truth on this important subject remains to be known by the public. We fear that even the Court of Directors themselves, are not thoroughly acquainted with the extent, to which they endow, or take in charge, the shrines of false religions. We require, therefore, first of all, a most thorough enquiry into the expenditure, in every zillah of our Indian Empire, on account of mosques, temples and priests, and shall never be content until it is made. The mere statement of the bare truth will, we are sure, both astonish the Government and lead to a sweeping reform.

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* In the Parliamentary Blue Book.

Apart from these definite results, obtained amid many difficulties, the missionary agents of the past fifty years in India have (as already stated) acquired a store of experience calculated to render their future operations more efficient and more successful. Even their failures and mistakes have not been in vain : and the experiments made have only tended to develop more clearly the character of the field they occupy. We purpose merely to mention one or two of the more important lessons, which experience has taught : though we should like to see the whole matter thoroughly examined by those, who have made themselves acquainted with the history of Indian missions.

1. Experience has shown that in endeavouring to meet a system like Hinduism, the Church of Christ may profitably employ a variety of plans. Amid the peculiarities of Hindu society, the preacher of the gospel has to reach rich and poor, young and old, male and female, Brahmin and Sudra, learned and rude : he has to set right all who have been led wrong. By preaching in the native languages he may reach the lower classes of the adult population : by good schools, both in English and the vernacular, he may reach the upper classes through their sons ; where circumstances allow, he may establish schools for respectable girls, as well as boys. All will profit by translations of the Bible : all will profit by Christian books. And so long as preachers are few, while the greater part of their labour is spent on a special locality, a portion of it may be applied by itinerancy to the general district around. The missionary's object is one : his plans may be many. We think that those therefore err, who would confine all labours to a fixed routine, to be applied in all places and among all classes. Experience has proved the value of all the plans hitherto employed. All have been blessed both to the conversion of individuals, and the general spread of Christian truth. We may specially observe that the new system of English education, which long suffered so much obloquy, has been proved to be a valuable agent in carrying out missionary ends in a sphere peculiar to itself. Our plans are not antagonists : they are coagents. " We saw one casting out devils," said the disciples, " and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us." But the master replied, " Forbid him not : for he that is not against us, is on our part." It is only required that every plan should be wisely applied to the persons and the places for which it is suited. That is the very condition of its success.

2. Experience has shown that in the present paucity of

labourers, the large cities and towns of Hindustan are the best mission stations. The same fact has been true in all ages. Great cities contain the most active and intelligent portion of a people, while agriculture has almost always been associated with ignorance and sloth. It is cities that rule the world : and through cities is the world to be converted. It was so in the beginning of the gospel. Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth were the cities in which Paul opened his commission. Jerusalem and Cæsarea had their churches : so also had Rome and Alexandria. It was while Paul tarried at Ephesus ' for the space of two years,' that ' all they which dwelt in (Roman) Asia, heard the word of the Lord. It was from the church of Thessalonica, too, that the word of the Lord ' sounded out in Macedonia and Achaia.' The word *pagani* ' villagers,' came at length to denote ' heathen ;' because, among the villagers the idol system lingered last. It was the same during the Reformation, and is true in India. In those districts where the deepest impression has been made, that impression has been produced through the medium of the towns. Towns give the largest audiences and the most intelligent scholars. If we would lay a good foundation for the conversion of all India, the great cities must be occupied ; and every available plan set to work therein, systematically and steadily for the end in view. Missions to the hill tribes are greatly in favour with some Christians. They argue, that as the hill tribes have no caste and no antiquated religious system, they are the more likely to receive the gospel freely and at once. True : but the hill tribes have no more influence upon India generally than the South Sea islanders. When you have converted them all, you have not gained one step towards the overthrow of Hinduism. Their individual souls are precious, and missions among them must do good. But we want more than this. We want to make every individual conversion tell on the country at large : but that must be among the Hindus or Mussulmans, who constitute the great bulk of the ruling population. The stir that is made in Calcutta or Madras, when a few Brahmins become converts, shews how deadly the blow struck at Hinduism is felt to be.

3 Every mission in order to be efficient, in the way we have described, should contain a plurality of labourers. The scattering of missionaries, in isolated spots, has done great injury in past days. Missions need to be concentrated in well chosen localities. It may seem that more is effected when three missionaries occupy three single stations, than when they act conjointly in one. But experience has proved the contrary. Apart from

the advantage of mutual counsel and companionship, the very combination of efforts gives new power. The sickness and death of single-handed missionaries has frequently interrupted operations in a particular station; and, in many cases, caused the station to be altogether abandoned. More than *forty* stations have been thus given up at various times; and almost all the labour and expense bestowed upon them has been thrown away. We need point to only one or two recent instances: Delhi, after having been occupied for twenty-five years, has, since the death of Mr. Thompson, been entirely given up. The Baptist missions at Allahabad and Patna have also been closed after many years of labour. Midnapore has been occupied by single missionaries three times, and three times been abandoned. Kurnal, Mírut, Bareilly, and other stations, were long since given up by the Church Missionary Society; and only Mírut has been re-occupied. Many other cases might be cited in South India. The principle of Dr. Chalmer's *local system* is peculiarly needed in Hindustan. It is; that to accomplish a great work, we should *commence on a small scale, in a sphere that is perfectly under our control;* that we should labour there *till it is accomplished;* and *push outwards, as our strength increases.* Better a few mission stations, efficient, and steadily maintained, than many imperfectly carried on for years and finally given up. It seems to us, that all chief stations should have three or more missionaries, and never less than two. Rarely will it occur that there are too many missionaries in one place. So great is the work to be done, that none can be considered supernumerary.

Provided with such complete materials for an efficient agency, missionaries, we think, with few exceptions, ought now to give their whole care to the direct work before them. The preparation of agency, however efficient, is but indirect labour, after all. The translation of the Bible and the publication of Christian tracts are only means to an end. They only furnish facilities for getting at the native mind, and for making upon it a lasting impression. That impression remains to be made. When the best translation has been prepared, it must still be circulated. When the best school-books have been written, they must be explained. When the best tracts have been published, they must find readers, ere they serve the end for which they have been composed.

This explanation, this direct *application* of truth to the mind, is the work of the preacher and teacher of the young; and, however excellent be the agents who prepare these materials, the latter class are essentially needed to complete the work of the former. During the present century, an immense amount of labour has been spent on the indirect branches of missionary work : and though, with the increase of inferior aids, more labour has been expended on its direct branches, yet that labour is neither so complete, nor so decided, as to render a word of caution respecting it unnecessary. It seems to us, that the external facilities to missionary labour are so great, the literary aids so numerous and efficient, the native mind so impressed, as to call for the most strenuous exertions in applying divine truth directly to the hearts of the Hindus. The time, we think, is come, when missionaries should give their best energies, their best men, and the largest amount of their efforts, to the two great works of preaching to the old and teaching the young. These are not the easiest branches of their labour, but they constitute the end, for which others are carried on. We wish that all missionaries, with the exception of a few, peculiarly fitted to amend our Christian literature, should give themselves to the word of God and prayer. Young missionaries, especially, may well endeavour to learn the native languages at once ; and preach and get experience in native modes of thought. Thus they will be well fitted, after a few years, to employ leisure hours from more active labour in adding to the existing agency or amending its defects. Their efforts will be of the most useful kind, never dissipated nor ill-applied. This will be the best use of their predecessors' hard earned experience, and will save them from the disappointments which they had to bear. This is the true influence of the division of labour in science, or in commerce : and the law holds good, when applied to missions. But, though the principle is obvious, it has not always been acted on. Rhenius declares, that he began to edit a new edition of the Tamul Bible, before he had been in Madras *one year and-a-half!* Other missionaries have confessed to similar folly, and warned their successors against it. May they be wise in time, and, whether old or young, endeavour to *use up* the materials provided for their use, in facilitating that intercourse with the heathen, which is their primary object in coming to this land.

The principle, which we advocate, will apply to the subjects of missionaries' preaching, as well as to their plans. Now that the contentious spirit of their hearers has been silenced, they need to be instructed. Now that they have learned so much of the follies of Hinduism, they need to be told more fully the truths of the gospel. If they doubt about their false gods, how earnestly should they be pointed to the only true Saviour. Has not the time come in many localities, when missionaries should endeavour to direct their hearers more thoroughly and more constantly to the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world? They have long required to have their eyes opened to the follies of idolatry, the character of their gods, and the inconsistencies of their Shastras. The circumstances of the case compelled missionaries to point out these evils at length, and to hold discussions with their hearers concerning them. Now let us lift the CROSS higher; let us preach Jesus, the only physician, the only refuge for a dying world: and let us *live* him more fully; believing that the deepest piety is, in every church, both the means and the guarantee of the widest usefulness.

5. Another lesson of experience bears on the character of the men, most suited to be Indian missionaries. In some countries, artizans have been found exceedingly useful in instructing converts, and in making missions self-supporting. India, however, is not the country for such labourers. Two experiments, at least, have been made on a considerable scale with self-supporting agents, and have completely failed. The country, the climate, the state of Hindu society, and the low rate of wages, are all opposed to the success of this scheme, as a remunerative one. India wants missionaries, whose whole time and energy shall be spent on their direct work as preachers of the gospel. The money needed for their support, can be far better produced in Europe, or contributed by Christians here, than made in the country itself. An attentive consideration of the peculiar difficulties placed in the way of Indian missions; of the duties to be discharged, and the circumstances under wihch they must be carried on; of the acquaintance that must be made with the language, the manners and notions of the people, with their religion in all its ramifications, and with the subtile objections they make to Christian truth; of the peculiar trials to which missionaries are subjected, and of the faith, patience and prudence, needed to meet them;—will clearly show the distinctive features of that character, which is best suited to the effective prosecution of Indian missionary work. To meet the climate safely, a missionary should possess a sound constitution. To meet the people and their circumstances, we require men of intelligence and education, men able to master languages, and by largeness of mind, to appreciate modes of thinking different from their own. In regard to the spiritual deadness of the land, we need men of well-established piety, of tried patience, and firm faith. In regard to the weakness of the native churches, and their want of bright examples of Christian conduct, we need men, who, by their superior character, will mould their people, and stamp

them with a high order of excellence. We have no common country to deal with, no common people, and no common religion. In India, therefore, the highest scholarship and the deepest piety will find ample scope for all that they can accomplish.

6. Experience has taught economy, both respecting missionary life and missionary funds. It has taught how, by care and watchfulness, by airy houses, light dress, and avoiding exposure, missionary life and health may, under great disadvantages, be greatly preserved. The climate tries them greatly, as it does all Europeans. The scorching days and sleepless nights encourage peculiar and deadly diseases. But it is the mental anxiety—the round of pressing labour which allows no sabbath rest—that tell most on missionary strength. Yet, even with these disadvantages, their general health has decidedly improved. The number of missionaries, who die or remove annually from the country, is not so large in proportion as it used to be. We have already shewn that the average duration of missionary life and labour in India amounts to *nearly seventeen years*, and is decidedly on the increase.

Our expenditure also has been economized. Missionaries have shared, with their countrymen, in the reduced value of European goods, and their printing presses, especially, are able to work cheaper now than formerly. In general, European and American Societies furnish the salaries of missionaries and catechists; other expenses are provided from local funds. We must, however, mention here (and we wish that the fact could reach the proper parties) that some Societies sustain their missionaries on a starvation-allowance. Numerous missionaries in India receive *less than a hundred and fifty rupees* a month; and some, little more than *one hundred.* This is economy at the wrong end, for it reduces the efficiency of those, who must actually perform the labour. But none can say that missionary funds are extravagantly expended in any way. We have already pointed out, that the whole agency of India and Ceylon, including the support of four hundred and three missionaries, and the instruction of one hundred and thirteen thousand children, costs only £187,000 per annum. Of this sum, the cost of all the agency in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra, including the support of one hundred and fifty-nine missionaries, amounts to £68,000. This latter sum is not quite equal to two items only of the Government expenditure; *viz.*, the salary of the Governor-General (£24,000) and his travelling expenses (£45,000).

7. We might mention other lessons, taught by hard-earned

experience—all calculated to increase the usefulness of our great work in India: but we must leave them unsaid. We cannot refrain, however, from uttering a single word in relation to efforts among the heathen. In some stations, pastoral work begins to occupy so much attention as to draw off the attention of missionaries from the idolators at their doors. But this should not be. The missionary work must still maintain its aggressive character. Even Tinnevelly, Travancore and Krishnaghur should be occupied, only upon the plan of Dr. Chalmers above referred to. They should be made centres of Christian influence, whence the gospel may spread farther and more effectually. From them both missionaries and catechists may itinerate in favourable seasons; and the Hindus be brought still under the invitations of the gospel. The variety in his work will be a benefit to the missionary; and new converts will be brought into the church.

Have Indian missions then been a failure? Irreligion and fear prophesied in former days that they would be. They prophesied that the Hindus would never be converted, and that the attempt to Christianize them would lead to rebellion. Such notions have long been exploded. Looking at the number of actual converts and the still larger numbers under regular Christian instruction; looking to the character of many, who have died in the faith of the gospel; looking to the vast amount of efficient agency now at work; looking to the deep and wide impression made upon the native mind at large; looking to the improvement in European society: looking to the removal of several of the most striking evils once prevalent in the land; looking to the large and valuable experience acquired by past labours, and to the preparation made by those labours for future success;—we must allow that missions have accomplished MUCH, during the short period in which they have been efficiently carried on. "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." The camp has been planted and the position of the Christian army made good. The battle has begun; and the various bodies of troops have had their several positions assigned to them. The translators, with their heavy batteries of Bible truth; the tract writers, with their light field guns; the active cavalry of itinerators; the preaching battalions of foot, and the little band of Christian sepoys, are all engaged in subduing this vast continent, to "the obedience of Christ." If the work be carried on, what *must* be the end? "The LORD gave the word: great is the company of the preachers." Shall not "kings of armies flee apace; while they that tarry at home, divide the spoil" and share the joy of victory?

Every thing calls upon the churches of Christ, both in Europe and America, to complete what they have begun. The claims of India upon their sympathies, efforts and prayers, are becoming stronger every day: and, the more they are appreciated, the more will our great missionary work be prosecuted with earnestness and vigour. In support of those claims, we may appeal to the vast population which India contains, reckoned as at least one hundred and thirty millions, and by some, as two hundred millions. We may appeal to the vast extent of this great continent, its many nations, and its resources for promoting human comfort. We may appeal to its great influence in Asia in general, and to the fact, that as it spread its Buddhism over China, Thibet and Burmah, it must, as a Christian country, be mainly instrumental in bringing those and other countries under the power of the gospel. We may appeal to the Providence of God, which has made the whole country accessible in the fullest degree to missionary labour, under the security and protection afforded by the English Government:—a fact, which, contrasted with the position of China, Madagascar, Persia, Tahiti, and even Kaffirland, must shew the immeasurable superiority of the advantages we possess. We may appeal to the debt which England owes to India, for the commerce it has originated, the support it gives to thousands of our countrymen, and the profits of its merchandise; to an annual gain reckoned at eight millions sterling in value; and to the political consequence attached to the Indian empire. We may appeal to the many and powerful religious systems of the country; to its Hinduism, Muhammadanism and Buddhism: to its ancient Shastras and powerful priesthood; its system of caste, and the degradation of its women. We may appeal to the labour already spent, and to the success with which it has been followed. Some of these motives exist only in India. What other country has them all combined? Separately they are unanswerable: united, who can resist them? But *one* Macedonian called upon Paul to bring the gospel across the Hellespont. Millions of men appeal to *our* sympathies, and with far greater earnestness and with far deeper reason, cry "Come over and help us."

The present missionary force in India is utterly insufficient for the completion of the grand object in our view. New efforts, therefore, in Europe and America; new efforts in England, Scotland and Ireland; new sacrifices, new gifts, new self-denial alone will avail to secure the men and the money which our agency requires. It is true, that missionaries in India are many in one sense. They constitute nearly one-third of the entire missionary body throughout the world. They are many, as compared with none: but as regards sufficiency, their numbers are quite inadequate. Neither are they many, as regards the proportion of labourers to the people to be evangelized. The Sandwich Islands, with 80,000 inhabitants, have thirty-one missionaries. The Navigator's Islands, with a population of 160,000, have fifteen missionaries to instruct them. New Zealand, with 100,000, has forty. The population of the South Sea Islands under instruction is 800,000, and is taught by 120 missionaries. In the West Indies, there are not less then *three hundred and fifty* missionaries to instruct a population of *two millions and a half.* More than seventy missionaries are crowded into the "five ports" of China and the Island of Hong Kong. But in India, for 130 (or as some say 200) millions of people, we have but four hundred and three missionaries. Whole provinces, and large towns with thousands of inhabitants, are wholly uninstructed. In Bengal and Behar it has been reckoned that eighteen millions never hear the gospel. Within fifty miles of Calcutta, there are towns and villages with 30,000, 20,000, and 10,000 inhabitants, that never saw a missionary till the present year; and were so unknown, that no map accurately described their position and size. Delhi, with 150,000 people, much more populous than New Zealand, has no missionary at all. Midnapore, with 70,000, has none. Azimghur, Bareilly, Purnea, Mymensing, and hundreds of other important towns and districts, have none at all. Excepting two missionaries at Lahore and one in Sindh, the Punjab, Sindh, the Bhawalpore states, all Rajputana, all Oudh, Bundelkhund, the Nerbudda valley, and the great state of Hyderabad, have no missionaries whatever. Even Agra, the chief seat of the North-West Provinces, has but eight missionaries, of whom one is absent; and Benares, the "holy city," with a permanent population of 300,000, has but eleven. The two towns of Saugor and Dacca alone, contain a population *equal to that of all the Malay-peopled Islands of the South Seas* put together. In those islands *one hundred and twenty* missionaries are labouring: while in the former two cities, there are but *five!* In the whole Presidency of Agra, containing numerous large towns, and peopled with the finest races in India, there are only *as many missionaries (57), as are engaged in the small Negro settlements on the West Coast of Africa.* These things are seen in India; in India, under an English Government: in India, opened to the gospel; in India, white to the harvest. Has the church given to it its proper share of agency? Grand efforts are made to open doors that are closed; while doors wide open are neglected! Oh! for more of the spirit of Him, who "had compassion upon the multitudes when He saw them as sheep without a shepherd."

INDIA IN THE CLASSICS.

By GORGE SMITH, LL. D.

Megasthenis Indica. Fragmenta collegit; commentationem et indices addidit E. A. SCHWANBECK ; DR. PHIL. BONNAE, MDCCCXLVI.

WE have in this work another of the many instances that the press is daily giving us of German learning, as distinguished from scholarship; and of the fact that India is better known and understood, or at least is more studied and enquired into, by the Germans, than by ourselves who are its rulers. Thoroughly practical in mental tendencies, and with a desire to be still more so that the country may be successfully civilised and governed, the English have gone to the opposite extreme, and too much neglected, throughout almost the whole of their past connexion with the country, a *con amore* study of the habits and necessities, and beliefs and languages of its pepole, with a view to their harmonious government and gradual elevation. While it is well, in the present state of the country, that men who are in places of power and importance should act rather than study, and be manly, common-sense governors instead of apathetic and learned book-worms, it is not well that a stratum of foreign influence should be superinduced on the various layers of native society, ignorant of all their tastes and beliefs, and unable to bend or accommodate Western prejudices and errors to Eastern habits and tendencies. The too great disregard of oriental learning and scholarship among the English in India augurs badly for the permanence or harmony of our future rule. We trust that the day is coming, when it will not be the reproach of our nation in Continental Europe, that, conquer as we may, we cannot bind our conquests to ourselves, and that we fail as statesmen and rulers, from a wilful ignorance of those whom we govern ; that Oriental learning has taken refuge in despair in the dreaming dulness of some German University, where she is wooed by book-worms and not men. It is sad to think that we play the part of the old Roman, receiving our oriental literature and scholarship from Hellenic Teutons ;—knights of the sword, but not of the pen.

Dr. Schwanbeck, feeling, that on the one hand, almost no part of Greek literature has been so much neglected by the learned as that relating to India, and on the other, that much more information may be extracted from Greek writers as to the early history of India than has hitherto been done, or is generally supposed, sets himself to the task of collecting from all quarters fragments of the work of Megasthenes. From him the most accurate information may be derived, and his work was in fact the source of most of the statements that we find in such approved writers as Arrian and Curtius. At the same time he considers the whole subject of 'India as known to the Ancients' generally, and estimates, with some degree of critical skill and sagacity, the value of the information conveyed by the writers who have touched upon India in their works. His preface thus begins :—

> "Nulla fere pars est litterarum Graecarum, cuius cognitio magis a viris doctis sit neglecta, quam quae pertinet ad descriptionem terrarum gentiumque Graecis ignotarum, quae quo magis erant Graecis alienae, eo minus tempore recentiore sunt pertractatae: cuius rei exempla sat multa reperiet, qui in Graecarum litterarum historiis numerum non exiguum talium scriptorum percensere velit, quorum quidem notitia aut prorsus nulla praebetur, aut certe talis, ex qua certi vel ampli nihil fere redundet."

The work is divided into two parts. The first contains, by way of introduction to a commentary on the 'Indica' of Megasthenes, a treatise on the knowledge of India which the Greeks possessed previous to his time, on the amount of confidence that may be placed in him, and his consequent authority and value, and on those writers who wrote about India after him, coming down so far as to the name of Albertus Magnus. The second part takes up in detail the fragments of the Indica, accompanied in all cases by references to the authors from whom they are taken, and generally headed by titles which at once shew the nature and contents of each fragment. The whole is accompanied by notes, either written by the editor himself, in which he weighs the value of the statements in the text, and compares them with those in other works or the remarks of other critics: or taken from great Oriental scholars, such as Schlegel and Lassen. The book is concluded by three carefully prepared Indicas, the first of writers in whose works fragments of the Indica are found, the second Geographical, and the third an Index Rerum Memorabilium. The work is most creditable to the author, and a valuable addition to the literature of Indian subjects. It is well worthy the attention of the classical scholar, and with reference to the early history of India, will be found invaluable.

We do not, however, propose to tread in Dr. Schwanbeck's footsteps, or go over the same ground that he has taken up. We intend rather to gossip for a little on the classical legends regarding India, and the men from whom the ancients derived their knowledge of it, and in whose works accounts of it are found; leaving the far higher and more critical subject of the value of their statements, the sources whence they were derived, and the light that they throw on the dark obscurity of early Indian history, for future consideration. If once we have a slight knowledge of these authors and the works that they wrote, we shall have a basis on which to go, in considering the more important questions.

What did the ancients think of India? Could we so far "subjectify" ourselves as to enter into the spirit of the old republics, what should we find to be their feelings and beliefs as to this orient of ours? The interest in a distant country is not always proportioned to the knowledge that is abroad concerning it. If the popular mind can get but one tangible fact on which to fasten, a fact fitting into their nature, and meeting their selfish wants, then will it form the ground of an instinct of curiosity and desire. The history of the "India Question" from the days of the traditions as to the ants and gold incorporated by Herodotus in his books, from those of Alexander the Great, whose soldiers returned with most exaggerated accounts, to the present time, has been a most curious one. Based as these traditions were on mendacious reports or total ignorance, India had a fascination for the people of the middle ages, and formed a lure to lead them to the noblest discoveries and the most splendid expeditions. India and its gold were at the bottom of their most extensive plans of discovery and adventure, and no efforts were thought too great, no expenditure too lavish, if it could only be reached. Till a very recent period, even after there were few families in Britain that had not sent forth a member to fight or to write in India, this continued: and only the magnitude of the empire, the immense interests at stake, and the position of the Central Asia question in European politics, have at last roused even the most intelligent and interested classes to accuracy of knowledge regarding it.

From the days of Herdotus to the present time India has thus assumed very much the appearance of a myth. Based as men's knowledge was on some few distinct and correct facts, every new expedition, every fresh return of an Asiatic army, added to it until it became to the ancient and mediæval world very much what the myths of the ancient and mediæval world are to us—a fairy tale, a creature of the imagination, a dream of a land where monstrous beings, supernaturally endowed philosophers, and miraculous products all existed in endless profusion.

We question much if, previous to the return of Alexander's armies, any knowledge of, or interest in, India and the adjacent countries had ever penetrated into the Hellenic mind, or reached the mass of the people. Stray travellers or scholars, like Hecatæus, Herodotus and Ctesias, might be found, who picked up a few floating facts regarding it; but the mass must have remained utterly ignorant and indifferent. True, the *demos* of the Greek republics were men of vast intelligence for their day. They who could sit out whole trilogies of Æschylus and Sophocles from sunrise to sunset, must have been men of no ordinary mental power and acquirements. But the mention of India or the far off lands of the East affected them not at all, and the writers whose traditions regarding it were read at their games and festivals were treated more as poets than historians of the real and the actual. The national mind could be roused when the hated Persian's name was mentioned, and the news flew like wild-fire through the city when the sad fate of the Syracusan expedition was announced, but India was a subject on which the poet might dream and a visionary imagination feed.

The points of contrast and comparison between the Greeks and English are many and striking. Both were essentially practical in their genius, both proud and conceited of the national name and acquirements. John Bullism existed in Greece, and as the son of Hellas trode the street of Athens or Sparta, or visited foreign lands, he made all to feel that he was a Greek, and that it was something so to be. True, he might be defeated, and the iron heel of the Roman might be on his neck, but was he not the descendant of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis? Were not Homer and Pericles, Sophocles and Thucydides his fathers? Did not the Roman bow before him, adopt his customs, copy his literature, and worship the gods of his fathers? In the Greeks conceit was natural, and it kept them from taking that interest in other countries and developing the spirit of adventure and discovery and colonisation to such an extent as to embrace the comparatively unknown and unvisited. All were barbarous, save them; and why should they honour far off barbarous lands by noticing or exploring them?

While on its better side this conceit was a just and noble national pride, on its worse it was based on ignorance. A maritime people, many of them almost living on the sea, their boats gliding and dancing aimd the glorious Cyclades, it was seldom that they ventured out far to sea, or exposed themselves to its unknown and dreaded dangers. Their natural timidity had been increased by the nature of their traditions: and as the Greek boy learned the story of Jason and the famed Argonauts, and conned over all the adventures of the heroes who, returning from the Trojan war, were tempest-tossed for years, so far from feeling his spirit roused to emulate their deeds, he shrank from hardships so prolonged and so untried. The Phœnicians, too, desirous to keep for themselves that lucrative trade which they carried on with the distant coasts of the Mediterranean, and even of the Atlantic, had added by the terror of their stories to this fear. The Greeks were also ignorant of many of those arts, a knowledge of which is necessary to successful adventure and discovery. Unacquainted with navigation, they, in early times, knew not how to observe, or to use their eyes. On meeting with new objects they had no standard of comparison; and, like children, their generalisation was imperfect and their conclusions false. Notwithstanding all that Aristotle had done in later days for the physical sciences, he was but one man, and even his speculations were more a practical application of his Metaphysics, than sound scientific observation and classification. A knowledge of every science was wanting, that is now necessary for the traveller who would be useful and successful. The stars, the winds, the phenomena of the atmosphere, the relative position of places on the earth's surface, the nature of the soil, its products, the sea, its influence on temperature, health and national character; the contents of the earth, metals, stones, &c., all these were overlooked by the Greek traveller. From past ignorance he was credulous, from childish wonder at novelty he was indistinctly or inaccurately impressed, and from a love of the marvellous, his history was too often an exaggerated record of what he had actually seen and heard. In early days, moreover, the Greeks never came actually into contact with India and adjoining countries. They might have heard of the fabled expedition of Semiramis, or that of Darius Hystaspes, reaching only to its confines; they received the spoils of the east through middlemen, from the traders and caravans who brought the silks and spices by tedious journeys and through almost pathless deserts, or up the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, or through the India Ocean and up the Red Sea. One of their nation might occasionally have been in the Persian Court, and have mixed freely with men who had visited some of its outports, but it was emphatically a *terra incognita*, round which the imagination of the poet-historian might play, but which the eye of the accurate annalist could never penetrate. In early times the Greeks had thus no historical relations with India at all; and all their dim dreamy knowledge of the country and its peoples amounted very much to this, that they were a frontier state of their enemy Persia; that Persia had tried to conquer them, and had succeeded in getting a pretty large revenue from them; and that should they conquer Persia, India must follow; that from that direction came some of those luxuries for which their Persian neighbours were notorious, and which the true Greek regarded as effeminate; from India came those spices that ascended daily to the gods in the shape of sweet incense; that India was the boundary of the world on the one side, as the pillars of Hercules and Britain were on the other.

We must expect, then, to find the knowledge of India possessed by the ancients in early times, or previous to Megasthenes, to be very limited and vague. But it was not on that account the less important, for without it the whole of that period of Indian History must, like the preceding ages, be a blank, to be estimated by yugs or ages, the extent of which only the vast imagination of an oriental can conceive. The peculiar value of the information regarding India derived from the classics is, that by means of them, and them alone, can we introduce order into native accounts, and reduce a monstrous and fabulous chronology to harmony and intelligibility. It is only at those points where India, in the course of its history, touches upon other nations that we can hope for faint rays of light, to relieve the mind that has panted through cycles of ages in search of a resting-place. It is only when a historical being, like Alexander, with his trustworthy Ptolemy and Aristobulus, steps on the misty scene, that we can find a place for the soles of our feet, and from that standpoint proceed, as best we may, to look about us in the darkness, to catch forms hitherto aërial and mythical, and to bind all by the sure fetters of an accurate chronology. Often had scholars, with Arrian and his accurate history beside them, striven to identify Porus and Taxiles and Sandracottus as some of the many rajahs and princes who appear in pure Hindu tradition, but in vain. At the close of the last century Comparative Philology and the whole philosopy of 'comparison' in science, language and history, were unknown. Many a classical scholar had wasted mines of learning; and still the problem, who in Indian History correspond to these three or any of them, remained insoluble.

Sir William Jones appeared on the scene. A thorough classical scholar, he set himself to the study of Sanscrit, and thus equipped himself for irrevocably settling doubts and questions at which the first scholars of Europe had stumbled. In his Sanscrit readings, about the year 1780, he often met with the name Chandragupta, Chadragupta, Chandra Gupta; spelt in all these modes, and not always in exactly the same way in the same author. Similarly in turning to the Greek and Roman historians, he found a king mentioned under such different names as *(Arrian)* Sandracottus; *(Diodorus Siculus)* Xandrames; *(Quintus Curtius)* Aggrammes; *(Plutarch)* Androcottus; *(Athenæus)* Sandrocuptus.

He read in the Mudra Rakshasa (since published by Professor Wilson in his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus") how a Sudra king called Nanda was reigning at Pataliputra. By one wife he had eight sons, by another of low caste, one son—Chandra Gupta. The Brahmans, groaning under the tyranny and insolence of the Sudra king, revolted, murdered the nine Nandas, and raised Chandra Gupta to the throne. In this they had been assisted by a northern prince, who was promised an increase of territory for his aid. But the object having been accomplished, they refused to implement their bargain, and assassinated their northern ally. His son who succeeded him, Malayaketa, burned with revenge, and marched against Chandragupta with a large body of Yavanas, supposed to be Greeks, in his army, but returned after a fruitless expedition. Such is the Hindu side of the story; and it finds its parallel sufficiently complete to be pronounced so, and sufficiently distinct to be viewed as an independent account, in the histories of those later writers who have touched upon the subject of India. From Pliny, Arrian, Athenæus, Strabo, Appian, Plutarch and Justin, the following facts are gathered. In the time of Seleucus Nicator, a King called Sandracottus ruled over the tribes of the Gangaridæ and Prasii, his capital being Palimbothra. The queen, his mother, had put her own husband to death; and marrying a man of low origin, some say a barber, Sandracottus was born. His connexion with Alexander is most uncertain, but in the troubles that ensued on that monarch's death, Sandracottus extended his power over the territories in the Punjab that he had conquered, and subjugated the Greeks who had been left there. As soon, however, as Seleucus came into undisturbed possession of that part of Alexander's dominions, or about the year 302 B. C., he undertook an expedition against Sandracottus, and whatever the character of it was, we know that it resulted in a treaty, by which, in return for 500 war elephants, Seleucus gave up all his territory in the Punjab, and a large portion of that in the hills on the other side of the Indus.

A careful comparison of these two stories, the names of the men, Chandra Gupta in Hindu Literature, Sandracuptos in Greek; of the place; Pataliputra in the former, Palimbothra in the latter, the position of the parties, the locality of the tribes, the origin of the Hindu prince, the troubles in the kingdom, the expedition of the northern king, the fruitless result of it,—all these point out as clear a case as history can shew. Starting then from this point, that Chandragupta is Sandracottus, and Pataliputra is Palimbothra, we have a clue at once chronological and geographical, by which we can unravel the confusion of pure Hindu history. When we find that events before and after harmonise as much as in any similar case they could be supposed to do, we have as clear a certainty as induction can possibly give, that we are on sure historical ground, and that every new discovery will but add to its certainty, and extend its sphere.

The classics did this for India; and if they had accomplished nothing more, we might well be grateful to them. But we believe that a careful study of the language and literature of the Hindus, by a thorough classical scholar, who is more especially familiar with those Greek and Latin authors that have treated of India, will lead to harmonies and discoveries still more startling than this, and will do for India, what has in recent times been so largely and successfully done for Egypt and Syria. If scholars could have hoped to extract from the stony Sphinx of India anything to illustrate Sacred Scripture or cast light upon its statements, then would Indian antiquities and literature have held a very different position among them from what they now do. But though we cannot hope that India, like Eygpt and Syria, will ever cast much light on the Bible. is it not an object worthy of the highest ambition of the Biblicist and the Scholar, to reduce the historical records of this mighty continent to such order, that the approach of the day will be hastened when millions shall be elevated by a knowledge of the truth ? Now that the foundations of criticism have been laid anew, that Ethnography and Ethnology have been raised to the rank of independent sciences, that languages are studied with a success and to an extent never known before, and that, above all, comparative Philology is every where recognised as a safe guide to the blind in the greatest difficulties, a revival should take place in Oriental Scholarship, and the old dynasties and seemingly eternal systems of Asia should be brought to light with an accuracy and a vividness, such as that which Geology has manifested in disclosing the relics of earlier creations. Sir W. Jones having thus struck upon the clue which was to lead through the labyrinth of Indian History and Chronology, it was not long in being followed up by himself and others. For a time it languished, however, notwithstanding the establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1787. But when James Prinsep took it up, he pursued it with energy and skill, till such men as he, Porfessor Wilson, Dr. Mill, and others, encouraged and aided by the scholars of Europe, succeeded in deciphering many old inscriptions and coins, and added immensely at once to the extent and order of India's past. The Malwa Dagoba did for India what the Rosetta stone accomplished for Egypt, and from that day the riddle was read.

This the old Greek historians have accomplished for India ; thus have they restored her to her place in the page of history, and rescued her from the obscurities of the infinite. It may not then be unprofitable nor uninteresting to ask, what were the early Hellenic legends regarding India, who were the chief men that chronicled them, and what were the scources of their information ?

The early allusions to India in the Classics consist of nothing more than vague epithets often used by the poet or the rhetorician to round a sentence or give pith to a figure of speech. In Scripture the name India occurs only in the book of Esther (i. 1, viii. 9) in which we are introduced to the Persian kingdom as it was in the 5th century B. C. Commentators have supposed, and not without reason, that the travelling caravan of Ishmaelites, introduced in the history of Joseph, were engaged in the early overland India trade. We cannot, however, look upon the passage in which they are mentioned as one in which there is a direct allusion to India. In Esther it is spoken of as one of the provinces subject to King Ahasuerus, but introduced more as the boundary of his vast empire, than as an internal part of it. It is very probable that Solomon, long before this, had some connexion with the countries adjacent to it, but it was a very indirect one, as indirect as that of the court of Rome or Constantinople with the land of the Seres. There can be little doubt that the ships which landed at Eziongaber all sorts of spices, stones and costly stuffs for the use of the temple which was then being built, brought many of them from India. In the second book of Chronicles (ix. 21) it is stated that Solomon's ships went to Tarshish (Tartessus) with the servants of Hiram; and that every three years, or as we prefer to translate it with Michaëlis, every third year, they brought gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks. We know that the Phœnicians, with all their adventures and geographical knowledge, were not acquainted with the fact of the existence of India until they became thus allied with the Jews. It was after David had made the Great River and the Great Sea his eastern and western boundaries, and the Red Sea his southern, that the Phœnicians commenced the navigation of the latter, with Eloth and Eziongaber as their ports in the Ælanitic Gulf. In some places the districts which they visited are called Tarshish, in others Ophir, but wherever the former may have been—most scholars think in Spain—the latter must have lain in the direction of the south of Arabia. Solomon and the Phœnicians supplanted the Edomites in a trade which they must have carried on for a very long time, a trade by which they enriched and fertilised their otherwise rocky and barren land? and made Bozrah and Petra the greatest and most splendid cities of their day,—the former a city glorious even in that desolation predicted by Isaiah (xxxiv. 13.) "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof." Every thing shews that the Edomites were the earliest people of antiquity who traded with Ophir. The exact locality of Ophir has excited no little controversy among scholars, but the conclusion of Heeren seems to be the most sensible, that it is "the general name for the rich countries of the south lying on the African, Arabian and India Coasts, as far, as at that time, known." The time of return from the voyages made to it "in the third year" may easily be accounted for, by the existence of the periodical monsoons; and the vessels might have returned, as

Michaëlis shews, in "the third year" though they had been absent but eighteen months. The articles brought from these places, reaching probably to Ceylon, which some think to be Ophir, or at least to the Malabar Coast, correspond very accurately with those mentioned by Herodotus in the Thalia (114) as procured from Ethiopia.

A passage in which many commentators have pretended to find mention of India, or direct allusion to it, is Ezekiel iv. 4—15. In that splendid prophecy against the King of Tyre, the prophet numbers and names the countries from which he derived his rich revenues, and pictures the city under the figure of a great ship, exceeding in magnitude and beauty all that ever were before or since. The prophecy of Isaiah also, in which he represents the glory of Tyre as transferred to Jerusalem, points indistinctly to the vast extent of the commerce of the former, reaching even to India.

Coming further down, to the time when the Romans took a leading part in the politics of Asia, and absorbed its western provinces into their mighty empire, we find it mentioned in the Apocryphal book of the Maccabees, (I. Macc. viii. 8.) as one of the countries taken from Antiochus and given to Eumenes. Critics have attempted to show that in the passage in Acts ii. 9, in which an enumeration is given, of the various countries and cities whose representatives were in Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, India should be read instead of Judæa. Others again have contended for Idumœa, and certainly, so far as readings are concerned, much may be said in favour of both. *'Ιουδαίαν, 'Ινδίαν, 'Ιδουμαίαν.* These readings have been conjectured to get rid of the difficulty of a statement that the people of Judæa were present at the feast in their own city. But the catalogue of countries proceeds from the north-east to the west and south, and Judæa lies immediately south from Mesopotamia. There is still greater difficulty in supposing that there were Jews in India, or that Indian Jews were present at the feast, whether we believe that by India is meant merely the Punjab and Afghanistan, or little Thibet and surrounding districts. So far as India and the Bible are concerned, we must look to a latter period, to the truth that lies at the basis of the tradition about Thomas and Bartholomew, and to the early efforts made by the Nestorians and the Syrian Church to evangelize a large part of it,—efforts, so successful, that the Portuguese found on their landing on the west coast a large Christian community. This belongs to another and most interesting period of early Indian history, which has yet to be fully investigated.

The first allusion in purely classical literature to India, or the countries that in ancient times went under that name, is in

Homer. In the first Book of the Odyssey, in the 23rd and 24th lines we have the following :—

Αἰθίοπες, τοι διχθὰ δεδαιαται, ἔσχἀτοι ἀνδρων,
Οἱ ηὲν δυσομενου 'Υπερίονος, οἱ δ'ἀνιοντος.

This occurs in the opening passage of the poem, where Odysseus is introduced as the man who, of all others, had seen many cities and suffered many griefs. Pitied by all the gods, Poseidon alone was everlastingly angry with him, and had gone to a feast in the land of the Ethiopians. During his absence a council of the gods was held, and the poet takes occasion parenthetically to give an account of the Ethiopians in these lines. They are the most distant of men ; they are divided into two parts ; some dwell towards the setting of the sun, others towards the rising. It is not impossible that by the eastern Ethiopians the poet dimly alluded to the aborigines of India, who were probably of the same stock as those of Africa, and were at least, like them in many particulars, and who inhabited the country previous to the descent and occupation of it by its Arayan invaders with their Sanscrit speech and Caucasian conformation of face and limb. There can be no doubt that among such early writers on India as Scylax, Hecatæus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, with their vague curiosity and dim knowledge of foreign lands, the term Ethiopians is often used for the aborigines of India. Herodotus (vii. 70) uses the expression 'Αἰθίοπας ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων, and says that they were the neighbours of the Indians, but again (iii. 101) he says το χρῶμα φορέουσι ὁμοῖον παντες καῖ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι, in which he clearly distinguishes between the Indians and Ethiopians. In fact, throughout the whole of early geography and history, the Ethiopians and Indians are confounded, articles of Indian produce being referred to as Ethiopian, and *vice versa.* Thus Ctesias speaks of the *martichora*, a fabulous animal with the body of a lion, the face of a man, and the tail of a scorpion, as being a native of India, and translates the word ἀνθρωποφάγος—the man-eater. Professor Tychsen, in the Appendix (iv.) to Heeren's 'Asiatic Nations,' connects the word with the Persian *Mard*, man, and *Khorden*, to eat ; stating that the Persians still use the expression *mardam-khor* as applied to an intrepid warrior. Pliny, in his description of Ethiopia proper, speaks of the Martichora as being found in it, and cites Ctesias as his authority. So Scylax, in his description of India, speaks of the fabulous nation of the Sciapodes as being Ethiopian, while Hecataeus term them an Indian tribe. Dr. Schwanbeck gives other examples of this continual confusion between the two countries, not the least interesting of which as a philological speculation is this : He says that the habitat of the crocodile is, according to early writers, now in India, now in Ethiopia; but it must have had its origin in India, as the word is evidently derived from the Sanscrit *Carataca*; and as the Greeks continually changed the letters T and K, we have Κροκοδειλος, as their version or form of it. Every classical scholar knows how Alexander thought that the Nile took its rise in India, and how the products and animals of both countries are continually confounded and mixed.

In Virgil and Horace we meet with many allusions of a very vague and rhetorical character. India and Britain were the two boundaries of the world, and they both continually serve to heighten the statements of these poets. In the Georgics (iii. 27) the former sings the praises of Augustus, and represents hsmself thus:

> In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephato
> Gangaridum faciam. victorisque arma Quirini.

The Gangarides, who dwelt on the plains of Lower Bengal, are here brought in as being conquered by the Emperor, though in reality, no arms of any nation had ever penetrated so far. We have the Ganges mentioned Georgics ii. 138, and Æneid, ix. 31, India as producing ivory, Georgics i. 57, and, at still greater length ii. 116—122, and in a strong hyperbole, Æneid viii. 705. Horace speaks of Indian ivory, Carm. i. 31. 6, of the Indian in common with the Mede and Scythian wondering at the glory of Augustus, Carm. iv. 14. 42., and in the Carmen Saeculare (56) the Indians, *superbi nuper*, figure in the picture that he draws of the golden day about to dawn on the world. Augustus is represented by him as leading in triumph the Seres and the Indi, *subjects Orientis orae* (Charm. i., 12.56) and again, in his exquisite epistle to Numicius, in which he teaches him *nil admirari*, he says (i., 66.)

> Quid censes munera terræ
> Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos.

But to quote from these and other classical poets such allusions would be an endless task. It is difficult in these days, when colonization and adventure have unrobed the most distant places of their obscurity and mystery, to draw any parallel between the feelings of the ancients towards India, and our own toward any similar distant place. But they must have been much the same as those experienced by Columbus and the thinking minds of Europe in the 15th century, when led by this one fact that India did exist and was a land of wealth, they dared danger in its most terrible form, and discovered the land of the west. The knowledge and feeling were much the same, but the practical effect how different!

When, led by this vague and semi-romantic feeling, which even yet prevails in the West regarding India, we come really to grapple with the early ages of its history, we find ourselves utterly prostrated by the impossibility of gaining from it any one certified historical fact previous to the Invasion of Darius. Egypt, with its mighty chronologies and vast dynasties, has at last given forth a sound which seems certain, and rings like that of true history ; but India remains like the Sphinx, ever allowing the scholar to solve her mysteries, and unveil her hidden past, and ever destroying those who have attempted it. Egypt has had such scholars as Wilkinson, Bunsen and Lepsius, who have probed her records with untiring zeal and ripe scholarship ; but India has not been behind her in this. We must ascribe the greater success that scholars have met with in reference to that country to the fact of her close connexion with the nations of western antiquity, and the undying remains of her arts that so thickly strew the uplands of the Thebaid and the valley of the Nile. But India has a primary political importance which Egypt can never have. No longer the granary of the world, as she was in the best days of the Roman Empire, the position of the latter is but secondary, as the way to conquest and empire, as the stepping-stone to power, rather than the prize with which the conqueror may rest satisfied. Even the cities of the Mesopotamian Doab have given up their dead, and their riddle is already read. Yet India, with all her increased political importance to the nations of Europe, has remained, in her early days, a sealed book.

The two causes that seem to have operated against the production of truthful records in India, and the possibility of an approach to an accurate knowledge of her early history now, are, first, the fact that such records are soon obliterated by the hand of time, if permanent and outward, as monuments and coins, &c., or are lost amid the tramp of the invader and the pillage of the maurauder, if less durable, as books and manuscripts. Secondly, the genius of the race is against the creation of such records. Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the South-Aryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history or truthful annals, but of such epics as the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, 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 civilisation, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago. You cannot do for the early poetry and literature of the Hindu what such men as Niebuhr, Thirlwall and Grote have done for that of the Greek and Roman. You cannot, while disbelieving that an actual Achilles fought, or a real Romulus reigned, be certain that the facts have a true basis. Were Niebuhr or Grote to apply to the Vedantic Literature or Heroic Epos of India the same Baconian tests that they have done to the history of Rome and Greece, the residuum would be monstrous fable or utter nothingness.

Without striving to attempt this for Indian literature proper, however, it may be done with some success for those portions of it where it comes into contact with the West. Previous to the first purely historical fact—the Invasion of Darius, we have four legends or myths which meet us at the very outset. They are—

1.—The legend of Dionysus	B. C. (1457 ?)
2.—The legend of Semiramis, who is said to have invaded India...	1978
3.—The legend of Rameses-Sesostris, according to Dr. Hales, B. C. 1308, or according to Lenglet....	1618
4.—The legend of Herakles........	1300

The authority that we have for these legends, whom we shall presently take up, is Ctesias, as followed by Diodorus Siculus and Ælian. There can be no doubt as to their untrustworthiness, but at the basis we may find a little truth.

The legend of Dionysus or Bacchus, and his connexion with India under the name of Parashri, is one of the most famous in antiquity, while in its details it is at the same time the most varied. It has ever been a favourite of the poet in both ancient and modern times. The following by Dr. Croly, on an antique gem of Bacchus, we think exquisite. It is headed

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 showered purple wine."

Born of Zeus and of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, according to the common story, he has persecuted by the jealous Hera, and his infancy exposed to the most imminent danger. Accompanied by Hermes, however, he was protected, and when exposed on Mount Nysa in Thrace, was watched over by many nymphs. The Mount Nysa from which he derived his name—Dionysus or Nysa-sprung—is found in many quarters of the ancient world, and there were few mountains where he was worshipped, to which this name was not applied. This fact is of importance in reference to his connexion with India. When he grew to manhood the jealous Hera still afflicted him, until being thrown into a state of madness, he wandered all over the East, through Egypt, where King Proteus received him, through Syria, where he slew Damascus, over the Euphrates and Tigris, where a heaven-sprung tiger assisted him, and at last, reaching India, he spent, some traditions say three, others fifty-two years in subduing its fierce tribes, and teaching them cultivation, the pleasures of the grape, and the arts of civilisation. Up to the point of his visiting the East, the general statement is borne out by all traditions, but after that they vary. Euripides in his *Bacchæ* represents the god as speaking of Bactria as the farthest limit of his travels. He says—

Leaving the Lydians' gold-abounding fields,
The Phrygians' and the Persians' sun-struck plains,
The *Bactrian* walls, and Medians' 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, &c.

From that point, through the accounts of Pausanias, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus, the limit is extended, until he is made to conquer all Asia and India in their widest sense, and to return in triumph as only such a god can triumph.

Arrian in his Anabasis introduces him at the city of Nysa on the banks of the Cophen, near the modern Cabul, which surrendered to Alexander the Great. Wearied with the series of campaigns through which they had passed, and the deserts which they had crossed, the historian, always accurate, trustworthy and common-sense, following Ptolemy and Aristobulus, represents the troops of Alexander as delighted at seeing the ivy and laurel there. Abandoning themselves to the riotous pleasures of the Dionysia, the army then *Bacchanted*, (if we may use the expression) for some days, hymning pæans of praise to the god, the limits of whose conquests they had reached, the extent of which their leader Alexander, a second, yea, a greater than Dionysus, would overpass.

" And brighter still the glory grew ;
The wine-god drops his sparkling chalice :
Each wild Bacchante's eyes dropt dew,
As sweet as flowers by Lydian Halys.

All bow before
Such tones of power
As ne'er Tyrrhenian trumpet blew,
Nor yet were woke when Indian valleys
Heard the Panic Eillelen."

Near to the city was Mount Meros, the modern Meru, so called in allusion to the legend of the god having sprung from the *thigh* of father Zeus.

There can be little doubt but that all these adventures and names were created by the army themselves, and, as too often in later days, willingly acquiesced in and coloured by the people of the district. Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, has at this passage of it, an interesting note on the subject. Quoting Bohlen's "Indien," he conjuctures that the range of Parapamisus was properly Parapanisus, or *above Nisa*. It is remarkable that the sun has the name of *Suradevas*, the wine-god, and is born of *Nis*, night. Ritter in his "Asien" prefers the derivation *Paro vami*, the mountain city. The origin of the story may be seen still farther from the fact, that nothing is so common as the grape in these districts, even in modern times, as every denizen of Calcutta knows. The fact, then, of meeting with the sunny grape of their fatherland in this far off region, a resemblance between the native names of the districts round about, and those belonging to Greece, a rumour already existing that Bacchus had conquered a large part of the East, the desire of the soldiers to praise their general and themselves, and of Alexander to gratify his own ambition as having done more than a god, and to induce his war-worn soldiers to attempt new conquests—all these may have combined, with other causes, to give rise to this part of the legend of Dionysus.

As the basis of it we have little more than this, that it represents the early longing and dim aspirations towards the East, as well as the obscure ideas entertained of it in antiquity. Dionysus is the personification of a power of nature, life-giving, joyous and ethereal. It is his spirit that fills the soul, when it is carried away from the sober and routine realities of daily life, and elevated into a region of joy and unconsciousness. It is at this point that the god becomes the patron of the tragic art, that was first based on the lyric, the chief law of which is unconsciousness. This careless joyousness was pre-eminently the character of the Greek, and hence, not in the vulgar sense of the god of drinking, but in the far higher one of the inspirer of freedom from care and joyous life, no divinity was so popular as he, no games so well attended as his. To the East, in its wide and general extent, the Greeks looked, as the abode of such; and hence the popular myth represents the god as overcoming it, and returning from it in gay and festive triumph, and spreading joy by means of the vine on every side. Hence the poet addresses him :—

> "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."

We question if any actual hero or real personage can be looked upon as the basis of the legend. Beyond this, then, the story of Dionysus tells us nothing of India,—that part of it seeming rather to be an accretion to the general and original germ, though from it later writers developed the whole.

The legend of Semiramis is almost as much overshadowed by the mythological and supernatural as that of Dionysus. Its origin is to be found in Ctesias, as rendered by Didorus, but that early writer's statements on Assyrian history are untrustworthy. The whole of the early history of both Babylon and Assyria is, except when touched upon by the Old Testament, purely mythical. The Mosaic account makes Assyria but a colony of Babylon, while Ctesias reverses the order, and represents the former, as it always was represented in Greek history, as by far the greatest empire of antiquity. The legend states that Ninus founded the Assyrian Empire, and built Nineveh. Sprung of a Syrian youth and Derceto the fish-goddess of Ascalon, she was in her origin immortal. Her whole early life was one of special preservation by the gods, seeing that from shame her mother exposed her in the neighbouring hills. Fed by doves, she was adopted by a shepherd, Simmas, who bestowed on her the name by which she is generally known. One of the King's generals married her, and while the Assyrians were engaged in the siege of Bactra, she was in the army with her husband. When the efforts of Ninus had failed to take the city, she herself with consummate courage and ability, approached the walls with a band of followers, leapt up upon them, and soon obtained possession of the town. The Amazonian character which she now gains, she preserves throughout the rest of the story. From gratitude Ninus raised her to be his queen, and on his death she succeeded to the throne of Assyria. She inaugurated her reign by building all over the surrounding district immense works which were the wonder of antiquity; and in the desire to account for which, probably, the main features of the legend arose. Beginning, then, her career of conquest, she subdued Egypt, overran Ethiopia, and subjugating all Asia, found her Empire limited, to the south, only by India. Diodorus lingers in evident wonder over the gigantic preparations that she made to conquer it, and over the terrible defeat with which she met. From his record, however, we have little information as to the character of Indian states, or of their products, customs, laws and government. Retiring vanquished, she continued to reign till, after forty-two years, she appointed her son Ninyas as her successor, and vanished upward in the form of a dove.

Throughout the whole of this, the vast and supernatural continually meet us, and we can treat it as nothing more than one of those myths, that, in Assyria as everywhere else, cluster round the foundation of an infant state, giving to it the lustre of poetry and the dim grey hoar of age. From the extent of the early Assyrian and Babylonian empires, there can be little doubt that they touched upon the countries generally known as India, and that contests may have often taken place on the frontier, nay, even a vast expedition may have been planned and carried out. But beyond this we cannot go, and some better authority than Ctesias must be found for the historical truth of the legend of Semiramis, the goddess of the dove, the Asiatic Aphrodite.

The legend of Rameses-Sesostris seems to have in it more of a historical appearance ; but even here there is doubt and uncertainty. The researches of recent scholars have shewn, with some degree of probability, that Rameses ii., or the Great, and Sesostris are the same personage. He was the third King of the nineteenth dynasty, and a full account of his expeditions and conquests is given us by Herodotus and Diodorus. From the extent of his public works, and the whole character of his home government, not a few authors have held him to be the Pharoah of Scripture. Be that as it may, we have sufficient historical ground for believing in the existence of some such great conqueror as Sesostris is represented to have been, from the numerous *stelae* which he everywhere erected as the memorials of his deeds, and many of which existed to a late period in the history of antiquity. Herodotus tells us of two that he himself saw in Syria, and in recent times one of these has been discovered, on the road to Berytus, with a half-defaced inscription, in which, however, the name Rameses may yet be traced. Another, though all are not agreed that it was one of the *stelae* of Sesostris, has been discovered near Nymphæum. According to the account of Diodorus, his father caused all the boys who were born on the same day to be trained along with him, that in future they might be his most able assistants and advisers. Their first expedition was into Arabia, and afterwards into the west of Africa. When on the throne he first directed his attention to the internal government of the country, dividing all Egypt into thirty-six provinces, with a governor at the head of each. Having made immense preparations both by sea and land, he subdued Ethiopia, and crossing over to Asia, he overran the whole continent. India, in its widest extent to the east, if not to the south, was included in his conquests, so that he swept the whole Gangetic valley, and reached a sopt where conqueror had never been before—the coast of the Sinus Gangeticus. Returning northward he subjugated the Scythians, left a colony in Colchis, long afterwards noted for its Egyptian manners, and was only stopped in Thrace by the scarcity of provisions. Thus the Danube was his boundary on the north west, the Ganges on the south-east, and there were few countries where there was not a *stela* with this proud, and in his case, by no means boastful inscription :—"Sesostris, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms." Returning to Egypt he adorned his land with the spoils of vanquished nations, and the graces of art and architecture, till becoming blind in his old age, he committed suicide, and died with the character of being the greatest conqueror of his own or any age. While from the existence of these *stelae*, and the testimony of such authors as Manetho and Herodotus in early days, and Tacitus in later, there can be little doubt as to the truth of the general outlines of this career of conquest; we have no details as to India, and no evidence as to the statements regarding it being anything more than a wide and sweeping assertion. It is said that Danaus, who colonized the Peloponnesus, was his brother, and being discovered in a conspiracy which had for its object to murder him on his return from his conquests, was obliged to take refuge in flight.

The last of the legends with which we have to do is that of Herakles; and this is as brief as it is historically unsatisfactory. Of all heroes, he is the most universal, and there are few countries and few literatures in which we do not find a trace of him. He is the cosmopolite of heroes, and hence it is by no means wonderful that he should be represented in India. He performs the same part in the early settlement and civilisation of tribes in antiquity, as Brutus does in those of the dark ages. His footsteps are everywhere, until he seems by universal consent to have been looked on as the incarnation of those who must carry out the primary processes of civilization, such as clearing the woods and jungle, subduing wild beasts, and destroying all that is inimical to the existence of man, as well as to his safety and comfort. He is not, therefore, in all his deeds and characteristics one being, but the representative hero of antiquity. Pliny in his "Natural History," gives to him in his Indian form, the name of Δορσάνης. Arrian in his "Indica" alludes to him, and the Greeks believed, in this case as in so many others, that there was a correspondence between the mythologies of their own land and those of India, and that in him they recognised their own Herakles. In India, he is said to have married Pandæa, and to have become the founder of a long dynasty of kings. The great war between the Kooroos and Pandoos, and the battle fought on the plains of Koorookshetra were taken part in by him. He, along with Krishna, Judisthir and his four brothers, was the hero of those glorious exploits which form the chief subject of the Mahabharat. Throughout the whole of the legend regarding this we find continual references to countries beyond the Indus and Himalayas, and traces of customs which are new to the Hindus and evidently of Scythian origin. The whole of the lunar race of kings was of Scythian origin, and Bhuddistic in their belief. Certain it is that the Greek army of Alexander continually recurred to him as well as to Dionysus, and that in the dreadful struggle at the rock Aornus, so graphically and fancifully related by Curtius, Alexander rejoiced that he had reduced a stronghold which Herakles himself had not been able to take. When Alexander had reached the Hyphasis, and his soldiers refused to advance further, the conqueror, foiled in his ambition, was forced to return; and as he dropped down the river, amid mighty sacrifices and sacred libations, he invoked Herakles to assist him and favour the remainder of his enterprise. When he reached that point at which the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines, he encountered a tribe who from their name seem to have been followers of Shiba, and from the use of clubs and the sacred mark in their faces, were thought by the Greeks to be the descendants of Herakles. Curtius thus speaks of them. (IX. 14.) "Hinc decurrit in fines Siborum. Hi de exercitu Herculis majores suos esse memorant; aegros relictos esse, cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant; multaque, etiam cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia." And when, having overcome this tribe, they entered the country of the Oxydracæ and Malli, and saw new dangers before them, Alexander encouraged them by saying that they should pass the limits of the conquests of Father Bacchus and Herakles, and their retreat from India should seem to be not a flight but a triumph. "Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros, illos regi suo, parvo impendio, immortalitatem famæ daturos. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere." (IX. 16.) Herakles appears in the Hindu Pantheon as Bulurama or Buludeva, who founded the famous city of Patuliputra, and the dynasty that there afterwards rose to such eminence. He is said to have also founded Muhavelipúr in the Carnatic and Balipúr in Beder.

Such are the four legends in which India seems to be connected with the West, but which yet give us almost no intelligible or valuable information regarding it. If we adopt the theory of most modern Ethnologists and students of Comparative Philology, that the Indi and Pelasgi are but the southern and northern branches of the same Indo-European stock, which sprang from the plains of Iran and constitute the great Aryan race, then we have a sure basis on which to rest the common origin of these traditions. However different the characteristics and civilisation of these two races may now be, in early days, when both were progressing in the race of refinement, they seem to have very much resembled each other.

The great difference arose thus: when thesouthern race reached a certain platform of civilisation, it ceased its social organisation, became stereotyped, and its beliefs immutable, so that all was conservative and as it were fossilized ; while the northern, in more favourable climatic circumstances and in closer contact with the first depositories of knowledge—the Semitic race, went on from one degree of polish to another ; empire succeeding empire, and literature literature, till the salt of Christianity was introduced, and new triumphs were achieved. The progress of the race now seems capable of indefinite extension, while the highly civilized South-Aryans seem to be but savages. If there is any truth at the bottom of this theory, as we believe that there is, then we have at once a reason for these legends. They are the product of minds strongly resembling and having an affinity for each other, and springing from a common source, they have a common character.

We now come to firm historical ground—the expedition of Scylax, and the consequent invasion of India by Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 508.) This introduces us to the conclusion of our subject,—a short account of the principal authors from whom the ancients drew their knowledge of India. We cannot give the slightest credit to the statement that Cyrus the Great invaded India and met with a repulse. The whole details of the life of that prince are involved in obscurity and romance. Darius was a king in every way fitted to consolidate that empire which the genius of Cyrus had founded, and the ambition of Cambyses had extended. Having fitted himself for government by careful training in the court of Cyrus and the camp of Cambyses, and under the eye of his father Hystaspes who was satrap of Persia, he was ready to seize the throne as soon as there should be an opportunity. Quelling a revolt of the Babylonians in 513 B. C., he undertook his great expedition against the

Scythians, who even then began to threaten the peace of the southern provinces. Desirous to extend the limits of his empire also to the south, he fitted out an expedition under Scylax, a Greek of Caryanda in Caria, with whom he associated other men of ability and adventure. This started from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, and sailing down the Indus to the sea and keeping to the westward, they passed through the straights of Babelmandeb, up the Red Sea, and seem to have ended their voyage at a place near the modern Suez. This was not the first great voyage of adventure and discovery. Herodotus in the Melpomene (42) tells us that Neco of Egypt having finished the digging of the canal, though the Isthmus of Suez, sent certain Phœnicians in ships to circumnavigate Libya. Setting out from the Red Sea, they sailed through the southern ocean. Every autumn they landed and sowed the coast with corn, waiting for harvest. Having reaped it, they put to sea again. Thus having spent two years, in the third they doubled the pillars of Herakles and arrived in Egypt, relating things, which Herodotus naively remarks, " do not seem to me credible, but may to others, that as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand." An attempt was afterwards made to circumnavigate Libya by one Sataspes, of the Achaemenidae or royal family of Persia, but unsuccessfully.

Having received the report of Scylax and his co-adjutors, Darius prepared a vast expedition against India, and entering it seems to have rendered the whole of the Modern Punjab and Sinde tributary to himself. All that Herodotus says is, that Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea. But in the list of the thirty Satrapies that composed the Persian empire, he afterwards mentions India as paying tribute to the value of 600 talents of gold, or as Major Rennell more probably conjectures, of 360, a sum four and a half times as much as the revenue yielded by the rich provinces of Babylon and Assyria, and equal to about £500,000.

Scylax then meets us as the first author who has pretended to give a historical or descriptive account of India. The question has, however, been much agitated by critics, as to whether this Scylax really did write or was only a discoverer. Niebuhr distinctly inclines to the opinion that there was a second Scylax who lived in the reign of Philip of Macedon, about 350 B. C., and who wrote a Periplus. The matter is settled by Niebuhr on internal evidence, while other critics hold that the author of the Periplus is the navigator of Darius. We know that Scylax of Caryanda was specially sent to report on the state of the southern seas and coasts ere Darius should commence his expedition, and whether the report given in by him is extant or not, it must have been in the time of subsequent writers on India, who have drawn from it most of the statements current regarding that country till the time of Megasthenes. Dr. Schwanbeck has the following passage on the subject :—

> " Scylacem de hoc itinere librum conscripsisse, ex eo apparet, quod complures eius loci afferuntur, et quod a Stephano Byzant. (s. v. Καρύανδα) Σκύλαξ παλαιὸς λογογράφος, a Strabone (p. 658.) Σκύλαξ παλαιὸς συγγραφεύς commemoratur, quamquam alio loco (p. 583.) periplum quoque eum, qui superest, Strabo non recte ei attribuit. Intelligimus autem ex illis locis, Scylacem praeter Indum, Caspapyrum et Pactyicam terram plura de fabulosis Indiae gentibus dixisse, ex quibus apud Philostratum memorantur, Σκιάποδες, Μακροκέφαλοι, apud Tzetzam Σκιάποδες, Ὠτόλικνοι, Μονόφθαλμοι, Ἐνωτοκοῖται vel Ἑνοτίκτοντες "

By whomsoever the Periplus may have been written, it seems, as it appears in the " Geographi Græci Minores " of Hudson, to have come down to us in the form of an abridgement. Previous to Scylax, whose date is generally fixed at about 508 B. C., Anaximander the Milesian was the only great geographer (B. C. 608.) He is said by Diogenes Laertius not only to have first invented or introduced the use of the gnomon into Greece, but to have first constructed maps. We have no evidence as to this, beyond the statement of Diogenes, and none as to whether, if he really did construct maps, he was aware of the existence or locality of India. He was more of a philosopher than of a geographer, and as the disciple and pupil of Thales, holds an important place in the history of the Ionian School.

The report given in by Scylax to Darius Hystaspes, and the early traditions previously afloat regarding India, seem to have been the sources of the Indian knowledge of the next writer on this subject—Hecataeus the Milesian. He was at once a logographer or annalist and geographer: Born B. C. 550, he was in the prime of life about the outbreak of the Persian war, against the revolts that led to which, he, with wise prudence, dissuaded his countrymen. Although his advice was rejected both at the beginning and throughout the whole conduct of the war in Ionia, he yet did his utmost to mitigate its severity and bring it to a favorable conclusion. A man thus of action, and also a man of wealth, he was well fitted to be a successful and an accurate historian. His two great works are his geographical treatise *Periegesis*, and his historical *Genealogiæ.* He stands before us as one of the greatest writers of early antiquity, whose accuracy and style have been alike praised by subsequent authors, and from whom Herodotus drew much of his information, while at the same time he controverts many of his statements. Had his works come down to us, he, rather than his rival, might have been viewed as the Father of History. He was much more of a critical historian than Herodotus, while his accuracy is seen in the particular attention that he pays to the distance of places from each other. His Periegesis was divided into two parts,—the one confining itself to Europe, the other, in which he treats of India, takes up Asia, Egypt and Libya.* He must not be confounded with Hecataeus of Abdera, who accompanied Alexander the Great on a part of his expedition, and also wrote a work on Egypt. The writings of the Milesian Hecataeus have unfortunately come down to us only in fragments. Contemporary with this author was Dionysius of Miletus, whose great work was a History of Darius Hydaspes, in which he probably introduced India. Other works are ascribed to him, but without sufficient reason.

As Hecataeus follows Scylax in his statements regarding India, so Herodotus seems to have followed Hecataeus. Modern critics do not however go the length of Porphyry, who asserts that Herodotus took whole passages from the Periegesis only slightly altering the language. Hecataeus is mentioned by Herodotus only four times throughout his History under the name of λογοποιὸς, a name which Arrian applies to both. Herodotus followed Hecataeus more as a guide than leader, more as one whose recent statements he could compare with the information that he himself procured, and perhaps occasionally supplement. Moreover, every reader of the old Father of History is aware how often he speaks of himself as an eye-witness of the wonders that he describes,—a thing in many cases not impossible; so that we must either generally admit the originality of his work, or at once take from him all pretensions to honesty and credibility. After the attention given to Herodotus and his statements regarding India in a previous number of the *Review*, * it will be unnecessary to enter fully into the subject now. Born in the Doric colony of Halicarnassus in Caria B. C. 484, he grew up as a boy near to the scenes of the Persian war, and lived on through that century till the beginning of the Peloponnesian struggle. The statements regarding his travels, and the places at which he wrote his history, are most contradictory, and need not delay us here. The account of Pliny is perhaps that with which we should rest satisfied, that he wrote his work in his old age at Thurii, whither he had retired after the first colonists, and where he died.

While the main object of his work is to give an account of the war between the Greek and Persians, he has collected in it the fruits of his reading, which seems to have been co-extensive with the literature of his country as it then was, and the results of his large personal experience. While there can be no doubt that the part of his work on Egypt is the most full and extensive of all, and that his statements regarding far distant countries, such as Scythia and India, are to be the less credited in proportion to their distance, yet even in reference to the latter, succeeding writers and discoverers have shewn a wonderful accuracy in outline, if not in detail. He himself does not seem to have visited any place in the interior of Asia more distant than Susa. The information that he gives regarding frontier countries is introduced as a digression from the main object of his history. His account of Persia leads him to India as one of its Satrapies, and the history of Darius Hystaspes to Scythia, against which he made his great expedition. The facts that he gives us regarding these must have been derived from purely Persian sources, in addition to his predecessors Scylax and Hecataeus.

Contemporary with Herodotus, but working probably independently of him, we have three historians, who in their works seem to have treated more or less of India. Hellanicus of Lesbos is the most eminent of them. His times embrace almost the whole of the 5th century B. C. We know little of him, and that little as given by Suidas is very confused. His life seems, like that of contemporary logographers, to have been spent chiefly in writing and travelling. His works are very numerous, but the only one with which we have to do is his "Persica." It exists now in a few fragments, but originally contained the history of Persia, Media and Assyria, from the mythical times of Ninus to the age of the writer. Of the three divisions of his works given by Preller, the genealogical, chorographical, and chronological, it comes under the chorographical. As a historian he enters more into detail than Herodotus, and Thucydides says that his chronology is far from accurate. He seems to have been more of a compiler than a historian. Damastes of Sigeum is the second of this group, whose works in their entireness are lost to us, and who is known rather as the authority and source of the information of later writers. His history of Greece, and Catalogue of Nations and Towns, were his two principal works, but it is his "Periplus" that gives him a place in our list of classical authors who have written about India. In this work he is said to have chiefly followed Hecataeus. Eratosthenes the great mathematican, geographer and critic of Alexandria in the time of the Ptolemies (200 B. C.) follows him in some of his works, and is censured by Strabo for so doing. Charon of Lampsacus completes this group of early logographers. His exact age is very doubtful; some critics putting him before Herodotus. He flourished B. C. 464. Amid many other works he wrote the 'Ethiopica' and 'Persica,' in both of which he seems to have treated of India, probably repeating what former writers had stated.

We pass from these men, who are to us mere shadows, and exist only in the fragmentary quotations of later writers, to Ctesias, who has ever formed an object of interest and discussion to the historian and critic. Born at Cnidus in Caria, he was trained to the profession of medicine, in that, the most famous medical school of early antiquity. He bridges the distance between Herodotus and Xenophon, and may be said to have been the contemporary of both. He became physician to the Persian King Artaxerxes Mnemon, even as his countrymen Democedes and Hippocrates had been before him. Xenophon in his 'Anabasis' tells us that he was present during the war between the king and his brother Cyrus. He continued at the Persian Court for seventeen years, but finally returned to his native Cnidus, where he systematized and arranged the information that he had been heaping up in Persia, and wrote out his works. We cannot expect from Ctesias anything more than a view of history and of the past such as the Persians themselves had, and their ancient annals contained. His post as private physician to the Emperor —one of great responsibility, activity and confidence, seems to have opened to him sources of information never before accessible to any Greek historian.

There is no reason to doubt his trustworthiness in the use of these records, and of the information that he had personally obtained; but we must doubt the correctness of the records themselves. They were Persian, they gave an account of Persia and her frontier and subject countries as painted by the Persians themselves. With the mendacity peculiar to Orientals, with the high-flown rhetoric and bombast which are no less their characteristics, with the natural tendency to exalt themselves at the expense of all other nations, we cannot expect to find in these accounts of Ctesias a fair, and in all respects historical, account of the subjects on which they treat. Hence it is that the early Assyrian history seems to be purely mythical. The chief works of Ctesias are his 'Persica' and his 'Indica,' both thus viewed from a Persian stand-point. His object in writing the former was to give to the Greeks—what he believed the work of Herodotus was far from giving them—an accurate knowledge of the Persians. Hence between the two, the truth may possibly be found. In his account of India, he seems to have largely followed Scylax, and may have read in the Persian archives the original report drawn up by him for Darius Hystaspes. The work exists only in the very wretched epitome of Photius, and the part of it that he has preserved is the most fabulous. Yet a subsequent knowledge of the north-western parts of India has served to shew that the statements of Ctesias, as well as those of his predecessors, are by no means without a foundation of truth.

The period between Ctesias and the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, which opened up new sources of information, is filled up by two historians of whom we know little more than the names—Ephorus of Cumæ and Eudoxus of Cnidus. The former is the first who made an attempt at writing a Universal History, beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ, and continuing till the year 341 B. C. It contained thirty books in all. He flourished in the times of Philip of Macedon, and was a most successful pupil of the orator Isocrates. His work contained an account of the barbarian nations and included India. It was finished by his son Demophilus, and continued still further by Diyllus. He is looked upon by later writers, as Polybius and Strabo, as a clear and accurate historian ; though many charged him with wilful inaccuracies in the places where he differed from preceding authorities. Eudoxus of Cnidus is better known as a philosopher and geometer than as a geographer, as the pupil of Plato and afterwards his enemy, than as an adventurous traveller. He lived about B. C. 366. His observatory at Cnidus was a famous one, and he is said to have invented and constructed many astronomical instruments. The work in which he seems to have mentioned India, and of which Strabo speaks, is his Γῆς Περίοδος, though some think that this was written by a different Eudoxus.

The next great historical event, in which India and the West come into contact after the invasion of Darius Hystaspes, is the expedition of Alexander the Great. Undertaking it, not merely because its north-western districts were embraced in the Empire of Darius, but because it presented a new world to him worthy of his conquest, he furnishes us with one of the grandest pictures in the history of antiquity. Wearied with previous campaigning, covered with wounds and the toil of war, when the general and his soldiers entered upon its fertile plains, they seemed to renew their youth and their strength. Alexander's intention was not merely to subdue what had formerly been subject to Darius, and, like Nadir Shah in succeeding times, appear like some terrible meteor for a time and then vanish away : he seems to have formed a regular scheme of conquest, and to have set his heart on not merely equalling, but surpassing all the fabled deeds of father Dionysus, all the exploits of Semiramis and Sesostris, all the wonders of his ancestor Herakles. Even when his eager ambition received a check on the banks of the Hyphasis, when his soldiers refused to advance further and overcome the Prasii and Gangaridæ,—of whose power and splendour the young Chundra Gupta, who seems to have visited his camp, had told him—even when he reluctantly turned his steps to the West, and looked towards home, he but settled on new schemes yet to be accomplished. His reason for accompanying Nearchus down the Indus and fitting out the great maritime expedition which that admiral successfully conducted up the Persian Gulf, was that thus he might have information, and a new world for future conquests and future commerce. When after his terrible march through the burning deserts of Gedrosia and the jungles of the Doab, he was seized with fever and was dying at Babylon, his design was clear—to get rid of his Macedonian veterans who had opposed his ambitious wishes, and by a mixed army of disciplined Persians under Greek officers,—like our British Sepoy-army now—and new recruits from Macedonia, to return once more to the banks of the Hyphasis, and thence to commence a career of triumphant conquest, that should not cease till the Macedonian standard should wave over Palimbothra and the Gangetic valley, and he should take possession of the Bay of Bengal in the name of the gods, as of old he had of the Indian Ocean.

The expeditions of this pupil of Aristotle were not merely warlike, they were scientific. Attended by men who had received the first education that Greece could afford, and himself of high ability and powers of observation, if the full results and records of his campaigns had come down to us, we should have had a knowledge of Central Asia and Northern India, far superior to that possessed by Europe at any time till fifty years ago. But it unfortunately happens that, notwithstanding the number of Greek *savans* and writers by whom he delighted to be accompanied, we have our information but at second-hand; and were it not for the accurate and trustworthy Arrian, who lived four centuries after, we should have had nothing but a mass of fable and conjecture. Though, however, the original records of that great expedition have not come down to us, to Alexander and his army must we ascribe the popular myths that were afterwards current in antiquity regarding India, and which, increasing as they grew in age, gave rise to and nursed the adventurous spirit of the Italian Republics, the spirit of discovery of the Portuguese, the dreams of a Prester John and a land of gold, the enquiries of an Alfred the Great, and the travels of Sir John Mandeville and other early chroniclers. Every old veteran, as he retraced his steps homeward through the populous cities of Persia and Asia Minor, or as he sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, fought all his battles o'er again, had his own ever-new story to tell of the wonders that he had seen, and his own little knot of interested listeners, who magnified them as they extended them. The last relic of this strange spirit of curiosity, based in early days on unavoidable, and in later times on wilful ignorance—a curiosity and an ignorance fostered by the British and the East India Company until a recent period—is seen in the Indian novels of the early part of the present century, where every old Indian was of necessity a Clive, whose ill-gotten wealth was untold, whose crimes had been of the blackest die, and whose just fate was that of the suicide.

Of all the authors who accompanied Alexander, and who were eye-witnesses of, and actors in, many of the events that they relate, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus, were the most trustworthy. Arrian, in his introduction to his 'Anabasis,' gives sufficient reasons why he should trust their accounts above those of all others. Ptolemy, though of ignoble origin on his father's side, speedily raised himself to a high position at the Court of Philip, and when Alexander set out on his Asiatic expedition, was one of his most intimate friends and advisers. He took a prominent part in all the exploits of the Indian campaign, and on one occasion saved the life of Alexander himself. On the death of his master, foreseeing that the empire must be broken up, he secured Egypt for himself. and after a series of wars with the other generals, laid in security and splendour the foundation of that dynasty, which received liberty and literature when they fled from Greece, and which became finally extinguished in the person of the beautiful Cleopatra. When he was fairly seated on the throne of Egypt, he became a most munificent patron of literature and the fine arts, a taste which he handed down to his favourite son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus. He seems to have employed the later years of his life in writing the history of Alexander and his expedition, in circumstances very favorable at once to its truthfulness and graphic fullness. He died B. C. 283. Of Aristobulus we know much less. He belonged to Cassandreia; accompanied Alexander in all his campaigns; lived till the age of ninety years; and like his contemporary, wrote his history during the last six years of his life. So much Lucian tells us; and Athenæus, besides Arrian, often refers to his work.

Baeton and Diognetus were both employed in the scientific *suite* of Alexander, accurately to measure the distances in his various marches. They are hence called βηματιστάι, and are both mentioned by Pliny. The name of the work of the former is Σταθμοὶ τῆς ‘Αλεξάνδρου πορείας. Cleitarchus was another of the historiographers who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

He was the son of Deinon of Rhodes, the writer whose work on Persia Cornelius Nepos considered so trustworthy. Many critics have supposed that the work of Cleitarchus formed the basis of that by Quintus Curtius. He seems to have been more of a clever rhetorician than an accurate historian, and is often censured by later writers for his inaccuracy. Strabo and Arrian speak of an Androsthenes of Thasus, who was an admiral in the fleet of Nearchus, and wrote an account of the voyage as well as a work entitled Τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Παράπλους. Another and more famous admiral in that expedition was Onesicritus, who was with Alexander throughout the whole of his campaigns, and was distinguished especially for his skill in seamanship, a knowledge of which he must have derived from his native island of Ægina. It was he (for he was a disciple of the Cynic philosophy) who had an interview with the Brahmans or Indian Gymnosophists; and in the fleet he seems to have been second only to Nearchus, since he held the important post of pilot of the King's ship, for his services in which capacity he was rewarded in the same way as Nearchus, with a crown of gold. Diogenes Laertius gives us a full account of the work of Onesicritus. Beginning with the youth of Alexander, he traces up his whole history, interspersing with it many stories that are purely fabulous or that do not rest on sufficient evidence. His is the honour of having been the first author to mention Taprobane or the island of Ceylon.

Of all these men, however, Nearchus was the most famous. A native of Crete, we find him holding high office in the Court of Philip of Macedon; and like Ptolemy, whom in many respects he resembled, one of the chosen companions of the young Alexander. Joining his master in the course of his Asiatic expedition at Bactria, he was afterwards appointed to the command of the fleet of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Throughout the whole narrative of Arrian he is highly praised for his tact, his skill, his firmness. Even when attacked by the Orifæ, when he had to put back into one of their harbours, he shewed himself to be something of a general; leading the fleet through unknown seas and hidden dangers, when the fabulous and the superstitious combined together to render everything terrible. He at last reached the Anamis in Harmozia, and there met Alexander. Continuing his voyage up the Gulf, in February (324 B. C.) he finally reached Susa, and was nobly rewarded by his master. Vincent, in his work on the "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Seas," has tracked Nearchus in all the details of his voyage, and has also entered fully into the interesting question as to the authorship of the work that bears his name, and from which Arrian has taken the greater part of his Indica. The best geographers of later days bear evidence to the accuracy of his geographical details; and succeeding discoveries by travellers have only tended to confirm statements that before seemed to be utterly fabulous.

The only other writer of this age, of whom we need now speak, is Evemerus. Born in Sicily he flourished at the Court of Cassander [illegible] Macedonia, about 316 B. C. He was previously trained in the school [illegible] Cyrenaic philosophers, and so much [illegible] had [illegible] religious scepticism become [illegible] that [illegible] contemporaries he was viewed as an Atheist. He [illegible] mainly [illegible] arch-rationalist of his time. Eusebius tells [illegible] that Cassander sent him on an expedition of discovery down the Red Sea, and along all the coasts washed by the Indian Ocean until he reached the distant [illegible] of Panchæa. The work in which he gives an account of his travels is his Ἱερά Ἀναγραφή, a title in which he lays claim [illegible], having taken the facts of his history from public documents. In many of his statements he [illegible] have been far in advance [illegible] the age in which he lived [illegible] be [illegible] that decline in the hold which the popular [illegible] took on the minds of educated men, and which prepared the soil for the introduction of the truths of Revelation.

The information which antiquity gained regarding India from the expedition of Alexander was soon increased and rendered more accurate by the third great historical event—the Invasion of its Gangetic districts by Seleucus Nicator. On the departure of Alexander from the provinces that he had conquered in India (B. C. 327), Philip, son of Mac[illegible]as, was left as Satrap. The Malli and Oxydracæ afterwards conquered, were also added to his Satrapy. At the head of [illegible] an insufficient number of mercenaries, and with Chandra Gupta stirring up the neighbouring tribes to revolt, we need [illegible] wonder that he was removed by assassination. Meanwhile Chandra Cupta, the early part of whose life we have already alluded to, completely expelled the troops left by Alexander. That monarch, becoming aware of those changes, appointed Eudemus, another of his generals, to act along with Porus, until another Satrap should be sent. Having treacherously murdered his colleague Porus, he marched to the assistance of Eumenes with a large army, and fought with him at the battle of Gabiene. Taking advantage of his absence from the seat of Government, Chandra Gupta roused his countrymen, expelled the Greeks from their provinces, became master of the Punjab, and marching southward, overran the whole of the Gangetic valley, laying the foundation of the Mauryan dynasty of Maghada. This probably occurred about B. C. 315. Meanwhile Seleucus had been engaged in holding and adding to the dominions that fell to him after the death of Alexander. He recovered Babylon from Antigonus on the 1st of October B. C. 312, which is the great era of the Seleucidæ. Having now little to fear from Antigonus, who was occupied with his own affairs in Western Asia, he resolved to recover his lost possessions in North-Western India, and if possible to extend them. But he found that he had no series of petty chieftains to deal with, whom he might subdue one by one, or set to oppose each other. He found Chundra Gupta at the head of a powerful empire, with an army, as Plutarch tells us, of 600,000 men. As might have been expected, even Seleucus could make but little impression on such a power: and so, wisely and in time, he seems to have secured an honourable retreat, forming a treaty by which, for 500 elephants, he gave up to the great Mauryan monarch, the provinces on the west of the Indus, which probably he could not longer hold with advantage. To cement the alliance Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus as his ambassador at the Court of Palimbothra. He had thus the best opportunity for becoming acquainted with India, at a period when its whole Northern districts constituted one great empire. His "Indica" was in four books. We have it now only in fragments, to collect and make quotations from which is the main object of the work before us. Dr. Schwanbeck thus sums up the information given by Megasthenes :—

"Geographiam Indiae scribere coepit finibus recte enumeratis. Deinde transit ad magnitudinem Indiae describendam, de qua primus inter omnes Graecos rectius judicavit, neque eam postea ullus, si universum spectas, accuratius definivit. Item primus et Daimacho excepto solus ex omnibus Graecis novit Indiae formam, de qua ii, qui ante Alexandrum scripserunt, nihil omnino, quod sciamus, certius dicere erant ausi, et cuius Macedones tam fuerant ignari, ut errore maximo longitudinem ab occidente ad orientem, a septentrionibus meridiem versus esse latitudinem putarent. Latitudinem dicit XVI. millia stad. explere, addens quo modo hoc spatium computaverit: ab Indo enim usque ad Pat'aliputram columnas milliarias X. mill. stad. indicare, reliquum spatium usque ad mare porrectum VI. mill. stad. ex computatione nautarum efficere. Quod spatium, etsi re vera media Indi pars a Gangis ostiis non amplius XIII. mill. DCC. stad. abest, tamen si computationis illius rationem habemus, videtur quam accuratissime indicavisse. Quanto autem intervallo Himalaja mons ab australi Indiae fine distaret, Megasthenes iam minus accurate poterat dicere, quum in hoc spatio terrae natura illi computationi minus conveniret. Quod igitur intervallum, quod recta via non amplius XVI. mill. CCC. stad, explet, et si Taprobanen insulam annumeraveris, XVII. mill. D. stad. aequat, XXII. mill. CCC. efficere contendit, qui tamen numerus illi modo computandi satis accurate videtur respondere.

Altero quoque modo Indiae magitudinem Megasthenes descripsit. Asiam enim ad Africam sitam in quatuor partes sibi dividit, exquibus contendit eam, quae a mari ad Euphratem pateat, esse minimam, alias duas, quae terras inter Indum et Euphratem comprehendant, conjunctas vix pares esse Indiae.

Postremo astronomice indicavit terrae situm et ambitum, apud Strabonem 76. memorans haecce: *ἐν τοῖς νοτιοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τάς τε ἄρκτους ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, καὶ, τὰς σκιὰς ἀντιπίπτειν.* Alterum fieri in extrema Indiae parte, quae meridiem versus sita est, alterum in omnibus regionibus ab tropico ad meridiem sitis, nemo est qui nesciat."

The date of the work must be placed previous to B. C. 288, at which time Chandra Gupta died. We have every reason to trust the accounts of Megasthenes, and nothing can be more interesting than for the scholar in India who has read Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, and Quintus Curtius, and who has detailed knowledge of the manners and customs of the Hindus around him at the present day, to read these fragments which Schwanbeck has collected, and compare them with what he already knows. The accuracy is most striking.

Chundra Gupta was succeeded by his son Vindusára or Bimbisara: a second embassy was sent either by Seleucus or his son Antiochus Soter to this king. The ambassador, whose name is given us by Strabo, was Daimachus. The king to whom he was sent is called by the Greek geographer Allitrochades or Amitrochates. This name is supposed by Lassen to be the same as Amitraghāta, the Sanscrit for "foe-killer." Strabo considers him the most inaccurate of all the historians who have written regarding India, and hesitates not to apply to him the polite term *ψευδόλογος*. Vindusára was succeeded by his great son Asoka, B. C. 263, and in his reign a third ambassador of the name of Dionysius was sent to his court by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned in Egypt from B. C. 285 to 246. This third embassy, however, is involved in great obscurity. Pliny in his Natural History (vi. 17) only says "Dionysius a Philadelpho missus." It may be necessary to mention in this period the name of Patrocles, a Macedonian attached to the service of Seleucus, and holding under his successor Antiochus, the satrapy of the eastern provinces of Syria bordering upon the frontiers of India. As Strabo terms Daimachus *ψευδόλογος*, so he applies to this writer, the name of whose work has not come down to us the phrase *ἥκιστα ψευδόλογος*.

From this period on to fifty years after Christ, we have a series of authors who are more critics than accurate historians or independent travellers. Phylarchus (B. C. 215) probably of Athens, in his 'Ιστορίαι, seems to have begun with the death of Alexander, and in doing so to have treated of India. Polemon of Athens (about B. C. 200) was a geographer who travelled all over Greece, and wrote a work from which he has received the title ὁ περιηγήτης. Mnaseas was a topographer or antiquarian like the preceding, and having the same surname, who wrote a "Periplus" in three books, in which he treats of Europe, Asia and Africa respectively. Eratosthenes, the great geometer who first measured the magnitude of the earth, (died B. C. 196) is said by Arrian and Plutarch to have written on the expedition of Alexander the Great; and certainly in his great map of the earth, which he drew according to his own measurements of distance, it would be interesting to know where he placed India relatively to other countries. A Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a geographer, was employed in Egypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, and is said to have undertaken many voyages to India by way of the Red Sea. Under the enlightened and fostering care of Ptolemy Soter, the trade between Egypt and India became most important. Not merely were Alexandria and Tyre its emporia, but the city of Berenice was built in an admirable situation on the west coast of the Red Sea. Hence goods were sent through the Thebaid to Coptos, where they were put in boats and conveyed to Alexandria by the Nile.

We now meet with no original notices regarding India till after the time of Christ. Soon all intercourse between the Syrian kings and the Indian tribes ceased, and the Scytho-Bactrian empire was established. Our knowledge of it is almost entirely derived from coins. Prof. Lassen and other scholars have entered fully into this subject, and to treat of it is beyond our province. In the year B.C. 144, we find that Appollodorous a Greek grammarian of Athens, wrote a work called Γῆς Περῖοδος. It is remarkable as having been written in Iambic verse (κωμικῷ μέτρῳ.) It must have embraced most of the geographical knowledge then current regarding India. His example was followed (about B. C. 70) by Scymnus of Chios, whose "Periegesis" was dedicated to a king, supposed to be Nicomedes III. There is, however, much doubt as to the authorship of the poem, the probability being that it was taken from an original work of Scymnus written in prose. We shall see that afterwards Dionysius published a similar work. Alexander Cornelius, better known by his surname of Polyhistor (about B. C. 90) wrote a work to which the name of Παντοδαπῆς Ὕλης Λόγοι has been given. It consisted of 42 books, each of which professed to give a historical and geographical account of one of the chief countries of the Ancient World. Josephus, in his Jewish

Antiquities, and again in his answer to Apion, makes mention of a Philostratus, who wrote accounts of both India and Phœnicia. He says, when speaking of the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar and his public works, " Megasthenes, in the fourth volume of his history of India, speaks of these garden works, and sets forth the king both for his enterprise and his performances, to have been much superior to Hercules himself, having subdued the greatest part of Libya and likewise Iberia. Diocles makes mention of this king in the second book of his Persian history, and so does Philostratus, in the account he gives of the Phœnicians and the Indians." This is a very different man from the grea. Philostratus, to whom we shall presently have occasion to allude.

Another of the men of talent and adventure whom the Ptolemies gathered around them at the Court of Egypt was Agatharcides of Cnidus. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (who died B. C. 146) and tells us that he was appointed guardian to one of the Egyptian kings during his minority. His work on Asia in 10 books, and more especially that on the Erythraean Sea, composed in his old age, gives him a place in our list. The last was especially valuable, for in the fifth book " he described the mode of life amongst the Sabæans in Arabia, and the Icthyophagi, or fish-eaters, the way in which the elephants were caught by the elephant-eaters, and the mode of working the gold mines in the mountains of Egypt near the Red Sea."

After the time of Megasthenes we have but few additions to the classical literature on India, but what are copied from preceding writers. The Romans had their attention directed more to the west than the east; and although an Indian ambassador is said to have visited Augustus and Claudius, and the hyperbolical flattery of the literati of the court of the former may thus have had a slender foundation, yet we cannot see that there was much new information on the subject. The dreaded Parthi were the limit of the empire in the east. Polybius (died B. C. 122) in his history (xi. 34) mentions a king Sophagasenus, who formed an alliance with Antiochus the Great. Schlegel translates the name *Subhagasenas*, which in Sanskrit means "the leader of a fortunate army." He was probably a successor of Sandracottus. When Egypt came under their power, they did little more than continue that trade which the Ptolemies had established. The Sicilian Diodorus, having travelled largely in Asia and Europe, set himself to write a Bibliotheca or Universal History. He seems to have industriously copied the chief statements in the works of original historians, and to him are we indebted for much that we know of Ctesias and Megasthenes. He is indebted also to one Iambulus, who wrote a work on the physical appearance of the Indians. The story connected with this writer seems to be a fabulous one, *viz.*, that he was taken prisoner by the Ethiopians, and kept as a slave on a happy island in the east, where he became acquainted with the Indians. He must have written his history in the time of Augustus.

The industrious and accurate Marcus Terentius Varro, who has well been called the "most learned of the Romans," died 28 B. C. In his geographical writings, his *Libri Navales*, and his work *De Ora Maritima*, he chiefly followed Eratoshthenes. These works seem more likely to have been his than to have been the production of P. Terentius Varro Atacina, the author of the *Argonautica*, with whom he is often confounded. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the great friend of Augustus, must have treated of India in his "Commentarii." Pomponius Mela, who lived immediately after the time of Augustus, in his treatise "De Situ Orbis" takes up India and the adjacent countries in the course of his descriptive catalogue, following Megasthenes as his chief authority. The Universal History of Nicolaus Damascenus, the friend of Augustus, seems to have contained passges from Megasthenes. The two Senecas mention a historian of the name of Timagenes, who was brought as a captive to Rome, but rose from the meanest employments to be the friend of Augustus. Under his protection he wrote several historical works, a Periplus of the whole sea in five books, and a work called Περὶ βασιλέων, in which he gave an account of Alexander the Great and his successors. Strabo, who also belongs to the age of Augustus, devoted the 15th book of his "Geography" to a description of India and Persia. As he had not, in all his travels, himself visited these, he is indebted to previous writers, whom he draws upon very largely but very judiciously. In his writings he refers to Juba II., King of Mauritania, who was in his time lately dead. His peaceful reign was devoted to the arts of peace and pursuits of literature, and his historical and geographical works were valued by later writers. It was to be expected that Pliny in his "Historia Naturalis" would not overlook India, and accordingly he considers it in the 6th book of that work; but his statements evidently shew that he could have given us much more information regarding it. He contented himself with saying that the accounts are conflicting and fabulous. He might have left his readers to judge of that. From him we learn that Seneca wrote a work on India. Pamphila, the great authoress of Nero's time, made an epitome of Ctesias in three books. Plutarch, also in Nero's time, has occasion to speak of India very fully, in his life of Alexander. Tacitus in his "Annals" also speaks of India.

The date and events in the life of Quintus Curtius Rufus have been a cause of much controversy and conjecture among critics. From a flattering allusion to the *Princeps* of the Roman people in the 10th book of his work "De Gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum," it is generally agreed that he lived in or near to the time of Augustus. This work is one of the greatest interest, and well known to every school-boy. Its sources were no doubt the historians of Alexander's expedition, and in later times Ptolemy and Timagenes. Another historian over whom a perfect obscurity rests is Trogus Pompeius. We know his great historical work only from the abridgement or rather Anthology of it by Justin. He probably lived, however, in the time of Augustus; while Justin, who is first quoted by Jerome, cannot have been later than the 5th century after Christ. The orignal work was entitled "Liber Historiarum Phillippicarum," and contained forty-four books. It approaches somewhat to the character of a Universal History, and by way of introduction or digression, takes up the early history of the Assyrians and Persians, and the expeditions of Semiramis and Darius Hystaspes.

Marinus of Tyre flourished about B. C. 150. He has been called the "founder of Mathematical Geography," seeing that he was the first to measure and describe places according to their latitude and longitude. One who so accurately studied the writings of preceding geographers and travellers as he did, must have had more clear ideas regarding India than any of his predecessors. We know him best through the great Ptolemæus Claudius, who immediately succeeded him, and who often refers to his works. He gives us the names of writers consulted by Marinus, of whom we are otherwise entirely ignorant, Diogenes, Theophilus, Alexander of Macedon, Dioscurius, Septimius Flaccus, Julius Maternus, Titianus of Macedon, also called Maes, and "many others." The Γεωγραφικὴ ʻυφήγησις of Ptolemy contains the whole geographical knowledge of the ancients, reduced to order and scientific completeness. The ancient world may be said never to have advanced beyond it, until the Portuguese and Columbus inaugurated a new career of maritime adventure and conquest. His projection of the sphere is bounded on the east by the Sinae and the people of Serica, and on the south by the Indian Sea. In the 7th book of his work he gives an account of India, the Malayan Peninsula, Ceylon and China. In the Varia Historia of Ælian, with its fabulous stories and gossiping style, we find many statements regarding India, chiefly taken from Megasthenes.

Arrian of Nicomedia is perhaps, in all respects, the best of the authors of antiquity who have written regarding India, and whose works have come down to us. He flourished in the second century after Christ, and is known in literature as a follower of the Stoics and a successful imitator of Xenophon. His works, in respect both of subject and style, resemble those of the latter.

His value consists in the fact that he is perhaps the best historical critic of antiquity. He holds the first place in the rank of the historians of Alexander. He was not merely careful in choosing the best writers as his authorities, but exercised a rare sagacity in reconciling differences, discerning errors, and putting that which was important in its proper place. His statements regarding India at the end of his Anabasis, and his fuller work on the subject—" Indica," contain a succinct account of almost all the important facts that the ancients knew regarding India. Both the subject and style of this work, and that of Curtius, fit them admirably as text-books for our public schools : and in Germany, England, and in some cases in India, they are now read. In his Indica, he seems to follow Ctesias and Megasthenes, and to have embodied the Paraplus of Nearchus, of whom he speaks in very high terms.

To Arrian has been often ascribed the authorship of two works—a Periplus of the Euxine and also of the Erythraean Sea. The latter work is of some importance with reference to India, but it must have been written at a much later date. It is the work, evidently, of one well acquainted with the subject, who had probably himself made the voyage. It tells us of one Hippalus, who, as he sailed down the Red Sea and entered on the wide Indian Ocean, discovered the regularity of the monsoons, and taking advantage of the fact sailed right across the ocean to the Malabar coast. It gives us a fuller account of the Eastern coast of India than is met with in previous writers. The south of India seems to have been partially known, and Comorin (Comar) the Cavery (Chaberis) Arcot (Arcati Regia), &c. seem to have been familiar. Solinus, (A. D. 238) in his Geography, gives an account of the various countries in the world, and seems to have brought together many interesting details regarding them. His work contained quotations from Megasthenes.

Philostratus of Lemnos flourished in the time of the Emperor Philip, about A. D. 250. His largest work is the lives of the Sophists, but that which has caused him to be best known is his biography of Apollonius of Tyana. It is this book, filled with incredible fables and absurdities, that gives great importance to the name of Apollonius, in the early history of the Christian Church. In most of his fabled miracles, and in the wonders of his extraordinary life, he was brought forward by heathens, such as Hierocles, as a greater than Jesus Christ. The whole work seems to be a collection of the more wonderful parts of the history of Ctesias and previous writers on the East, and to be in many cases " a parody of some of the Christian miracles." He is represented by Philostratus as being of noble birth, and born in the city of Tyana, about 4 B.C. As a youth he went through the whole circle of philosophy and the sciences as then known, and ended by becoming a Pythagorean. Anxious to emulate the fame of his great master, he underwent a course of ascetic discipline, distributed his patrimony among his poor relatives, and set out on his travels, when he had passed the five years of his noviciate in perfect silence and mystic contemplation. After traversing Asia Minor, he set out for the East at the age of fifty years. At Nineveh he was joined by the Assyrain Damis, on whose life of his master, that of Philostratus was probably based. At Babylon he had many conversations with Arsaces (Bardanes), then king; and was initiated into the rites of the Magi. Thus equipped he passed into India, where, at a place called Taxila, of which Phraortes was king, he entered into disputation with the Gymnosophists, and with Iarchas, the chief of the Brahmans. After five years spent in his Eastern travels he returned to Greece, and set up as a miracle-monger. He is said to have met with Vespasian, then ambitious for the Roman Purple, and to have incited him to make efforts for it. He was tried for sorcery before Domitian; but vanished, and was afterwards found in Greece. His prediction regarding the death of the tyrant was literally fulfilled. He finally died at Ephesus, though Rhodes and Crete also claim the honour of his dust. Such is an outline of the wonderful life of Apollonius of Tyana, so clumsy a fiction that we can now only wonder that even some of the Christian Fathers, such as Eusebius allowed its truth.

The remaining notices of India in the Classics are soon disposed of. Dionysius surnamed Periegctes, lived probably in the 4th century after Christ, and wrote a Περιὴγησις τῆς Γῆς in hexameter verse; in which he chiefly follows Eratosthenes. As he professes to take up the whole world in it, India naturally occurs. It was highly valued in ancient times, and is still extant. Nonnus, a Greek poet of Panopolis in Egypt, wrote a poem called the "Dionysiacs" about the beginning of the 5th century after Christ. He is spoken of by Agathias, who immediately succeeded him. His work is an epic of more than oriental length and bombast. It is in forty-eight books, and professes to trace the career of Dionysus. Wilford in the Asiatic Researches (vol. ix., p. 93) supposes that the poetaster borrowed at least the subject of his poem from the Mahabharat. Heeren, however, says "this must be understood only of the expedition of Bacchus into India. But even where the scene is laid in that country, it is not easy to discover in this poem anything of the true Indian character." Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, lived under Justinian (A. D. 535.) He was an Egyptian monk, though in early life he followed the pursuits of a merchant, and traded extensively in the Red Sea, along the east coast of Africa, and the whole southern coasts of Arabia, Persia and India. Having amassed a fund of knowledge and experience, he withdrew from the cares of life, and that he might embody his knowledge in a permanent form, entered a monastery. He published a work entitled Τοπογραφία Χριστιανκή, with the object of proving that the world is an extended surface. In it he tells us that he travelled to Adule, a port of Ethiopia, belonging to the king of Auxume. It was here that he fell in with a certain Sopater, who had just returned from Ceylon, and who furnished him with full information concerning that island, which he has embodied in his work, and which proves it to have been then the "common emporium of southern commerce."

In many of the works of the early Christian Fathers we find allusions to India. The subject on which they chiefly write is that of the Brahmans, Gymnosophists and religious sects and castes. At a time when superstition and persecution led the whole of Christendom to be infected with a desire for the austerities of Monachism, when even such a great and manly soul as that of Augustine admired them, we need not wonder that they were led to other countries and other literatures for examples of similar asceticism. Palladius, the famous author of the Lausiac History, which was composed about A. D. 420, wrote a work Περὶ τῶν Ἰνδίας εθνῶν καὶ τῶν βραχμάνων. Much doubt, however, rests on the authorship. Whoever the writer was, he visited India along with Moses, Bishop of that Adule above mentioned. A work "De Moribus Brachmanorum" is ascribed to St. Ambrose, but without reason. It is rather a free translation of that by Palladius. Porphyry, the celebrated antagonist of the Christians, who wrote about the beginning of the 3rd century, treats at some length of the Indian Gymnosophists, dividing them into the two classes of Brachmanes and Samanaei. To him this must have been a favorite subject: as in all respects of belief, and many of life, he corresponded with the latter class. All the descriptions of these men point to the fact that Buddhism was the prevailing religion of India at that time. Between Porphyry and Palladius, there was a Chinese traveller, Fa Hian, whose descriptions agree with those of both these authors. Porphyry mentions a Bardesanes Babylonius, who wrote on the Gymnosophists. He seems to have been a different man from the great Syrian Gnostic of the same name.

The early history of Christianity in India does not at present fall within our province, otherwise it would lead us to consider somewhat fully those Fathers and Ecclesiatical historians who have written regarding India, such as Sozomen, Theodoret, Epiphanius, Valesius. We have Pantænus the first Missionary to India (A. D. 181) whose finding of St. Matthew's gospel there, probably gave rise to the traditions of Thomas and Bartholomew having converted it. The fact of a Manichee, of the name of Thomas, having visited Syrian Churches in the third century, may have further given rise to this tradition. The writings of Pantænus have not come down to us, but we have his pupil Clemens Alexandrinus; also Origen, Rufinus, Jerome, Eusebius and Socrates Scholasticus, who speak of him. Cyril treats of the Gymnosophists and makes quotations from Megasthenes. In the acts of the Council of Nice we find one of the Bishops who subscribed himself as Ἰωάννης Πέρσης, τῆς ἐν Περσίδι πάσῃ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδίᾳ. The latter part, in the Great India, may refer merely to his having jurisdiction over the Church there, and not to his actual labours in the country. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the seventh century, states that Christianity was introduced into Ceylon by the Ethiopian Eunuch, of whose conversion Philip was the means. The story of Frumentius and Œdesius, as told by Ruffinus, is full of interest; and there is no reason to doubt its truthfulness. Wretched as are the epitomes made by Photius of Constantinople (about A. D. 863) of Ctesias and other writers on India, his name should not be passed over. Nor should that of Nicephorus Callistus, (died A. D. 1450) whose Ecclesiastical History is a compilation from the work of Eusebius and other early Church historians. In the "Speculum Universale" of Vincentius Bellovacensis, and the writings of Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century, we find many of the ancient stories regarding India reproduced.

We would refer our readers for fuller information to Hudson's collection of the Minor Geographers, to Vincent's admirable work on "the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian seas," and to Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," to which, in this article, we have been indebted. Dr. Schwanbeck's work is one of laborious research, and is exhaustive on Megasthenes. The whole subject, however, of India in the Classics, yet requires to be fully taken up by some ripe scholar. It will amply repay a minute study, and we believe much light through it may yet be thrown on the early history of India. So far as classical studies are pursued in the public schools for Christians in India, it would be well to accomplish two objects at once, and study the Indian portions of the works of such admirable writers as Arrian, Strabo and Curtius. This would be at once done were they to be chosen as the text-books for examination in the various Indian Universities. They are largely read in our English public schools.

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From the 5th to the 10th century a dark veil enshrouds the history of India, to be withdrawn only by an attentive study of topes, monuments and inscriptions, as illustrating and illustrated by written records. Time plants her ruthless heel on all such memorials, and hurries them off to decay, or covers them under jungle and vegetation. Even the early British period is retreating into dim obscurity, and our history in India a hundred years ago has become a matter of research for the antiquary. Let us raise India to her proper position in the page of history. Then will China follow, the dark vapours of a priest-created antiquity will be dispelled, and God's purposes of mercy to the world will be more and more accomplished, by the union of the various tribes in the bond of Christian brotherhood.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

BY REV. T. SMITH, D.D.

Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., late Envoy to Persia, and Governor of Bombay. From unpublished letters and journals. By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE, &c., &c. 2 vols. London, 1856.

IT is with a feeling of great sadness that we enter upon the task of reviewing these volumes. The task had been assigned to, and had been undertaken by, one who could have done infinitely more justice to the subject than we can expect to do. If there were in all India, perhaps we might say in all the world, a man who could have entered with fullest sympathy into the character and achievements of the chivalrous soldier, the wise diplomatist, the enlightened governor, the light-hearted playmate of children, the judicious counsellor and animating leader of youth, the affectionate brother, the loving husband, the fond father, the constant friend, the large-hearted philanthropist, the honest man, the earnest Christian—that man was one whom India and the world have lately lost, Sir Henry Lawrence. It was he that ought to have reviewed this book; and we have reason to believe that he was actually engaged upon it until the time when public duty, and care for the safety of the beleaguered band, for whom he watched so earnestly, and fought so bravely, and died so nobly, occupied and engrossed all his thoughts. As well in the peculiarities of their characters as in the circumstances of their careers, there was a remarkable similarity between Sir John Malcolm and Sir Henry Lawrence. The one a Scotchman, and the other an Irishman, each exhibited a combination, as rare as it is graceful, of those qualities that are generally regarded as characteristic of these two nationalities; though perhaps in each, the characteristic of the other's nation predominated over that of his own. The Scottish Malcolm seems to have had even more than Lawrence of the almost reckless buoyancy of spirits and love of adventure and fun, which are generally considered as distinctive of an Irishman; the Irish Lawrence had decidedly more than Malcolm of the calm reflection, and practical sagacity, and determined perseverance, that are regarded as the birthright of a Scotchman.

With respect to the circumstances of the careers of these two men, it may not be without interest to notice that each had an elder brother in the civil service, and was himself in the military service of the East India Company;—that each was one of several brothers that achieved high distinction; that each was employed in high political and diplomatic service; and that each, in the course of that service, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself also in his proper military capacity; that each was employed in administering and civilizing a vast country, and impressing his own stamp on its institutions. Thus, alike in many of the prominent circumstances of their lives, it were vain, and perhaps wrong, to regret that they were not alike in the circumstances of their deaths. Malcolm died in a fresh old age, attended by the wife of his youth, and the children who regarded him not only as a father, but also as a companion and a friend. Lawrence, after several years of widowhood, and with no child near him, in the prime of his manhood, died a soldier's death.

Mr. Kaye has been very felicitous in the choice of subjects for the exercise of his admirable talents as a biographer.* Mr. Tucker might not indeed be a great man in the ordinary sense of that term; but he was a man on whom very great responsibilities devolved in the administration of Indian affairs, in this country and in England; and he was always equal to the task of sustaining these responsibilities. Lord Metcalfe *was* a great man: and he too bore an important part in the acquisition and administration of our Indian empire. Sir John Malcolm also was a great man; though his greatness was of a different order from that of Lord Metcalf, and perhaps not of so high an order. Their biographer has done full justice to their various characters, and has contrived to render them almost as well known to his readers, as if they had been their personal associates. But he has done more than this. As people generally learn most of what they know of tho history of England from Shakespeare, Scott and Bulwer—or did so before the publication of Mr. Macaulay's history—so we believe that any student will get a much more inward, hearty knowledge of the history of, India under the British rule from these three works of Mr. Kaye, than from any formal history that has yet been written, or is likely to be written for a long time to come. The three men's lives run like a connecting thread through a whole rosary of most important transactions, extending over a very long period. Tucker began his Indian career in 1787, only thirty years after the battle of Plassey; and three-score years after, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, he sent out Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General; nor did his connexion with India cease until 1851. Metcalfe was born in Calcutta in 1785, nine days before Warren Hastings left India; but his proper Indian career began in 1801; and he was mixed up, in a more or less important way, with most important transactions, almost from his first arrival, down to the day of his departure in 1838. In 1783, two years before Metcalfe was born, Malcolm arrived in India; and he to like Metcalfe, was very early employed in important affairs. He left India in 1830; but like Tucker, he took an earnest interest in its affairs down to the day of his death in 1833. Thus these three lives cover the whole period from the close of Warren Hastings's administration down to the annexation of the Punjab. And then their departments were so different, that the treatment of their lives separately does not lead to repetition, but only to greater fulness, and a more distinct exhibition of the various events of the time. And what country can exhibit so stirring a history? India has not had the happiness—whatever other happiness she may have had—which is said to appertain to the land whose annals are blank. No: truly hers have been written on all four pages of the sheet, and crossed like a young lady's letter.

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* For reviews of Mr. Kaye's lives of Tucker and Metcalfe, see *Calcutta Review*, Vols. XXII. and XXIV.

We have said that Malcolm was a Scotchman, but it was not "Caledonia stern and wild" that gave him birth, but the rich vale of the Esk, where the scenery resembles the richest English landscape. His father had been educated for the ministry of the church, but had been prevented by a defect of utterance from entering it. He was tenant of Burnfoot, a farm of considerable extent, partly arable and partly pastoral. But he was not content to abide by his short-horns and his black-faced: but entered into speculations, in which, like so many others who have "too many irons in the fire," he burned his fingers. But his character did not suffer. "A close investigation into his concerns "revealed only the just dealings of the man." "He felt the "burden that was upon him, for he was a man by nature of "an anxious and sensitive temperament, but, sustained by a good "conscience, he bore up bravely beneath it. There was not "perhaps a day of his life in which he did not remember his "misfortunes—but he suffered with true Christian resignation, "and was thankful for the blessings that remained." Such was "Auld Burnfit," a noble specimen of that proper middle class which Scotland alone possesses; a class which is a middle class, not because it stands between the higher and the lower, and belongs to neither, but because it belongs to both, so that its members can associate with the higher class without servility, and with the lower without arrogance. And the "guid-wife" of Burnfoot was worthy of her husband; "a woman of high principle and "sound understanding, but womanly in all; of quick parts and "ready resources; strong in doing and in suffering; but gentle "and affectionate, a support in adversity to her husband, and to "her children a tender, a watchful, but not an over-indulgent "mother. How much they all owed to her, it is difficult to "say. She lived to be the mother of heroes, and was worthy "of such a race" Yes! difficult to say, as it is difficult to count the sand-grains. To have such a mother is not a matter for *saying*, but for feeling, and for evincing thankfulness, not so much with the lips as in the life.

The quiver of the farmer of Burnfoot was filled with a goodly sheaf. Ten sons were ready to speak with his enemies in the gate,—only the worthy man had no enemies;—while seven daughters were ready to give a hearty, homely welcome to his friends, of whom he had many. John, the fourth of the sonse was born on the 2nd of May 1769, and thus was a day younger than Arthur Wellesley. He got his education in the parish school of Westerkirk, and still more in the parlor and the kitchen of Burnfoot. From his pious father and mother he learned much; and not little from the stalwart ploughmen and shepherds of the border. He might have been a good scholar, if he had chosen; but scholarship was not the quality which he then held in highest esteem. His energy expended itself mainly in mischief. One of those light-hearted, restless boys who *will* always break through all rules, but with whom it is impossible to be angry, or to be angry for any length of time. We are pretty sure that it was neither with very intense anger, nor with very intense sorrow, that the worthy school-master came to the conclusion that, whenever any mischief was perpetrated, he could not be wrong, however appearances might point in another direction, in assuming that "Jock's at the bottom o't." And when, many years after, he received from the Persian envoy a copy of his history, with the inscription, "Jock's at the bottom o't," we may be very sure that it did not take him by surprise to find Jock at the bottom of something else than mischief.

We have said that Mr. Malcolm was of that middle class which in Scotland, stands between the higher and the lower, and belongs to both, as distinguished from the middle class elsewhere, which, standing between the higher and the lower, too generally belongs to neither. To this he was indebted for the means of setting his sons on the ladder which so many of them climbed so manfully. Robert was a civilian in the Madras presidency; James, afterwards Sir James Malcolm, K. C. B., was in the Marines, and Pulteney was on the way to the Red Flag at the Fore, determined, doubtless, to be what he in due time became, and what so many midshipmen determine to be, but never become, (but are all the better for the determination) an Admiral and a G.C.B. And now came John's turn. He had not quite attained the age of twelve years, when Mr. Johnstone of Alva intimated to Mr. Malcolm that his brother, the well-known Governor Johnstone of Ceylon, could procure for John an appointment in the military service of the Company. All felt that the appointment would have been more desirable at a later period; but it was not certain that it could be got then; and so the boy must take the tide at the flood. Still it seems to have been resolved that as much delay should be interposed as could be permitted. In the summer of next year, Mr. John Pasley, a London merchant, brother of Mrs. Malcolm, paid a visit to Burnfoot, and proposed to take his nephew with him to London, to have him brushed up a little before his presentation to the Honorable Court to pass for his cadetship. "So mere a child " was he, (says Mr. Kaye) that on the morning of his departure, " when the old nurse was combing his hair, she said to him, " Now Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa,' ye kaim ye'er head " and keep ye'er face clean; if ye dinna, ye'll just be sent haim " again." "Tut, woman," was the answer, "ye'ere aye sae feared, " ye'll see if I were awa amang strangers, I'll just do weel " aneugh." When we first read this anecdote, we were disposed to regard it as apocryphal; but we landed, after deep cogitation, in the conclusion that it is authentic, but that the deduction which Mr. Kaye draws from it is erroneous. He supposes that John's hair was combed every day by the old nurse; but we know enough of Scotch farm-house life to be sure that a boy of his stamp must have performed this office for himself at a very much earlier age. It was only because he was starting for London that the faithful old woman thought it her duty to "mak the callant a wee thocht dacent," and this she would have insisted on doing, if he had been a score instead of a dozen years old.

And Jock did " weel aneugh " among strangers. After seeing the wonders of the great metropolis, he was sent to school for a short time; but apparently the appointment which Governor Johnstone had secured for him, must be taken up within the year. There was no minimum age at that time prescribed for entrance into the Company's service; but each cadet was required to present himself before the Court of Directors, and receive their consent to proceed to India. " So, towards the end of " that year, 1781, John Malcolm was taken to the India-House, " and was, as his uncle anticipated, in a fair way to be rejected, " when one of the Directors said to him, 'Why, my little man, " what would *you* do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?' 'Do Sir'! " said the young aspirant, in prompt reply, 'I would out with " my sword and cut off his head.' 'You will do,' was the rejoinder, " 'let him pass.'" And so the matter ended. Now we presume that we ought to be very indignant at this scene, and to congratulate ourselves on the fact of our living in these days of competition, and the Philosophy of History, and the Differential Calculus. Well, these are all very well in their place; but it would be well if a few "marks" could be given for such juvenile spirit as was displayed in Malcolm's answer.

Although his commission, as a cadet of infantry in the Madras army, was dated in October 1781, Malcolm did not sail till the autumn of the following year, and did not reach Madras till the 16th of April 1783, when his age was a fortnight short of fourteen years. Although his life on the braes of Eskdale had made him large and strong, his appearance was juvenile even for his years. The fresh bloom of his undowny cheeks, and the merry twinkle of his bright eye, and his unsophisticated manners, were those of childhood. He soon became a favourite with all who came into contact with him. Under the designation of "Boy Malcolm," a *soubriquet* that long adhered to him, he gained quite a reputation, in a small way, as being "at the bottom" of all the pranks and mischief in which young ensigns are wont to indulge. We are afraid that he did not stop here; but that at this period of his life he passed over the line that separates mischief from vice. If so, he soon returned. He had been trained up as a child in the way of goodness, and the promise was fulfilled to his faithful parents, that he should not long wander from that path. By the beginning of 1788, we find him speaking of his career of folly as a thing of the past; and his good resolutions was not like the morning cloud, or the early dew. During all the rest of his life, while he retained an unusual share of the buoyancy of youth, he seems never to have strayed from the paths of virtue. One effect of his youthful folly was the contraction of debt. An ensign's pay in those days was very small; but he ought to have been able to live upon it. He had applied to his uncle in London for a remittance, and he had sent him £200. But the letter came into the hand of his brother Robert, who judiciously withheld the money, and allowed the young ensign to work his way back to independence. "Do not" (says Robert Malcolm, writing to his mother in February 1789) "blame John, poor "fellow. Nothing but distress led him to what he did. It was "even unknown to me till I received my uncle's letters, which "I suppressed, and wrote to John in a different style than his "uncle had done. Had he got the money my uncle ordered,— "viz., £200—he would effectually have been ruined. But I "knew too well his situation to give him a shilling. He has "now cleared himself from debt, and is as promising a character "in his profession as lives." We see, then, that in the course of six years, he got into debt, and got out of it. Now we know that the former process is easy enough, but that the latter is not specially easy for any one, and that it must have been specially difficult for a young man on an ensign's pay, as an ensign's pay was in those days. If, then, we suppose that for half of the six years he was getting *into* debt, and for the other half getting *out* of it, it will follow that he only exceeded his pay during the first three years, by as much as he was able to save out of that pay in the second three years; and it is scarcely supposable that that was so much as fifty rupees a month. But suppose he were only two years in getting into debt, and four years in getting out of it, at the rate of fifty rupees a month, he must have overspent his income to the extent of Rs. 100 a month.

In 1790, Malcolm got a taste of soldiering in earnest. In that year, Lord Cornwallis went to war with Tippoo Sahib, and Malcolm's regiment was part of the force appointed to co-operate with the Nizam's troops, and was first employed in the siege of Copoulee. This fort stood out for six months, and at last capitulated in consequence of the taking of Bangalore. Malcolm's corps was then "ordered to join the main body of "the Nizam's army, which, accompanied by the Resident, Sir "John Kennaway, was then assembling to march upon Seringa-"patam, and co-operate with the British forces under Lord "Cornwallis." Here he was brought into acquaintance with "Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Græme Mercer, and others of the "diplomatic corps, then representing British interests at the "Court of Hyderabad." And this was the turning-point of his career. Through his intercourse with those gentlemen, his ambition was fired. He resolved to distinguish himself in the diplomatic line; and from this time he is to be regarded as an aspirant to be numbered amongst those "politicals," whom it has become fashionable of late years to decry, but to whom India owes a large debt of gratitude. His first step was to study Persian, and for this purpose, Mr. Mercer lent him his Moonshi. The defection of the "Boy Malcolm," from the ranks of the all-day idlers, was a calamity which they strove, by all the enginery of banter and cajolery, to prevent; but like Mr. Longfellow's excelsior, he turned a deaf ear to the voice of the charmer. At the same time he studied, with characteristic earnestness, the complicated questions of our relations with the native powers, and left no means unused to prepare himself for serving the State in the line that he had now marked out for himself. After a short leave of absence, on sick-certificate, he joined the camp of Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, and was appointed by His Lordship, probably on the recommendation of Sir John Kennaway, interpreter to the Nizam's troops. But his stay there was short. His health again broke drown, and he was obliged to go again to the sea-coast on sick-certificate. He seems to have remained there till the end of 1793, when he was obliged to apply for leave to Europe; and in February 1794, he sailed for old England, and reached it in such vigorous health, that it was difficult to persuade people that his sick-certificate was aught else than a "*bonao*."

Malcolm had been a dozen years absent from home when he revisited it. And this is just the proper time for an Indian to be absent from home. If he return earlier, he has not felt enough of the longing which makes him fully estimate the blessing. If he be much later, the changes that have occurred during his absence, are so marked, as greatly to sadden his enjoyment. Malcolm seems to have found things at Burnfoot pretty much as he left them. All that he had left behind were a dozen years older; but the change on them was not nearly so great as on himself. We presume that there must have been also a considerable addition to the flock during his absence; for it is not likely that all the seventeen Malcolms were born, before the fourth son was thirteen years old. Be this as it may, we may be sure that there was joy in Eskdale on the day that young Malcolm put his foot over the threshold of Burnfoot. Father and mother, and brother and sisters, and cousins of all degrees, and neighbours and dependents, rejoiced with no faint jubilation. We know something of the joy of such a return from exile; but the more we know of it, the less do we feel disposed to speak or to write of it. The joy of his visit was enhanced by the circumstance that his brothers Pulteney and James arrived from the West Indies during the time of John's being at home. But there was a dash of bitterness in the cup of bliss,—as in what cup of earthly bliss is there not? Three sons had gone to the West Indies, and two had gone to the East. Robert was still in the East, but he was well. Two had come from the West, but one, George, a fine young sailor, had fallen a victim to yellow fever in the beginning of the year. It was the first time that death had invaded the Burnfoot circle.

During his residence in England, Malcolm entered with characteristic zeal on the advocacy of the rights of the Company's officers, and did good service to a good cause; and by his letters in the newspapers on this subject, attracted the notice of men in power. But the months sped on as only months of furlough do speed. His health was quite re-established; indeed, the home voyage had been sufficient for that; and his duty lay not at Burnfoot, but at Madras; and to Madras he must go. He had reached England in July 1794, and he left it in May 1795. He had the advantage of going out as Secretary to Sir Alured Clarke, who was proceeding as Commander-in-Chief to Madras. On their way they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, and brought to a close the war that was then being waged between the Dutch and the English. It is so delightful to catch a historian of Mr. Kaye's almost finical accuracy "tripping," that we cannot resist the temptation of "shewing him up." He states, truly enough, that the fight in which General Clarke defeated the Dutch, gave the Cape Colony to the English : but he adds, not truly enough, that by the English it has ever since been retained. Now, of course, Mr. Kaye knows very well, though he seems for the moment to have forgotten, that the Cape was given up to the Dutch in 1802, that it was re-taken by an Indian hero, Sir David Baird in 1806, and even then was held rather as a province than a colony till 1814.

After a stay of some two months at the Cape, the voyage for India was resumed, and was brought to a close somewhere about the end of 1795. For a little more than a year, Malcolm seems to have remained with the Commander-in-Chief at the Presidency. His hands were of course full. "The employment," he says writing to his mother, "is of that nature as to leave "me hardly one idle moment ; all the better, you will say ; and "all the better *I* say ;"—and all the better *we* say. He was now twenty-seven years old, he had got a fresh impluse, physically and mentally, during those ten months at home—and all the better, we repeat with all the circumstance of editorial oracle, that he had hardly an idle moment. In the beginning of 1797, Sir Robert Abercromby resigned the Command-in-Chief of the Bengal army ; Sir Alured Clarke succeeded him ; and General Harris succeeded Sir Alured Clarke in the command of the Madras army. Clarke was unable, for some reason which Mr. Kaye professes himself unable to explain, to take his secretary with him to Bengal ; but Harris was happy to retain him, and although he would have liked to accompany his old master, he was happy to remain. "It may be gathered (says his biogra- "pher) from his letters, that John Malcolm was never more in "a 'laughing' mood than at this period of his life. He had "good health, good spirits, and good prospects. He was still "'Boy Malcolm :' and he wrote, both to his friends in India and "to dear old Burnfoot, in a strain which must have imparted "something of its own cheerfulness to the recipients of his "laughing epistles." But while he was thus joyous and light-hearted, he was not idle. This was emphatically his period of study. He had marked out for himself the career of a "political," and while people who only casually saw him, regarded him as only the light-hearted and gay "Boy-Malcolm," he was carrying on an extensive correspondence with the best-informed men of the country, getting from each his views on various points of policy, and digesting these views into elaborate "minutes." Some of these he submitted to Lord Hobart; who received them graciously, and encouraged him to proceed with his self-imposed task.

In February 1798, Lord Hobart resigned the Government of Madras, and General Harris acted during the interregnum. The Town-Majorship of Fort St. George was, in those days, an office of greater honor and emolument than it is now, and it was regarded as a perquisite of some one of the Governor's suite. It was therefore given by General Harris to his secretary, and Malcolm held it till the arrival of Lord Clive in August. In this year also he attained his captaincy. And in this year, Lord Mornington landed at Madras on his way to Calcutta; and Captain Malcolm took the liberty to forward to "the glorious little man," some of those papers that he had submitted to Lord Hobart, and to solicit that "when opportunity "offered, he might be employed in the diplomatic line of his "profession." And opportunity offered soon: on the 10th of September, he received a letter from the Governor-General, announcing his appointment to be assistant to the Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, and at the same time requesting to see him as soon as he could possibly present himself at Calcutta. But it would seem that Malcolm must have received the official announcement of his appointment, and started at once for Hyderabad, before getting this letter from the Governor-General; and once at Hyderabad, his hands were filled for some time.

The Nizam had for a long time had a difficult part to play. He was on terms of friendly alliance with the English. He was also on terms of friendship with the French. But the English and the French were at war with each other. He had no very special preference for either of the parties. The only question with him was as to the probable advantage of maintaining the one or the other friendship. One of the first acts of the administration of Lord Mornington was to compel him to a choice. He had in his pay a body of 11,000 troops, under the command of French officers, and devoted to French interests. The Governor-General insisted that these troops should be disbanded, and their officers given up as prisoners of war into the hands of the English. This order had just reached Captain Kirkpatrick, when Malcolm joined him as his assistant. The work was one of importance. It was one also of difficulty and danger. It was admirably executed, and Malcolm had a fair share in the credit of the execution:—

"That the dispersion of the French troops was a very important stroke of policy, and that it tended materially to secure our subsequent successes, is not to be denied. Malcolm shared with Kirkpatrick the credit of the achievement. But the experience which he had gained was of more worth to him than the honor. In the course of the fortnight which he had spent, by accident as it were, at Hyderabad, he had seen more of busy, stirring public life—more of the strife and turmoil of oriental politics—than many men see in the course of years. The lesson that he learnt was never forgotten. That little reliance is to be placed on the word of an Indian diplomatist, that no native court is willing to fulfil the conditions of a treaty except under strong compulsion, Malcolm may have known before. But the great practical truth which he carried with him from Hyderabad, to be much pondered by the way, was, that the most vigorous policy is, at the same time, the most humane—that there is nothing so merciful, when strong measures are to be carried out, as an over-awing display of force at the outset. Had Kirkpatrick wanted resolution—had he hesitated, and faltered, and shewn himself to be a man of weak-nerved humanity, slow to resort to extremities, in all probability before the end of October, the French lines would have been running crimson with blood. There is an ill odour about the *word* "dragooning," but there is more real kindness in the *thing* itself than is readily to be believed."

And so, deeply pondering this and other lessons, and bearing with him the colors of the disbanded French regiments, John Malcolm proceeded to Calcutta.

Any one reading Mr. Kaye's account of the reception that awaited him there, and of the place which he occupied in the viceregal court and councils of Lord Mornington, without having much previous knowledge of the character, and tastes, and peculiarities of that nobleman, will be apt to think that Mr. Kaye unduly magnifies his hero, and represents his advent to Calcutta as a more important event than it really was. But, in point of fact, the Governor-General, the "glorious little man," was one of those few men to whom, being in office, it was of no consequence whether a man were old or not, whether he were a cadet or a colonel, provided he had eyes that could see, a brain that could think, a soul that could feel what was right and what was noble, and a hand that could hold a sword or a pen. In fact, we think that, upon the whole, other things being equal, he would have preferred a young man to an old one; at all events, he seems to have surrounded himself with men whom many would have despised as youngsters; but whose energies, and whose unsophisticated ways of looking at affairs, he knew how to turn to account. It was not because he despised the wisdom of the ancients; but because he had a peculiar liking for a set of men who combined, in a wonderful way, the wisdom of experience with the energy and the fearlessness of youth. There are men who are never young;—calculating, planning, plotting, far-seeing in regard to the interests of self, from their boyhood. No man likes, or ought to like them. And there are men too, who never grow old; who retain the frivolity and the puppyism of boyhood, till, for their years, they ought to be old men. These are neither liked nor likeable, neither esteemed nor estimable. But others there are, who, without any deficiency, yea with a superabundance of the characteristic qualities of youth, require only to have responsibility laid upon them, in order to call forth the faculties and powers which in others are only developed by time and experience; and these men often retain the freshness and the vigor of youth until a good old age. These are the men who are fittest for the work of this world in whatsoever of its departments. Those who know how to appreciate men, make much of such, when they find them. Blessed is the governor who has his quiver full of such.

And such an one was Malcolm, and such ones were many of those whom Lord Mornington gathered around him in Calcutta. He knew how to appreciate them. He made much of them, in a judicious and manly way—and these fine young hearts beat joyously at the sound of his voice; and very gladly would they have poured out their life-blood for their noble chief.

Doubtless Malcolm at this time was very happy. Nor less so, when the Governor-General announced to him that he was to accompany himself to the Madras Presidency, and take such part as might be assigned to him in the events that were "looming in the distance." In the Governor-General's suite he arrived at Madras, and thence he was despatched to join the Nizam's force, and accompany it to Seringapatam. It consisted of two portions, the British troops in the pay of the Nizam, commanded by Colonels Roberts and Hyndman; and the Nizam's own troops under Meer Allum. They were all sepoys alike, but the one body was directly under the command of the Company's officers, while the other owned no master but the Nizam. It was with the latter portion of the force that Malcolm had mainly to do. He found these troops then in a state of mutiny; Meer Allum acknowledged himself unable to control them, and Malcolm felt himself justified, in offering to take the command. His offer was accepted; and by a manly and determined bearing, he subdued those rude spirits, and reduced them into a state of obedience and efficiency. With this force of the Nizam, H. M.'s 33rd regiment was associated; and it was this that brought Malcolm into contact with the Honorable Arthur Wellesley; and thus a friendship was begun, which ripened into cordial intimacy, and which never slackened on either side till the last day of Malcolm's life. Indeed, we may say in passing, that we do not know that the Duke of Wellington was ever on more intimate terms with any man than with Sir John Malcolm.

The capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo, and the subversion of his dynasty, belong to the history of India rather than to the life of Malcolm. But there are two anecdotes related by Mr. Kaye, that we must transfer to our pages. On the morning of the final assault on the city, "Boy Malcolm" went into General Harris's tent, and addressed him as "Lord Harris." The old hero thought the joke mistimed, and answered him gravely. Yet we may be sure that he did not particularly dislike to be reminded by one whom he knew to be as sagacious as he was buoyant, of coming events casting their shadows before. The other story is equally characteristic. When the *loot* of Seringapatam was put up for sale, it was not unnatural that General Harris should wish to become possessor of the *Spolia opima.* But Tippoo's sword was knocked down to another bidder, to Captain Malcolm. Was he going to keep it for himself? No, he was not selfish enough for that. Was he going to send it Burnfoot? This would not have been inconsistent with his intense regard for his father and mother. But this, too, would have been selfishness; for what right had *they* peculiarly to a trophy which *he* had not peculiarly taken? No! he bought the sword, and presented it to Sir Alured Clarke. Harris liked him all the better for this tribute of respect for a hero, of gratitude to his first patron.

In General Harris's despatch, Malcolm has a whole paragraph devoted to his praise; and, indeed, his services were of no ordinary kind. But for his exertions, and the confidence that the Nizam's officers and soldiers reposed in him, this large branch of the army would have been almost certainly lost to the cause. Lord Mornington was as willing to listen to the recommendation, as General Harris was to recommend "Captain Malcolm to the particular notice of his Lordship in Council;" and when a Commission was appointed for the settlement of the Mysore territory, consisting of General Harris, Arthur and Henry Wellesley, Colonels Kirkpatrick and Close,—John Malcolm and his friend "Tom Munro," were appointed secretaries. When a Governor-General nominates such a commission and such secretaries, it is not to be doubted that he means it to be a working commission; and such was this. In a month, the work was done, and done well. Much has been written on a point to which Mr. Kaye does not allude, or alludes only so slightly that the allusion will not be understood except by those conversant with the history of the period. We refer to the slight supposed to have been cast upon Sir David Baird by his exclusion from this commission, and by the appointment of Col. Wellesley to the command of the city, to which Baird was thought to have a superior claim. We have no wish to revive this controversy; but we do think it is scarcely fair to admit, as seems to be sometimes admitted as an element in the discussion, the subsequent career of Colonel Wellesley. It is forgotten that the controversy took place in the eighteenth, not in the nineteenth century; that the parties were not Sir David Baird and the Duke of Wellington, but Sir David Baird and Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley. That Colonel Wellesley's appointment was a good one is doubtless true; and it may be true also, that Baird's temper and habits fitted him better for the head of an army than for the settlement of a province; but we have not been quite convinced, either that Wellesley had showed so pre-eminent qualifications, or Baird so striking disqualifications as to justify the Governor-General in passing over the fine old hero, and appointing his own brother.

The business of the Mysore Commissioner was scarcely wound up when Captain Malcolm was informed by Lord Mornington that he intended to send him as ambassador to the court of Persia. With what joy he received this announcement we need not tell. Since the days of Elizabeth, when Sir Anthony Jenkinson was sent to the court of the Shah of those days, no British envoy had proceeded to the Persian court. Malcolm himself thus states the objects of his Mission;—"To relieve India "from the annual alarm of Zemaun Shah's invasion, * * * to "counteract the possible attempts of those villainous but active "democrats, the French; and to restore to some part of its "former prosperity, a trade which has been in a great degree "lost."

Zemaun Shah was at this time king of Affghanistan, who had been for years blustering about an invasion of the British territories, and a junction with the Mohammedan princes of India. It was considered a good stroke of policy to enlist Persia on our side, so that if he should attack us, Persia might attack him. The French were no doubt at this time ready for mischief of any sort; and it was probably necessary to checkmate them by all possible means. The trade with Persia had never been great; but it was considered desirable that it should not be allowed to fall wholly into disuse. Such were the objects of Malcolm's mission to Persia. As it was desirable that no time should be lost, and as his own temperament was never such as to lead him to lose time, he set off at once for Hyderabad, and spent a busy fortnight in closing his accounts there. He left Hyderabad on the 1st of November 1799, reached Poonah on the 19th, and after a very short stay at Bombay, sailed thence on the 29th of December, two days before the end of the century. His first destination was Muscat, where he entered into a treaty between the Imaum and the English. He then started for Bushire, which he reached on the 1st of February 1800.

Malcolm was strongly impressed with the conviction that his success in Persia would be greatly dependent on the liberality of his presents, and on the pertinacity of his standing up for his rights and dignities. Now, the former was as much in accordance with his tastes as the latter was contrary to them. The giving of a present has the effect of putting people into good humour, the standing up for ceremony has that of putting them into bad humour. Still the one was as necessary as the other. Thus says his biographer:—

> "The stickling for forms was more repellent to a man of Malcolm's temperament than the present-giving. He knew enough of oriental courts to recognise its necessity; but it was not less distasteful for the recognition. Eager as he was to advance with the work before him, it was vexatious in the extreme to be delayed by disputes about ceremonial observances—the style of a letter, or the arrangement of an interview. He was personally a man of simple habits and unostentatious demeanour. Left to his own impulses, he would as readily have negotiated a treaty in his shirt-sleeves, and signed it with a billiard-cue under his arm, as arrayed in purple and gold, under a salute of artillery, and with a guard-of-honor at his back. But as the representative of a great nation, he was bound to uphold its dignity to the utmost. He was now among a people out of measure addicted to pomp and ceremony, with whom statesmanship was mainly a matter of fine writing; who stickled about forms of address, as though the destinies of empires were dependent upon the color of a compliment or the height of a chair; and who measured the grandeur of other nations with their own Chamberlain's wand. Any concession upon his part—any failure to insist upon the strict observance of what was due to him in his ambassadorial character, would have been construed, not only to his own disadvantage, but to that of the nation which he represented. So Malcolm resolved to do in Fars as is done in Fars, and to stickle as manfully for forms as any Hadjie in the country."

In fact, it was merely a carrying out of the promise that he had made to the old woman at Burnfoot. She had urged him to be more careful about his "adonization" in London than it was necessary to be in Eskdale, and he had promised that when amongst strangers he should do "just weel aneugh." And now he was among strangers, and he strove to accommodate himself to their ideas. Only the old woman had held out the threat that, if he did *not adopt* London manners in London, he should be sent home again; and *by adopting* Persian manners in Persia, he narrowly escaped that penalty;—a penalty which, as our readers may remember, more than once followed a like course of procedure on the part of our ambassadors to China. Having remained at Bushire for more than three months, awaiting the settlement of his claims as to ceremonial etiquette, he set forward for the Persian Capital on the 22nd of May :—

"His suit consisted of six European gentlemen,* two European servants, two surveying boys, forty-two troopers of the Madras native cavalry, forty-nine Bombay grenadiers, sixty-eight Indian servants and followers, a hundred and three Persian attendants, and two-hundred and thirty-six servants and followers belonging to the gentlemen of the Mission."

His first stage was at Shiraz, where the Prince-Regent held his Court. Here the ceremonial controversy was renewed. Malcolm insisted upon what he regarded as his rights, and they were conceded, though with a bad grace. For whatever was amiss, he insisted upon, and obtained apologies. "Malcolm made a magnificent present to the prince,—a present of watches and pistols, "mirrors and telescopes, shawls and table lustres, knives and "tooth-picks, filagree-boxes and umbrellas cloths and muslins, "with an unlimited supply of sugar, sugar-candy and chintz." The quantity of sugar alone was portentous—339 maunds,—upwards of 27,000 lbs.,—besides two tubs of sugar-candy! and yet the Prince-Regent was but imperfectly sweetened after all.

He was detained at Shiraz longer than he expected, the cause of the delay being highly characteristic of the country in which it occurred. At last quitting it, he reached Ispahan on the 23rd of September, the autumnal equinox. Here Malcolm was received with great magnificence, and here also he dispensed presents on a princely scale. With all this, it was not till the middle of November that he reached the Capital of Persia. As since the days of good Queen Bess and of Anthony Jenkinson, till the days of good King George and John Malcolm, no British envoy had stood before a Persian king, we may be allowed to extract our author's account of Malcolm's first presentation :—

"On the 16th of November, the English ambassador was presented to the Persian monarch. After the ceremonies had been arranged, Malcolm, with all his suite, proceeded towards the palace, the drums and trumpets of his escort heralding his approach. One of his chief Hindostani servants carried the letter of the Governor-General. On reaching the inner gate, having dismounted, the ambassador was conducted to an apartment in which the Dewan-Beg was sitting,

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* From another part of the narrative, we learn that these were :—

Capt. William Campbell	*First Assistant.*
Lieut. Charles Pasley	*Assistants.*
Mr. Richard Strachey	
Lieut. John Colebrooke	*Commanding Escort.*
Mr. Gilbert Briggs	*Surgeon.*
Mr. William Hollingberry	*Writer.*

and desired to seat himself on the other end of the same cushion. The Governor General's letter was then placed between them. Coffee and pipes were introduced; and after the lapse of nearly an hour, it was announced that the king himself was seated on the throne, and that he was prepared to receive the English envoy in the Dewan-Khana, or hall of audience.

"Conducted by the Chamberlains, or masters of the ceremonies, Malcolm advanced, wearing the uniform of an English officer.* The audience-chamber was at the further end of a great square, in various parts of which the officers of the court were marshalled according to their respective ranks. It was a lofty chamber, profusely ornamented, in one corner of which the king, gorgeously attired, and one blaze of jewellery, was seated upon his cushioned throne.† As Malcolm advanced, attended by the masters of the ceremonies—one of the officers of the court bearing the Governor-Generl's letter on a golden salver—he uncovered his head whenever they made obeisance. As he neared the throne, a herald proclaimed that Captain John Malcolm was come from the Governor-General of India to see his Majesty of Persia. "He is welcome," replied the king. Then Malcolm walked up to the door of the audience-chamber, made a low bow, advanced to the centre of the room, and then took the seat provided for him. The gentlemen of his suite sat at a distance below him. The prime minister received the Governor-General's letter, and presented it to the king, who ordered it to be opened; and one of the secretaries of State then broke the seal, and read it with a very loud voice, in a clear and distinct manner.

"Having repeated his expressions of welcome, the king enquired after his Majesty of England; hoped that King George was in good health; asked how many wives he had; and put some perplexing questions respecting the manners of our Court. Then having inquired after the treatment which the ambassador had received on his journey, and how he liked the climate of the country, his Majesty spoke of the friendship which had always subsisted between Persia and Great Britain, and of the pleasurable feelings with which he contemplated its establishment on a firm basis. But beyond these general expressions of good feeling, nothing passed at the interview relating to business of State. Malcolm, however, had every reason to congratulate himself on his reception. The affability with which the king had discoursed with him was declared to be "gracious beyond example."

On the 27th of November, the ambassador was again received by the monarch, and on this occasion, presented the magnificent presents with which he was charged. These were graciously accepted, and the king spent an hour in affable conversation with the ambassador.

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* "Mehedi Ali Khan had endeavoured to persuade Malcolm to array himself in costly apparel, more in accordance with the ideas of the people than his plain soldier's uniform. But he laughed to scorn all such mummery, and declared that he would appear at the Persian Court as an Englishman and a soldier."

† "'The King,' wrote Malcolm in his journal, 'has a fine countenance and an elegant person. He was dressed with a magnificence which it is impossible to desc ibe—being covered with jewels, many of which are those of Nadir Shah. His dress could not be worth less than a million sterling.'"

We cannot dwell upon the various events that occurred during the sojourn of Malcolm at the Persian Court. Enough to say that a commercial and a political treaty were prepared, discussed, altered and re-altered, and at length concluded, signed and sealed. Malcolm gained golden opinions for himself. The nobles vied with each other in sumptuous hospitality. The king himself was evidently pleased with his manly and joyous spirit; "and when," says his biographer "he assured Malcolm at parting, that he should "ever feel the warmest interest in his welfare, the words were more "truly spoken than are commonly the compliments of kings." The treaties being concluded at the end of January 1801, Malcolm set out at once on his return to India, *viâ* Baghdad, Bussorah and Bushire; and after various adventures, and a stormy voyage in a leaky ship, he reached Bombay on the 13th of May.

On his arrival at Bombay, Malcolm was summoned to Calcutta to give an account of his mission, and had the satisfaction of receiving from the Governor-General assurances of his unqualified approbation of his proceedings. Lord Mornington, now become Lord Wellesley, also promised him the first appointment worthy of his acceptance, that might be vacant. *En attendant*, he appointed him to act as his own private secretary, during the absence of his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley. This office is one whose holder may be every thing or nothing, according to the disposition of his chief. With Wellesley, Malcolm was every thing, "*dimidium melius sui.*" Honored and trusted by his Lordship, sharing with him the cares and the labors of the government of a great empire at a critical time, it is refreshing to see the constancy with which Malcolm's thoughts reverted to the old parlour at Burnfoot. It was now in his power to contribute handsomely to the increase of the material comforts of his parents and sisters; but we may be sure that his liberal remittances had little share in the production of the intense joy that his letters diffused in the old home. It is said that success is, with the public, the sole test of generalship. With the public it may be so, but not with mothers and sisters; and if Malcolm had been, not the most prosperous man in India,—as he was—but suffering under reproach and penury, these kindly judges would have brought in a verdict, finding him, as an Indian Court, at a later period, found a notable character, "the victim of circumstances." But when they learned that "Jock," who twenty years before had been "at the bottom" of half the boyish mischief in the parish of Westerkirk, was now very near the top of the Government of a vast empire, they could only wonder and thank God.

Shortly after Malcolm's appointment to the Private Secretaryship, he accompanied the Governor-General on a trip to the N.-W. Provinces, the main object of which was the settlement of Oude, that "Ireland" of India, whose management has, for half a century, been the grand test of the powers of each successive administration. In the course of the slow journey up the river, Malcolm was the confidential adviser of his Lordship, in regard to matters of great moment, which were then pressing upon his mind. These related not only to the settlement and administration of the country, but also to the relations between the home and the local authorities. We may state, generally,—for we cannot afford to enter at all on the discussion of the matter—that the Court of Directors had conceived a strong prejudice against the officials at Madras; especially against Lord Clive, the Governor, Mr. Webbe, the Chief Secretary, and Mr. Cockburn, the president of the Revenue Board. Lord Wellesley was led, both by principle and interest, to stand by these men;—by principle, because he regarded them as the victims of injustice,—by interest, not selfish but patriotic, because he considered their remaining in the country to be essential to the good of the country. It was too evident that a most disastrous collision between the Court and the Indian Governments might ensue. Thus there were long and earnest conferences, every day and all day, between the Governor-General and his Private Secretary. At last it was deemed necessary that Malcolm should proceed to Madras; and he parted with the Governor-General at Allahabad, and returned by dâk to Calcutta, whence he sailed at once for Madras, and reached it on the 26th of January 1802. Employed there in a matter of exceeding delicacy and considerable difficulty, Malcolm acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the Governor-General who had sent him, and of those to whom he was sent. One point in the negotiations involved no little self-denial on Malcolm's part. It was Lord Wellesley's earnest desire that Mr. Webbe should remain in India. But as Chief Secretary at Madras, he could not remain because the Court of Directors had sent out a gentleman expressly to supersede him. Now the Residency of Mysore was about to become vacant, by the removal of Col. Close to Poonah. It had been fixed that Malcolm was to succeed to this office, one of the best in point of remuneration, and one of the most honorable in point of distinction, in the service. Now Malcolm was instructed to urge upon Mr. Webbe the acceptance of this office, to which he had himself been all but appointed; and he did plead with Webbe to accept the office, and pleaded so earnestly that he prevailed. We do not give him extravagant praise for this self-denying conduct; because we have never in India been without men willing to sacrifice their own interests to those of the public service. But we ought to mention that there were two circumstances which made the sacrifice peculiarly trying to Malcolm. The first was that Lord Wellesley did not intend to remain long in the country, and there might probably be no other vacancy to which he could appoint Malcolm, and certainly none so desirable in every way as this. The other was that he had already informed his friends in Scotland of his nomination to this office; and it was impossible to make them understand the reasons why the appointment had not taken place:—

> "I know, my dear Colonel," said he, writing to Col. Kirkpatrick, "that you will feel this arrangement most severely in many respects, and in none more than as it affects me. This you must explain, particularly to Mr. John Pasley and my other friends, as they are under an impression, from letters which I cannot now re-call, that I am actually fixed as Resident at Mysore. Assure them that I consider my interests as little affected by the circumstances that have occurred, and that I continue to preserve—what Mr. Pasley knows has ever been my primary object—Lord Wellesley's favor and confidence."

As we shall not advert to this matter again, we may mention here that Mr. Webbe, in the course of a few months, hearing that Mr. Henry Wellesley was about to return to the Private Secretaryship, sent the resignation of his office to Lord Wellesley, for the express purpose of enabling His Lordship to make a permanent provision for Malcolm before his departure from India. But ere this, Malcolm was occupied in other matters.

Having brought his negotiations at Madras to a satisfactory termination, Malcolm set off at once for Calcutta, and thence to join the Governor-General, who was then on his return from Lucknow. Early in March, he joined his Lordship, and again took possession of the Private-Secretary's seat. And so through the hot weather of 1802, he labored at his desk in Calcutta, winning golden opinions from all descriptions of men. But this was not long to continue.

The King of Persia had sent an ambassador to India, to return Malcolm's visit to Teheran. At Bombay, a body of Company's sepoys was appointed to attend on him. A quarrel ensued between them and his own Persian attendants. The quarrel led to a scuffle, and the scuffle to a fight. Musket-balls were flying "quite promiscuously," when the ambassador unwisely went out to attempt to quell the disturbance. No sooner had he appeared on the scene than a bullet struck him, and down he fell dead. This was an emergency. The effect produced by this disaster is thus described by Mr. Kaye :—

> "It would be difficult to describe the sensation which this incident excited in the minds of all the European inhabitants of Bombay, from Governor Duncan down to the youngest ensign in the service. The whole settlement went into mourning. A frigate was despatched immediately to Calcutta to bear the melancholy tidings to the seat of the Supreme Government, and to seek for counsel in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The strongest minds in India were shaken by this terrible intelligence from Bombay. Even Lord Wellesley for a time was stunned and stupified by the disaster. A general gloom hung over the Presidency. Some spoke of the danger, some of the disgrace. To Malcolm the accident was peculiarly afflicting. He could not help feeling that the ambassador, though the guest of the nation, was peculiarly his guest. It was Malcolm's visit to Persia, which Hadjee Khalil Khan was returning, when he thus calamitously and ingloriously lost his life in a broil at the hands of one of our own people. He knew and he liked the man; but, beyond all, his heart was in the object of the Persian's mission. He saw now that all his own work was undone at a blow, just as the crown was about to be set upon it, and he knew not how long a time it might take to remedy the evil, even if the outrage did not lead to a total rupture with the Persian Court. 'It brings sorrow to all,' he wrote to Lord Hobart; 'to me it brings the most severe distress. I see in one moment the labor of three years given to the winds (and that by the most unexpected and unprecedented of all accidents) just when it was on the point of completion.'"

Now Malcolm was the favorite adviser of Lord Wellesley on all occasions; and, of course, on a matter relating to Persia, his opinion was of the highest importance. So, after long and earnest conferences, it was agreed that the Private Secretary should proceed to Bombay, with a *carte blanche*, to do all that he might think necessary, in order to avert threatened calamity; and on the 30th of August, he embarked at Calcutta for Masulipatam. Thence he went at once to Hyderabad, where he had some work to do in conference with the Resident, Mr. Webbe. From Hyderabad he proceeded to Poonah, where also he had to hold conference with the Resident, Col. Close. In the course of his journey from Poonah to Bombay, an incident occurred, which would have tried the temper of most men; but Malcolm had the secret of being "jolly," under the most creditable circumstances. As he was quietly proceeding on his journey, dreaming of Burnfoot and Teheran, his palankin was surrounded by a body of cavalry and infantry, and he was made prisoner. It appeared that a petty chief, expecting a general action between Holkar and Scindiah, had conceived the idea that the possession of a man of Malcolm's standing would enable him to make advantageous terms with the victor, and so he had sent out a party to apprehend him He was taken to a remote village among the hills, where only one inhabitant had ever seen a white face. He managed to get a note sent off to Poonah, and remained without fear as to the issue. As this was the first time since he left Eskdale, that he had an opportunity of witnessing unsophisticated village-life, he entered with great zest into the spirit of it; and perhaps the time that he spent here, passed as pleasantly as any that he ever passed out of Eskdale. He ingratiated himself with men, women and children; and we should not wonder, if any traveller should now visit this village, though he found a tradition handed down through the half-century that has passed since then, of the sojourn of such a guest among them. But such pleasure could not last long. Fifteen hundred men were sent from Poonah, and Malcolm was allowed to proceed on his journey. He promised to the Chief to inform the resident at Poonah, that, though detained, he had been treated with kindness. For the detention this Rob Roy was condemned to a fine; for the kindness, to a fine only.

Without further adventure, Malcolm reached Bombay on the 10th of October, and found the Persians very clamorous on account of the death of their master, and the Europeans very much alarmed at their clamours. But Malcolm's arrivals soon put matters to right. He understood the Persians, and they partly understood him, or were soon made to do so. By the end of the month, he had sent off the body of the ambassador to Persia, had expressed in a letter to the king, and in letters to many of the nobles and the relatives of the deceased, the extreme regret of the Governor-General, the Governor of Bombay, himself, and the whole community, at the melancholy occurrence, and had liberally expended presents and promised pensions to relatives and attachés. Perhaps the last step was the most effective of all. The Persians, king and people, acknowledged that the death of the Hadji was such an accident as *will* happen in the best-regulated families, and the *entente cordiale* suffered no interruption. Having brought this matter to so satisfactory a termination, Malcolm left Bombay about the end of November, and the close of the year 1802 found him in deep conference with Lord Wellesley in Calcutta.

Matters of no ordinary magnitude formed the prevailing subject of these conferences. The great Mahratta war was about to blaze out, and Malcolm was to have his fair share in the dangers and the glory of it. Mr. Webbe had resigned the Residency of Mysore at the end of the year, and Malcolm had been appointed to succeed him. But he was destined for a time to be a non-resident Resident. We must now endeavour, as briefly as may be, to give our readers an idea of the position of the pieces on the board in the great game that was about to be played. Lord Wellesley was Governor-General ; Lord Clive was Governor of Madras ; General Lake was Commander-in-Chief in India ; General Stuart was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army ; and under him General Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson were in command of divisions of the army ; Colonel Close was Resident at the Peishwa's court at Poonah ; Colonel Collins (our old friend Jack Collins*) at that of Scindia ; Mr. Webbe had been appointed to the Residency at the court of the Boonsla, or Raja of Berar, at Nagpore ; and Major Malcolm stood appointed, as we have said, to succeed him as Resident at the court of the Raja of Mysore. Now some time before this, Scindia and the Peishwa had gone to loggerheads with Holkar, who had defeated their united forces in a smart action in the neighbourhood of Poonah. Holkar took possession of Poonah, but respected the flag on the British Residency. The Peishwa fled, and after various adventures, threw himself on the protection of the English, by whom he was conveyed in a British ship to Bassein. Here, on the last day of 1802, he signed a treaty, which was intended to be the basis of a great league of the chief Indian powers, the English, the Peishwa, Holkar, Scindia, the Boonsla, and the Nizam, on the footing of the English being acknowledged the paramount power. The first step to be taken was therefore to reinstate the Peishwa at Poonah ; and it was hoped that this might be effected by a mere demonstration of force, with out actually letting slip the dogs of war. General Wellesley therefore marched for Poonah, and was joined on the way by Col. Stevenson from Hyderabad. Holkar had quitted Poonah, leaving it in charge of Amrut Rao, one of his generals, with orders to burn it if a British force should approach. General Wellesley prevented this by the rapidity of his movements, and Amrut Rao marched out with his garrison of 1,500 men. This was on the 20th of April 1803. On the 27th, the Peishwa left Bassein, attended by Colonel Close, and escorted by a body of British troops under the command of Col. Murray, and on the 13th of May, he took his seat on the Musnud in Poonah.

Malcolm had left Calcutta in the beginning of February, but did not reach Madras till about the end of the month. After a short stay there, he joined General Stuart's camp, and after spending two days with him, he pushed on to join General Wellesley, who was on his march for Poonah. With him he remained in a non-descript position. He was nominally Resident at Seringapatam, and in that capacity he had no business in

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* See *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXIV. Art. "LORD METCALFE."

General Wellesley's camp. But both from his knowledge of the position that Malcolm held in the Governor-Generals confidence, and from his own respect for his judgment and skill in oriental diplomacy, General Wellesley desired to have him with him. It is evident, also, from the Governor-General's letters addressed to Malcolm at this time, that he expected of him the performance of the duties of Governor-General's Agent, though it does not appear that he was formally appointed to this office. His official position was not very clearly defined, but he had abundance of work to do, and that was enough for him.

The position of the "pieces" was now this: The confederation was complete between the English, the Peishwa, and the Nizam. Holkar was hovering on the frontiers of the Nizam's territory, which Stevenson had been detached by General Wellesley to defend. Scindia and the Boonsla were each in the field, and it did not yet appear what steps they were to take. The months of May, June and July were spent in negotiation; but without effect. On the 3rd of August, Colonel Collins quitted Scindia's court; on the 6th, this intelligence reached General Wellesley; Scindia and the Boonsla had thus deliberately chosen to stake their fortune on the hazard of the die of war. On the 8th, General Wellesley took up his position before the walls of Ahmednugger, and on the 12th, the British bunting was floating over the citadel. But Malcolm had no share in this capture. He was on a sick-bed. He had been for months suffering from dysentery, and although he had been now up and now down, and had been able to do a vast amount of most important service, the insidious foe had been steadily gaining ground. After struggling long, sustained by his constitution, his spirit, and the excitement of his work, he yielded at last to the solicitation of his friends and left the camp on the day after the capture of Ahmednugger. He proceeded to Bombay, and there he speedily recovered, so far that we find him writing to General Wellesley on the 7th of September: "I have been at my desk, writing letters to England, for six 'hours, and am not fatigued.' I am not yet permitted to ride." Wether the favorable symptoms had been deceptive, or whether he had over-taxed his strength and brought on a relapse, we do not know; but it was months after this ere he was able to rejoin Wellesley's camp; and he missed the glorious battles of Assaye and Argaum. It was, indeed, a sore trial to a soldier to be doomed to inactivity while Lake fought Laswari, and Wellesley fought Assaye and Argaum. But these trials are not without their uses, and we doubt not that this trial was useful to Malcolm in various ways. At length, better, but not yet well, he rejoined, his old friend on the 16th of December. He was just in time to be too late, and too late to be in time. He heard from a distance the firing at Gawilghur, and pushed on with all possible speed; but the fort had fallen before he came. And this was the end of the war. Two days after, the Boonsla acceded to terms similar to those granted to the Peishwa. "Malcolm's arrival in camp," his biographer informs us, "was like a sudden burst of sunshine." And we can well believe it. All work and no play was making dull boys of General Wellesley and those about him. But the Man Malcolm lessened the work by sharing it, and the Boy Malcolm greatly augmented the play.

The Boonsla had now joined the league, but Scindia had not yet. He now, however, began to treat, and after more than even the usual oriental amount of wriggling, evasion, and falsehood, a treaty was at last, on the 30th of December, concluded on terms proposed by Malcolm, to whose judgment General Wellesley had on some points sacrificed his own. This treaty was concluded by Scindia's agents, and there was no doubt of its being ratified by himself. It was agreed between Malcolm and General Wellesley that as soon as the ratification was completed, Malcolm should proceed to Scindia's camp, in order to "conclude a "supplementary treaty for the establishment of a subsidiary "force in the Maharajah's dominions." To the camp he accordingly resorted, and a very difficult piece of work he had to perform. He was sick, and Scindia was sick: or when he was well, he would not attend to business. Add to this that there were two parties among his advisers, who always, as a matter of course, pulled in opposite directions, and agreed in nothing but in opposing each other. Take an instance of the way in which native diplomacy was conducted in those days, and would be conducted now, if there were any native powers with whom to diplomatize. Malcolm had given to the ministers of Scindia a draft of a treaty, containing only such articles as he had understood to have been already agreed on in conference. When it was returned to him, he found that "almost all the expressions, "and some of the most essential principles," had been altered, and that the following article had been added to it:—"That the "English Government agreed, out of respect for the *firman* of "the king,—out of regard for the tribe of the Peishwa,—out "of friendship for the Maharajah,—and with a view to increase "its own reputation with the natives of the country, to allow "no cows to be killed in Hindustan!" With thus making and rejecting proposals, shifting, winding and wriggling, about two months passed over, and it was not till the last day of February that the negotiations were brought to a close. Malcolm had the gratification of receiving from the Governor-General privately, and from the Governor-General-in-Council publicly, the most cordial assurances of entire satisfaction with his services, and approbation of the treaty which he had concluded. This was an immense relief to his mind; for he had received assurances that Lord Wellesley was not disposed to be easily satisfied. Even after the treaty was concluded, but before it reached Calcutta, his Lordship had written to Malcolm, threatening that if the treaty contained certain articles which he supposed it to contain, but which fortunately it did not contain, he would have recourse to the extreme measure of disowning the act of his own agent, and refusing to sanction Malcolm's proceedings.

The supplementary treaty being concluded, it now fell to Malcolm's lot to arrange some important details, in order to the carrying into effect of the original treaty, concluded by General Wellesley. In the interpretation of that treaty a great difficulty arose. It had reference to various points of lesser moment, but mainly to the possession of Gwalior. If we understand aright the nature of the dispute,—and we have earnestly endeavoured to do so—it arose in this wise. By the treaty it was agreed that "such countries formerly in the possession of the Maharajah, "situated between Jyepore and Joudpore, and to the southward "of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah." By another article it was stipulated, "that whereas certain treaties have "been made by the British Government with Rajahs and others, "heretofore feudatories of the Maharajah, these treaties are to "be confirmed; and the Maharajah hereby renounces all claims "upon the persons with whom such treaties have been made, "and declares them to be independent of his Government and "authority, provided that none of the territories belonging to "the Maharajah, situated to the southward of those of the Rajahs "of Jyepore and Joudpore and the Rana of Gohud, have been "granted away by these treaties." This article referred to the treaties which had been made with the feudatory chiefs by General Lake, and of which General Wellesley did not know the contents when he concluded the main treaty with Scindia. The questions for consideration then were these two: *To whom did Gwalior belong before the war?* If to the Maharajah, *Was there any thing in General Lake's engagements with the feudatory chiefs, which prevented our giving it back to him?* Now the facts of the case were these: On the breaking up of the Mogul empire, Gwalior had fallen into the hands of the Rana of Gohud. From him it was taken by the Mahrattas before their breaking up into the great rival houses. It was taken by the English in 1780, and given to the Gohud Rana. In 1784, it was taken by the grandfather of Scindia, with the tacit consent of the English, to whom the Gohud Rana had been unfaithful. We do not see then on what possible ground it could be denied that at the commencement of the war, Gwalior was in possession of the Maharajah. He had possessed it *de facto* for twenty years ; and the English had never objected to his possession of it. This we think was tantamount, in all fair reason, to their acknowledgment of his right to possess it. There can be no doubt that Scindia signed the treaty with the understanding that it secured to him the possession of Gwalior ; and if this were not the understanding of General Wellesley also, it seems almost incredible that nothing should have transpired in the course of the negotiation to rectify the apprehension of his astute plenipotentiary. This point then we consider settled.

How then did the treaties with the feudatory chiefs affect the settlement of the question ? Two of these treaties touched upon it ; that with Ambajee Inglia, and that with the Rana of Gohud. The account of these treaties we extract from Thornton's history, because it is fuller than that given by our author :—

> " Ambajee Inglia was a powerful servant of Scindia. * * * Part of the territories which Ambajee had been authorized [by Scindia] to administer, formed the ancient possession of the house of Gohud, which had been conquered by Scindia some years before.* Ambajee made overtures to the British Government, offering to detach himself from the sevice of Scindia, and become tributary to them. It was desirable to afford him encouragement, and the difficulty of reconciling his claims with those of the Rana of Gohud, was got over by dividing the country, and assigning the independent possession of part to Ambajee, in consideration of his surrendering the right of administering the whole ; a negotiation with this view was opened, and, after much evasion, a treaty was concluded, by which Ambajee agreed to surrender all the territory north of Gwalior, together with the fortress of that name, the British Government guaranteeing to Ambajee the remainder of the territory which had been under his management. A force was despatched to take possession of the fortress, and Ambajee readily gave an order for its delivery. The commandant, however, refused to obey the instruction of his master, † and measures were taken for the reduction of the place by force. When a breach had been effected, the garrison offered to surrender in consideration of the sum of Rs. 50,000. This being refused they demanded the value of certain stores as the price of submission, which being granted, possession of the fort was obtained by the English.
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> " By the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, Gwalior was ceded to

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* In 1784 as stated above.—Ed. "C. R."

† Mr. Kaye says that this was by secret orders from Ambajee himself, whom he therefore designates "a double-dyed traitor." This is very likely ; but it does not bear on the settlement of the question in hand.—Ed. "C. R."

the Company, by whom the territories restored to her * (him) under the arrangement with Ambajee were guaranteed."

In appears, then, that both Ambajee and the Gohud Rana had given up all rights which they might have possessed, or might have been supposed to possess to Gwalior, and that it, had been, so far as they were concerned, ceded to the East India Company. Now, surely the meaning of the treaty with General Wellesley was, not that we should keep territory which Scindia claimed, on the ground of its being given up to us by his vassals, but only that we should be saved from the obligation to fulfil any portion of the treaty with him, whose fulfilment should put it out of our power to keep faith with those who had concluded treaties with General Lake. The article that we quoted above, would have justified the Company in withholding Gwalior from the Maharajah, if it had been by Lord Lake given over either to Ambajee or to the Gohud Rana; but not at all as the case really was.

On this point three distinct views were taken. Malcolm's was that it was both our duty, in terms of the treaty, and our interest politically, to allow Scindia's claim. General Wellesley's was that the duty was doubtful; but that in a case of doubt it was infinitely better to yield the point than to incur even the semblance of bad faith; and that moreover, no harm could ensue from putting the Maharajah in possession of Gwalior. Lord Wellesley's was that good faith did not require our cession of Gwalior, and that policy imperatively demanded its retention. We give our vote unhesitatingly on the side of Malcolm, and cordially endorse Mr Kaye's commendation of the firmness with which he sacrificed, what was to him the paramount object of desire the friendship and favor of the Governor-General.

We know well what a "glorious little man" Lord Wellesley was; there never was a man whose friendship was more honorable or more delightful to those who enjoyed it. But his wrath was terrible. He would not have been Wellesley else. And against Malcolm his wrath was fairly kindled. And then, at this time especially, he was peculiarly irritable. He was in bad health, and we all know that biliousness does not generally improve the temper. The Court of Directors were openly opposing the policy that he had so nobly and so conscientiously pursued. The ministry, from whom he had good reason to expect support, had abandoned him. He was about to leave the country, to save

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* Mr. Thornton makes a lady of this potentate, evidently confounding the word *Rana* with *Rani;* a mistake wheih we should scarcely have expected on the part of one so conversant with Indian affairs.—Ed. "C. R."

himself from the ignominy of a recall; and he did not know but that he might be met on his return with an impeachment, and a second edition of Warren Hastings' trial. It was, therefore, peculiarly displeasing to him [illegible] have that very line of policy which was condemned by the Court, and not defended by the Crown, disputed and thwarted [illegible] one in whom he had placed such unbounded confidence [illegible] he had reposed in Malcolm. The controversy was only stopped [illegible] the arrival of Mr. Webbe, who relieved Malcolm of the duties [illegible] had now become extremely distasteful to him. The Ma[illegible] afterwards wrote him a very long letter, which [illegible] intended to be conciliatory; but of which the plain English is simply this: "I have always encouraged you "to give me advice, and [illegible] always had the highest possible "opinion of you. But you [illegible] give me advice which is dis- "tasteful to me." We dismiss this subject with the declaration that we cannot most thoroughly disapprove of Lord Wellesley's conduct in this matter, but that it was an exceptional case; indeed, the only case we know [illegible] acted in a manner unworthy of himself.

We were anxious [illegible] this [illegible] in a clear light, and have therefore presented [illegible] whole view, passing over events that occurred contemporaneously with its progress. Malcolm's health continued to be very indifferent, and it seemed impossible that he should get [illegible] of his complaint without a change of climate. He was therefore desirous to be sent to England with despatches announcing the termination of the Mahratta war. In this desire he was warmly supported by General Wellesley, who had urged it upon his brother; and it would most likely have been gratified, [illegible] for the unfortunate collision that ensued. But before this an event had occurred at home which deepened the gloom that had been induced by wearing indisposition, and the necessity of contending from day to day with chicanery and falsehood. "A letter from his uncle, John Pasley, an- "nounced the death of his venerable father. The sad tidings "came upon him with painful suddenness. A few weeks before "he had received a letter from his younger sailor-brother "Charles,* announcing that all were well at Burnfoot;—and now "he learned that the head of the family had been gathered to his "rest. Mr. George Malcolm died peaceably in his own home, sur- "rounded by his own people. He died as the Christian dieth, "with an assured belief in the efficacy of his Redeemer's merits. "To John Malcolm this thought—confirmed as it was by some "beautiful letters from his sisters—brought great consolation. "But still how deep was the sorrow which these tidings struck

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* The late Sir Charles Malcolm.

"into his heart, may be gathered from"—a letter which his Biographer quotes at length, but which we need not quote, seeing that both we and the majority of our readers are exiles, as he was, and know, without being told, the effect of such tidings from our distant home. It is a solemn thing under any circumstances to lose a father, recalling as it does all the instances,—long forgotten it may be by the son, and heartily forgiven by the father,—in which the thoughtlessness, or indiscretion, or sins, of the son may have grieved the heart of the father. He must have been a better son than probably any of us have been, who has not many such instances to recall; he must be a worse son than we hope, any of us have been, who does not on the occasion of his father's death, recall them. But if it is a solemnizing and a saddening thing to stand by the death-bed of a parent, it is ten-fold more so to hear long after that a parent has died in our absence. How we reproach ourselves with every laugh and jest that we have uttered, every gaiety in which we have indulged, even the eagerness with which we have engaged in our ordinary studies or business, as if it were an insult to the memory of those for whom we ought to have been mourning. All this, it will be said, is unreasonable. It may be so: but it is not of reasoning, but of feeling, that we are speaking.

Very glad was Malcolm, we may be sure, according to the measure of gladness that is competent to a man suffering under chronic dysentery, and mourning the death of a revered and beloved father, and lying under the severe displeasure of a master whom he has served with intensest zeal, when Mr. Webbe's arrival allowed him to quit the camp of Scindia. Immediately he took leave on sick certificate, and went to pay a visit to his brother Robert at Vizagapatam. It was a great thing for Malcolm to be able at this time to hold quiet conference with his elder brother. A sister, or a more excitable brother, might have unmanned him; but Robert was grave and sensible, perhaps rather common-place; but kind and warm-hearted, and equally with John, venerating and loving the father whom they had lost. In his society, and with nothing to do, Malcolm recovered his health and spirits insensibly. But it is proverbial, how difficult it is to get out of "mournings;" and although we do not in India indulge much in "the trappings and the suits of woe," the mere millinery and tailorly of grief, yet it would seem as if there were truth in the proverb. We suppose that it is with this as with many matters of the same kind. People note the cases in which such coincidences occur, and disregard the cases in which they do not occur. Be this as it may, the two brothers learned at Vizagapatam of the death of another brother, William, a London merchant.

Meantime public events were running their course. There had been more change in the names than in the position of the "pieces" on our board. General Lake had become Lord Lake; General Wellesley was now Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. C. B., and Major Malcolm had become Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm. The only substantial change was, that Lord Clive had left Madras, and had been succeeded in the Government of that Presidency by Lord William Bentinck. Holkar, who had unaccountably and most accommodatingly kept quiet while we had Scindia and the Boonsla on our hands, threw down the gauntlet when we had nothing to interfere with our "polishing him off." Lord Lake was, as before, kept in the north: and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as before, was sent to the south. Being in Calcutta, he wrote to Malcolm that he wished to take him with him into the Deccan, and that he would pick him up on his way down the Bay. Accordingly, early in November, Malcolm joined his friend on board the *Bombay* frigate off Ganjam. Thence they proceeded to Madras, and after a few days' stay there, to Mysore. Malcolm found that things were getting on swimmingly under the able superintendence of his Assistant Major Wilks, and that there was nothing requiring his presence at the Residency. But it became more and more evident that there was to be no fighting in that part of India. Although the opening of the campaign was inauspicious for us, Lord Lake was now pressing Holkar so hard, as to require him to concentrate his forces towards the north. So Sir Arthur resolved to go to England, and Colonel Malcolm resolved to settle down in his Residency, and to occupy himself with the composition of the History of Persia. But this was not to be,—at least not yet. At the close of the year he took formal charge of the Residency, intimating the fact to Lord William Bentinck on the 23rd of December; but Lord Wellesley required his services elsewhere, "so in the month of March, Malcolm quitted "Mysore, and in the course of April (1803) again found himself "deep in the councils of Government House in Calcutta." The matters under discussion are brought clearly into view in the following passage:—

"To what extent and in what manner it was desirable to interfere with the concerns of the Holkar family;—whether it were expedient to apply to the state of things which had arisen, in consequence of the growing power of Jeswunt Rao (Holkar) the principle of counterpoise, and to depress Holkar by elevating Scindia;—whether it were advisable to interfere in the internal relations of the former family, and by supporting another member of it to the injury of Jeswaunt Rao, secure the allegiance of the former;—or whether it behoved us to regard Holkar as any other prince, and deal with him for good or for evil, for peace or for war, as the circumstances of his own conduct might suggest, were questions which, at this time, were warmly discussed by Lord Wellesley and his advisers, and debated by the authorities at home."

The first of these lines of policy Malcolm had proposed and advocated in letters from Scindia's camp, and the idea had then been scouted by Lord Wellesley. But at that time Scindia was on friendly terms with us, and had evidently a disposition favorable to the maintenance of peace. In the course of little more than a year that had elapsed since then, he had fallen entirely under the influence of his father-in-law and prime minister, Surjee Rao Ghuatka, who had contrived to convert him from a somewhat thoughtless, but withal not a disingenuous youth, into a depraved and hopeless scoundrel. The advice that Malcolm gave in 1803, was therefore altogether inapplicable in 1805. But unfortunately Lord Wellesley, who had scouted it then, was too willing to act upon it now. Even Mr. Kaye, who has for Lord Wellesley a veneration and an affection of no ordinary strength, is obliged to differ from him. He can only apologize for him; and the apology must, to a certain extent at least, be sustained :—

"Lord Wellesley was now on the eve of retirement from office. He was every day expecting to hear of the appointment of his successor. He was weary and heart-sick of the long continued strife which he had maintained with the authorities at home. It was easy to say that the "glorious little man" was losing all his old courage, was shaken in his high resolves. But it was not easy to bear up against the irritating assaults of his enemies, and the galling desertion of his friends Whatever may have been the sympathy and support which a steady adhesion to his old policy would have secured to him from the statesmen of India, he knew that he could look for neither sympathy nor support from England; and to England he was now carrying his reputation. The "great game" may have suited those who were not responsible for its success or failure. And Lord Wellesley would still, perhaps, not have shrunk from it, if he could have seen it played out. But he knew that he would have been held responsible for measures initiated, but not prosecuted to their completion, by himself; and there were many considerations which enveloped the issue of another war with a mist of doubt and uncertainty."

We have said that this apology must be sustained to a *certain extent*, but to a certain extent only. In fact it would have been more applicable to the close of 1803, than to the beginning of 1805. At the former of these dates, no less than at the latter, Lord Wellesley supposed himself to be on the eve of retirement. And his unpopularity at home had greatly decreased in the interval. While the thanks of Parliament had been cordially given to all engaged in the war, on purely military grounds, so far as regarded its *conduct*, there had been but a slight grumble uttered by a few members against its *origination* on political grounds. The Crown had raised General Lake to the peerage, and General Wellesley to the knighthood of the Bath. "I am not certain," we find him writing to Malcolm on the 2nd of November 1804, "of the views of the present administration with regard to the "system of government and policy in India, although I have "received a very kind and flattering letter from Mr. Pitt." This surely indicates that the tide had turned in his favor, and shews a different state of things from that which prevailed in 1803, respecting which General Wellesley wrote to Malcolm on the 21st of January 1804, as follows :—"The Governor-General has received a letter from Henry, in which Henry informs him 'that he had had a long conversation with Mr. Addington 'on the subject of the support which the Governor-General was 'to expect from ministers hereafter, in which Mr. Addington said 'plainly that they could not support the Governor-General 'against the Court of Directors."

Be all these things as they might, Lord Wellesley was glad to remain at peace with Scindia, if it could be maintained without dishonor ; and Mr. Jenkins, (afterwards Sir Richard Jenkins, who died lately) then acting Resident at his court, was instructed to inform him, if he thought fit, that either Col. Malcolm or Mr. Græme Mercer, or both, would probably soon be deputed on a special mission to his court. And so, after a fortnight's residence in Calcutta, Malcolm proceeded to Lord Lake's camp, with discretionary powers to act as the course of events might render expedient. In this mission, Malcolm rejoiced on various accounts ; but mainly because it showed him that he still retained, or had completely regained, that place in Lord Wellesley's confidence, which had been his joy and his pride, and the loss, or supposed loss of which had grieved him so bitterly.

And so Malcolm set out from Calcutta, to attempt to unravel the tangled skein of Mahratta politics. After visiting Lucknow, he joined Lord Lake on the banks of the Chumbul, and shortly after proceeded with him to Muttra, "He now found himself among "new friends, and, for the first time, on service with the Bengal "Army. His arrival had created no little sensation in the camp. "There were many there familiar with his name and his reputation, "who had long desired to see the man of whom they had heard "so much, and who were not disappointed. He was doubly wel-"come at Lord Lake's head-quarters. He was welcome on his own "account. His fine personal qualities ever rendered him popular "both with young and old ; and his presence contributed much "to the cheerfulness of the camp. But he was welcome also "as one who was believed to be at the head of the war-party—

"or rather one who would not willingly consent to any peace "but an honorable and a lasting one." In laying plans for vigorous action in peace or in war, the hot months of 1805 were passed away, when Malcolm was put to a severe test by a request from Lord Wellesley that he should accompany him to England. What his Lordship's purpose might be in making this request, we cannot quite understand, nor does the work before us give us any aid. Being left to conjecture, therefore, we suppose that his Lordship, expecting to be assailed with a storm of censure on his return to England, was anxious to have one with him, on whose talents and whose hearty sympathy he could count with certainty, as at once an able and a zealous vindicator of the policy that he had pursued. It was a difficult matter for Malcolm to decide whether he should or should not comply with this request; he decided in the negative; and we think few will doubt that he decided wisely.

On the 30th of July 1805, Lord Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta, and Lord Wellesley shortly afterwards took his departure, carrying with him the respect of all, even of those who did not approve of the principles of his administration. At this distance of time we can judge impartially of those principles. They have given its character to the history of India during the last half-century; and we do not hesitate to say that an opposite line of policy would have produced a worse result. By saying this we do not intend to commit ourselves to the advocacy of a "war-policy" in all circumstances. But at the end of last century, and the beginning of the present, it was a question of our existence or non-existence in India. It is to Lord Wellesley that we owe our existence as a great Asiatic power; and he would be a bolder man than we, who would venture to say that our existence in that character has not been advantageous both to England and to India.

One of Lord Cornwallis's first acts was to forward to Malcolm an explicit outline of the course of policy which he intended to pursue. He was avowedly sent out to alter that of his predecessor, and to introduce a peace-policy,—mainly on financial grounds. He therefore frankly asked Malcolm whether he were willing to co-operate heartily with him in effecting his purposes. Perhaps some may think that Malcolm's office was so far a political one, where so much was necessarily left to the judgment of the actual officer, that it would have been wiser for him to have resigned it, and either to have returned to his Residency at Mysore, or to have volunteered for military service under Lord Lake. And Malcolm soon felt that this was the only course left to him to pursue. He therefore determined to beg to be relieved of his office. But at present he did not feel this; and he replied to Lord Cornwallis, that he would, as a public servant, render a cheerful obedience to His Lordship's commands, and do all that he could do to merit his approbation. But he soon found that the views of Lord Cornwallis, and indeed, the conditions of his appointment, were still more directly opposed to the policy of his predecessor than he had at first supposed ; that they were not only opposed to annexation, but that they comprehended the cession of whole kingdoms already annexed. His view as to the nature of his office, and the necessity of its being held by one whose sentiments were in accordance with those of the Governor-General, are very clearly stated in a letter to his friend, Mr. Edmonstone, part of which we extract :—

> "Your station and mine are, my dear friend, widely different. As an officer of Government, acting immediately under the Governor-General, you have in fact, only to obey orders, and are never left to the exercise of your own discretion and judgment, as you have a ready reference in all cases that can occur to the superior authority, with whom, of course, every responsibility rests. Under such circumstances, a secretary that chooses to be of a different opinion—that is to say, to *maintain* different opinions—from a Governor-General, has in my opinion, no option but to resign ; and his resignation would, on such occasion, appear extraordinary to every person acquainted with the nature of his office, which is obviously one of an executive, not of a deliberative nature. Now look at my situation. Placed at a great distance from the Governor-General, and acting upon instruction of a general nature—obliged constantly to determine points upon my own judgment as there is no time for reference—liable to be called upon by extraordinary exigencies to act in a most decided manner to save the public interests from injury, it is indispensable that the sentiments of my mind should be in some unison with the dictates of my duty ; and if they unfortunately are contrary to it, I am not fit to be employed, for I have seen enough of these scenes to be satisfied that a mere principle of obedience will never carry a man through a charge, where such large discretionary powers must be given, with either honor to himself or advantage to the public."

On the day before this letter was written, Lord Cornwallis died at Ghazipore,—"one of the best and noblest of men who ever gave his life to his country." Colonel Malcolm, on personal grounds, deeply lamented this event. Lord Cornwallis was his earliest patron. Even in the days when he was in reality, as for so long he was in name and in feeling, the Boy Malcolm, his Lordship had befriended him. And now, in the few weeks of his second tenure of the Governor-General's office, he had treated Malcolm with that frankness and manly confidence which is alike creditable to the man who displays it, and to the man towards whom it is displayed. Lord Cornwallis was a gentleman, and knew that, in dealing with Malcolm, he had a gentleman to deal with. But while Malcolm shared the grief which all India felt at the loss of the venerable veteran, and shared in the addition the grief which his personal friends felt with double keenness; he did not conceal his belief that, for the interests of the public service, especially as regarded the conduct of those difficult negotiations in which he was himself engaged, it was better that the viceregal sceptre had passed into another hand. The hand destined to receive it was that of Sir George Barlow, a man who had been deep in the confidence of Lord Wellesley, and who had supported him in those measures which Malcolm believed to be essential to the good of India. Malcolm therefore hastened to recall his resignation, and to assure Sir George of his willingness to be employed in his present situation. But Sir George was in a difficult position—one of the most difficult in which a public or a private man can be placed. Nothing can be done without money, and the Indian Government had no money, nor the means of procuring any. "Why don't you rob the butler?" said Sheridan to his son Tom. "I have robbed him already," was the lugubrious answer. "Then rob the cook." "It is done, sir." The story is true with respect to the Government of India at that time. With reference to this subject, we have already written at some length in our Review of the life of Lord Metcalfe, and can add nothing to the following sentence which we then wrote: "We believe that peace was in 1806 a necessity. With-" out money the war could not be carried on, and money there was " none. It was not a question of giving or withholding what was. " It was the necessity of not giving what could in no way be pro-" cured." Still we were not reduced to the ignominy of suing for terms. Malcolm concluded with Scindia a treaty which, if it would not have pleased Lord Wellesley in the days when he was in the heart of the "great game," was yet upon the whole advantageous to us. Lord Lake pursued Holkar so closely, that his army was discomfited without a battle. He sued for peace, and it was granted to him on terms, which, while more favorable to him than would probably have been granted, had there been a few crores of rupees in the treasury at Calcutta, were yet advantageous to the British interests. There is no doubt that it is mainly to Malcolm that we owe that these treaties were so favorable to our interests as they were. His services on this occasion were of the most laborious and the most disinterested kind. He had done all that could be done to raise money, and had succeeded to a certain extent; and had not been convinced that both the butler and the cook were "cleared out." In a word he was a soldier and a diplomatist; but he was not a financier. He probably did not know the full extent of the financial difficulty with which Barlow had to contend; and if he had known it, he probably would not have been willing to acknowledge that it could not be surmounted.

But while we are prepared to vindicate Sir George Barlow thus far, we cannot but think that he passed over the line that separates moderation from pusillanimity, when he resolved to withdraw the shield of British protection from those petty states with whom he had been in alliance. This was simply ceding their territories to Holkar; and was, in our estimation, at once a crime and blunder. So thought Lord Lake and Colonel Malcolm; and many a "wigging" was administered to the latter for the freedom with which he expressed his sentiments. That these sentiments were always expressed with perfect temper, and with due official deference, we will not assert. Malcolm was indeed a Tory, and therefore well disposed to submit to legitimate authority; but still he had stood his ground unflinchingly against the man in all the world whom he most venerated, and whom he regarded with feelings which, in these days of independence and "the points of the charter," will probably be regarded by some as verging upon servility; and it was not very likely that he would defer more, or so much, to a man whom he must have regarded as belonging to his own class, and with whom he had been accustomed to associate on terms of familiarity and equality. Moreover Malcolm must have regarded Barlow as a renegade from the principles of the Wellesley administration: and this was what he could not tolerate. The "wiggings" that he received therefore, fond as he was of approbation and applause, and sensitive as he was of blame or censure, he learnt to regard as honorable to himself, and thought himself in some sort, a martyr for those principles to which he was "faithful found, 'mid many faithless." It was with sore hearts that Lord Lake and he heard the remonstrances of the agents of the native chiefs against our breach of faith, and could not deny that the accusations were just. "It is the first 'time," said the agent of one of these chiefs, "that the British 'Government has ever abandoned an ally from motives of mere 'convenience." And Malcolm echoed the sentiment with a bitter sense of shame and humiliation. "This is the first measure of the kind," he wrote, "that the English have ever taken "in India, and I trust in God it will be the last." With these feelings, obliged to act ministerially in a case against which his heart and his judgment alike revolted, with his health broken by incessant toil, it may be easily supposed that Malcolm longed for the time when he might return to Mysore, and occupy himself with the history of Persia.

"Malcolm himself was eager to return to Mysore, and be quiet.

“His health was failing him again; he had overworked himself, and he could look only to rest as a restorative. But there was one special and highly important duty which detained him in Upper India. After the conclusion of the peace with Holkar, the army had marched back to the provinces, and Malcolm, still at the elbow of the Commander-in Chief, had accompanied it. Not merely were the final arrangements of which he was the unwilling agent, with respect to the Western Alliances, to be carried out, but the great work of reducing the irregular troops was to be accomplished under his directions Among the many services which he rendered to the State, this—though it makes little show in a work of biography—was not the least arduous in performance, or the least important in result. His efforts in this direction were unwearied, and they were crowned with a success which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Government. By the 1st of April, little remained of the immense body of irregulars which had so encumbered our finances, beyond a single corps (Skinner's), and the monthly expenditure had been reduced from four lakhs to 35,000 rupees.

“At the same time the provincial battalions, to which the internal defence of Upper India had been entrusted, were being disbanded. A vast amount of other detail-business also devolved upon Malcolm—business connected with the numerous claims of individuals for reward or compensation for services rendered or injuries sustained during the war. Jagheers were to be granted to some; pensions or gratuities to others. Every man's claim was to be sifted to the bottom. The Governor-General might differ in opinion from Malcolm regarding the political system most advantageous, in its application, to the interests of the State, but he could not withhold his approbation from the zealous and successful exertions which that good and faithful servant was making to wind up all the multitudinous affairs, political and financial, which remained to be adjusted,—the *sequelæ* of a three years' war. Lord Lake had ever delighted to acknowledge the important assistance he had received from Malcolm; and now the Governor-General-in-Council declared that ‘they had great pleasure in expressing their high approbation of the activity, diligence, ability, and judgment manifested by Colonel Malcolm in discharge of the arduous, laborious, and important duties connected with the arrangements for the reduction of the irregular troops, and for the assignment of rewards and provisions to such individuals as had received promises, or had established claims upon the Government by their conduct during the war, and concur in opinion with his Lordship (Lord Lake) that Colonel Malcolm has accomplished these objects in a manner highly advantageous to the interests, and honorable to the reputation, of the British Government; and consider that officer to have rendered essential public services by his indefatigable and successful exertions in the accomplishment of these important arrangements.’”

At the end of June, Malcolm left Lord Lake at Cawnpore, and proceeded by boat to Calcutta. Here his reception by his numerous friends was cordial, and by the Governor-General polite and respectful. Between Barlow and Malcolm, there was decidedly what is very conveniently termed a misunderstanding, which, while it prevented any great amount of personal cordiality between them, made them both doubly careful to fail in no point of public and official recognition. Malcolm's desire and intention were to proceed, without delay, to Mysore, and Barlow would have been glad on some accounts to have him there. But he could not dispense with his presence in Calcutta. Holkar was shewing his teeth again; and although Barlow would not consent to act upon Malcolm's advice, he felt that he would not be justified in declining to avail himself of his knowledge. "I do not think it probable," says he, in a letter to Lord Wellesley, "that any opinions of mine will ever be adopted "in a manner beneficial to the public interests; every statement "is favorably received, and its truth and justice acknowledged; "but it is first modelled with a view of reconciling its adoption "to prior proceedings, and next with that of suiting it to the "palate of the Directors; and after undergoing this alterative "course, it cannot be supposed to retain much of its original "character." Altogether, Malcolm was at this time under a cloud, and his main consolation seems to have been in unburdening his mind in long letters to the Marquis and Sir Arthur Wellesley. In addition to the apprehensions that he felt for the safety of the State as threatened by Holkar, he shared with all men in those days, the alarm excited by the mutiny of Vellore. The threatenings without, and the troubles within, our borders, led him to look with eager desire to the Wellesleys, and he earnestly desired that Sir Arthur should be sent to Madras, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. This measure he agitated with characteristic zeal. "Sir Arthur Wellesley would have "returned to India if he had been invited; but his friends "thought that he could render more essential service to his coun"try nearer home." The following extract of a letter from Sir Arthur has an affecting interest in these days:—

> "Alas! my dear Malcolm, what is come over the army of Fort St. George? What are we to believe? Is it possible that the princes at Vellore can have corrupted the detachment at Hyderábad at the distance of 500 miles? Surely these princes, in confinement, and possessing but limited pecuniary means, could never have had the power of creating a general interest in their favor throughout the whole of the native army of Fort St. George, dispersed as it is over thousands of miles! I am all anxiety upon this subject, and yet I have not received a line from a soul. Nobody believes the accounts which have been received from India upon this subject, notwithstanding the character and credit of those who have transmitted them; and the mind of every man is filled with suspicion

and alarm. Surely the brave fellows who went through the difficulties and dangers of the Mahratta campaign, cannot have broken their allegiance! I can never believe it till I see it proved in the clearest manner."

Thus in these latter days, men have been reasoning *a priori*, believing in part, yet striving to unbelieve, considering things to be impossible whose possibility has been vouched by their actuality. In the same letter from which this extract is taken, Sir Arthur intimates that the Government had some thoughts of sending an embassy to Persia, and that Sir Arthur was exerting himself to secure that the ambassador should be, not Mr. Harford Jones, as was proposed, but Colonel Malcolm.

At length, nothing loth, Malcolm left Calcutta, reached Madras on the 14th of January 1807, and on the 21st of March, left it for Mysore. His purpose now was to remain quietly at his Residency for a year, recruit his finances, which had been somewhat impaired by the expenses which he had been obliged in incur in Northern India, and then retire to old England and *otium cum dignitate*. We cannot, at this stage of our article, afford to indulge in disquisition, else we might shew that Malcolm was in error; that the true *otium* for him was *negotium*; that the *dignity* that was most suited to his taste, was what is called in these days the *dignity of labor*. He soon felt this himself. Mysore was too quiet for him. He was not the kind of man who, when there was nothing to do, could do it well. And in Mysore there was nothing to do but to let well alone. We find him, therefore, suggesting that he should be sent at the head of a small force to Bussorah, in order to divert the attention of Turkey, and compel the Sultan to withdraw from his connexion with Buonaparte. This proposal was made on the 6th of May, and repeated on the 25th. How then are we to account for the change that seems to have come over the mind of the writer, when Lord Minto arrived at Madras in the course of the following month, and when he wrote to his son and private secretary, begging him not to put him in the way of active employment, as his desire was now to spend a short time quietly in Mysore, and then to retire to a cottage on the lovely banks of the Eske? The solution is not difficult. There was to be love in that cottage. To make a long story short—and after the manner of India in those days, it was not a *very* long story—Malcolm had become acquainted with Miss Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Colonel Campbell, of H. M.'s. 74th regiment, (afterwards Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart. and K. C. B., and Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army.) The acquaintance had sprouted up into friendship, the friendship had grown up into, love and the love was about to effloresce into the orange-blossoms of marriage. And accordingly on the 4th of July, Miss Charlotte Campbell became Mrs. John Malcolm, the soldier's daughter became the soldier's wife,—an help-meet for her husband. "After so many years of stirring and trying work, the enjoy-"ment of a few months of repose was, perhaps, the best service "he could render to the State. But he soon felt that he was "again ready for a life of action. There was a new incentive "to exertion. The once cherished idea of a speedy return to "England was abandoned. So Malcolm again turned his thoughts "towards some extensive scene of action, on which new honors "might be gained to ennoble the name he had given to his "wife." And such a scene was soon to offer itself. The peace of Tilsit had brought France and Russia into alliance; and it was not doubtful that they contemplated a combined attack upon India. To resist such an attack, Lord Minto determined to strengthen our alliance with the powers on our western and north-western borders; and in order to this end he resolved to send Charles Metcalfe to the Punjaub, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Affghanistan, and Colonel Malcolm to Persia. A few pages back we stated that it was the design of the Home authorities to send an ambassador to Persia, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley had exerted his influence to secure the nomination for Malcolm in perference to Mr. Harford Jones. Mr. Kaye, after stating that it seemed a mere matter of course that Malcolm should be selected for the Persian embassy, goes on to say:—

> "But there were other and higher authorities, and it *was* possible for them to ignore, or to reject, Malcolm's claims, and to think of another ambassador. Lord Minto, before leaving England, had urged those claims upon the King's ministers and the Court of Directors, and Sir Arthur Wellesley had done the same. But they had failed. The fact is that Malcolm, though perhaps the most popular man in India, was not popular in the regions of Leadenhall Street and Whitehall. He had 'the reputation of being an able, an energetic, but an unsafe man. By *unsafe* they meant *extravagant.* They believed that on his former mission to Persia he had spent a large sum of public money; and they determined now to despatch to Teheran one with less magnificent notions of the greatness of England and the dignity of an ambassador. There was a gentleman then in England ready to their hand and fit for their purpose. Mr. Harford Jones had resided for many years in a mixed political and commercial capacity on the shores of the Persian gulf; he was not without a certain kind of cleverness, but it had never obtained for him any reputation in India, and among the Persians themselves his standing had never been such as to invest him with any *prestige* of authority, or to secure for him general respect. What it was

that particularly recommended him to the authorities at home—except that he was in almost every respect the very reverse of Malcolm—it is difficult to say; but they made him a Baronet, and despatched him, with large powers from the Crown, as ambassador to Persia, to counteract the influence of the French, and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. It was at first designed that he should proceed to Teheran by the way of St. Petersburg; but the peace of Tilsit necessitated the abandonment of this project, and when Lord Minto arrived in India, he was altogether ignorant of the manner in which, under these altered circumstances, the representative of the Court of St. James would shape his movements in the east.

"In this state of uncertainty the Governor-General believed that there was still room for Malcolm to be beneficially employed (pending the arrival of Jones at Teheran) in that part of the country, which the influence of the latter would hardly reach. It was proposed, therefore, to despatch him at once to the Persian Gulf, with a commission of a somewhat general and not very defined character."

We must say that we question the wisdom of this. Had Lord Minto not proposed in England the mission of Malcolm to Persia,—had the matter occurred to him for the first time in India, it would have been different. But the Court of Directors and the King's Government having distinctly refused to send Malcolm, nothing but the most pressing necessity could have justified the Governor-General in exposing his envoy to the collision which must have infallibly ensued. And we do not think that such necessity existed. It is true that the French had already an embassy in Persia, and it may be true that Russian diplomacy was at work in a less open manner. But it is also true that the Shah had hitherto valued the English alliance, and that there was no reason to believe that the habits of the Persian Court would permit a very speedy change of his policy.

Of course Malcolm accepted the appointment. On the suggestion of Sir George Barlow, who was now Governor of Madras, and who seems to have forgotten the little "tiff" he had had with Malcolm while he temporarily held the office of Governor-General, he was gazetted as Brigadier-General, with a view to the increase of his influence in Persia. On the 17th of February, 1808, Malcolm, accompanied by his wife, embarked at Madras for Bombay. He reached this port in the first week of April, and here he made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh,—an acquaintance which soon ripened into a lasting friendship. On the 17th of April, he embarked on board the *Psyche*, a frigate lately captured from the French. Mrs. Malcolm was left at Bombay. It appears that Malcolm's spirits were not high when he set out on his mission. The counteraction of French influence was all in the way of his duty, and not incompatible with his tastes. But it was no pleasant prospect that was before him, in having to maintain his position as affected by the presence of Sir Harford Jones, about whose movements he seems to have been uncertain, and who might arrive in Persia before him, or while he was there. And then he was a man and a husband, as well as a public officer; and it was not pleasant to leave his wife, after nine months of married life, among strangers.

Why dost thou look so pale?
Or dost thou dread a French foeman?
Or shiver at the gale?
Deem'st thou I tremble for my life?
Sir Childe I'am not so weak,
But thinking on an absent wife
Will blanch a faithful cheek.

* * * *

Enough, enough, my yeoman good,
Thy grief let none gainsay.

But his depression did not last long. At Muscat he did not land, but received a kind message from the Imaum, which was brought by an old friend, whose kindly remembrance of his former visit was very gratifying to his feelings. From Bushire he sent Captain Pasley and Mr. Bruce to Teheran with a letter to the King. But they were not allowed to proceed further than Shiraz. The French influence had prevailed. While their embassy was at court, Malcolm was instructed to negotiate with the Prince Regent at Shiraz. To this he would not consent; and immediately set sail for Calcutta. His mission had failed; but he had done his duty, and he was not dispirited. Writing to his wife on the day of his leaving Bushire, he says:—

"I have determined to proceed to Fort William, and sail for that place to day. The resolution to pass Bombay, believe me, was not taken without pain; but my duty called for the sacrifice, and you will be pleased that I had virtue and firmness enough to make it. I hope to be at Calcutta about the 1st of September. I shall leave it for Bombay about the 1st of October, and arrive with my dearest Charlotte about the 10th of November. How long I stay there is a speculation; but, believe me, the present step is the only one I could take to enable me to do justice to the great interests committed to my charge. These, by the blessing of God, will yet prosper; and I shall have the credit, if the victory is won, of having not been sparing of exertion. A month with Lord Minto will do wonders."

We suspect our readers are finding that we have become dull in this narrative. We shall therefore present a specimen of the "Boy Malcolm." The following is from his journal kept for the perusal of Mrs. Malcolm:—

"We sailed this morning for Karrack to get water for the voyage. As we were nearing the island, I fell into conversation with a confidential servant of the Sheik of Bushire, who had been sent to facilitate our getting water at Karrack. This poor fellow became quite eloquent at the idea of my going to India, which he had just heard. It foreboded, he said, ruin to his country. He then abused the King, the Prince, and his master the Sheik, who was, he said, a weak young man, who was ruled by some vile Persian advisers. He has now, said the Arab, 'put the seal to his folly by disgusting you with his unworthy suspicions.' He then launched out into a grand account of my last mission, which he graced, in the true Arab style, with personal anecdotes. Nothing could be more entertaining than for a man to listen to anecdotes of himself, particularly when these were partly true, partly accidental speeches and occurrences which had been framed into regular stories, and had reached in that shape the lowest classes. To give you a short specimen of the Arab's conversation: 'Do they keep a parcel of vile French vessel's,' said he in a rage, 'while they send away a man of whose wisdom and munificence, children speak, as well as fellows with white beards? Have they forgot what you did at Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran? When Abdul Hamad, that half-merchant, half-minister, came to Bushire, deputed from Shiraz to find out by his wonderful penetration the objects of your mission, did you not closet him, make him swear secrecy, and then tell him that in the times of the Suffavee Kings, the Persians had no beards, but the English had; that the latter had since lost that fine ornament to the face, and that as it was rumoured the Persian had found it, you were deputed to try and recover your right? That Hamad said, he became a laughing-stock all over Persia when the manner in which you treated him was made public. And at Shiraz, when that sly Persian minister, Chiragh Ali Khan, asked you what your business was at Court, you replied that, if you told him you should have nothing to say to his master, the king.' 'At Ispahan,' continued the Arab, 'Mahommed Husscin Khan, the governor, who was the richest man in Persia, came to see you, and with a view of dazzling you, he wore a *kubah*, or upper garment, made of the celebrated *zerbaff*, or golden cloth, which is only worked in one loom in Persia. He found you dressed quite plain; but next day you went out a hunting, and it was reported to him that one of your favourite greyhounds was clothed in a cloth of the same stuff.' 'The fellow,' said he, 'has worn a plain chintz jacket ever since he received this rebuke. When you went one day to see the king, he put on all his richest jewels to excite your wonder. You looked him in the face, and you looked at his sword; but your eyes never once wandered to his fine diamonds. He was disappointed, and told Hadjee Ibrahim to ask you, as you retired, if you had not noticed them. The Hadjee returned to the presence, and was silent. The King was angry and said, 'Repeat what Malcolm Saheb said.' The Hadjee hesitated, till the King grew impatient. He then said, 'Please your Majesty, when I asked Captain Malcolm what he thought of your diamonds,' 'Nothing,' he said, 'what use are diamonds except as ornaments for women? I saw the King's face, Captain Malcolm told me, with pleasure: it is the countenance of a man. And I admire his fine scymetar; steel is the lord of jewels." "The King," said the talkative Arab, "though he was disappointed, could not help admiring such sentiments."

"All the Arab's stories are pretty near the truth. The dog's fine jewelled coat I recollect. It was made out of a dress of honor I had received, and put on to please my head huntsman, who used to lead this favorite greyhound himself; but God knows it was not meant to ridicule the magnificence of the Governor of Ispahan, from whom I received a thousand civilities."

So Malcolm left Persia, and returned to India. At the mouth of the Gulf, he met a vessel from Bombay, and received a parcel of letters, bringing him intelligence of the birth of a daughter, and the perfect recovery of his wife. Gladdened by these good news he proceeded to Calcutta, and received a most cordial welcome from Lord Minto. After much earnest consultation it was agreed that Malcolm should return to Persia, at the head of a force sufficient to enable him, if it should seem desirable, to take possession of the island of Karrack, in the Persian Gulf. It seems to have been considered that the refusal of the Shah to receive our envoy, while the ambassador of France was actually at his Court, was tantamount to a declaration of war, and that our possession of that island would enable us to keep Persia in check. Malcolm's own reasons for this step are plausible enough, as are generally the reasons for "most just and necessary wars." They were such as these: that we must have the means of preventing Persia from assisting any European Power in the invasion of India; that Persia, Eastern Turkey, and Arabia are to be regarded, not as national governments, but rather as tools which any European power might use. That it was for the manifest advantage of Persia to be on our side, since if she sided with our enemies, we should have no alternative but to blow her "into the middle of next week," whereas if she were on our side, it would not be the policy of any power wishing to invade India to attack her,—and so forth. These arguments, and such as these, convinced Lord Minto. Sir Harford Jones, who was now at Bombay, was ordered to remain there, and General Malcolm set off, as one of old to Baratraria, "seeing in the distance, as he wrote playfully, a lordly castle, "himself lord of the isle, and his lady-love looking out of a "window and smiling approval of his acts."

Now Sir Harford Jones had come to Bombay after Malcolm had left that port for Bushire. When he heard of Malcolm's departure he was "in a fix." He did not well know what to do. He took advice of Sir James Mackintosh and of Colonel Close; and they were of course thorough "Malcolmites."

They recommended him to remain at Bombay, waiting for what might turn up; and he, like a sensible man, did wait. But when the tidings of Malcolm's having left Bushire arrived at Bombay, he considered that the embargo was taken off, and started for Persia, before Lord Minto's order directing him to remain, reached him. The intimation of his having started reached Calcutta while Malcolm was on his way down the river; and at Kedgeree he received a letter from the Governor-General requesting him to return. So Malcolm returned to Calcutta, not, we fear, in an amiable mood. But he found the Governor-General and the Council unanimous in the opinion that they must not consent to be choused out of their island by the accident of Sir Harford's having sailed; and it was at once resolved that "Malcolm was to take ship for Bombay; to muster his "force; to prepare his equipments, and to make all things ready "for his descent on the island, from which he was to menace "Persia, Arabia and the Porte, and baffle the designs of Napo-"leon and the Czar." With this prospect again before him, of course his amiability soon returned, and we find, in his correspondence with his wife, such stories as the following, which seems to us to be well worthy of preservation, as a specimen of the graceful and gentleman-like manners which made the Governor-General peculiarly fascinating in private life:—

> "Your acquaintance, Mrs. W—, happened not to have been introduced to Lord Minto when she dined here (Government House), and mistaking him for another, she said, "Do you know the cause of General Malcolm's return to Calcutta?" "I believe I can guess," was the Lord's reply. "Pray, then, tell me," said the lady. Lord Minto hesitated till after we were seated at table, and then said, "We had better give the General plenty of wine, and we shall get this secret out of him." The lady, who had now discovered his rank, began to make apologies. "I assure you, my Lord," she said, "I did not know you." "I am delighted at that compliment," he replied. "Not to be known as Governor-General in private society is my ambition. "I suppose," he added, laughing, "you thought I looked too young and too much of a puppy for that old grave fellow Lord Minto, whom you had heard people talking about."

Once more General Malcolm turned his back on our palatial city, on board the *Chiffonne*, and employed himself, as active men employed themselves on board ship, writing a discourse on "the "career of Nadir Shah, to be submitted by his friend Mr. Cole-"brooke to the Asiatic Society,"—telling stories to, and romping with Johnny Wainwright, the Captain's son, a fine boy of ten years, "who soon discovered Malcolm's wonderful fund of anecdote;"—remembering all his pleasant intercouse with Lord Minto, in Calcutta—and anticipating the far more pleasant intercourse which he hoped to enjoy with Charlotte and little Margaret at Bombay. "At last, on the 30th of November, the "vessel entered Bombay harbour—and Malcolm was happy." The sculpture cast a veil over the face of a father about to be deprived by a ruthless superstition of his daughter, and this is imputed to his despair of being able to express such grief. This, we take upon us to say, is a mistake. It was not that he could not, but that he would not; that he felt that he ought not; he instinctively respected the sacredness of parental grief; and in like manner do we respect the sacredness of conjugal and parental joy.

In all the delights of genial intercourse with his Bombay friends, of that sacred intimacy to which we have alluded with his amiable and accomplished wife, of incessant wonderment at the discovery of the various beauties of his wonderful baby, and of exciting occupation in the organization of his little army, six weeks did not seem long; and on the 3rd of January 1809, he wrote to Mr. Henry Wellesley that he expected to proceed to the Gulf in ten days, with an admirably well-appointed little force of about 2,000 men, to be followed, if necessary, with 3 or 4,000 more. Lord Minto had written to Sir Harford Jones directing him to return from Bushire; but as he had left Bombay before he was ordered to remain there, so he had left Bushire before he was ordered to return thence. Now if Malcolm had been merely bent on his own gratification, or if he had studied merely his own interests, he might have got great *kudos* by hastening his departure, and taking possession of Karrack before Jones could present himself in "the presence" at Teheran. But while this would have been congenial to the feelings of the "Boy Malcolm," and would have been as good as what Sir Arthur Wellesley could only describe by a proverbial phrase as a "proper Malcolm riot," he neither on this, nor on any other occasion, allowed his dashing spirits to gain the ascendancy over his duty as a man entrusted with weighty responsibilities; and he therefore halted till he could refer to Calcutta. Before this reference reached Calcutta, the Government there had received intelligence respecting the relations of the European powers, which had caused Lord Minto to write to Malcolm to await further orders, and to suspend the expedition, if it should not have sailed. Lord Minto also expressed his desire, if the military expedition should not be found necessary, to place a resident minister at the Persian Court, and hinted that the minister should be General Malcolm. But this was not to Malcolm's taste. Six years before this he had written from General Wellesley's camp to General Stuart, "a political agent is never so likely to succeed as when he negotiates at the head of an army;" and he was of the same mind still. From his letters it would appear as if he had understood Lord Minto to contemplate the sending of him as "political," and a military force under another General; but it appears that what was really contemplated was not to send the military force at all. And this contemplation in due time ripened into a resolution. The whole scheme of the mission, political and military alike, was for the present abandoned. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting the concluding paragraph of the private letter from Lord Minto, which accompanied the official intimation of this resolution. If a man do not himself particularly care for such graceful compliments, he is always sure that his wife will be gratified by them, and he is pleased if it were only that they give pleasure to her.

> "For these reasons, and for others which it is not necessary to enumerate in this letter, I think we are at liberty, and it is therefore our duty to renounce the proposed expedition, and, so far as Persia is concerned, to resume our peace establishment. Knowing how your mind and all its powers have, for such a length of time, been devoted to the great interests involved in the affair of Persia, and generally in the Persian Gulf—knowing how instrumental I have myself been in disturbing the tranquillity, public and domestic, of your permanent station at Mysore, and in kindling the very ardour which this letter is to extinguish—I cannot but feel extreme regret and discomfort at a termination which, on one hand, withdraws such talents as yours, with all the energy which belongs to your character from the great field on which they were to be displayed, and, on the other, may seem to blight the rich fruits of honor and distinction which your were on the point of gathering. These are sentiments, in which I hope and *am convinced* you firmly believe, while I rely on the rectitude as well as strength of mind which distinguish you for feeling that they are sentiments which may be permitted to follow, but which could not be allowed any share in forming our resolution on this great public question."

On receipt of this letter, Malcolm would of course have turned his face at once towards Mysore; but there was no steam in those days, and the monsoon was against him; and so he remained a few weeks longer in Bombay, collecting materials for his contemplated Political History of India and his History of Persia. In the month of May, "he embarked with his family "for Madras; but he arrived there only to find the Government "in alarm, the Presidency in commotion, and the army in "rebellion."

We need not inform our readers that the rebellion of the army was the cause of the alarm of the Government, and of the commotion of the Presidency. Upon the history of this rebellion, we cannot enter now; but shall probably, ere long, make it the subject of a separate article. We shall only state in general that almost all the regimental officers of the Madras army assumed an attitude of determined defiance to the Government, and many of them declared themselves ready to fight in defence of their rights to the last drop of their blood. This was a state of things which has no parallel in the history of a British army. That English gentlemen and soldiers, with or without cause of complaint, should have comported themselves as these men did, we believe that few in these days would deem possible. We all know, alas! too well, what is the misery of a sepoy mutiny; but the mutiny, or rather rebellion, of the English portion of our army, is a misery of a still darker character. The chief *foci* of the rebellion were Hyderabad and Masulipatam. To the former station, Colonel Close was despatched, and to the latter, General Malcolm. It is with the latter that we have to do. He started from Madras after long conferences with Sir George Barlow, with the distinct understanding that the plan of proceeding, which he had sketched out, of firmness tempered with conciliation, had the full sanction of the Governor. If he were right in this understanding, we think it possible to doubt that he acted his difficult part in an admirable manner. He made no promises to officers with arms in their hands, which they professed themselves ready to use against the Government whom they had sworn to serve. But he reasoned with them in public and in private, represented to them the atrocity and the madness of their conduct, and was in a fair way to bringing them to submission. He then recommended to Government the issue of a proclamation, offering a pardon to those who should, within one hour after its receipt, return to their duty, and threatening the utmost severity of military law to those who should hesitate to return. This course was rejected by Sir George, who trusted to the loyalty of the Royal troops, and considered that the time had come to turn British bayonets against British breasts. This awful alternative was adopted by Sir George, and a bloody conflict ensued at Seringapatam. Malcolm's advice having been rejected, he asked permission to proceed to Madras, in the hope of being able to convince the Governor of the propriety of adopting it; and when in this he failed, it was of course out of the question that he should return to Masulipatam. The mutiny was quelled by other means than those that Malcolm had recommended; but whether it would not have been better quelled by gentler means, and whether it were favorable to British *prestige* to exhibit the spectacle of a civil war before the newly conquered natives of Seringapatam, may well be questioned.

While Malcolm was yet at Madras, in the month of September, Sir George Barlow despatched a letter to the Secret Committee on the subject of the mutiny, into which he introduced very grave reflections on Malcolm's conduct. Of the existence of this letter, Malcolm knew nothing till it was laid before Parliament three years after, and printed in a Blue-Book. He then wrote and published a plain statement of the facts of the case and left his conduct to the judgment of the world.

Malcolm had left Masulipatam on the 22nd of July, and reached Madras on the 26th. By this time it had been resolved by Lord Minto's government to send him to Persia; and he was again summoned to Calcutta to receive his orders. Before he could obey this call, he was informed that Lord Minto was about to visit Madras, and would see him there. Accordingly, on the 11th of September, the Governor-General arrived at Madras, and Malcolm was soon ready to proceed to Persia. At this point Mr. Kaye's first volume closes, and at this point we shall close our present article, believing that the life of Malcolm is so germane to an *Indian Review*, that it may well bear to be made the subject of more than one article. We intend, therefore, to trace his subsequent career in our next issue.

INDIA AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

BY GEORGE SMITH, LL. D.

1.—*Zend: Is it an original Language?* By JOHN ROMER late E. I. C. C. S. and M. R. A. S. London, 1855.

2.—*Outlines of Comparative Philology, with a sketch of the languages of Europe arranged upon philologic principles, and a brief History of the Art of Writing.* By M. SCHELE DE VERE of the University of Virginia. New York. MDCCCLIII.

3.—*Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and. Prospects.* By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAH BUNSEN, D. D., D. C. L., D. P. H., *in seven volumes. Philosophical Section—Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History applied to Language and Religion.* London, 1854.

4.—*Twelve Lectures on the connexion between Science and Revealed Religion delivered in Rome.* By CARDINAL WISEMAN. Fifth edition, 1853.

5.—*Bibliothecae Sanskritae sive Recensus Librorum Sanskritorum hucusque typis vel lapide exscriptorum critici specimen concinnavit* JOANNES GILDEMEISTER, PROFESSOR MARBURGENSIS. Bonnae ad Rhenum. MDCCCXLVII.

6.—*Modern Investigations on Ancient India, a Lecture delivered in Berlin,* March 4, 1854. By Professor A. WEBER. Translated from the German. By FANNY METCALFE, Leipzig, 1857.

IT is true of Sciences as well as of individuals, that eminence and acknowledged value must be reached through obstacles of no common magnitude, and trials of no common intensity. Through suffering is the soul perfected, through much tribulation only is it allowed to enter into the hidden arcana of truth, and to understand its revelations, humbly yet hopefully; without passion, prejudice or sloth. The ancient philosophers were right in principle at least, when they demanded as the price of those instructions which they communicated, that their disciples should purge their souls of the dross of earthly passion, and the errors of too hasty generalization, ere being allowed to gaze upon the full display of the mysteries of those esoteric doctrines, a knowledge of which was reserved for only a favoured few. What this kind of 'noviciate' effected for the ancient systems, and many of the secret societies of the middle ages, has been brought about in more modern times, and especially since the days of Bacon, by the persecution which infant Sciences have had to bear, by the opposition that they have invariably met with, from men of limited, conservative and prejudiced minds, or from bigotted religionists, who, assuming that their own interpretation of Scripture was correct, denied the truth of facts that in nature seemed opposed to it. Thus Truth has ever had to undergo a baptism of fire, which disengaged from it the counterfeit that so often passed under its name or in company with it, and fitted it for the high function of reconciling doubts and contraries, and elevating man to that position for which his Creator originally destined him.

The recent and rapid birth of new Sciences, during the last sixty years, is one of the most striking features of modern times. We are now reaping the fruits of that silent and toilsome elaboration of first principles which engaged the schoolmen, and finally resulted in the principles on which modern civilization is based. And not merely have new Sciences sprung into being, but those that formerly existed, have received new additions to their evidences, a new extension of their facts, and a clearer manifestation of their principles. Time is an all important element in the development of truth. It was not enough that the genius of science fled from Europe for ten long and dreary centuries, or hid herself and wrought secretly in the womb of mediæval times, but even when she gave birth to Bacon, and such exponents of his principles as Newton and Boyle, the first had to throw himself on posterity and look to the future for that reputation which was denied him by contemporaries. That future, which, with a consciousness of greatness and prophetic eye he saw, came only so late as the end of last century. Then it was that his principles became more fully appreciated, the spirit of his great 'Instauratio' understood, and the rules of his inductive philosophy carried out carefully into practice. Then it was that new Sciences were evolved under their application to nature, and through Reid and Kant, even mental philosophy received an impetus, and was placed upon a basis, which all the quibbles of sophists and the doubts of sceptics shall never injure nor overthrow. The principle which has led to such important results, has been denoted by the term "comparison," or an application of the great processes of observation and experiment to a wider sphere, and a greater number of objects than previously. Men had moved within the narrow circle of a few facts, or had confined themselves to the isolated study of each distinct *genus* by itself, but had seldom gone to the higher step in generalization, of comparing *genera* with each other, and forming still more comprehensive classes. Each had wrought at his own particular field isolated from the others, and each had hence come to wrong conclusions, while their conceit on account of what had been accomplished, was too often in proportion to the falsity or lameless of their results.

A master-mind was wanted, or rather a master principle in many minds, which, leading the philosopher to take his stand in the wide field of the human Sciences, would enable him to see the points in which one harmonised with, or was related to, another, and also so to investigate the details of each, as out of a new understanding of them, to bring a new or at least a cognate Science. This master-principle was no fresh discovery, but merely a more accurate application of the whole spirit of the Baconian philosophy. The result has been that the unity of the truth, whether as manifested in the physical or mental Sciences, has been clearly demonstrated, and a new evidence gained from the united voice of human knowledge for the wisdom and personality of Him who created the heavens and the earth. By its aid Alchemy was developed into Chemistry, Astrology into Astronomy, and Surgery into Comparative Anatomy, while the foundations of Geology were laid on a firmer basis. By it too, the arbitrary rules and meaningless statements of Grammar have been explained, the confusion that existed as to man and his speech—their origin, their nature, their development, their derivation, their migration over the inhabited globe, has been cleared away. Grammars and languages have formed the data of the study of grammar and language, and have in their turn been purged of inconsistencies, absurdities and difficulties, and the principles and history of the whole have been discovered by Comparative Philology, which embracing, as it does, the whole subject of Ethnography, now ranks as one of the most important of the Sciences. On one side of it, it is connected with the mental Sciences and specially with Logic, being concerned with the expression of thought, and the connexion between them, and on the other, it touches upon the Physical Sciences, and especially Phisiology.

Our object, at present, is not so much to look into the laws on which it is based, and the character of the data whence these have been deduced, as to view it historically, and especially to see what part India has contributed, either in men, methods or languages, to constitute it. The truth of the remarks above made, will be found all through its history,—that it has had to pass through much ridicule, opposition and trial, ere reaching the sure pedestal of general acceptance and scientific accuracy, where it now is.

We have placed the above works at the head of the article as representatives of the progress made by Comparative Philology in its last stages. The first is a pamphlet by Mr. Romer, consisting of three short papers, originally published at different times in the journal of the *Royal Asiatic Society.* To these is prefixed a preliminary notice by the author, and some excellent introductory remarks by Professor H. H. Wilson. The papers are entirely controversial, having it for their object to prove that the Zend and Pahlavi languages, as used by the Parsis and seen in their religious writings, are not authentic; that their character is entirely fictitious; and that consequently any attempt, such as that of Bopp in his Comparative Grammar, to base philological theories upon them, must be futile and absurd. The nature and value of Mr. Romer's arguments we shall presently consider.

The "Outlines of Comparative Philology," by M. Schele De Vere, is in itself a "curiosity of literature." It professes to supply what, with reference to the Science itself and to modern education, is certainly a great desideratum—"a work to which "the student might resort with the hope of finding everything "that pertains to the study of language, collected and arranged," a manual of Comparative Philology in fact, where all information, as to what it is and what it has done, might be expected. That the author fails to supply this is to be regretted, and still more so that he does not supply even original materials for such a work. He has evidently read much of the literature of the subject, and has gathered together many facts, both historical and critical, from different authors. But his whole work is vitiated by the absence of two important things which would have made it otherwise most valuable—a philosophical method, and a sound criticism. The want of the former has caused him to scatter the various divisions of his subject in wild confusion over his pages, so that the fresh student would necessarily be lost in ignorance, the further that he went. It is true that in his preface the author professes to give "suggestion rather than complete information," but information of any kind, and especially on a scientific subject, to be useful, must be methodical. Such different subjects as the Origin of Language, Theories regarding it, the History of Comparative Philology, writing Materials, the Connexion between Comparative Philology and History, Printing, America, and an account of the three great classes of languages, are mixed together in promiscuous profusion. Facts and statements are introduce into the middle of a chapter that have no connexion with its subject, and with an imperfect sketch of the languages of Europe, the first part of the book comes to a close. The second, as the History of Writing, is naturally more methodical, though incorrect in many of its statements. The absence of a sound criticism is destructive to the usefulness of the compilation. Accurately ascertained facts are nowhere distinguished from mere conjectures, and everywhere theory and fanciful hypothesis are mixed up with principles that are settled by all as the laws of the Science. No attempt is made to reduce the conflicting statements of different authors and schools to consistent harmony, nor are the latest results of the Science carefully gathered up, and its various uses and applications shewn. The work seems rather to be a "commonplace book" on Philology, an Index Rerum Linguisticarum (if we may be allowed the expression,) than scientific "Outlines of Comparative Philology."

How different the third work, that of the Chevalier Bunsen! Our late Prussian ambassador has distinguished himself alike in the fields of Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History, Archæology and Comparative Philology. In these few scholars can now be regarded as his equals, while he has carried into all his works the same large-heartedness, and manly generosity of life and opinion, that made him a favourite in the highest London circles, and now draw upon him many a visit from foreign scholars in his quiet and philosophic German retreat. The work before us is entitled in its totality, "Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects." In its details, as spread over seven large octavo volumes, it consists of three distinct works—Hippolytus and his age, Sketch of the Philosophy of Language and Religion, or the Beginnings and Prospects of the Human Race, and the Remains of Ante-Nicene documents. The second seems to our Anglo-Saxon common-sense to be strangely thrust in between the other two, but Bunsen himself satisfactorily explains it.

The philological part is that only with which we have to do. We do not hesitate to say that it is the most important work on the subject that has been published since Bopp's Comparative Grammar. With the assistance of such scholars as Aufrecht and Max Müller, an account of the latest researches and results is admirably given, and a further generalisation of the three great families of languages is attempted, by shewing the proof of a connexion between the Semitic and Indo-European class. If further evidence of this is found, then will scholars at once recognise the improvement, and to Bunsen, assisted by these two great Hebraists, Fürst and Delitzsche, will be ascribed the honour of this further step in the simplification of the Science.

The fourth work that we have placed above—the Lectures by Cardinal Wiseman, is well-known to the scientific public. We are glad to see that it has reached a fifth edition, which is much improved, and contains corrections and additions, so as to keep it abreast of modern science. We here notice it only on account of its two opening lectures "On the comparative study of languages." As they appear in this edition, they are a most philosophical and accurate summary at once of the doctrines and history of the Science, and in default of a regular manual on the subject, we cannot point the tyro to a better introduction to it. With the exception of an admiring allusion to a Jesuit author, which any one might make, they are free from that bigotry which we might have been led to expect, and of which in its Popish form both Science and Revealed Religion are the determined enemies.

The "Bibliothecae Sanskritæ" of Professor Gildemeister is a catalogue of authors, Indian and European, who have edited or translated Sanskrit works, or treated of Sanskrit literature. It gives the titles of their works in full, occasionally accompanied by notes, and is followed up by indices of Sanskrit books published in India according to their chronological and alphabetical order, of Indian authors and editors, of Indian philologers, and lastly of European writers on Sanskrit. The whole is a most accurate and invaluable manual of Sanskrit bibliography, or of the literature of Sanskrit philology. We would take exception only to the Author's Latin, and his mode of Romanizing oriental titles of books. Who from "phortauleyam" and "gemsa prinsep" would discover Fort William and James Prinsep?

Professor Weber's lecture is in every way worthy of one of the most distinguished of recent German philologers. It is throughout at once popular and scholarly, and gives in small compass the results of the study of the Indian languages, literature and history, during the past seventy years. Beginning with the statement of a few facts in the history of Sanskrit scholarship, and alluding to such well-known works as the *Sakuntala* and *Bhagavad-Gita*, he at once excites the attention of his hearers to what might, in the case of a general audience, be otherwise dry and repulsive, and aided by it, goes on—to state the philological argument on which the whole of his remarks as to the migrations, early history, literature and manners of the South-Aryan race are based. We have never seen it so scientifically and yet simply put:—

"In the first rank stand the results already obtained with regard to the primeval history of the Indo-European race. The comparison of the grammatical formation of the Sanskrit, especially as it appears in its oldest form in the Vedas, with the Celtic, Greek and Latin, with the German-Lettish-Sclavonian and Persian languages, teaches us, that the structure of all these languages has one common foundation; moreover, the gradation of forms and sounds directs us to the Sanscrit as the language which. taken altogether, has retained the most primeval form, and has adhered the most tenaciously to that parent ground. This original language, thus disclosed by the identity of the grammatical form, naturally supposes and demands that at the time when it was a living and spoken language, the people speaking it must also have been one; the different nations, as well as their languages appear thus, as the result of a gradual separation from the original Indo-European race and its language, indeed, so much so, that the greater or less similarity of the sounds and forms of the several languages to each other, and more exclusively with reference to the Sanscrit, gives us a clue as to whether this separation from the parent stock took place at an earlier or later period. The deficiency of all historical testimony for that early time, is by this means made good for each people by the form of its language, which affords a conclusive objective evidence distinctly confirmed by the geographical relations which meet our view when the historical period commences. If the grammatical relations and inflexions are only the skeleton of the language, and therefore afford us no direct picture of its life, or even of the life of the people speaking it, the words themselves, the lexicographical treasure of a language, on the contrary are, as it were, the flesh clothing the skeleton, the nerves giving it vitality. In this way we may conclude, that words, entirely or partly common to those languages, and the objects thus designated, were already either abstractly or positively the property of the earliest people, while the agreement of only some of those languages in words which are wanting in others, is a sign that the things or ideas thus designated belong to a time succeeding the separation already effected. Further, from the circumstance that the Sanscrit has preserved a great number of roots which have been lost in the other languages, we are enable to discover, in a great mass of derivatives besides their traditional meaning up to this time purely metaphorical, also their primary signification, and thus we obtain an idea of our forefathers' style of thought, and see how naively they have given the most significant names to so many different objects. Finally, an acquaintance with the old songs, habits and customs of the Hindoos at the Vedic era, promises even to afford us a means of determining the religious life of that early period, giving us an idea of their conception of the divine powers and forces in nature, in as much as there we find again a great proportion of such conceptions as are known to us from the Greek, Roman and German mythologies, the roots of which thus appear to have existed already in that common primeval time. Here, certainly, much is wanting in precision: and the investigations on this point are as yet the least conclusive, the greater part being still left to conjecture."

Trusting almost wholly to the facts given by a comparison of the various Indo-European or Aryan dialects, he draws an exquisite picture of the early life of our Aryan ancestors, ere yet it had degenerated into that state of apathy, superstition and obscene immorality in which we now find it. The whole sketch will be familiar to those of our readers who have read the interesting compilation of Mrs. Spier on Ancient India, or whose studies have led them to that mine of Indian wealth, the Indische Alterthumskunde of Lassen. The lecture was delivered before one of those brilliant intellectual audiences that so often meet in Berlin, and is well worthy of the capital that the Schlegels and their school so often delighted with original speculations in poetry, philosophy and history. Taking, then, these works and the History of English scholarship in India as our guide, let us look for a little at the history of this youthful Science, and see how far, in its methods or materials, it has been assisted by the research and linguistic studies of our own countrymen and others in India.

The founder of Comparative Philology properly so called was undoubtedly Leibnitz. But previous to his time there had been many speculations among the ancient Greek philosophers and the schoolmen of the middle ages, as to the origin of language, the logical connexion between thought and expression, and, in short, the reason for all those rules and forms which we term grammar. That mysterious existence—Pythagoras, in whom is mythically represented all the knowledge of antediluvian times, and who, in germ at least, is looked upon as having anticipated some of the greatest discoveries of subsequent ages, himself represented the two wisest among things as number and name-giving. Heracleitus and Democritus disputed with each other as to the nature of " words, " and instituted that question which continued down through the middle ages to divide the logical world. As seen in the discussions of their disciples Cratylus and Hermogenes, and as brought out in the dialogue of their pupil Plato called by the name of the former, the matter resolved itself into this. Do words naturally (φυσει) correspond to the objects that they represent, or are they entirely arbitrary, and applied by the mere arrangement (θεσει) of men ? The objective and the subjective schools thus arose, which taken up respectively by Plato and Aristotle, in course of time attracted Lucretius, Cicero and Cæsar among the Romans, and many of the Alexandrian and Byzantine philosophers. In the middle ages, the question assumed more of a logical aspect in the great dispute between the Realists and Nominalists, and in the case of some became a practical one to be determined by lists of words and grammatical laws. At this point the logical and grammatical elements separated, and the latter henceforth divested of the subtleties as well as the support of the former, resolved itself into purely lexical enquiries which were disfigured and rendered formidable to enquirers by the jargon of the schools. Towards the approach of modern times, however, in the fifteenth century, light began to dawn, and travellers of intelligence and observation, as they visited lands, and had intercourse with tribes hitherto unknown, were led to attend to the new languages that met their ear, and were attracted by resemblances in them to their own. Here, then, was Philology rescued from the grammatical quibbles of doctors, and the element of comparison at once brought to bear upon it. In the time of Charles V, an Italian, called Antonio Pigafetta, was allowed to accompany the great voyager Magelhaens in his search for the Western Passage. While defending his leader, he was wounded at the Phillippine Islands, but escaped, with seventeen of his fellows, and two valuable MSS. The one consisted of an amusing journal which was presented to the Emperor and afterwards to Pope Clement VII, the other of three vocabularies of the dialects spoken in Brazil, Patagonia and Tidore in the Moluccas. The custom of making out such vocabularies of words soon spread, especially among the Dutch, and from MSS. which were stored in the library of Leyden, Reland published more extensive ones. To such was Klaproth afterwards indebted, when engaged in drawing up his laborious work, the "Asia Polyglotta."

Another source whence light was cast on the subjects embraced by our science was biblical criticism, as pursued during the middle ages, and the period of the reformation in the sixteenth century. The study of Hebrew naturally led to that of its cognate languages, and comparisons between them were occasionally but blindly made. Julius Cæsar Scaliger and Bochart most distinguished themselves in this way. The early Missionaries, too, of the Roman Catholic Church, like the travellers of whom we have spoken, were led to devote attention to the languages of the tribes among whom they lived, and soon, as most convenient for comparison, the Lord's prayer in the different languages was adopted, just as at a later time, the parable of the prodigal son was used for the same purpose. Hence we have many collections of Paternosters, the best of which, in those early days, is the Mithridates of Gesner, published in 1555, in which we find, in addition, a list of all languages then known to be spoken. A "more extensive series" was in 1715 published at Amsterdam by Chamberlayne. The data for such had meanwhile been gradually accumulating. Such were the dim beginnings of a science which in modern times has accomplished so much for history and ethnology. Up to this point, it presents none of the lineaments of a science, nor can we recognize it as such. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leibnitz, equally great as a philosopher, a mathematician, and a philologist, directed his attention to it. For the purpose of carrying out investigations on the subject, he founded the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and in a memoir read before it in 1700, as well as in a letter to Tenzel, he distinctly enunciates the principles of the science, as they have since been developed, proved and evolved in detail. Rejecting the absurd hypothesis which rested the proof of the unity of language on the Hebrew, he at once took the immense leap of shewing the connexion between comparative philology and ethnology, as expressed in that memorable sentence, which Bunsen quotes: " Brevis designatio meditationum de originibus gentium ductis " potissimum ex indicio linguarum." Henceforth the two are combined together as one Science, and shed a bright light on the early history of nations, and on the origin of all that constitutes their nationality, where otherwise there would have been thick darkness.

It is now that we can classify the details of the history of the Science, and slightly altering Bunsen's division, consider it under these periods.

I. From Leibnitz to Sir William Jones—the period of fact-collecting, 1700 to 1794.

II. From Sir William Jones to William Von Humboldt—the period of lexical or glossarial affinity—the Indian or Sanskrit period, 1795 to 1835.

III. From William Von Humboldt to Bunsen—the period of grammatical affinity, 1835 to 1855.

It is with the second of these that we have chiefly to do.

Looking for a moment, however, at the first period, we see Leibnitz to be the founder of Comparative Grammar. It was he who first shewed, that it is of value only in so far as the element of 'comparison' is brought to bear on it, and that it is the only guide in the dim beginnings of history, and the early migrations of nations. With him the matter remained for a time, and his hints, which were almost prophetic, were neglected. Fifty years afterwards the first of our English philologers, to whom the name can, with any justice, be applied, arose. John Harris published his 'Hermes' in 1751, but evidently ignorant of what Leibnitz had suggested before him, he again went back into the error of confining himself to mere etymology and grammatical quibbling. Bunsen says, that " he laid the foundation of grammatical philosophy," but this we question. He no more did this than Plato and Aristotle, followed by the schoolmen, had done, for a philosophy of language properly so called, and not of individual languages, must be based on comparison. Much more clever and suggestive were the speculations of his opponent Horne Tooke, who, in his "Diversions of Purley," has given us a work that will be remembered long after the "Hermes."

The man who most marks the spirit and results of this period, is a Jesuit of the name of Hervas, or more fully Don Lorenzo Hervas y Pandura. With all the enthusiasm and energy of his order, he pursued the study, and derived large information from his own brethren who had been in foreign lands, and whose linguistic skill has ever been famed. He was essentially a collector of words, and most industriously provided materials from which, with fuller information, and a more liberal spirit, his successors might deduce great laws. We see this especially in his "Vocabolario Poliglotto con prolegomeni sopra piu di 150 Lin-"gue," which was published in 1787, as a supplement to his "Aritmetica delle Nazioni."

The hint as to the connexion between our Science and Ethnology, which Leibnitz had distinctly given, was taken up by Blumenbach in the course of his physiological researches. His investigations were continued with increased success; and the connexion between Ethnology and Physiology more fully developed by succeeding scholars to the time of Cuvier in France, J. Müller in Germany, and Prichard in England. It was he who first *scientifically* established the truth of the Scripture statement as to the unity of the human race, and in so doing, he was not a little indebted to linguistic Science. But for many years after Leibnitz, no philosophers properly so called arose, and the Science was represented in England merely by such men as Harris and Horne Tooke. Efforts were, however, made in the North of Europe by the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, to direct the attention of the learned of her kingdom, then emerging from the state of semi-barbarism, to the Science. Herself taking the initiative, she made out large comparative lists of words, and having deduced from the affinities that she discovered many laws that have since been more fully established, she passed over the work to Pallas, that he might carry it out still farther. Hence the "Lingua-"rum Vocabularia Comparativa" was published in 1787.

Still this was a mere "Vocabularium" and nothing more, and the Science wanted a philosophic spirit or principle to be applied to it, that would cause it to take its place in the foremost rank of the inductive Sciences. Its scholars had hitherto been like men groping their way in the dim obscurity of a mist, delighted by occasional gleams of light, but wandering on for ever in uncertain paths. One attempt was made to reduce languages to order and to classify them according to some fixed standard by Adelung so late as 1806. It was then that he published his "Mithridates," afterwards continued by Vater, a work that has since been to the Science what the "Sententiæ" of Petrus Lombardus were to the philosophy of the middle ages. Bunsen correctly characterizes Adelung, when he says that he was "merely "a linguist, and neither an accurate philologer nor a deep philo- "sopher."

The clue to unravel the intricacies of language, and to lay anew the foundations of Comparative Grammar philologically, as Leibnitz had done philosophically, was found in India, in the Sanskrit. From the moment that its stores of wealth were opened up by the adventurous curiosity of a few Englishmen, it was studied with avidity by all scholars—especially by the English and Germans; it became a stable foundation on which the whole nomology of the Science might, under the guidance of a strict induction, be built, and threw a light upon early history, so bright and so clear, that we can now read with a full sense of certainty the life of our early Arayan ancestors, ere they left their provincial plains in Iran, ere the Celt, followed at distant periods by the Pelasgian and the Teuton, emigrated to Europe, and those of their brethren whom they left behind, branched off and became the founders of the glory of Persia and Hindustan. We may well, then, look upon this as the beginning of a second period in the history of the Science, and date it from the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and the first publication of Sir William Jones in 1783.

The question as to who was the first European that studied Sanskrit in India, is, we fear, too difficult to be certainly answered. The credit of it, and in their case it is of a very doubtful character, most probably lies with the Jesuit Missionaries in India. We have already seen that they often contributed materials from which comparative lists and tables of words were drawn up, and spared no labour nor expense to fit themselves for gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the heathen of those countries in which they preached. It was in the year 1545, that the great St. Francis Xavier landed in South India, and began a career unprecedented in the history of Missions for folly, enthusiasm and disinterested unselfishness. Meanwhile his friend and contemporary was laying in Europe the foundation of the Society of Jesus, which had for one of its special objects, to preach the Gospel, as taught by the Roman Catholic Church, in heathen lands. The history of their efforts in India is well known, and has been more than once described in these pages. The college of St. Paul at Goa, and still more at Madura, contained many who in their own land, had been scholars of no mean order, and who devoted themselves to the study of the various dialects of South India, and especially to their parent the Sanskrit, with wonderful assiduity and success. While there is no ground for believing the statement of Father

Martin that he had been able in five months so to learn Bengali as, in disguise, to receive instruction in what he calls "a Brahminical university," we cannot but believe that the Jesuits devoted themselves to the study of native tongues with a zeal which is but rarely manifested now.

Of all the order, Robert de Nobili of the Madura Mission was the most famous, so much so as to be termed after Xavier the second Apostle of the Indians. In the course of his missionary operations, he however adopted a plan directly the opposite of that of his great predecessor, resolving to ingratiate himself with the higher classes, with the Brahmins, and so to accomplish himself in all that constitutes a Brahmin, as to successfully pass for one of the west. It was in 1606 that he began his career, and raised the Mission at Madura to the highest position of all the Jesuit stations. He scrupled at nothing to accomplish his end, and it is indeed to be regretted that learning so great, and zeal so inextinguishable as his, should not have been used at least more honestly. Failing at first in convincing the Brahmins that he was one of their class, his skill was so great as to enable him to forge a document in the old and sacred Nagree character, in which it was stated that his, or the Roman order of Brahmins, was of greater antiquity than the Indian, and finding that even this was unsuccessful; he swore that he was himself descended from Brahma. He called himself by the name of *Tutwa-bod, haca Swamy*. The first of the semi-heathen works that he wrote, was the *Mydna Upadésan*, written in Tamul, in which the glorious revelation of a Jehovah and a God in Christ, is accommodated to heathen ideas, in a manner calculated to shock every true Christian. This was succeeded by a sort of translation of the Romish liturgy, termed *Mantra-Málei*, and intended for the use of his native converts, but written in a style that was much too classical for them. His next literary attempt was one that rivals his first forgery in audacity—a *fifth veda* in which again the pure truth of Christianity is diluted with Theistic Brahminism. It is best known by its French name, *L'Ezour-védam*. It was sent from Pondicherry, where the MS. had been kept for some time, and in 1761, was deposited in the King's library in Paris. In 1778, it was published, and so far deceived the learned that the sceptic Voltaire cited it as a proof of the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity.

Robert de Nobili died in the year 1656, aged forty-five. His colleagues in the mission wrought with a similar enthusiasm, and in the case of one, so far as our subject is concerned, with even greater success. R. C. J. Beschi, known by his heathen name of *Viramamuni*, composed an epic poem entitled *Temba-vani*. In it he so mixed Christian story and truth with Hindu fable, as to make it acceptable to the Brahmins. Mr. Ellis of Madras has investigated these works, and proved their utter want of authenticity. The following may be taken as a specimen of the Temba-vani. The infant Saviour is speaking of the Egyptian Mary or Ejesia Mariyal. " On the flying chariot of desire she arrived at the ' desert of sin ; on the flying chariot of fear she repaired to the mountains of penitence ; on the flying chariot of resplendent ' wisdom, she entered the grove of growing virtue : and on the ' flying chariot of my name, she shall enter the Kingdom of ' Heaven."

In 1664, Heinrich Noth, a German, studied the Sanskrit, in order " that he might be capable of disputing with the Brahmins." In 1699, the Jesuit Hanxleden landed on the Malabar Coast, and laboured as a missionary there for thirty years. He wrote several works in the vernacular of the district, as well as Grammars and Dictionaries. He died in 1793. He is often referred to by succeeding authors.

The successes, as they appeared to the Church to be, of the Jesuits in Madura, directed the attention of the Pope to them, and also of their own order. The assertion of Cardinal Wiseman is, without doubt, true—that it was in Rome that the languages and literature of the Hindus were first systematically studied in Europe. Father Paulino returned as a missionary from India, and took up his abode in the Propaganda at Rome. He was a man of no common rank, and demands a moment's attention. Jean-Philippe Werdin, or as he afterwards styled himself " Frater Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo Carmelita Excalceatus " Malabariæ, Missionarius " was born A. D. 1748, near Mannersdorf, in South Austria. His parents moved in a humble sphere, being mere peasants, but they did their utmost to gratify his passion for knowledge, which was developed at a very early age. At the age of twenty he became a Carmelite monk; and after studying theology at Prague, he resolved to devote himself to Missionary work in India, and, for this purpose, entered the Mission-college of his order at Rome. After some time spent in studying with avidity the oriental languages, he was appointed to the Malabar Coast, and set out in 1774. There he devoted himself with all the zeal of an enthusiast to the work, acquired a ready facility in the dialects of the district, mastered the difficulties of Sanskrit, a knowledge of which was not at that time easily attainable ; and printed many works in the vernacular, for the use of the Mission. He was raised to the dignity of Vicar-General, and subsequently to that of Apostolic Visitor. After passing fourteen years in India, he returned home, bringing with him a more accurate and perfect knowledge of Sanskrit, and the dialects of the South of India, than any European had previously entered Europe with. In 1790 he returned to Rome. He was subsequently librarian at

Padua, and secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda. On his again taking up his quarters at Rome in 1800, Pope Pius VII. appointed him to the responsible office of "Consultatore de la "Congregation de l' Index, et Inspecteur des etudes au College "Urbain de la Propagande." There he died in 1806, after a life of simple and busy activity. His works, which are too numerous to be all mentioned here, gained for him a European celebrity, and caused attention for the first time to be devoted to Sanskrit and the dialects of India. They were, however, distinguished by a spirit of bitterness and a love of controversy, so different from the life of simplicity and amiability which he is said to have led. His French biographer speaks of his "grande pro-"pension à la polemique."

Shortly after his return to Europe in 1790, he published his "Sidharubam," seu Gramatica Samscrdamica cum dissertatione historica-critica in linguam Samscrdamicam." It is to be regretted that in this as in his other Sanskrit works, he uses the Tamil character throughout, and not always with accuracy. The year after, he published his great work on the Brahminical religion, which excited so much controversy, and was attacked by P. Georgi and Anquetil Du Perron, "Systema Brahmanicum liturgicum, mythologicum, civile, ex monumentis Indicis musei Borgiani Velitris, dissertationibus historico-criticis illustravit." He began to publish the famous Dictionary of Amarasinha, under the title of "Amarasinha seu Dictionarii Samscrdamici, sectio prima ; de coelo, ex tribus ineditis codicibus Indicis manuscriptis eum versione Latin," 1798. The whole work was afterwards issued from the Serampore press (1808), under the editorship of Colebrooke. In the same year he published a small work "De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae et Samscrdamicae Germanicae Dissertatio," and in 1802, a work philologically of still more importance "De Latini sermonis origine et cum orientalibus linguis connexione." In 1804, he issued his great work, the last of those on India, "Vyacarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae Institutio." In all, in the short space of fourteen years after his depature from India, he published twenty works in volumes, most of which were large quartos, on subjects chiefly connected with India. It has been truly said, that had not his fame been eclipsed by the rising star of English scholarship in Calcutta, he would have held a higher position among scholars than he now does. His great fault was theorising, neglecting the linguistic wealth of which he was in actual possession, and a judicious use of which would have immortalized him, for speculations which were as absurd as they were mystical There was much ground for the sensible advice given to him by his adversary Du Perron, "An lieu de passer le temps à donner de vingt-

quatre pages, des trente, des cent pages qui ne prouvent rien ou tres peu, de mettre en opposition cent, deux cent mots de differents langues, le missionaire ferait mieux, d' enrichir le public d'une bonne et complete traduction de l'Amarasinha, ou bien de publier les dictionnaires de Hanxleden et de Biscoping."

Such a man as the adventurous and learned Anquetil Du Perron was well entitled to give such an advice to Paulinus, for he had preceded him in his researches into some of the languages of India. Born at Paris in 1731, he distinguished himself as a student at the University of that city, especially in the study of Hebrew, which of course introduced him to the cognate Arabic, and also to the Persian. Destined at first for the church, he studied for some time in the theological seminary at Auxerre, and afterwards at Amersfoort. But his pursuits were as little theological as possible, for he burned with a desire to go on with the oriental languages, and if possible, to visit oriental nations. Returning to Paris, he had access to the king's library, and, by his eagerness in study, attracted the attention of the keeper of the MSS. the Abbe Sallier, who introduced him into the society of the learned of the day, In the course of his researches, he fell in with a Zend MS. of the Vendidád, which to him was a sealed book, and at once fired his curiosity. The whole subject of the Parsees, their language and literature, was at that time enveloped in obscurity and almost mystery. Early in the eighteenth century such men as Dr. Hyde Bourchier and Dr. Fraser had brought Zend manuscripts to Europe, but they had long lain in forgetfulness. To the young Du Perron, strange interest seemed to hang over the Parsees. Since the famous battle of Kádseáh in A. D. 638, when the brave Rustam Ferokhzad was routed by the Arabs and the imperial standard was lost, and the subsequent battle of Máhánund, when the last of the Sássanians—Yezdíjríd was driven from the throne of Persia, and his subjects massacred or led to seek safety in flight, the Parsees had been lost to history. With their king murdered in his fugitive wanderings, and their General Phíranzín slain by the pursuers; the exiled race hid themselves in the fastnesses of the hills of Khorassan, and soon after fled to Hormazd in the Persian Gulf; from thence they carried their sacred fire with them to Diu, and, after a stay of nineteen years, they settled permanently at Sanjan (St John) in Guzerat in A.D. 717. From that time till the sixteenth century, there is silence regarding them, and many had been the speculations of the learned of Europe as to their fate. But as Europeans visited India, and gradually obtained possession of parts of it, this race attracted attention, and Henry Lord, the first Chaplain to the Surat factory, published an account of them in 1630. Allusions more or less correct are made to them in the works of most of the early European travellers in India, but all such are most unsatisfactory, and only served to heighten western curiosity. The young Du Perron was resolved to spare no trouble nor pains to solve the mystery of their language and their sacred books on the very spot.

A French expedition was at this time being fitted out for India, to strengthen their cause against both the natives and the British in the east. He at once enlisted as a private soldier, notwithstanding the representations of the recruiting Captain, who well knew who he was. With his knapsack on his back he set out in November 1745, and was treated with the greatest courtesy and respect on board. After a nine months' voyage he landed at Pondicherry. He there acquired a knowledge of modern Persian, and at once set out for Chandernagore, as being the place where he could best learn Sanskrit. He was there, however, disappointed, while a severe fever by which he was seized, and the capture of the town by the English, determined him to return. Alone he set out, a penniless student, and with incredible zeal and energy, accomplished what few Europeans have ever attempted—a journey on foot from Chandernagore to Pondicherry. Notwithstanding, and often in consequence, of many dangers, he thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity that he ever had of mixing with the natives, and becoming acquainted with all the details of their life and religion. In 100 days he accomplished the distance, and, at the end of his journey, had the happiness of meeting one of his brothers. He embarked with him on board a ship bound for Surat, but perferring a pedestrian tour on the West Coast, as he had already had on the east, he landed at Mahè, and thence himself proceeded to Surat. Here he gradually induced two Parsee Desturs or priests from Guzerat, to give him instructions in Zend, in which he soon became proficient enough. He had now reached the object which he had so long and so earnestly desired, and formed a plan for studying, not only all the languages and dialects of India, but its whole history, literature and antiquities. He chose Benares, as the place best suited for his purpose, and was about to set out for it, when news arrived of the fall of Pondicherry. Forced to return to France, he sailed in an English vessel to London, and, after a visit to Oxford,* arrived in Paris in May 1762, his only wealth being his much valued manuscripts.

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* Du Perron, in his Zendavesta, alluded to the University of Oxford in no flattering terms, and spoke with disrespect of some of those who were friends of Sir W. Jones. Jones thereupon addressed an anonymous letter to him, characterised by the strong and somewhat intemperate language that might have been expected from a youth, but at the same time by great brilliancy and *esprit*. In Lord Teignmouth's Life of Jones will be found a correspondence between him and Dr. Hunt, the Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford, on the subject. When Jones visited Paris in 1780, he thought that Du Perron studiously avoided meeting him.

But honours awaited him. Through the interest of the Abbè Barthelemy, he was appointed to the post of interpreter of oriental languages in the king's library, and in 1763, was admitted as an associate into the Academy. In 1771, he published his "Zendavesta," in which were printed all his MSS., a life of Zoroaster, and an account of his travels. In 1778, he attacked some statements of Montesquieu in his "Legislation Orientale." In 1786, appeared his well known "Recherches historiques et geographiques sur l' Inde," which was followed by a treatise on commerce. But the revolution came and broke in upon that peace which, as a student and a scholar, he had now begun to love. Shutting himself up in his study, his biographer tells us that he had no friends but his books, no recreation, but in the recollection of his dear Brahmins and Desturs. In 1798, he published his "L" Inde en rapport avec l' Europe," and afterwards a Latin translation of one of the Upanishads. He was engaged in editing a translation of the "Voyage Du Pere Paulin de St. Barthelemy dans l' Inde" when death called him away in 1805. We have already alluded to his controversy with Paulinus.

He was the greatest linguist of his time, and all his erudition was used with a sound common sense and a correct judgment. As a student he was zealous, and as a friend disinterested, while a certain eagerness of spirit, and conviction of the certainty of the philological results at which he had arrived, combined with a hatred to the English, natural at that time to the countrymen of Labourdonnais and Dupleix, led him to fall into the errors of vanity and absurd speculation, which we have seen distinguished Paulinus. He was often attacked by other scholars, and his merit undervalued by the learned of his own day and city. The English are said to have offered him 30,000 livres for his MS. of the translation of the Zendavesta, but he declined it, reserving the honor for France. As a philologer he rather supplied material for future discovery than established any new philosophical principle. His name is best known as connected with the Zend.

At a period considerably later than he, in the year 1816, the great Danish philologer, Rask, completed what Du Perron had begun. At first he devoted himself exclusively to his own native tongue, and to the class that contains it—the Scandinavian. But his success in it, as seen in his "Ursprung der 'Altner-dischen oder Isländischen Sprache," fired him with a desire to extend the sphere of his knowledge, and to gratify that curiosity, which, since a child, he had felt regarding foreign countries. He visited Petersburgh, coming south he went into the very heart of Africa, and then turned his steps towards India. He made philological tour of a large part of the world, studying grammatically and using practically, the language of every district through which he passed; until at last, with a view carefully to investigate the Zend, he settled for a time at Bombay. There he continued till 1821, amassing materials and information of immense scientific importance. He lived to realize but half his own designs and the hopes of his friends—he sank into a premature grave. But he was not taken away ere he had prepared a plan of classification for the two great classes of Turanian and Iranian languages, and anticipated many subsequent discoveries, especially the law of the transposition of sounds, called by Bopp *Lautvers chiebung*. He laid the foundation of Zend Grammar so firmly, and asserted its originality with such pertinacity, that he raised a long continued discussion on the subject, which has not been settled from the time of Du Perron to the present day. Mr. Romer's pamphlet takes up the side against the Zend, while the introductory notice of Professor H. H. Wilson seems to leave it still in the balance. A slight allusion to the controversy may not now be out of place.

An accurate knowledge of the Zend was, as we have seen, first introduced into Europe by Anquetil Du Perron. By means of translations of works written in it, especially of the Zendavesta, and of separate papers on the subject in one of the French literary societies, he strove to propagate his own conviction of the fact that Zend and Pehleví were authentic languages of high antiquity, through the medium of which in the Zendavesta, Zoroaster handed down his religious system. He held that they were of equal authority in a philological point of view with Sanskrit, that they were affiliated with it, and not even derived from it. He was led to these views so strongly expressed, partly, no doubt, by an enthusiasm at first awakened by an inextinguishable curiosity which led him to undergo the greatest hardships for the sake of information, but also by internal evidence in the language itself. Professor Rask, without pledging himself to details as to the time of Zoroaster, follows Du Perron in most of his opinions, holding that the sacred books of the Parsees are written in a language that was spoken previous to the time of Alexander; Erskine, that great scholar, modifies this opinion so far, that while he believes in the antiquity and authencity of the Zend, he holds that it was never a spoken language, but rather a composite of some peculiar dialect of Sanskrit and spoken Persian, made by the Parsee priests, and used for the compilation of the Vendidád, which he believes to have been made about A. D. 229. Adelung holds that all the experience of philology is opposed to the *invention* of a language, and that even were such a thing possible, the results would not present the characteristics which Zend does. Bopp was fully convinced of the originality of the Zend, from the fact that in it, there are many archaisms and primitive forms, more ancient than Sanskrit, and many that are also occasionally met in the Vedas; he did not hesitate to base the greater part of his Comparative Grammar, on a comparison between Sanskrit and Zend. Dr. Wilson of Bombay, well known at once as a missionary and a scholar, and entitled to form an opinion from his familiarity with the Persian and Arabic literature and languages, holds that while the Zend may have been forged by the Parsees, it must have taken place before their emigration into India. He says, "viewing the matter in its "general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the "exiled and depressed Parsee priests in India can be supposed to "have had the ability to invent that language." Rask's masterly letter in defence of the authenticity of the Zend, written to Mr. Elphinstone, and printed in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, settled the matter for Continental scholars, who have since, in all their philological researches, taken it for granted.

The first to dispute the title of Zend to this honour was Richardson in his Persian Dictionary. Sir William Jones distinctly stated that the Zend had been fabricated by the Parsi priests from many dialects, especially Sanskrit; that its literature is worthless; that the whole dates no further back than the Mahommedan conquest of Persia. Colonel Vans Kennedy is even stronger on this side, and Professor H. H. Wilson himself, while he seems to leave it in the balance. rather inclines to the last opinion. It is now very much a question between English and Continental scholars, and can only be fully decided by a more accurate knowledge of the documents in question. This we are sure, many of our countrymen in the Bombay Presidency might, at little cost and labour, obtain. Dr. Wilson, with his already great learning on cognate subjects, and his valuable collection of Zend, Pehlevi and Persian MSS., seems well fitted to settle the matter. It is to be regretted that none of the Parsees in India are so learned in their own language and literature, as to defend them against the attacks that have been made upon them, involving as they do in their truth the baselessness of their whole religious system and beliefs.

Mr. Romer, from his official position at Broach and Surat, was led to take up this question. His views are eminently controversial, and expressed in a rambling and unmethodical manner. This, we regret, as he seems to have had both opportunities and ability for judging correctly in the matter. He was led to correspond with the great Lassen on the subject, and gives the following account of his own and the Professor's respective views:—

"The learned Professor had sent to the Asiatic Society a portion of the text (the first five chapters) of the Vendidád, then just published by him. Finding that the Pehlivi translation was not given with the text, or noticed in an accompanying short preface, the writer offered for the acceptance of Professor Lassen some extracts he possessed of the book, which contained, with the Zend text, a Pehlivi translation; forwarding with these papers three letters, which under the signature of "Kámgár," had appeared in *Allen's Indian Mail.* He also, in the letter addressed to Professor Lassen on the occasion, referred to the opinion of Professor Westergaard, as mentioned above, sending for this purpose the transcript of a few lines he had written to Dr. Wilson on the subject.

"Professor Lassen, in a courteous answer, expressed his regret at not being able to subscribe to the writer's views of the Zend language, 'which he considers to be a genuine one, chiefly on two grounds: first, that it agrees so intimately in its system of consonants with the ancient Persian, that it must be considered to have been a sister-language, chiefly distinguished by its vowel system, which exhibits several distinct traces of a modern date. And that it would, in the second place, be necessary to suppose, if the Zend language was fictitious, that the Pársis possessed a knowledge of comparative grammar, the Zend being rich in Indo-Germanic anolagies.'

"To this it was replied, that putting the Zend and Persian, without adverting to some common progenitor, in the relationship of sisters, was new and worthy of consideration, taken in connection with the other distinct opinions on the question, those of Anquetil du Perron, of Colonel Rawlinson, of Sir W. Jones, and other English Orientalists. That it was far from clear how the agreement of the Zend in its consonantal system with that of the Persian, was proof of the relationship assigned to them. The same alliance might be said to exist between the Persian and the "Asmáni Zabán," for both use the same alphabet, and the letters have the same powers. And further it was remarked, there could be no doubt, that for some time after the Arabian conquest, the Persian language continued to be written in its ancient indigenous character, (eventually superseded by the modern Arabic alphabet, itself an off-shoot of Syriac,) the same character which is now employed in writing Zend, and is sometimes used for writing Persian at the present day. But above all, it was observed, that as the vowel system of the ancient Persian character was indentical with that of the Sanskrit, it must have lent its aid, in no small degree, to facilitate the presumed composition of the Zend.

"It has been said that analogy exists, in regard to the loss of inflexions, between the English language and Persian. I have not been able to discover this, but rather the reverse. From, we will say, the age of Alfred to that of Shakespeare, an interval of about seven hundred years, the rude Anglo-Saxon, gradually dropping most of its inflexions, and adopting foreign words to an unlimited extent, has become in the process of time the copious, expressive, polished, and flexible English in use. But the speech of Persia, we are sure, for the last thousand years, has remained the same perfect tongue, unaltered in its grammatical structure, we read in the Sháh-Námah. And judging from proper names found under Greek forms in the his-

> torians of Alexander, such as " Parysatis " for " *Pari-zadah,* " fairy-born : " Roxana " " *Raushanak,* " little spendour, and others, there appears no reason to doubt that the Persian of that day was the same tongue in which Firdausi wrote. The use of the diminutive *k* in " Raushana*k,* " as the same letter, with similar effect, is employed in " Marde*k,* " manikin, " Pesara*k,* " little boy, in modern Persian, affords a pregnant instance of their identity.
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> " In the sequel, Professor Lassen mentioned, that, having no accurate knowledge of Pehlivi, he declined offering any opinion on Professor Westergaard's views of it. This is unfortunate, for M. Burnouf considers the Pehlivi translation to be an indispensable adjunct to the Zend text, but if ultimately considered as spurious, Zend must run the risk of undergoing the same fate, unless some adequate cause can be found or imagined for joining a fabricated translation to a true text, and acknowledging both with equal religious respect. "

He holds, moreover, that the Parsees of India were sufficiently learned to have forged the Zend and its books, for three centuries ago they translated the Pehlevi version of the Vendidád into Sanskrit ; that with the aid of the Sanskrit, it was perfectly possible to invent the Zend ; that if the Zend contains so many more primitive forms than the Sanskrit, greater results might have been expected from it in a literary point of view ; that many of these archaisms may be " nothing better than the clerical errors " of ignorant copyists, " and finally that, if we are to believe the authenticity and antiquity of the Zend, its supporters must tell us when, where, and how its books were produced, and remove the obscurity that rests over its early history. In whatever way this question may finally be decided, it will not affect the general laws and conclusions of Comparative Philology, however much its decision in the nagative may render obsolete such a laborious work as Bopp's Grammar. If proved to be authentic, then will India have contributed to Science two of those glorious sister-tongues, spoken by our Aryan ancestors, ere yet they emigrated from their provincial seats, and, as they colonised, civilized the world.

While up to nearly the close of last century, the honour of having studied Sanskrit and the vernacular dialects of India must be awarded to the Romish missionaries of the Jesuit order and to the French, there seems to have been a spirit of enquiry into them gradually springing up among the English servants of the Company. As rulers of an increasing territory, over almost every inch of which they had to fight, they had too much to do to search after the hidden in either language or literature. Plassy was fought in 1757, and Bengal, Behar and Orissa became British property fully by the treaty of Allahabad in 1765. The peace and government and revenue of this country must be settled,—and settled too, by men who in point of numbers and often of *morale* were quite unfit for the task. The majority of the British then in India were content with a perfect familiarity with the various vernacular dialects, and aimed only at a thorough facility in using them, so that by intimate intercourse with the natives, they might the better discharge their duties. Cut off from European society, separated by correspondence from England by a distance in time of nearly two years, they were driven to find in native society what we now have in all the luxuries and amenities of English civilization. Never since these have been so largely introduced overland, and added at once to the comforts and inefficiency of both branches of the Service, have they known the natives so well, or been so much beloved by them. At the same time, this state of things was accompanied by evils of the very worst character: dissipation and debauchery of all kinds, and concubinage of a thoroughly oriental character. The absence of a middle Anglicised class of natives, who might save the trouble of personally attending to the details of duty, put many of our countrymen in positions, where, as we know, the tendency was to become so enamoured of native life, and so well acquainted with the native language, as to forget the dignity and nationality of the Briton, the responsibility and duty of the Christian. Hence all the linguistic likings and power of the British were diverted into a vernacular and utilitarian channel, and a facility acquired in it which we shall look for in vain now. With the vices and follies of our early rule of India, have we not also given up much of the manliness and common sense? Do not passing events teach us that Clive was wiser than his modern successors, that his policy of ruling Asiatics on oriental principles, was wiser than that of white-washing them with semi-Anglicism?

So early, however, as the time of Warren Hastings did the English begin to attend to the languages and literature of India, and he was the first, with a rare wisdom and a sound policy to encourage the study of them among his subordinates. Though not himself a learned man in the highest sense of the term, he created such. He was the Maecenas of the English Government, and but for him the way would not have been prepared, as it was, for the brilliant discoveries of the Asiatic Society. In 1765, Bengal became ours. In 1776, or eleven years afterwards, the first fruits of the efforts of Hastings were seen in the code of Gentoo laws. The following sentences used by Hastings in that letter which he wrote to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, recommending them to undertake the publication of Wilkins' translation of the "Bhagavat Git," shews the nature of the policy which was pursued even at that early period of our history, and which raised so many men of learning and utility to the state. "I have "always regarded the encouragement of every species of useful dili-

" gence in the servants of the Company, as a duty appertaining to " my office, and have severely regretted that I have possessed such " scanty means of exercising it, especially to such as required an " exemption from official attendances, there being few emoluments " in this service, but such as are annexed to official employment, " and few offices without employment. Yet I believe I may take " it upon me to pronounce, that the service has, at no period, more " abounded with men of cultivated talents, of capacity for business, " and liberal knowledge, qualities which reflect the greatest lustre " on their possessors, by having been the fruit of long and laboured application at a season of life, and with a license of conduct " more apt to produce dissipation than excite the desire of improvement. . . . Nor is the cultivation of language and " science, for such are the studies to which I allude useful " only in forming the moral character and habits of the Service. " Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social commuincation with people over whom we exercise a dominion, founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the " state : it is the gain of humanity ; in the specific instance which I " have stated, it attracts and conciliates distant affections, it lessens " the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection, and it imprints in the heart of our own countrymen the " sense and obligation of benevolence."

It is said that the first Briton who acquired from the Pundits a correct knowledge of Sanskrit, was a gentleman of the name of Marshall. Beyond the fact that he was engaged in the extensive silk filatures of the then flourishing Cossim Bazar, we have no information regarding him. We believe the general impression that the Pundits were unwilling to reveal the literary and sacred wealth stored up in the mysterious Devnagari character to have been a mistaken one, or at least founded on insufficient methods, and to have been a misapprehension of the fact, that *among the Hindoos*, the knowledge of it was confined only to the higher castes.

In 1776, Nathaniel Brassy Halhed published " A Code of Gentoo laws or Ordinations of the Pundits, from a Persian translation made from the original, written in the Sanskrit language." It is strikingly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon character that the first work, produced under the patronage of the British Government in India, was one having reference to law and not literature proper. This gave a tone to all the early researches of the first scholars, and even although Wilkins' translation of the " Bhagavat Git " was shortly after published, it was not for some time that the early poetry, the literature of early history, was given forth to the world. Hence, too, it was that Persian and Arabic were studied before Sanskrit, Persian being then the language of the courts. For the purpose of making as perfect a translation of the Hindu laws as possible, learned Pundits were invited from all parts of Bengal. From them a true text was first of all procured. This was of course a difficult matter, as the work of no special individual author was wanted, but selections from all sources of those laws, under the operation of which the Hindus had lived from time immemorial. The laws when selected were by them translated into Persian, and from Persian into a literal English version by Halhed. With a becoming modesty, so unlike the conduct of some modern scholars, whose learning, almost entirely that of their Pundits, they have boasted to be their own, the author stated that all was the work of the Brahmans, save only the English dress in which it was clothed. The work was important with reference to a sound policy in Government, and to the wise administration of justice among the natives. To us, in the present day, it is invested with immense interest, as in the preliminary treatise prefixed to it, we have the first full and philological account of the Sanskrit as a language.

The work of Paulinus was published in 1790, this in 1776—fourteen years previous. The native compilers began their work in May, 1773, "answering to the month *Jeyt*, 1180 (Bengal "style) and finished by the end of February, 1775, answering "to the month Phangoon, 1182 (Bengal style.)" Hastings was accused by some of the Continental *Savans* of having forced the Pundits to give up their legal and religious treasures, of having offered very high bribes. So far was this from being the case that, as he himself says in the preface to 'Wilkins's Bhagavat Git,' the information "was contributed both cheerfully and gratuitously by men of the most 'respectable characters for sancity and learning in Bengal, "who refused to accept more than the moderate daily subsistence of one rupee each, during the time that they were 'employed on the compilation." It is fitting that we should here give the names of those Pundits, who were the first to display the riches of their language before the curious eyes of Hastings and Halhed: They were Ram Gopaul Neeáyálunkár, Bereeshur Punchánun, Kisshen Juin Neeáyálunkár, Báneeshur Beedyálunkár, Kerpa Ram Terk Siedhant, Kisshen Chund Sárel Bhoom, Goree Kunt Terk Siedhant, Kisshen Keisub Terkálungkár, Seetá Rám Bhet, Kalee Sunker Beedyábágees and Sham Sunder Neeáy Siedhant.

Two years afterwards, Halhed published his Grammar, and when in England an English version of Martial, and a translation from the Persian, illustrating the Researches of the Asiatic Society. After the full details of his life already given in the

Review,[*] and that so recently, we need not do more here than say that he was the school-fellow of Dr. Parr,[†] Sheridan, and Sir William Jones, under Dr. Sumner; that after distinguishing himself as a classical scholar, he went to India in 1771, continued seven years engaged in hard work, in which time he acquired an independence, spent a life partly of literary effort, the fruits of which never passed beyond his own circle, which embraced the families of Hastings and Impey, and of political excitement, being in Parliament for some time, made himself notorious by advocating with blind zeal the cause of the prophet Brothers, lost all his fortune in the French funds, took office in the India House, passed the close of his life in ease and comfort in London, and finally died in 1830. He was a man fitted to do much more than he accomplished, to take up the whole field afterwards so well occupied by Jones and Colebrooke, and introduced the Indian form of orientalism to Europe. As it was, he was no unworthy predecessor of these men, and may well be considered the father of Sanskrit philology. His nephew, of the same name and in the same service, is perhaps as famous as himself. So perfect was his knowledge of the vernacular tongue and habits of the natives, that he could pass among them for one of themselves, without the slightest fear of suspicion. Like "Hindu Stuart," he might well have been called "Hindu Halhed."

If the elder Halhed introduced the dawn of English scholarship in the east, Sir W. Jones may be well said to have brought in the full noonday. It is out of our province to enter into the details of the life of a man so well known, and of whose genius every Anglo-Indian must be so proud; but a notice of the outlines of his life may be necessary. Born in London in 1746, he lost his father when only three years of age, and the education of his childhood thus devolved on one of the best of mothers. She was well fitted to be the mother of a philologer, from the wise and successful methods that she pursued in his instruction. At the age of seven he entered Harrow school, then presided over by Dr. Thackeray, and set himself to his new studies, at first with diligence and moderate results, soon with enthusiasm and brilliant success. He had arrived at his fifteenth year when Thackeray was succeeded by Dr. Sumner, and a turn was at that time given to his studies which influenced his whole future life. Satisfied with Greek and Latin, his attention was directed to Hebrew and Arabic, and the door once opened, he pursued the path which led him to discover the literary wealth of India. At the age of seventeen he was matriculated in Oxford (1764.) Here he pursued the study of Arabic with avidity, being encouraged by a fellow-student, and assisted in the pronunciation by a Syrian of Aleppo, whom he discovered in London. The Arabic led him to the Persian, and between these two languages, historically and geographically connected, though belonging to different families, he soon discovered a close affinity. His Latin and Greek were not neglected, and in the vacation he added to his linguistic stores a knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. So successfully had he even then prosecuted his study of the oriental tongues, that the Duke of Grafton offered him the post of interpreter of Eastern languages. He declined it in favour of his faithful Syrian Mirza, to whom, after all, it was not given. He now began the study of German, and in his twenty-first year, his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry ; this labour was soon followed by an attempt to master the Chinese. He was honoured by the English Government in being chosen to translate literally into French an Eastern MS., containing the life of Nadir Shah, which the king of Denmark had brought with him to England for the purpose. This he soon accomplished ; the work was published in 1770, with a treatise on Oriental Poetry, written in the same style, prefixed to it, and he received the thanks of his Danish Majesty, with the honour of being created a member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen. This was his first publication. His fame as an Orientalist began to spread, and his friendship was sought for by Count Reviczki, at that time Polish Ambassador at the English Court. The correspondence between them, given by Lord Teignmouth in his life of Jones, is thoroughly oriental in subject.

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[*] Vol. XXVI., Art. III.

[†] At page 468 of Dr. Johnstone's life of Dr. Parr, will be found an interesting letter from Halhed to Parr on the subject of his leaving India, written November 5, 1773, two years after his arrival, when he felt himself compelled to use the following language, "Give me then leave to inform you that India (the wealthy, the luxurious and the lucrative) is so exceedingly ruined and exhausted, that I am not able by any means, not with the assistance of my education in England, and the exertion of all my abilities here, to procure even a decent subsistence. I have studied the Persian language with the utmost application in vain." Hastings had not yet taken him by the hand.

He early turned his attention towards India as the place where he could best carry out his design in the study of the eastern tongues. He had long looked for an appointment there, and after in vain attempting to enter Parliament for his own University, he at last, in March 1783, received from the Ministry of Lord Shelburne, the appointment of Judge in the Supreme Court of Fort William, and having been knighted and married, he set sail a month after, and landed at Calcutta in September. His arrival was most opportune. The fostering patronage and intelligence of Warren Hastings had, as we have seen, raised not a few scholars, who, in obscurity and silence, had set themselves to Indian studies. They wanted but a guide, a head, a spirit of power and enthusiasm, who would help their weakness and direct their scattered efforts into one channel. In all respects Sir William Jones was fitted to accomplish this, and though, so far as India was concerned, but a learner himself, he immediately received from the scholars of Calcutta that homage and admiration which his past achievements and his all-embracing genius entitled him to. Even before landing, the idea of a Society similar to those of the learned in most of the European capitals had struck him, and he found admirable materials for it already existing. The month of January 1784, just one year after his arrival, saw the Asiatic Society established. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and the members of Council—Edward Wheeler, John Macpherson, and John Stables, Esquires, at once agreed, on invitation, to become patrons, Hastings declined the office of President, which was naturally conferred on Sir William Jones. The list of the first members who constituted the society may not be uninteresting. It contains the names of some great English scholars, and may serve as a good accompaniment to that already given of the Pundits who assisted Halhed in compiling his Gentoo Laws :—*President* Sir William Jones, Knight ; *Secretary*—John Herbert Harington ; David Anderson, Esq., Lieut. James Anderson, Francis Balfour, M. D., Geo. Hilaro Barlow, Esq., John Bristow, Esq., Ralph Broome, Esq., Reuben Burrow, Esq., General John Carnac, Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, William Chambers, Esq., Charles Chapman, Esq , Bunish Crisp, Esq., Charles Croftes, Esq., Major William Davy, Jonathan Duncan, Esq., Francis Fowke, Esq., Francis Gladwin, Esq., Thomas Graham, Esq., Lieut. Charles Hamilton, Thomas Law, Esq., Nathanael Middleton, Esq., John David Paterson, Esq., Capt. John Scott, Henry Vansittart, Esq., and Charles Wilkins, Esq.

Among those who joined it soon after its formation, were Warren Hastings, Wilford, Hyde, Fraser, &c. The Society soon became a means, not only for publishing the researches of scholars already made, but of increasing that spirit of linguistic and scientific curiosity, which Hastings had just created. While Sir W. Jones was the very life of it, and took a very large share in its duties and exercises, it was by no means to the exclusion of others. Had the Society done nothing more than publish its invaluable volumes—the Asiatic Researches, its end must be looked upon as having been accomplished. Amid much that is crude and hasty, amid not a little that is hypothetical and contradictory, there is a mine of wealth, a treasure of oriental lore, to which there is no parallel, in the twenty-one volumes that compose the work, and also in the early numbers of the

Journal. The object of the Society was a wide and glorious one, and well was it carried out in these early days. In his diss course delivered on the institution of the Society, Sir W. Jonee tells us that the design of it occurred to him while still on his- way to India, with the land of his ambitious longings before him, Persia on his left, and a breeze from Arabia on the stern. The position, which to a man of his acquirements and refinement was so pleasing, was surely full of suggestion. In the centre of orientalism, in the focus of Asiatic lore, with streams of the associations of old converging upon him, why should he not establish among the English in Bengal a society into which all eastern life and thought should pour their wealth? And nobly did he and his successors, on whom his mantle fell, carry out the idea—Colebrooke, Prinsep and Wilson. The services rendered by the Society to Comparative Philology have been vast, as these names testify. We must refer the reader to a former article of this *Review* * for a critical digest of the works of Sir W. Jones. An accomplished judge, he yet in his leisure hours found time to raise a monument to himself of a splendour, and an extent, which will never pass away. He crowded into the comparatively short period of his Indian career—eleven years from 1783 to 1794, when he died,—more than any other man has accomplished for India during a life-time. If he did not advance the Science of Comparative Philology by the discovery of new laws, or the enunciation of new principles, he gathered together a collection of data from which others have with philosophic skill generalised, and applied his discoveries to the elucidation of history, with a zeal and a success before unknown. He was a linguist, comparative philologist, mythologist, archæologist and historian, all in one; while his attainments in Natural History and the Physical Sciences were for his day most respectable.

Charles Wilkins was the warm friend and supporter of Jones in his efforts to establish the Asiatic Society. His is the high honor of having first critically studied the Sanskrit,—an honor ascribed to him by Sir W. Jones himself, whom he sometimes aided in his studies. Born in 1749, at Frome, he gave evidence in his very infancy of a mind superior in energy and power to that of most youths. His uncle, who was a London banker, obtained a writership for him; and in 1770, he arrived in Calcutta. He set himself to the study of Sanskrit immediately on his arrival, and produced the first direct translation from that language, rendering faithfully and attractively into English the "Bhagavat Geeta." It was published in a quarto volume in 1785, under the title of "The Bhagavat-Geeta or Dialogue of Krishna and

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* Vol. VI., p. 209.

"Arjoon, in eighteen lectures, with notes. London." In 1778, as we have seen, Halhed's Bengalee Grammar was published. All the efforts of the Calcutta orientalists were at first baulked by the impossibility of obtaining, either in India or England, types of the various characters. The inventive and persevering genius of Wilkins soon surmounted the difficulty, and with his own hand he cut the types from which Halhed's Grammar was printed, and soon after also a set of Persian types.* Warren Hastings was not slow to appreciate the extraordinary energy and ability of Wilkins. His health having given way under the pressure of his official duties, combined with his oriental studies, he allowed him to go to Benares.

There, amid learned Pundits, he assiduously pursued these studies. He was, however, soon forced to return to England; and at Bath in 1787, he published a translation of the "Hitopadesha of Vishna Sarma." Removing soon after to Hawkhurst in Kent, he set himself to the writing of a Sanskrit Grammar. He again repeated in England what he had done in Calcutta, making a set of Devanagri characters in steel, as well as the matrices and moulds, from which he cast a whole fount of types. With these he was proceeding with the printing of his Grammar, and had accomplished twenty pages of it, when his house was burnt down to the ground, and his types destroyed. Had Wilkins been a less persevering man, this would have been a great loss to oriental literature. But he soon repaired it, and in 1806, the Grammar was finally issued from his press.

Having thus gained for himself a great reputation as a scholar the Court of Directors availed themselves of his services in England. In 1801, they appointed him their librarian, and in this capacity he rendered them great service, and made the library attractive to many visitors. In 1805, he became oriental examiner at Haileybury and Addiscombe. In these offices, he continued till his death, which took place in 1836, when he had nearly attained his eighty-seventh year. Scientific societies both at home and abroad were not slow to recognize his merits; and George IV., in 1833, made him "Knight Bachelor, and Knight Commander "of the Guelphic order." Sir Charles Wilkins, LL.D., was well worthy of the title applied to him by the Royal Society of Literature, and engraved on the gold medal with which they presented him "Carolo Wilkins, Literaturae Sanskritæ Principi."

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* In the Asiatic Annual Register for 1801, some doggerel verse occurs, entitled "Literary Characteristics of the most distinguished members of the Asiatic Society, by John Collegins, Esquire." Wilkins is thus spoken of:—

"See patient Wilkins to the world unfold
Whate'er discovered Sanskrit relics hold,
But he performed a yet more noble part
He gave to Asia typographic art."

While the names of Jones and Wilkins stand highest in the roll of English scholarship in the east, that of Henry Thomas Colebrooke is not far behind them. Known in Europe rather as a philosopher than a philologer, he was none the less a linguist, because his success in the former department eclipsed his attainments in the latter. In the field of antiquities and philosophy, he was, till H. H Wilson arose, the only authority; but his extensive knowledge of these was obtained only by an accurate and intimate knowledge of the language in which they were couched. He was born in London in 1765. His father, Sir George Colebrooke, was Chairman of the East India Company; his brother, Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Colebrooke, was a Writer in India, and thus everything pointed out the East to him as the scene of his future life and pursuits. Naturally of a retiring disposition, he was educated at home under a tutor, who seems to have done his abilities full justice. In April 1783, he landed in Calcutta, where he spent the usual period of semi-idleness in his brother's house. He was, however, always studying or observing, and the experience of the first few years of his Indian life was very gloomy. But soon he got enough to do, and with appointments came most respectable allowances, which reconciled him to India. His only recreation, during the whole period of his residence in it, was sporting, of his achievements in which he was ever more proud than of all his authorship. At first in the Board of Accounts in Calcutta, he was soon appointed Assistant Collector at Tirhoot, and subsequently (1789) at Purneah. Thanks to the fact of his having an idle Collector placed over him, he had all the work to do in the latter place, and this so roused his energies, and made him so satisfied with himself, that he began to look on India in a new light. His active mind now turned itself in every direction, and the subject of the land revenue, afterwards made permanent by Lord Cornwallis, especially excited it. Devoting himself to Persian and Arabic—a knowledge of the former of which was necessary in his official duties, he was soon led into the whole sea of the languages spoken in India, and chiefly Sanskrit. What led him especially to the last was a desire to become acquainted with the writings of the Hindus on Algebra, which he afterwards translated. It was not till he had been eleven years in the country, and till the death of Sir W. Jones took place, that he resolved to begin and pursue a systematic course of study, the fruits of which were seen in his subsequent works. From Purneah he was appointed to Rajshahi, the centre of a district that was then troublesome, and from Rajshahi, in a judicial capacity, to Mirzapore. The proximity of the last-mentioned place to Benares was a source of pleasure to him. He could here pursue his Sanskrit studies with facilities that could not elsewhere be procured. In 1798, after the continuous labour of two years, he published a work which Sir W. Jones had begun—"A Digest of Hindu law on Contracts and Successions, with a commentary by Jaganniat'ha Tercapanchanara, "translated from the original Sanskrit. Four vols. folio." The work was intended to supplement that of Halhed, which in many places was incorrect or defective.[*] In 1799 he was appointed in a political capacity to Nagpore by Lord Wellesley, who, ere he set out, told him that he had selected him "for his abilities merely." This was succeeded by his being placed at the head of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in Calcutta, and appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the College of Fort William. In 1805, he published the first and only volume of his Sanskrit Grammar, and was meanwhile, at periodic intervals, giving the fruits of his studies to the world through the Asiatic Researches. In one of his letters he states that Wilford, Davies and he were expected to contribute the materials for one volume, but that the two former could not do it, so that it must fall on himself. Shortly after this, he attained the great object of his early ambition—a seat in the Supreme Council, keeping at the same time his seat in the Adawlut. His life was now one of excessive activity, his mornings and evenings being always devoted to study. In 1810, he married, but the death of his wife and one of his children, a few years afterwards, so affected him, that in 1815 he returned to England, settling at first, like Wilkins and so many old Indians, at Bath. He soon, however, set up his household gods in London, and of many of the scientific societies there, he became an active member. Chemistry and Astronomy especially attracted him. With a noble generosity he presented his whole library of MSS. to the East India Company, a collection which had cost him £10,000. He was chiefly instrumental in founding both the Astronomical and Royal Asiatic Societies, of the latter of which he was made the first Director. In the pages of its journal, he continued those invaluable papers with which he had enriched the "Asiatic Researches." In 1829, his life was clouded, like that of Halhed, by the loss of his large fortune, through speculation; and in 1837 he died, having passed the last years of his life in much suffering—mental and bodily, alleviated however, by the consolations of religion. Of the many papers that his fertile pen was ever producing, those in the Asiatic Researches on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, the Vedas, the Jains, and in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Philosophy of the Hindus, are the most important. His accuracy, and the truth of some of his conclusions, have been questioned by Bentley and Colonel Vans Kennedy, but on no just grounds. His controversy with the former arose from his being supposed to be the author of an article in the first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which Bentley was severely dealt with. The reviewer, however, was Professor Hamilton. Kennedy attacked Colebrooke in the Asiatic Journal on certain of his statements as to the Vedanta Philosophy. In 1835, he was defended by Sir Graves Haughton. Rammohun Roy paid a high compliment to Colebrooke, when he said, that his scholarship had proved to him that "it was possible for Europeans to "acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit, equally comprehensive and "correct with the natives of India."

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[*] Hence the poetic Mr. Collegins, before quoted, thus sings :—

"Ind's modern Blackstone in dark Sanskrit veiled,
Just commentator ! might have lain concealed,
If Colebrooke's knowledge had not given such light,
As brought the venerable code to sight;
Obscured no more the sacred volume lies,
Or to vernacular or alien eyes,
Colebrooke in plain familiar English dressed
The jurisprudence of the gentle east."

Though Colebrooke's Sanskrit Grammar was the first that was published, it was not the first that was undertaken. In 1810, there appeared "an Essay on the principles of Sanskrit Gram-"mar, Part I. by H. P. Forster, senior merchant in the Bengal "Establishment, from the press of Ferries and Co." The author states in his preface that it was begun in 1804, but the publication of it had been delayed, as it was before the Council of the College of Fort William for their approval. It is interesting as a specimen of Sanskrit Bibliography. The whole method and classification are thoroughly native, and repulsively difficult. His great object in writing it was to give the judicial servants of the Company such a familiarity with the language of Menu, that they might be independent of deceiving natives who used their knowledge for the worst purposes, and, as is even now too often the case, had the judges completely in their hands.

In July 1800, the sound policy and literary tastes of the Marquis of Wellesley established the College of Fort William. His scheme was a noble one, and had the Court of Directors allowed it to be carried out on the same scale and to the same extent as their Governor-General contemplated, for every scholar that has since thrown lustre on his native country, there would have been twenty. The object was to carry out in India, with all the aids and appliances that it offered in such abundance, the oriental education of the Civil Service, which had peen imperfectly begun in England. But this was done on a very limited scale, and the natural result followed, that the usefulness of the college in the course of years began to be more and more doubted, until it became what it at present is—a mere Board of Examiners, with a complement of Pundits and Munshis as private tutors. Buchanan and Brown were appointed Provost and Vice Provost respectively, and in addition to those of whom we are about to speak, and of Colebrooke already mentioned, it was adorned with the learning of such men as Gilchrist, Edmonstone, Malcolm, Macnaghten, Jenkins, Bayley, and others. It was there that such youths as James Prinsep first received that enthusiasm for oriental studies which led to the noblest results. Major Baillie, when in the College, published "Sixty Tables illustrative of the Principles of Arabic "Inflexion." He was afterward Resident at the court of Lucknow. Lusmden was Professor of Arabic and Persian, and published "A grammar of the Arabic language, according to principles taught and maintained in the schools of Arabia, "exhibiting a complete body of elementary information selected from the works of the most eminent grammarians, together with definitions of the Parts of Speech, and observations on "the structure of the language, 1813. He inscribed it to Major Baillie.

John Herbert Harington, who was Secretary of the Asiatic Society under the Presidency of Sir W. Jones, was the most distinguished Persian scholar of his time. In the early part of his career, he was chiefly engaged in the judicial branch of the service, the language of which was at that time Persian. He sat for twenty years on the Sudder Bench, and so gained the esteem of his subordinates by his wise moderation and gentlemanly bearing in character, and his attainments as a scholar, that the native officials and vakeels of their own accord subscribed for his portrait, which was done by Chinnery, and now adorns the walls of the Court. He issued an edition of the works of Sadi; and from 1809 to 1817, in three quarto volumes, "An "elementary analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the "Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal, for the "Civil Government of the British territories, under that Presidency, in six parts." He was Professor of the Laws and Regulations of the British Government in India, in Fort William College, and also President of its Council. Also distinguished as a Persian scholar was F. A. Gladwin, who, from 1800 to 1809, continued to edit, write, and translate works in that language. His "Vocabulary of English and Persian," 1800; his "Persian Guide, exhibiting the Arabic derivations," 1800; his "Ayeen Akbery, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, translated from the original Persian, London, 1800, two volumes;" his "Ulfáz-Udwiyeh, Meteria Medica, in the Arabic, Persian "and Hindevy languages, compiled by Nouredeen Mahomed Ab-

“dullah Shirazy, with an English translation;” his “Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians,” 180[illegible]; his “Text and Translation of the Gulistan of Sadi,” 1806; and his “Dictionary of Persian, Hindustance and English, with synonyma, 1809—all these prove the untiring industry and scholarship of the man.

Among the early members of the Asiatic Society were two names of some[illegible] importance in our present enquiry – Wilford and Leyden. [illegible] Wilford was born in Hanover, of a family [illegible]. He early entered the Hanoverian army, and as [illegible] lieutenant accompanied the forces which were sent to India by the English Government in 1781. For three years he was engaged in hard fighting; but when the war was brought to a close by the peace of Mangalore in 1784, he had leisure to devote himself to the study of Sanskrit, in which he made such proficiency, that his name may well be ranked with those of C[illegible] and Wilkins. On his joining the Asiatic Society, shortly after its foundation, he became one of its most active and distinguished members [illegible] 182[illegible], we find not a few of the valuable papers [illegible] Asiatic Researches from his pen. Of an active and energetic spirit, given to hasty generalization, and desirous to draw support from every source for favourite theories, it need not be wondered at that his facts were not always accurate, nor his conclusions fairly drawn and well substantiated. He had a tendency to find in Sanskrit MSS., not what actually was there, but what he wished to find; and the result was that his discoveries were often of a most startling character, and his theories absurdly extravagant. The Pundits who assisted him, taking advantage of his eager enthusiasm and credulity, imposed upon him, the versions with which they supplied him were often interpolated, the translations incorrect. As Klaproth says in his notice of Wilford in the ‘Biographie Universelle,’ “Ces “braves gens avaient poussé la complaisance un peu trop loin, car “ils avaient rencontré dans leurs livres tout ce que leur protecteur “desirait y trouver, en falsifiant les textes qu'ils lui fournaissaient.” We can easily understand the anguish of spirit that seized the too eager orientalist, when the discovery was made to him that so many of his achievements were but castles in the air. He had prided himself upon them, he had gained to himself a name among the learned by means of them, they were studied and admired by the *savans* of Europe, they formed to them the basis of extensive treatises and scientific speculations. The matter could not be hushed up as easily as in the case of the ***prætorium*** of Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns and Edie Ochiltree. As an honest man, and as a member of the Asiatic Society, Wilford must retract, must add to his chagrin by exposing the means of his deception, and this the other members forced him to do. But the eager spirit of the scholar was only for a time checked by this circumstance. He pursued his studies, and, we fear, his baseless theorising as before. It is to be regretted that a mind, such as his, capable of accomplishing so much, was not more directed by sound judgment.*

Like Wilford in enthusiasm, but by far his superior in caution and common-sense, was John Leyden. We had hoped ere this to devote a whole article to one, who, had he lived longer, would have attained the great object of his life—the rivalling if not the surpassing of Sir William Jones. Meanwhile, a mere notice must suffice. He was born in 1775, at Denholme on the banks of the Teviot, in a country and a district that has given to India so many of her great men. Taught by his grandmother to read, he was, at the age of nine years, sent to the parish school of Kirktown. Much of his boyhood he spent in reading such works as Sir David Lindesay's poems, Chapman's Homer, Milton, and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. He early manifested an unconquerable desire for learning, and though his parents were in the poor peasant-class of Scotland, like many of that class, they spared no pains to give their son a good education. After three years he was placed under the care of Mr. Duncan, a minister in his village, who initiated him into the mysteries of Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anecdote which took place at this time. Denholme being about three miles from his house, which was rather too long a walk, his father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common prejudice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his schoolfellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would have at first declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he informed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his possession a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to

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* Listen again to Mr. Collegins :—

"Wilford ! to you be most exalted praise,
You great Mythologist of modern days !
To public view the truth your labour brings,
And clears the obscure from antiquated things.
In vain has scythe-armed time consigned to dust,
The lettered stone and imitative bust ;
Your piercing eyes with nice exactness pore
Each venerable record o'er and o'er ;
Whether you write of mystic Samothrace,
Or at the urns of Nile papyrus place."

" give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and " he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which " was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue.*" In 1790 he entered Edinburgh University, and under Professor Dalzel, he soon learned to love and appreciate the beauties of the Greek, as he had never done before. He had always been a capital Latin scholar, and in a short time he studied the ancient Icelandic, Hebrew, Arabic and Persian, and acquired French, Spanish, Italian and German. He gained as a student a pretty substantial knowledge of almost all the subjects taught in the University, and his occasional attendance at the medical classes especially, was of use to him in his future career.

In 1796, he became tutor in a private family, and resided for some time chiefly in St. Andrews. His eager researches into every thing oriental, and the fame of Mungo Park, led him to study the subject of Africa, on which he published a volume in 1799. On his return to Edinburgh, he contributed regularly to the *Edinburgh Magazine*, verse translations from all the languages which he knew. His pursuits led him to become acquainted with a man of well-known literary tastes—Mr. Richard Heber, and by him he was introduced to all the great men, who at that time adorned the Scottish capital by their learning and their genius. Lord Woodhouselee, Henry Mackenzie, Sidney Smith, and, above all, Walter Scott became his firm friends. In 1800, Leyden entered the Church, and for two years continued to preach with acceptance. But a desire for travel was ever in his breast, and in 1802 it was at last gratified. William Dundas, who was in the Board of Control, acting upon a suggestion that Leyden might be sent out to India to enquire into the languages and manners of the Hindus, at once offered him the office of Assistant Surgeon. In six months he qualified himself for the necessary diploma, took the degree of M.D., and in April 1803, set out in an "East Indiaman" for Madras. William Erskine, his youthful friend, who had often played with him on the banks of the Teviot, had previously gone to Bombay. With enthusiasm greater than even that of Sir W. Jones, whose early life his own so much resembles, he had no object but orientalism, no desire but a knowledge of the languages of India. His own words are, " when I left Scotland, I determined at all events to " become a furious orientalist, 'nemini secundus.'" On landing at Madras he was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey. But the heavy duties of a surgeon in India, and the incessant marching under a burning sky, left Leyden little strength for study. Prostrated by sickness, even on his couch he continued his favourite pursuits, and when we reflect on the unremitting toil and incessant labour of his life at this period, we can easily understand the truth of his statement in a letter to his friend, James Ballantyne, in Edinburgh: " The languages that have attracted my attention since my " arrival, have been Arabic, Persic, Hindustanee, Mahratta, Tamil, " Telinga, Canara, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Malay and Armenian." We regret that we have not space for the whole letter, it is so full of interest. For the benefit of his health, Leyden removed to Penang, the climate of which, as well as the hospitality of the Europeans, soon restored him. It was here that he amassed materials for his interesting and valuable paper, afterwards published in the Asiatic Researches, on " The Languages and Literature of " the Indo-Chinese nations."

In 1806 he went up to Calcutta, and was warmly welcomed by Sir John Malcolm, who, with Erskine and the then Governor-General,—Lord Minto, had come from the same district as himself. Malcolm was anxious that Leyden should make a favorable impression on the Calcutta *savans*, and hence said to him the day he landed ;—" I entreat you, my dear friend, be careful of the " impression you make on your entering this community, for God's sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary " subjects, except among literary men. 'Learn English!' he ex-" claimed, 'no, never, it was trying to learn that language that " spoiled my Scotch ; and as to being silent, I will promise to " hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs."

Leyden was appointed a Professor in the College of Fort William, and soon after had judicial duties assigned to him in the twenty-four Pergunnahs. Like Sir W. Jones, he spent every leisure moment, and the greater part of his income on his Pundits and Oriental MSS. The ruling passion of his soul seemed to increase with every opportunity for gratifying it. " I may die in the attempt," he writes to a friend, " but if I die " without surpassing Sir W Jones a hundred-fold in oriental " learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer." In 1811 an expedition was fitted out for Java, and Leyden accompanied it, that he might investigate the manners and language of the natives, and act as medium between their chiefs and the English Government. The first to rush through the surf and land on the shore when Batavia was taken, he was likewise the first to ransack a library in which many valuable MSS. were deposited. But the sickness of the place overpowered him, and he yielded to it. " He took his bed and died " in three days, on the eve of the battle (August 28) which gave " Java to the British Empire." Thus pssed away one who, had he been spared to cull the fruits of his ripe scholarship and extensive erudition, would have accomplished the aim of his life, and placed himself highest on the roll of English scholars in India. Besides his paper in the Asiatic Researches, he translated, along with William Erskine, the memoirs of Baber, and wrote from time to time the 'Scenes of Infancy' and those genial poetical effusions collected by the Rev. James Morton. While in Scotland he illustrated by his erudition an ancient work of 1548, called "The Complaynt of Scotland." He assisted Sir Walter Scott in his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. He is thus alluded to by him in his "Lord of the Isles:"

"Scarba's isle whose tortured shore
Still rings to Corrievreckin's roar,
    And lonely Colonsay.
Scenes sung by him who sings no more,
His bright and brief career is o'er
    And mute his tuneful strains,
Quenched is his lamp of varied lore
That loved the light of song to pour;
A distant and a deadly shore
    Has Leyden's cold remains."

What Sir W. Jones accomplished for Philology and Antiquities in Calcutta by the establishment of the Asiatic Society, Sir James Mackintosh attempted to do in Bombay. Great as a historian, a philosopher, an orator and a judge, it is not generally known that he has no small claims to be viewed as a philologer. Born near Inverness in 1765, he was like Leyden, chiefly educated in his youth by his grandmother, and spent most of his time in reading. At Fortrose Academy he gained a reputation for himself as a prodigy of learning, and subsequently in King's College, Aberdeen, he extended the range and character of his acquirements, and formed a fast and lasting friendship with the great Robert Hall. He there took his medical degree and set out for London, where, the death of his father in 1788 having given to him an estate worth £900 a year, which he subsequently lost from extravagance, he devoted his attention to politics and the law. The publication of the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' against Burke at once revealed his genius, and he took his place in the first rank of men of letters. In 1803, the defence of M. Peltier, for a libel upon Bonaparte in the French Journal 'L'Ambigu,' was undertaken by him, and was conducted with such brilliancy and power as to call forth from Lord Ellenborough the emphatic compliment, that it was "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." Appointed Law Professor in Haileybury, he was soon knighted, preparatory to his setting out for Bombay as its Recorder. There for seven years, he laboured as a judge, and when freed from the pressing duties of his office, he distinguished himself as the scholar and the friend. Had he remained longer in India, he might have given forth to the world works of importance, illustrating its history, languages and literature. As it was, shortly after landing, on the 20th of November 1804, he established the "Literary Society of Bombay," which met first at Parell-house, his own residence. The Introductory Discourse which he read on its opening, is printed in the edition of his miscellaneous works. The Governor of Bombay—Jonathan Duncan, was a member, and so were Charles Forbes, William Erskine, Lord Valentia, John Leyden, Sir John Abercromby, Sir John Malcolm, Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, Captain Basil Hall, and other well-known men. Three volumes of the Society's transactions were published, containing papers of some value and taste. Sir James contributed a paper on a "Plan of a Comparative Vocabulary of Indian Languages," in which he states that his object is to do for the dialects of India, what the Empress Catherine II. and Pallas had done for those of Europe, and Dr. B. S Barton of Philadelphia had done for those of America, the latter having collected vocabularies of one hundred of its languages. His proposal was, and he acted upon it, "to transmit to the various Governments of British India, a list of words for an Indian vocabulary, with a request that they would forward copies to judges, collectors, commercial residents, and magistrates, directing them to procure the correspondent terms "in every jargon, dialect or language, spoken within the district "committed to their trust." We give the following Plan of the Return, not merely as a matter of historical interest, but with a suggestion that the same, somewhat altered, might be adopted now:

The district of which is entrusted to me as (judge, collector, &c., as the case may be) extends from to N. and S. and from to E. and W. Besides the Hindostanee, which is understood and spoken (by the higher classes, or by the people in general, as the case my be) there are used in this district the following languages:—The which is spoken from to N. and S., and from to E. and W. (repeating this as often as there are different languages used in the district):—

	Mahratta.	Guzerattee	Bengallee.
God, &c.	as the case may be.		

The result of this Plan was, that though both Lord Minto and Lord William Bentinck gave it their liberal support, the fruits of the enquiry were not sufficient to form a separate publication; what, however, was gathered, was sent to Dr. Leyden, that he might incorporate it with similar researches of his own. Were such a plan to be adopted now, improved and extended by the recent discoveries of the science, and forwarded to all Missionaries and Educationists in India, the result, we are persuaded, would be a grand one. A committee of men learned in the various languages might superintend the various departments, and the whole be published under the care of such a philologist as Horace Hayman Wilson. We commend it to the attention of the Asiatic Society here, if sufficient of the old spirit yet survives in it.

Leaving India in sickness, Sir James soon recovered in England, so as to represent various constituencies in Parliament up to the day of his death, and to pour forth some of those masterly orations, which, if they have not the brilliancy, have more earnest honesty than those of Macaulay. He died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, in 1832. Two of his daughters by his first marriage were married in Bombay.

Among the orientalists who were gathered at first around the College of Fort William, not the least distinguished was William Carey: the incidents of his life are too well-known to require lengthened repetition here. Born in Northamptonshire in 1761, his life, as the son of a village schoolmaster and quondam weaver, as a cobbler's apprentice at the age of fourteen, as a cobbler on his own account, as a married man and the father of a family before he was twenty, as a preacher among the Baptists, and shortly after a regular minister of the gospel, is a strange one. The efforts which he made to educate himself, and the short space of time in which he acquired a scholarly acquaintance with the Greek and with Dutch, were full of hope for his future career. The energy with which he mooted and pressed the question of Missions, at a time when they were ridiculed or treated with indifference, the difficulties that he surmounted in coming to India, and the trials that he underwent ere he settled down under the kindly auspices of the Danish Governor at Serampore, are familiar to all our readers. Setting himself at once to the study of the vernacular, he soon found that he could never have a perfect mastery over it, nor could use it as a literary engine for rousing and raising the natives, without Sanskrit. Actuated by the great desire of preaching the gospel with acceptance and power, and of translating the Scriptures into the various languages and dialects of India, he began a course of linguistic study unparalleled, we believe, both in its nature and results in the History of Missions. The success that he had already achieved in the study of Bengallee and Sanskrit, pointed him out to Wellesley, as the best person to teach these languages in the newly established College of Fort William. This was soon followed by the comparatively lucrative appointment of translator of the Regulations of Government.

We will entirely misunderstand the character and position of Carey as a philologist, if we do not keep in mind that all his efforts were subservient to the great end of diffusing and perpetuating Christianity among the Hindu. Hence he left unaccomplished in the wild field of Sanskrit literature, much that he was well fitted to carry out. From 1806 to 1810, he issued jointly with his colleague, Dr. Marshman, The Ramayana of Valmeeki, in the "original Sanskrit, with prose translation and explanatory notes, "Serampore" With this exception, all his other works, even his Grammar and Dictionary, bore upon the great object of his labours. His Grammar was published in 1806, under the title of "A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, composed from the "works of the most esteemed Grammarians, to which are added "examples for the exercise of the student, and a complete list of the "Dhatoos or Roots. By W. Carey, Teacher of the Sanskrit, Bengali and Marhatta languages, in the College of Fort William, "Serampore, Mission Press." Though published in 1806 in its full extent, the first three books had been issued in 180[illegible] so that Dr. Carey and Forster must divide between themselves the honour of having compiled the first Sanskrit Grammar. Dr. Carey's Grammar is of especial philological value from the appendix which contains a list of Radicals alphabetically arranged, with their meanings both in Sanskrit and English. As we came into contact with other natives in India, it became desirable to have their languages reduced to grammatical form and precision. Dr. Carey soon issued a Marhatta Grammar, which was followed by one of the Telingee, Kurnata, and Punjabi languages. He seemed, like Cardinal Mezzofanti, to have so thoroughly mastered the great principles of all languages, that new ones came to him speedily by instinct. These Grammars were issued and these languages studied, with the view of assisting in a noble scheme, which his great mind early formed, of translating the Bible into all the languages of India. In 1794 he began to carry it out, and in 1796, the New Testament in Bengalee, and in 1808 in Sanskrit, were issued. Assisted by his colleagues, and by the Pundits in various languages, parts of the Bible were issued in forty different dialects. There are few facts in the history of Comparative Philology so interesting as this. It must have been a glorious sight to see that one room in which all the Pundits sat busy at the work, each with his different language, while some of the missionary brethren superintended, having in the Sanskrit a key to all those dialects, of which it formed at least three-fourths. What has not been accomplished since then? What has not linguistic science, impelled and used by the zeal of the Christian missionary, since done to Christianise the heathen, and raise them in the scale of civilization! Great as were the acquirements of Carey in Sanskrit, we must ever consider him rather as the "Father of Bengalee Literature." [illegible] his time it had no existence, and the language of thirty [illegible] without a printed book. Since his day, and chiefly through [illegible] labours and his press a literature, native and indigenous a[illegible] artificial and Anglicised, has been created. The name of Carey's Pundit, Mrityunjaya Vidyalank[illegible], deserves to [illegible] mention[illegible] along with his. For a full and hearty estimate of [illegible] a philologist, we would refer our readers to a statement [illegible] H. H. Wilson in the Doctor's life writ[illegible]. He passed away from the scene of his incessant l[illegible] on the 9th of June 1834, aged seventy-three years. [illegible] these, upwa[illegible] of forty had been spent in India.

To write the history of the philological [illegible]ours of missionaries in India would be to fill a [illegible]. In India, as in other lands, from Schwartz and Carey to Livingstone, they have ever been the pioneers of civilisation, and have generally first broken ground on the languages of the countries which they visited. Actuated by a higher principle than even scientific research, they have contributed to Comparative Philology a large share of those rapidly increasing materials, which form the data from which its principles and laws are deduced. We may pass over Dr. Joshua Marshman who, in 1806, so mastered the Chinese* that he translated the Scriptures into that language, in 1809 the works of Confucius [illegible] in [illegible]14 [illegible]ued his Chinese Grammar. Dr. William Yate[illegible] no unworthy coadjutor and successor of Carey. Born in [illegible]estershire in 1792, he devoted himself to the Baptist ministry and mission in India, and landed at Calcutta in April 1[illegible]. Settling at first at Serampore he became intimately associated with Carey in most of his literary labours. On the separation of the Serampore mission from the Parent Society, he removed to Calcutta, and in that city spent the rest of his useful life, varied only by a visit to America and Europe. In addition to his incessant labours, both evangelistic and educational, to his translations of the Scriptures, and the duties entailed upon him by his connexion with the School Book Society, he was able to assist not a little, the cause of Sanskrit Philology. In 1820 he issued a Sanskrit Grammar, compiled, as acknowledged, from those of Forster, Wilkins, Colebrooke, and Carey already mentioned. It is important chiefly as the first attempt to simplify native methods, and reduce the whole mass of native rules and circumlocution to intelligibility and order. It contained a valuable section on Sanskrit Prosody. He issued for the School Book Society, a Sanskrit Vocabularly in 1820, and Sanskrit Reader in 1822. The most important work that he published, and one displaying immense industry, was in 1844, and entitled, "The Nalodaya or History of King Nala, a Sanskrit "Poem by Kalidasa. Accompanied with a metrical translation, "an Essay on Alliteration, an account of other similar works, "and a Grammatical Analysis." Dr. Yates, however, was more of a plain common sense translator, than a philosophical linguist. One object alone demanded his attention as a missionary, and he made all others subservient to it. So highly were his abilities in a practical way valued, that Sir E. Ryan offered him £1,000 per annum to devote his whole time to the compilation of school-books in Bengallee and Hindustanee. The last fruit of the philological labours of missionaries in India is seen in a work lately written by the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of south India—" A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or south Indian Family of Languages." The estimation in which it is held by scholars may be gathered from the fact that the University of Glasgow has conferred on the author the degree of D. D., and he has been, in flattering terms, elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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* Two Treatises on the Sanskrit Language exist in Chinese, one written so early as A. D. 1020, the other by the Emperor Kien Lung in 1749. Will nobody translate them ?

The publication of the " Bhagavat Geeta" by Wilkins had roused the attention of all the scholars of Europe, and directed their eyes towards the Sanskrit. The translation of Wilkins was speedily turned again into French, German, and Russian, and all were astonished at the mine of philosophic and poetic wealth that had hitherto lain concealed. The proceedings of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta were communicated to the learned of Europe and carefully studied, and among certain circles the name of Colebrooke, Wilkins and Jones became as familiar as in England. When curiosity was at its height, and the grandest results were expected, the deception of which Wilford had been the victim was disclosed. A disposition was manifested by some to treat the whole as a literary imposture, and to throw discredit on all the researches together. But at this time a scholar arose who, with rare critical skill and enthusiasm, applied a higher philosophy to the results of the discoveries in Calcutta, and developed from them much that was valuable in Comparative Philology. That was

Fredrick Schlegel, in his important "Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Hindus" which was published in 1808. Schlegel's father was a Lutheran pastor in Hanover. He had three sons, of whom the eldest—Charles Augustus, entered a Hanoverian regiment, and with it was sent out to India. He was beginning to give promise of becoming an accomplished orientalist, when he died at Madras in 1789. Augustus William Schlegel, born in 1769, is well known as a scholar and a critic,—especially as the translator of Shakspear into German.

Frederick was born in 1772, and after passing through a course of classical and literary study at Göttingen and Leipzig, published in 1794 his first work—an Essay on the different schools of Greek Poetry. He had drunk deeply at the fountain of Hellenism, of that philosophy and thought, which were then beginning to stir up the soul of Germany from the slumber into which the system of Wolf and the despotism of France had plunged it. Filled with its spirit he eagerly directed his attention to the new field of the East which was now opened up. He immediately set himself to the study of Sanskrit, and in 1802 visited Paris for that purpose. There he had command of the many oriental MSS. that were stored up in the Imperial Library, and was aided by the scholarship of M. M. de Langles and Chézy, especially in Persian. In Sanskrit his chief instructor was Mr. Alexander Hamilton, whom he describes as "a member of the British Society of Calcutta, and "at present Professor of the Persian and Indian dialects in London." The fruit of his studies was seen in the publication of "his Essay, already mentioned, in 1808. That at once supplied to the researches of the English in Calcutta what was wanted—a philosophic method which could generalise all that was already done, and reduce it to a system. What Sir W. Jones had hinted at, Schlegel fully accomplished, and even as his great countryman Leibnitz had done a century before, laid the philosophical basis of Comparative Philology, as Sir W. Jones and the others had laid the linguistic. From that time till now the study has advanced, and every new writer has only placed it on a firmer position as a Science. The special value of Schlegel's work is this, that he directed attention to the affinity between languages, not merely in *words*, but (what is far more important) in *grammatical construction and forms*. He recalled the scholars of his day from the waste of words in which they too often lost themselves, and shewed that grammatical is more important than lexical affinity, while both must combine to afford a principle on which all languages can be safely pronounced to agree or disagree with each other. His opinions have not, however, been universally allowed, and hence the existence of two distinct schools in this period—the lexical or glossarial, and the grammatical.

This introduces us to the third period of the History of Comparative Philology, at which we can give only a glance. It must be described at some future time, when one may be better able to estimate its valuable and record its progress. The name of Haughton meets us. In 1825, Sir Graves C. Haugton, Kt., K. H., M. A., F. R. S., published "Mánava Dherma-Sastra," or the Institutes of Manu. The first volume contained the Sanskrit text, and the second, an English translation of it. The whole was an improved edition of that issued by Sir W. Jones. In 1833, he published a Dictionary in Bengali and Sanskrit, ex- "plained in English, and adapted for students of either language "as a reversed Dictionary." The glory of the Asiatic Society had continued among many changes, and about this period it was increased by the zeal and learning of James Prinsep. His labours. however, belong rather to the department of Archælogy, Numismatics and History, than to Comparative Philology. In 1828 an important work appeared, "Researches into the Origin and Affin- "ity of the principle languages of Asia and Europe, by Lieutenant- "Colonel Vans Kennedy, of the Bombay Military Establishment." The work excited not a little controversy, especially as throughout it there are many controversial statements. The comparative lists at the end of it are somewhat valuable. In 1825, a Greek, Nicolo Kiephala, of Zante, returned from India, after spending some time in Benares. He brought along with him and presented to the library of the Vatican a MS., containing the Sanskrit original of the Moral Sentences of the Indian Philosopher, Sanakea. It was translated into Greek,* under the title of

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* As the Indian Philosopher was translated into Greek, so our readers may feel some curiosity in learning that the Greek Philsopher—Aristotle, was translated into Sanskrit—at least his Dialectics. Adelung in his historical Sketch of Sanskrit Literature, as translated and amended by the Oxford Publisher, Talboys, (1832) refers to the *Asiatic Journal*, June 1827, p. 814, where the following account of it is given:—

"After the introduction of juries into Ceylon, a wealthy Brahman, whose unpopular character had rendered him obnoxious to many, was accused of murdering his nephew, and put upon trial. He chose a jury of his own caste; but so strong was the evidence against him, that twelve (out of thirteen) of the jury were thoroughly convinced of his guilt. The dissentient juror, a young Brahman of Rumiserum, stood up, declared his persuasion that the prisoner was the victim of conspiracy, and desire that all the witnesses might be recalled. He examined them with astonishing dexterity and acuteness, and succeeded in extorting from them such proofs of their perjury, that the jury instead of consigning the accused to an ignominious death, pronounced him innocent. The affair made much noise in the island; and the Chief Justice (Sir A. Johnston himself) sent for the juror who had so distinguished himself, and complimented him upon the talents he had displayed. The Brahman attributed his skill to the study of a book, which he called 'Strengthener of the mind.' He had procured it, he said, from some pilgrims at Rumiserum, who obtained it from Persia; and he had translated it from the Sanskrit, into which it had been rendered from the Persian. Sir A. Johnston expressing curiosity to see this work, the Brahman brought him a Tamul MS. on palm leaves, which Sir [illegible] found, to his infinite surprise, to be the Dialectics of Aristotle."

“ Συνοψις γνωμῶν ηθικῶν τοῦ ’Ινδοῦ φιλοσοφου Σανακέα ἐκ τῆς Σανκριτης
“ ἤτοι Βραχμανικῆς τῶν ’Ινδῶν διαλεκτοῦ ἐις τὴν ‘Ελληνίδα καὶ ’Ιταλιδα
“ μετενεχθεῖσα φωνὴν ὑπο τοῦ ‘Ελληνος περιηγητοῦ Κ. Νικολᾶ Καιφαλα τοῦ
“ ἐκ Ζακῦνθου. ’Αφιερώνεται ἐις ὅλους Γενικῶς τους πατέρας τῶν φαμιλιῶν.
“ Το κειμενον ’Ινδικὸν ’αφηςρώθη ἀπο τον μεταφραστὴν ἐις την ‘Αγίαν Παπικὴν
“ Βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Βατικάνου ἐις γενικὴν θεωρίαν. Ρωμη ᾳωκε.”

An Italian translation of it was also published, entitled, Sommario di Sentenze Morali del Filosofo Indiano Sanekea, del dialetto Sanscrite ossia Bracmanico Indiano nella lingua Greca e Italiano tradotto dal Viaggiatore Greco Cap. Nicola Chiefala di Zante, dedicato a tutti li Padri di famiglia. Il testo indiano è stato depositato del translatore nella sacra Papale Bibliotheca di Vaticano a generale osservazione. In Roma, 1825.

It will be seen, then, that whether we look at the languages contributed to the study, or at the men who have conducted it, India holds the most important place in the history of Comparative Philology. Nor has it ceased to hold it. It is now represented by Horace Hayman Wilson, a scholar who stands at the very head of all orientalism, and who by his skill, genius and industry, has done more than any other for Sanskrit literature. He has had the advantage of the labours of all the scholars who preceded him. When about to leave India, and to resign the important post that for twenty-three years he had held, of Secretary to the Asiatic Society, its members felt called upon to acknowledge for themselves and posterity his great and unexampled services to the cause of India generally, but especially to its philology. Accordingly a deputation with an address to him waited upon him, consisting of the President, Sir Edward Ryan, and the Vice-Presidents, Dr. Mill, Dr. Tytler and Captain Troyer. The address summed up in elegant and truthful language his great merits as a scholar,—if great, then, how much greater now,—and requested that he would permit his bust to be taken by the most eminent sculptor in England, at the charge of the Society. That bust now adorns its Hall. While it is far from our intention to enter into the life of Wilson, seeing that, happily for the cause of science, he is still working on, and adding to his reputation fresh laurels, we must allude to the cause of his leaving India, where he had so many opportunities for extending his studies. The late John Boden, Esq., a Colonel in the Company's service, being of opinion that a more critical knowledge of Sanskrit would enable missionaries to discharge their calling in India better, bequeathed the whole of his property to the University of Oxford for the purpose of promoting its study. A Chair was established by a Decree of Chancery in 1830. In 1832 Horace Hayman Wilson was elected its first Professor, and has ever since continued to adorn it, and to raise scholars great though few.* Two Scholarships were established, with an annual stipend of fifty pounds each, and have been held by some not unknown to India. The position of Wilson as a scholar is best marked out in the words of his colleagues in the Asiatic Society—"none "after Sir W. Jones, if even he is to be excepted, has stronger claims on our grateful recollection; none certainly more "long-continued ones." India may then be well represented by him, along with such as Forbes, Eastwick, Williams, Hodgson, Ouseley, Hayes, Ballantyne, Stevenson, Dr. Wilson, Caldwell, Roer and Sprenger.

There is one subject of at once regret and astonishment however—that none of the natives of India should have ever yet distinguished themselves as philologists, or even as eager and accomplished students of their own sacred language. Notwithstanding the extent to which English education is supposed to have opened up the philology and science of the West to the students of the East, no step has been taken by those who might have been supposed to be best qualified, to simplify the grammar of the Sanskrit, or on the basis of it, to carry out philological enquiries and researches. A few in very recent times may have in the "Bibliotheca Indica," edited Sanskrit works, accompanied occasionally by notes and translations, or may, as in the 'Encyclopædia Bengalensis, have attempted to transfer ruthlessly and arbitrarily the knowledge of the West to the East: a Sanskrit College and a Madrissa may have been in existence for years, and have cost the State large sums of money that might have been better applied; but we look in vain for fruit that is worth plucking. No advance has been made beyond the unphilological but otherwise excellent systems of Panini, Ramchunder and Vopadeva, unless we allow that Rammohun Roy has aided our Science by any of his works or translations. His is the honour, which must be shared with Carey, of having made the Bengali a language capable of literary polish, and of becoming a powerful instrument for good to those whose vernacular it is. When a mere youth he studied Arabic and Persian at Patna, and afterwards, at Benares, he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the Sanskrit. At the age of twenty-two he began the study of English, and in the course of time obtained a respectable knowledge of it. His first literary work was a translation of the Vedant into Bengali, then Hindustani and afterwards English. He translated the *Kuth Upanishad*, and in the course of the controversy that he raised as to the Unity of God, and the absurdities of Hinduism, his active pen was seldom idle. Born in 1774, he visited England in 1831, and died there in 1833.

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* **BODEN SCHOLARS.**

1833.—William Alder Strange, Scholar of Pembroke.
Edward Price, Magdalen Hall.
1834.—Solomon Cæsar Malen, St. Edmund Hall.
1837.—Arthur Wellington Wallis, Magdalen Hall.
1838.—William Henry Jones, Magdalen Hall.
1839.—William Henry Linwood, Student of Ch.
1840.—Robert Payne Smith, Scholar of Pembroke.
1841.—Alexander Penrose Forbes, Brasenose, now Bishop of Brechin.
1843.—Monier Williams, University, now Professor of Sanskrit, Haileybury College.
1844.—Edward Markham Heale, Queen's.
1845.—Robert Hake, Commoner of St. Edmund Hall, now Chaplain of New College.
1848.—Thomas Hutchinson Tristram, Exhibitioner of Lincoln.
1849.—Nov. 24—Ralph Thomas Hotchkin Griffith, Queen's.
1853.—Feb. 22—John Frederick Browne, Exeter.

We believe that a knowledge of the laws, principles and spirit of Comparative Philology is at present a great desideratum in native education in Indian. The want of it has laid all natives open to the accusation of being merely white-washed with English, merely crammed with a certain amount of words and literature, which they cannot use with the power of a master, nor express idiomatically. The hitherto superficial character of all such education has arisen from a want of applying the teachings of our Science. Native teachers do not themselves know it, and hence cannot communicate it, while those Europeans who have been introduced into the Education Service, have been employed in positions where it is too late to begin the study, so as to make it useful by causing it to enter into the intellectual nature of the student. The whole system of education by natives in India must be changed, ere any permanent good can be accomplished. In England the work begins in the infant school, with the child of three or four years of age. Early accustomed to the accurate division of words into syllables, to an acquaintance with the powers of letters and their proper pronunciation, he is trained soon to see the power of syllables as to meaning and origin, to break up words into their component parts, to point out the root, the prefix, the affix, and to understand the changes which the root undergoes in combination with these. At the age of ten or twelve years he is introduced to Latin, and in it finds all the complex structure of the classical languages. His ideas of words and their importance extended, his sphere of linguistic vision is increased. He learns the power of a root in relation to its termination, he begins to know that words as well as nations have a history, that there are various stages in that history, and that each denotes a great leap in the mind of the nation. Words soon have for him a living existence, they become a part of his intellectual life, and he can use them, by long practice, with the skill of the potter over his plastic clay. He speedily discerns differences between, not merely the words of one language, but those of several; every new fact adds to his intellectual wealth; harmonies and agreements meet and astonish him at every turn; every new language that he learns, fits him the more easily to overcome the difficulties of another, for he finds that not only words, but grammatical forms are the same. The result is, that he instinctively classifies and generalises for himself; by the pleasant discipline the mind is elevated and strengthened; by the linguistic wealth his ideas become clearer, fuller and more accurate, and when he strives to express them, he clothes them in a dress of exquisite taste or glorious beauty. He may be said fully to understand and correctly to use the languages that he professes to know, for he can give a history of every word, and account for every grammatical form. Then, and not till then, does the study of literature, in the highest sense of the term, become desirable or proper, and for him the pages of the author glow with beauty or are filled with thought. There is not an idea but what is fully understood, not a figure, but what is correctly appreciated. Words act upon ideas, and ideas upon words, and a creative power is developed, which enables him to add to the literature of his country works that posterity will not willingly let die.

Such should be the effect of the study of Comparative Philology, properly carried out and fully applied. To do so requires rare skill in the teacher, much perseverance in the pupil. In England it is being partially done in the new and intellectual systems of education that are being adopted. In the higher schools it is well carried out; in systems for the lower schools it is at least the basis. It has never been so in India. Utilitarianism has raged rampant in most of our educational systems, and superficiality has been the result. Time—that important element in the development of thought and character, has been denied, instruction has been separated from morality, cramming has been preferred to disciplining, and the result is that the character has not been elevated, nor apathy and inaccuracy been removed. School books have utterly ignored proper linguistic training, and a graduated series of lessons for mechanical and unintelligent reading has alone been given. The fact that, in learning English, the native was learning a foreign language entirely objective to himself, has not been acted on, and hence harmonies and diversities of words and grammatical laws, between it and the vernacular, have not been noticed. College and scholarship examinations have perpetuated the evil, so much so that in the last Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University, out of 231 native students, not five could give an intelligent account of the origin or literal meaning of the word "*incipient*," while many could write elegant critiques on, or analyses of, Shakespeare's Plays, without once feeling in their inner soul their real power and beauty. The study of Comparative Philology will, we believe, largely check, if it do not entirely remove, this evil. But the present race of native teachers will never do it, and no Manual exists sufficiently simple, or brought up to the latest stage of the Science, to enable students to do it for themselves. The work must begin with the young in their tenderest years ; so that an "instinct" of language may be acquired.

In this article we have not entered into the subject-matter of the Science at all, nor have we looked at it critically. Assuming a knowledge of it in its outlines, we have merely tried to answer the question, what has India done for it? Now it bids fair to go on advancing at once in linguistic data and philosophic principle. The former must, as in the case of Sir W. Jones and his worthy successors, be still largely contributed by India, and for its accomplishment we have alluded to the Plan of Sir James Mackintosh. The latter, evolved by the German Schlegel, has been well carried out by Bopp, William Von Humboldt, and Bunsen. Whether more may be accomplished for the Science itself in its *pure* form we do not know ; but this is certain, that as *applied* it has still a grand career to run, in connexion with its sister Sciences, Ethnology and Archæology, in dispelling the mysterious clouds that hang over the early history of the world, in bringing to life races, institutions and dynasties as wonderful as the existences revealed in the primeval world by Geology, but to the student of humanity and the Bible far more important, and in laying at the feet of Christianity, new and irrefragable evidences of the truth and inspiration of her Genesis-records.

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WELLINGTON IN INDIA.

By——Gordon, Esq.

The Despatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G., during his various campaigns in India: compiled from official and authentic documents. By Lieutenant-Colonel GURWOOD, Esquire to his Grace as Knight of the Bath.

THE interest attaching to Sir Arthur Wellesley's Indian career is of course much increased by the subsequent achievements of the Duke of Wellington on a more conspicuous theatre. But even if he had never conducted the arduous Peninsular contest to a successful conclusion, or completed the destruction of Napoleon's power on the field of Waterloo, his early campaigns and political services in India would have been sufficient to stamp him as a soldier and statesman of a high order. In the discharge of his various duties—military, civil and diplomatic—during the campaign in which he broke the strength of the Mahrattas in the Deckan, he displayed the same high qualities,—the same energy, sagacity, foresight, patience, and resource—the same union of promptness and of comprehensiveness of view—the same noble equanimity and stern determination to overcome all obstacles and difficulties—and the same animating public spirit,—that afterwards enabled him to give the first great check to the torrent of French invasion which threatened to overwhelm Europe. In reality, no extraneous considerations are necessary to invest the Indian career of the Duke of Wellington with interest. The transactions,in which he bore a principal part in this country, took place at what may be styled the turning point of British dominion in the East; and he was one of the most eminent of those eminent men who decided the question—whether the British Government was merely to be one of many Indian powers, or to be that one to whose pre-eminence all the others must bend or before which they must be broken. Sir Arthur Wellesley, therefore, in his capacity of a distinguished Indian soldier and politician, well deserves to be illustrated in a periodical devoted to Indian subjects.

A gale of wind may be literally said to have changed Wellington's destination from the West to the East Indies. In the spring of 1795 he had returned to Eugland from Holland with the Duke of York's beaten army, after having shown spirit and intelligence as commanding officer of a brigade in the rear-guard during the retreat before the victorious French. In the autumn of the same year Colonel Wellesley embarked with his regiment, the 33rd, at Southampton, for the West Indies. For six weeks the fleet was tossed about by contrary winds, and then returned to port with the loss of many ships. The 33rd regiment was landed, and before it could be re-embarked, its destination was changed to India. The change was undoubtedly fortunate for its gallant commander. In the West Indies, it is probable that no opportunity of distinction would have been afforded him beyond the inglorious capture of a sugar-island or two. In the East Indies he soon had armies to command and to encounter, and the fortunes of nations to deal with. His regiment sailed for the East in April; illness prevented him from accompanying it, but he joined it at the Cape of Good Hope; and in February 1797, arrived with it at Calcutta.

Colonel Wesley (for such was the form of the name then used) was at this time in his twenty-eighth year. His appearance in the prime of manhood is described* as indicating both strength and activity. In height he was nearly five feet, ten inches: his shoulders were broad, his chest expansive, his arms long; with large but well formed hands and unusually bony wrists: the whole frame-work evincing a capability of great exertion and endurance of fatigue. His gray eyes were keen and brilliant, and his sight was remarkably acute. His countenance, as it appeared in later years, is familiar to all. Some one has remarked that the Duke of Wellington owes half his fame to his victories, and the other half to his nose. But in his earlier years the nasal organ did not stand out so prominently from the other features as advancing age made it afterwards appear to do. It was merely, a high aquiline; and his features generally were striking and expressive: the face was long, the brow open and developed; and the lower portion of the countenance presented a marked contrast to the stern expression of all above the mouth. The general expression of his face was, however, calm and cheerful; and in his demeanor and conversation he was described by Lord Teignmouth, who knew him well in Calcutta, as exhibiting a union of strong sense and boyish playfulness such as he had never seen exemplified in any other individual. Lord Teignmouth, indeed, with the almost intuitive perception of character which he is said to have shown on many occasions, seems to have perceived the remarkable character of his young friend from the first. His Lordship, then Sir John Shore, was Governor-General at the time of the Colonel's arrival in Calcutta, and the first interview between them was at a levee. As the young soldier retired, Sir John, turning round to his aides-de-camp, exclaimed "If Col. Wesley should ever have the opportunity of distinguishing himself, he will do it—and greatly."† Many years afterwards, when the Duke of Wellington was astonishing all Europe with his victories in the Peninsula, Lord Teignmouth reminded one of those whom he had thus addressed and who had not until then returned to Europe how completely his prediction had been fulfilled. Col. Wellesley had carried to the Governor-General the following brief note of introduction from a former Governor-General, the Marquis Cornwallis, who happened to be Colonel of the 33rd Regiment: "Dear Sir, I beg leave to introduce to you Col. Wesley, who is Lieut. Col. of my Regiment: he is a sensible man and a good officer, and will, I have no doubt, conduct himself in a manner to merit your approbation." Col. Wellesley was received with much attention by Sir John Shore. He was a frequent guest at the Governor-General's table: and nearly forty years afterwards, in writing to the son of his distinguished host, he expressed his sense of the great kindness and condescension with which Lord Teignmouth had always treated him.

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*Maxwell's Life of Wellington.

† Life of Lord Teignmouth.

After a few months of ordinary military duty at Calcutta, Col. Wellesley was called to take part in an expedition fitted out for the attack of the Spanish island of Manilla. On this occasion he addressed a Memorandum to the Governor-General, suggesting that, prior to the attack on Manilla, the island of Java should be attacked and the Dutch settlements upon it destroyed. This document, although not included in the Wellington Despatches, was the first of that remarkable series of writings which have given the Duke of Wellington a place among the authors of England; and it is marked by the public spirit, the business-like method, the clear, concise, straightforwardness, and the fulness of provision for all contingencies, which in so large a measure distinguish his subsequent despatches. The troops embarked in August. Col. Wellesley having received an order that in case of coming to action while on shipboard, the troops were to be under the command of the captains of the ships, fired at the supposed indignity. From on board the Company's ship *Heroine* he addressed an indignant remonstrance to the Governor-General, declaring that had he known that field officers were to be put under the orders of captains of Indiamen and were to have the command of their own soldiers taken from them, he would have quitted the military service sooner than have embarked on such terms. "However, Sir," he characteristically adds, "uncomfortable as I feel it embarking under such circumstances, I shall do everything in my power, and shall make those under me do everything in their power, to forward the service." Sir John Shore, who had evidently never dreamt that his instructions were interfering with military etiquette, at once expressed regret for the inadvertence which he had committed, and with many compliments to the zeal, alacrity and spirit of Col. Wellesley and his regiment, revoked the obnoxious order. The Bengal portion of the expedition proceeded to

Penang where they were to be joined by a detachment from Madras—the whole to be under the command of Genl. St. Leger. Lord Hobart, who was at that time Governor of Madras, and who was in a position to watch closely the suspicious movements of Tippoo Sultan, had been entrusted with a discretionary power of recalling the expedition ; and he arrested its further progress at Penang, under the apprehension that Tippoo might be induced by the absence of the troops to invade the Carnatic. Col. Wellesley accordingly returned with his regiment to Bengal. He soon afterwards visited Madras to meet Lord Hobart who was about to depart for Europe, and after spending two months in an examination of the military establishments of that Presidency with which his name was destined to be so honorably associated, returned to Calcutta. Here, on the 17th of May 1798, he had the pleasure of welcoming his brother, the Earl of Mornington, to India as Governor-General in succession to Sir John Shore.

The Earl of Mornington devoted his first attention to the proceedings of Tippoo Saheb, and the result was a determination to reduce that great enemy of the British power. In his own time, and for many years afterwards, the Governor-General was severely censured by many for thus promptly engaging in war with Tippoo. But we presume that in the present day none will be found to deny that the destruction of Tippoo was necessary, probably to the safety, certainly to the domination of the English in India. Lieut.-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and who had taken part in Lord Cornwallis' campaign against Tippoo, was directed to enter the Mysore territory with the army under his command. The 33rd Regiment was at the same time transferred to the Madras establishment ; and in November (1798) the greater portion of the troops were assembled at Wallajahbad under the command of Colonel Wellesley, who retained the superintendence of them until General Harris' arrival in February. Colonel Wellesley's arrangements and management during his temporary command were highly commended in a general order by the Commander-in-Chief. The Mahrattas and the Nizam, both of whom had felt the weight of Tippoo's arm, co-operated in the war. The force contributed by the Nizam consisted of the British detachment serving in his dominions, above 6,000 strong, under Col. Dalrymple ; about an equal number of the Nizam's own infantry under Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, who had also the political superintendence of the whole contingent ; and a large body of the Nizam's cavalry under Captain Walker. This force was under the general superintendence of the Nizam's minister, Meer Allum, who requested that the Governor-General's brother might be appointed to command it. As Genl. Harris had determined that a British regiment should be added to the Nizam's force and the whole formed into a division, in order to increase its respectability and efficiency, and as it was necessary that the commander of the new division should possess not only his own confidence but Meer Allum's, he at once complied with the request made by the latter in favor of an officer who had so recently called forth his commendation. The 33rd Regiment was accordingly attached to the Nizam's force, and Colonel. Wellesley was appointed commander of the new division, now amounting to about 14,000 men. At this time Major General Baird, who had served in the former war against Tippoo and had languished for above three years in the prison of Seringapatam, commanded the first European Brigade consisting of four regiments. It was natural that a brave, high spirited and experienced officer like Baird should feel hurt at a junior officer being appointed to a more important command than he himself held in the army. He addressed Genl. Harris, remarking on the extraordinary fact that a Major-General, sent out expressly to serve on the staff in India, should command only three battalions, while a Lieut.-Colonel should be placed at the head of thirteen corps. He added that he was privately acquainted with a good reason for such an arrangement in the circumstance of Meer Allum's request in favour of the Governor-General's brother ; but as this was not known to the army at large, he requested that it might be made public, to save him from appearing degraded in the eyes of his brother officers. The appeal was, as we have said, a natural one ; but Genl. Harris did not choose to soothe Genl. Baird's wounded pride by making it appear to the army as if Col. Wellesley had no other qualification for the command of a division than that of being Lord Mornington's brother. As this was not the first occasion of a collision between Baird and Wellesley, so it was not the last. During the projected expedition to Manilla, two years previously, Col. Baird had been grievously disappointed at his regiment, the 71st, having been passed over at the formation of the expeditionary corps in favour of the 33rd ; and it will be seen that the rival commanders again jostled each other at Seringapatam, in a projected expedition to Java, in the expedition to Egypt, and finally in the Deccan. With another of the officers whom we have mentioned, Captain Malcolm, Colonel Wellesley appears to have now met for the first time ; and a warm and lasting friendship, afterwards cemented by a community of military and diplomatic service, was formed between these distinguished men. Thanks to the French officers recently in the Nizam's service, the force sent from Hyderabad to join the British army on this occasion presented a marked and favourable contrast to the motley horde which—undisciplined, unofficered, and displaying the most grotesque arms and armour of every variety from the Scythian club and the Parthian bow and arrow, to coats of chain mail and spears eighteen feet long—had assisted or rather encumbered Lord Cornwallis in 1791 and 1792.* Col. Wellesley with his division joined the army, which had already commenced its march towards Mysore, on the 18th February. In the progress onwards he usually marched parallel to the main army, for the protection of the heavy artillery, baggage, and commissariat, which occupied the intermediate space. The army now entering Mysore was the most splendidly equipped and disciplined force that had ever assembled in India, and numbered considerably upwards of 30,000 fighting men. Of this fine army General Harris was not only in unrestricted military command, but was empowered to exert all the civil authority which would have belonged to the Governor-General in his situation. He was provided with a political and diplomatic commission, composed of Col. Wellesley, Col. Barry Close, Col. Agnew and Capt. Malcolm. These "Political Agents" were altogether subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, and their duty was not to control but to advise. It would have been happy if a similar arrangement had been observed in some of our later Indian campaigns.

On the 27th March, General Harris, slowly advancing, reached Malavelly and discovered the army of Tippoo drawn up on a height a few miles distant. Tippoo at first retired and took post on a second rising ground, whence he opened a fire upon the advanced picquets of the British. The whole army then moved towards the enemy, the right wing under General Harris, and the left wing under Col. Wellesley. The Sultan, perceiving an opening between two brigades, charged with his cavalry, one body of which rushed forward with such impetuous gallantry as to penetrate through some intervals in the British line, and passing beyond it exchanged pistol shots with General Harris' staff. None of these daring men returned alive. Meanwhile Tippoo's extreme right was strongly posted on the elevated crest of a rocky ridge; and Col. Wellesley, whose division was formed nearly opposite, proposed to attack it. General Harris consented; and Wellesley advanced *en echelon* of battalions, supported by three regiments of cavalry under General Floyd. A corps of two thousand of the Sultan's infantry came forward to meet them, and moved down upon the 33rd. That regiment received the fire of the enemy at a distance of sixty yards, and returning it rapidly advanced upon the enemy's column which gave way.

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* Wilks' Sketches of Mysore.

This was the decisive moment. Floyd charged with his cavalry and destroyed the retreating column almost to a man. Tippoo then fell back with his army, and the British troops pursued him until he was beyond the reach of their guns. In this brilliant affair the enemy left behind him about a thousand killed and wounded: the British loss was extremely slight. Col. Wellesley and General Floyd bore the brunt of the action, and undoubtedly its success was owing to their judgment and spirit. In the battle of Malavelly, Col. Wellesley first came in contact with an Indian enemy.

On the 5th April, the British army had approached within a few miles of Seringapatam, the capital and chief stronghold of the proud, vain-glorious, self-willed sovereign who had once more dared British power and once more brought a British army in sight of his palace. The army at once took up their ground nearly for the siege. A tope or grove of betul-nut trees and some ruined villages in front afforded cover to the enemy, and it was necessary to dislodge them. Two detachments under Col. Shawe and Col. Wellesley proceeded upon this duty soon after sunset. Shawe seized the ruined village which was the object of his attack without having occasion to fire a shot. Wellesley was not so fortunate in his share of the enterprize. On entering the tope he was assailed by a hot fire of musketry and rockets. The darkness of the night, the badness of the ground, and the uncertainty of the enemy's position threw the 33rd into disorder, and they fell back, leaving several killed and prisoners behind. Meanwhile General Harris was sitting up in his tent in great anxiety as to the result of all this firing; when, towards midnight, Col. Wellesley entered in some agitation to report the disaster which had occurred. Indeed, he had experienced great difficulty in finding his way back to camp, and it is believed was for some time separated from his men with only a single companion. Next morning, a stronger detachment, accompanied by five guns, was put under his command to make another attack on the tope and to drive the enemy from their whole line of outposts extending from the tope to the river Cauvery. In narrating the circumstances attendant upon this little affair, it is impossible to avoid remarking on the difficulty of ascertaining the exact truth of all the particulars of an occurrence, even where we have before us the testimony of men of undoubted honor, well acquainted with the circumstances of the case. Mr. Theodore Hook, in his life of General Baird, states on the authority of that gallant officer that the latter found General Harris on the parade-ground at the appointed hour, waiting for the appearance of Col. Wellesley to take the command of the troops who were drawn up in readiness for the attack. An hour passed without Col. Wellesley's appearance, and Genl. Harris becoming impatient, ordered Genl. Baird himself to take the command. The General mounted his horse, but a moment afterwards paused and going back to Genl. Harris said: "Don't you think, Sir, it would be but fair to give Wellesley an opportunity of retrieving the misfortune of last night?" Genl. Harris listened to the considerate proposal, and shortly afterwards Col. Wellesley appeared and took command of the party. This statement is certainly circumstantial enough. On the other hand, Colonel Gurwood disbelieves the whole story, and asserts on the authority of the Duke of Wellington that his Grace never even heard of it until many years afterwards. The matter is in itself one of no consequence; but it derives some interest and has excited some discussion from the subsequent career of the great soldier who, on this occasion, when it might be supposed that his whole soul was on the alert to make up for the previous night's disaster, is supposed to have failed in his usual punctuality of duty. We are inclined to believe that a statement given by Col. Shawe, on the authority of Sir David Baird, and which is to the same effect as Mr. Hook's, with the exception that the suggestion to wait for Col. Wellesley a little longer came from Genl. Harris and was cheerfully acceded to by Genl. Baird, is correct. A natural delicacy, on the part of even the best natured friend, may have kept the circumstance from Col. Wellesley's ears. Captain Mackenzie, who had taken part in the attack on the tope on the preceding evening, used to relate that Colonel Wellesley was so excessively fatigued on his return to camp that he threw himself on a table and at once fell asleep; and it has been remarked that nothing can be more probable than that he overslept himself next morning. Mr. Lushington, however, in his life of Lord Harris, attributes Col. Wellesley's delay to his not having been warned in time for the duty. It is not easy to discover why Genl. Harris in place of waiting for an hour to see if Col. Wellesley would come up, did not at once send to him. But enough of this petty matter. At nine o'clock Col. Wellesley advanced with his force and speedily drove the enemy out of the tope; and Colonels Shawe and Wallace, rushing upon the adjoining villages, carried them without difficulty. Col. Barry Close, the able Adjutant-General of the Army, who had accompanied Wellesley on this service, at once proceeded to Genl. Harris' tent with the pleasing announcement, "It has been done in high style and without loss."

This is not the place for a detailed description of the storming of Seringapatam. On the 3rd of May (1799) the breach was reported practicable; and the storming party, above four thousand in number, the majority of whom were Europeans, were placed in the trenches before daybreak on the 4th. General Baird had volunteered to lead the assault. Col. Wellesley was to remain in the advanced trenches in command of the reserve to support the assaulting troops if necessary. At one o'clock in the afternoon the attacking column under General Baird rushed forward, forded the Cauvery in the teeth of a tremendous fire, and in less than ten minutes had planted the British colors on the summit of the breach. The troops then filed off to the right and left, and overpowering all opposition, were soon in possession of every part of the ramparts. Tippoo had fallen at one of the gateways, gallantly fighting to the last. Resistance ceased and Seringapatam was won. The killadar of the Palace conducted General Baird to the spot where Tippoo had fallen ; and by the light of torches—for it was after dusk—the Sultan's body was discovered, to use General Baird's own words, " under a slaughtered heap of several hundreds." When it was dragged out from among the slain the eyes were open, and the body itself was so warm, that Col. Wellesley, who had by this time entered the fort, was doubtful whether the Sultan was not yet alive. But on feeling his heart and pulse that doubt was at once removed. He had received three wounds on the body and a ball had entered the temple. The fallen Sultan was placed in a palankeen and carried to the Palace. General Baird, having despatched parties in every direction to stop the plunder, and having posted guards at the palace, threw himself down on a carpet in the verandah to rest after the fatigues of this eventful day. His reflections must have been strange. He, now the master of Seringapatam, reposed but a few hundred yards from the spot where he had pined for three years a wretched captive, while the powerful sovereign who was then the arbiter of his fate now lay vanquished and dead within a few paces. Scarcely has the stage exhibited a more signal or more curious instance of the mutability of fortune. History does not record a more impressive situation than that of General Baird at this moment.

Early on the morning after the assault General Baird proceeded to take measures for restoring order. He was thus engaged when Colonel Wellesley arrived to relieve him. Baird was overwhelmed with astonishment at being thus deprived of the command of the Fort which he had so gallantly won. He returned to camp in a mood of the highest indignation. "Before the sweat was dry on my brow," he wrote to a friend, " I was superseded by an inferior officer." He immediately addressed Genl. Harris, bitterly complaining of the slight which had been put upon him. Genl. Harris vouchsafed no other explanation than that he would permit no subordinate officer to remonstrate with him on the propriety of his measures or on his selection of officers for situations of public trust; and he severely censured Genl. Baird for a total want of discretion and of respect towards him, his immediate superior. Colonel Wellesley's temporary command of the fort was in a few days made permanent. This permanent supercession of General Baird by Colonel Wellesley in the command of Seringapatam is a matter that deserves examination, not only as affecting the reputation of three of our most distinguished soldiers but on grounds of historic justice.

It is evident, that once the assault was over and the fort taken possession of, the tranquillization of the inhabitants, the restoration of good order, and the carrying out of such arrangements as would induce the people to return to their ordinary occupations, became the primary object of the commander of Seringapatam. Now, was Genl. Baird the officer best fitted for such a task? His long and rigid imprisonment in that very place could not but be remembered by him with some bitterness—and he did remember it. Not only so, but recent cruelties on the part of Tippoo might well have exasperated and roused to vengeance a man of more self-control than Baird. In the trenches, previous to the assault, he had recognized among the soldiery several of his former fellow prisoners; and he assured them that they would soon have an opportunity of paying off old scores. While breathing his men for a few minutes on the ramparts during the assault, he had been informed that Tippoo had cruelly put to death his European prisoners by having nails driven through their skulls;* and while proceeding towards the palace, he vowed to a brother officer that if the story were true he would deliver over Tippoo, as soon as he laid hands upon him, to the men of the 33rd, to be tried by them for the cold blooded murder of their comrades. What fate the royal ruffian would meet at their hands could not be very doubtful. So justly incensed was he that, long after all resistance had ceased, he hesitated to accept the offer made by the princes to surrender the palace on a promise of protection, unless they would inform him where their father was. It is true, that General Harris was not aware of all these circumstances, but he doubtless anticipated the tone of feeling that led to them. He must have felt that a man in Baird's position who had just stormed the town, was not the fittest person to tranquillize its inhabitants. He also knew that Baird's temper was easily roused and not easily restrained. Indeed, the whole career of Sir David Baird shows that notwithstanding his many excellent and soldier-like qualities, he had an unhappy knack of getting into hot water with those around him. In his very first independent command—that at Tanjore—it had been necessary to remove him on account of his dissensions with the Resident. Every one knows the story of his mother, when informed that Tippoo's captives at Seringapatam were chained two and two, exclaiming, "God help the poor fellow that's chained to our Davie!" Whether this anecdote be authentic or not, the frequent collisions of Sir David Baird with his official brethren prove that its spirit was correct. Baird's immediate "supercession" in the command of Seringapatam is accounted for by the fact that, soon after the assault, he had requested that the storming party might be relieved on account of the fatigue they had undergone. Col. Gurwood merely says that, in consequence of this request, Col. Wellesley, being next on the roster, was ordered to take the relief. But this does not account for the permanent command (the necessity of which was pointed out by Col. Wellesley himself) being entrusted to him. Genl. Baird himself always regarded the matter as a deliberate supercession—a supercession that pointed him out to the world as one not fit for any command of importance. We think that the considerations which we have mentioned had their weight in bringing Genl. Harris to the conclusion, that Genl. Baird was not particularly well fitted for the command of Seringapatam. At the same time we must say that there does appear to have been an excessive desire on the part of Genl. Harris throughout the campaign to afford Colonel Wellesley every opportunity of distinguishing himself. But we attribute this, not to any scycophancy to the Governor-General, but partly to a natural feeling of gratitude, and partly to a conviction of Col. Wellesley's own eminent merits. For this particular kind of duty he expressed his opinion that Col. Wellesley was the fittest officer in the army. As to Lord Mornington, so convinced was he of his brother's pre-eminent qualifications for the envied post, that he announced to Genl. Harris that if the latter had not entrusted the command to Col. Wellesley, his Lordship himself would have done so. We certainly think that, of the two, Wellesley was, by temper and tact, fitter than Baird to have the command of Seringapatam. Col. Wellesley appears to have sympathized with the wounded feelings of Genl. Baird on the occasion; and, soon after taking command in the fort, he presented Tippoo's State sword to the General as being the man who had the best right to the trophy. Col. Wellesley in his new post speedily showed that Genl. Harris' choice had not been misplaced. He found the town crowded with European and Native soldiers from all the regiments in camp, and plundering and disorder prevailing on all sides. Safeguards were at once placed by himself personally over the houses of the principal inhabitants; protection flags were hoisted in different quarters; and, after repeated warnings by beat of drum against plundering the houses or molesting the inhabitants, three men were executed for the former offence. Order and confidence were soon restored by these measures. The inhabitants, most of whom had left the town on the night after the assault and slept in the open fields, began to return to their houses; and in three days after the storming, the main street of Seringapatam was so crowded with heaps of provisions and merchandize and with buyers and sellers as to exhibit the appearance of a fair.

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* It was afterwards satisfactorily ascertained that the mode of death was the equally cruel one of twisting the neck. The unfortunate soldiers taken at the unsuccessful attack on the beetul-nut tope were put to death in this barbarous manner.

The submission of the whole country of Mysore quickly followed upon the fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo. The Governor-General appointed a Commission, consisting of Genl. Harris, Col. Wellesley, Mr. Henry Wellesley, Col. Kirkpatrick and Col. Close, with Major Malcolm and Capt. Munro as Secretaries, to conduct the arrangement of the conquest under his Lordship's orders. He determined to reconstitute, under British protection, a portion of the Mysore State under a descendant of the Hindoo Prince whom Hyder Ali had deposed, reserving the remaining portion for distribution among the allies. It was found that the Rajah's widow was still alive and that the representative of the family was a child only five years of age. The able Brahmin, Poorneah, the fallen Sultan's minister, who showed no disinclination to transfer his services from the late dynasty to one of his own race, was chosen to signify to the family the good fortune that was in store for them. Before, however, any step was taken publicly in the matter, the family and relatives of Tippoo Sultan were, out of delicacy, removed to Vellore which was to be their future residence, and which, some years afterwards, and partly in consequence of that residence, became the scene of a dreadful tragedy. The removal of the disinherited princes was entrusted by the Governor-General to Col. Wellesley as an officer likely to combine every duty of humanity with the prudential precautions required by the occasion. This painful but indispensable measure being effected, the British Commissioners proceeded to visit the future Rajah. They found the fallen family in a state of poverty and humiliaton which excited the strongest compassion. The ancient palace of Mysore had been utterly destroyed by Tippoo, who wished to extinguish all remembrance that such a place had ever existed. The Commissioners were received in a mean apartment in a small house in Seringapatam. The young Rajah was surrounded by the males of his family, and the females were secluded behind a curtain which ran across the room. Here a formal communication of the intentions of the British Govt. was made by the

Commissioners, and gratefully responded to by the Ranee from behind her curtain. The ceremony of enthronement took place in what had once been the old town of Mysore. A temporary building was erected for the purpose, and the old throne of the Rajahs of Mysore, which had been found at Seringapatam, was used on the occasion. The British Commissioners and a British Regiment attended to do honor to the proceedings. The young Rajah was met at the entrance by General Harris and Meer Allum, each of whom took his hand and conducted him to the musnud, where he was hailed as Rajah of Mysore amid the acclamations of an immense multitude of Hindoos who had some reason to testify their delight at being emancipated from Tipoo's brutal tyranny. Nearly forty years had elapsed since Hyder Ali usurped the government, and now was made fully apparent the truth of the observation, which had become almost proverbial in Mysore, that "Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one." By treaty with the new State, a British subsidiary force was received by the Rajah; and the British Government were authorized to interfere in the affairs of Mysore, and even to assume the management of any part of the territory whenever they judged it necessary. These preliminaries being concluded, the executive administration was organized. Poorneah, who was a man not only of eminent ability, but of what is much rarer among native ministers—integrity, became the Rajah's Dewan or chief minister; Col. Close was selected as the Political Resident; and Col. Wellesley was appointed to the military command. The appointment of a Native to the highest civil office in Mysore, and indeed, of Natives to all the civil offices and most of the military offices in the country, was hailed with applause by the people in every part of India. Under the management of Poorneah, controlled by the British Resident, the experiment succeeded admirably. The Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his administration, declared that the success of the Mysore arrangements had fulfilled his most sanguine expectations. But Poorneah was a man in a million. He left the country at his death in a highly flourishing condition. The young Rajah, however, turned out to be of the common class of Eastern Princes—indolent, prodigal and oppressive; and the usual result followed. Mysore has been for many years wholly managed by British officers.

Col. Wellesley applied himself with great energy and discernment to his new duties. In organizing the military establishment, he replaced the most intelligent and experienced of Tippoo's officers in their former posts. He made it a primary object of his attention to open roads and communications throughout the province. In order to prevent Tippoo's disbanded soldiers from combining in marauding bands, he ordered that every horse in Mysore should be registered and that no horseman should be allowed to travel through the country without a passport. He himself made a tour of inspection through the different districts. He guarded the authority of the Government of Mysore with what Major Wilks called a "parental description of care." The task of quieting the country was a difficult one, as may be inferred from the following passage of a letter (of May 1800) to his friend Munro: "I think that, upon the whole, we are not in the most thriving condition in this country. Polygars, Nairs and Moplas in arms on all sides of us; an army full of disaffection and discontent, amounting to Lord knows what, on the Northern frontier, which increases as it advances like a snowball in snow. If we go to war in earnest, however, (and if we take the field at all it ought to be in earnest,) I will collect everything that can be brought together from all sides, and we ought not to quit the field as long as there is a discontented or unsubdued polygar in the country." At this time he received an offer, from the Governor-General, of the military command of an expedition designed to be despatched against Batavia in conjunction with a naval squadron under Admiral Rainier. He wished to go, but left it to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, to decide the matter according to his sense of the public convenience. Lord Clive at once requested him to remain in a situation, which, (to use his Lordship's words), "I have long felt, and still feel, that you fill with singular advantage to our own country as well as to Mysore; a situation, in which, for the prosperous settlements of our new acquisitions, integrity and vigilance of conduct are indispensable; and in which your acquired knowledge and experience, especially in the event of active operations, must give you the advantage over other men; and in which I should find it not only difficult but impossible to replace you to my satisfaction." Under these circumstances the Governor-General, in a private letter to his "Dear Arthur," expressed his opinion that his brother could not quit Mysore at that time, adding, with his usual fraternal regard, "your conduct there has secured your character and advancement for the remainder of your life, and you may trust me for making the best use of your merits in your future promotion." Affairs in Mysore were in a state that demanded instant attention. Banditti infested the country; many chiefs were disaffected; and Dhoondiah Waugh ravaged the frontier with an army of freebooters. This leader, although in himself, as described by Col. Wellesley, "a despicable enemy," might become formidable by leaguing with the disaffected, with whom he was already in communication; and his destruction was, therefore, necessary. Mr. Webbe, Secretary to the Madras Government announced to Col. Wellesley that he was to pursue the daring freebooter, and hang him on the first tree.

The name of Dhoondiah Waugh has become famous from his having been the object of the Duke of Wellington's first campaign as a commander. Dhoondiah's career had been an extraordinary one, and a full account of it would throw a strange light on Indian character and on the condition of Southern India before the English became dominant there. But we have space merely to mention that, though a Mahratta by birth, he had been forcibly made a Mahommedan by Tippoo, and that he commenced life as a private horseman in Hyder Ali's service. He was a bold, dexterous, unscrupulous and ambitious man, who aspired to erect a principality for himself out of the disordered provinces of the Southern Mahratta country. In this he might have succeeded if he had had only Mahrattas to deal with. His band had swelled to an army, and he had managed to become master of several Mahratta forts which he duly garrisoned. But, unfortunately for him, the British were at hand. Col. Wellesley, having, with some difficulty, obtained the Peshwa's consent to pursue the marauder into the Mahratta territories, marched against him in June (1800.) He was joined by Bappoo Gokla (afterwards the Peshwa's famous commander in his last struggle with the British) and by some other Mahratta officers with their troops; but they proved of little service. Indeed, strong suspicions were entertained that the marauder was secretly encouraged by the treacherous Court of Poona. Col. Wellesley soon cleared the country between the Werda and the Toombuddra of Dhoondiah's adherents, and seized several of his forts, the freebooter himself moving rapidly from place to place. On the 19th of July Wellesley writes to his friend, Munro, that he had given Dhoondiah one run and had established an opinion of the superiority of the British force throughout the country. A few days later Col. Wellesley arrived at Dummul, a strong fort on the Mahratta frontier, garrisoned by about a thousand of Dhoondiah's men. The killadar, when summoned, refused to surrender, on which the fort was attacked and carried by escalade. The killadar, being regarded as only an officer of freebooters, was hanged. On the 30th the British force, after a march of twenty-six miles, surprised a detachment of the enemy, about five thousand strong, encamped on the banks of the Malpoorba in charge of Dhoondiah's baggage or rather plunder. Wellesley charged them with his cavalry, and with such determination, that they were almost to a man killed or driven into the river. An elephant, several camels, many bullocks, and innumerable horses were taken, as well as a number of women and children. The enemy's guns, six in number, were on the opposite side of the river, and Col. Wellesley being without the means of crossing, made some of his Europeans swim over next morning to seize a boat. The guns were thus got possession of, and he presented them to his Mahratta allies. He continued hotly to pursue Dhoondiah with the corps under his personal command and with a detachment of the Nizam's subsidiary force under Col. Stevenson, coming sometimes so close to the freebooter as to capture some of his guns and supplies. All this time Dhoondiah was in communication with several of the officials of the country, by whom he was kept well informed of the movements of the British troops. One killadar endeavoured on some pretext or other to detain Col. Wellesley at his fort, in order that Dhoondiah, who was not far off, might have time to escape; but, as Wellesley wrote to his friend Munro, "I was not to be prevailed upon to stop, and even went so far as to threaten to hang a great man sent to show me the road, who manifested an inclination to show me a good road to a different place." At length, on the 10th September, after many doublings and evasions, the King of the Two Worlds, as Dhoondiah styled himself, was run in upon by the British force. He drew up his army, consisting of five thousand horse, in a strong position at the village and rock of Conahgull and stood for some time with apparent firmness. Col. Wellesley, forming his four regiments of cavalry in one line in order to render it equal in length to that of the enemy, charged with such rapidity and spirit, that the whole line opposed to him gave way and fled. They were pursued for several miles, many were killed, and the remainder were dispersed in small parties over the face of the country. Dhoondiah was among the slain, and his body being recognized was brought into the British camp on a gun by the 19th Dragoons. Thus terminated the adventurous life and the ambitious schemes of Doondiah Waugh, who, if he had lived fifty years earlier, might have become a second Hyder Ali. Major Munro, writing to Col. Wellesley on hearing of the death of the king of the Two Worlds, as both of these officers were fond of styling the aspiring freebooter, remarks, "Had you and your regicide army been out of the way, Doondiah would undoubtedly have become an independent and powerful prince and the founder of a new dynasty of cruel and treacherous Sultans." An infant son of the fallen leader, named Salabut Khan, was found among the baggage and brought to Col. Wellesley, who kindly took charge of him. He had him educated in Mysore, and on his departure from India left several hundred pounds for the boy's use. Salabut Khan grew up a handsome and intelligent youth, and entered the Raja of Mysore's service. He died of cholera in 1822. The death of Dhoondiah put an end to the warfare against him; and Col. Wellesley received the thanks of the Governor-General for the professional knowledge, the skilful management of resources and supplies, and the enterprizing and active spirit, which he had displayed throughout the campaign. This eulogy was from a brother: but all who, from proximity to the scene of action, had an opportunity of forming a correct opinion, appear to have heartily coincided with it.

A few months after the termination of this warfare, Col. Wellesley was apprized that he had been appointed by the Governor-General to the command of a considerable force about to be assembled at Trincomalee, with the object either of proceeding up the Red Sea to co-operate with the British army engaged in Egypt against the French, or of attacking the Mauritius which had long been a nest of French privateers, according as circumstances might render advisable. The Mauritius was at length fixed upon as the object of attack, and the expedition against it was intended to be undertaken in conjunction with the squadron of Admiral Rainier, Commander-in-Chief in the Eastern seas. Col. Wellesley accordingly proceeded to Trincomalee, and occupied himself in making the necessary arrangements. In this he was much assisted by the gallant Captain Malcolm, brother of Sir John Malcolm and afterwards well known as Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was then in command of H. M's. ship *Suffolk*. The Commissariat, as usual, occupied a principal share of Col. Wellesley's attention. To Mr. North, the Governor of Ceylon, who had proposed that the expedition should start without certain requisite stores in hopes of their being despatched afterwards, he wrote: "Articles of provision are not to be trifled with or left to chance; and there is nothing more clear than that the subsistence of the troops must be certain upon the proposed service, or the service must be relinquished." The expedition, however, never took place. Admiral Rainier declined to take part in it, on the ground that such a distant and hazardous expedition could not be undertaken without the express command of the British Government signified in the usual official form. In vain did the Governor-General endeavour to convince the Admiral that, if no advantage was ever to be taken of the temporary or accidental weakness of the enemy's possessions in the East without express orders from England, many opportunities of reducing their power and resources would be lost. The gallant Admiral was a thorough disciple of the red-tape school, and remained immoveable. The Governor-General, thus thwarted, turned his attention to Batavia for the reduction of which he had express instructions from England,—so that Admiral Rainier had it not in his power to refuse the co-operation of the naval squadron. The forces at Trincomalee were therefore directed to proceed against Batavia. Here General Baird came once more into collision with Col. Wellesley. The General had been for above a year in command of the Dinapore division,—when, hearing of the proposed expedition, he hurried down to Calcutta to seek the command of it. He warmly expostulated with the Governor-General against employing a junior Colonel to command such an important expedition while the services of a Major-General were available. The result of some very animated interviews with the Governor-General on the subject was that General Baird was appointed commander of the expedition, with Col. Wellesley as second in command. Minute instructions were drawn up, in accordance with which General Baird, after taking Java, was to remain there as Governor, while Colonel Wellesley was to proceed, with as many troops as could be spared, to attack the Mauritius, of which he was to assume the civil and military government. It is very evident that the Marquis Wellesley, throughout his viceroyalty, had a truly fraternal regard to the interests of his younger brother, and lost no opportunity of affording him the means of distinction and advancement. But this expedition met the fate of that previously projected for the Mauritius, and never took place. In February (1801) the Governor-General received instructions from England to despatch a force to Egypt to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in expelling the French. The troops which were assembled at Trincomalee were appointed to this duty, General Baird retaining the chief command. Col. Wellesley was as deeply mortified at his supercession in command of the Trincomalee force as General Baird had been when superseded in the command of Seringapatam by Col. Wellesley. There was something like poetic justice in the manner in which the rival commanders thus alternately got the better of each other. Writing on the subject to his brother Henry (afterwards Lord Cowley) who had recently arrived in India, Colonel Wellesley thus lays bare his heart—"I was at the top of the tree in this country. The Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, which I had served, placed unlimited confidence in me, and I had received from both strong and repeated marks of their approbation. Before I quitted the Mysore country I arranged the plan for taking possession of the ceded districts, which was done without striking a blow; and another plan for conquering Wynaad and reconquering Malabar, which I am informed has succeeded without loss on our side. But this supercession has ruined all my prospects, founded upon any service that I may have rendered. I ask you, has there been any change whatever of circumstances that was not expected when I was appointed to the command? If there has not (and no one can say there has, without doing injustice to the Governor-General's foresight) my supercession must have been occasioned either by my own misconduct or by an alteration of the sentiments of the Governor-General. I have not been guilty of robbery or murder, and he has certainly changed his mind; but the world, which is always good-natured towards those whose affairs do not exactly prosper, will not fail to suspect that both or worse have been the occasion of my being banished, like General Kray, to my estate in Hungary. I did not look and did not wish for the appointment which was given to me; and I say that it would probably have been more proper to give it to somebody else; but when it was given to me, and a circular written to the Governments upon the subject, it would have been fair to allow me to hold it till I did something to deserve to lose it. I put private considerations out of the question, as they ought and have had no weight in causing either my original appointment or my supercession. I am not quite satisfied with the manner in which I have been treated by Government upon this occasion. " However," he concludes with manly sense, " I have lost neither my health, nor temper in consequence thereof—but it is useless to write any more upon a subject of which I wish to retain no remembrance whatever."

In February (1801) Colonel Wellesley sailed from Ceylon for Bombay with the Trincomalee troops. He had received no orders to take this step; and his letters, public and private, show how apprehensive he was that he would incur Lord Wellesley's displeasure by it. But he felt it to be his duty not to delay anticpating what he believed to be the Governor-General's wish, and deeming it to be his duty, he acted upon his conviction at once. His special object in going to Bombay was to hasten the arrangements for the supply of provisions to the troops,—for in all his military undertakings, the Commissariat, on which the efficiency of an army so much depends, never seemed for an hour absent from his thoughts. Lord Wellesley, with his usual kindness and consideration in whatever concerned his brother expressed approval of his having gone to Bombay, although without orders, but privately alluded to the dangerous precedent which such a step might create. The Governor-General, at the same time, in a private letter to General Baird, who was then on boardship in Saugor Roads on the eve of starting for the Egyptian expedition, expressed his hope that the General would admit Col. Wellesley to his cordial confidence and give the public the full benefit of that officer's talents. General Baird heartily told the Governor-General in reply, that his brother's talents would have full scope. "Trust me, my Lord," he added, "I harbour no little jealousy—all in *my* breast is zeal for my king and country." General Baird, on arriving at Bombay, found that Governor Duncan and Col. Wellesley had been so active in laying in provisions and preparing transports, that the expedition was nearly ready to proceed to sea. All the arrangements for embarking for Mocha had been completed when Col. Wellesley was seized with intermittent fever, of which he had had a previous attack at Trincomalee. Genl. Baird therefore sailed without him. So anxious was Col. Wellesley to follow, that it was with difficulty his medical adviser restrained him from going on boardship. His illness at length became of so serious a nature, that he was obliged to resort to a course of nitrous baths, and all thoughts of taking a part in the Egyptian expedition were abandoned. He was extremely solicitous that his friends and the public should not think that Genl. Baird's demeanor had anything to do with this; and in a letter to Baird himself, he frankly acknowledged that gallant officer's kind and handsome behaviour towards him, candidly adding that he had not expected such treatment. His illness continuing to render him incapable of proceeding on active service, he determined to return to his old command in Mysore, which he had quitted with regret and now rejoined with pleasure. He anticipated, however, all manner of evil consequences to his reputation and future views from abandoning the Egyptian expedition. "But," he philosophically remarks, "it cannot be helped; and to things of that nature I generally contrive to make up my mind." The most sagacious of us are but short-sighted mortals, where our interests or passions are concerned. There now appears something ludicrous in the Duke of Wellington having bewailed his supercession in the command of the barren expedition to Egypt as an almost irretrievable blow to his reputation and prospects. The Egyptian expedition, although barren as to practical results was highly creditable to Genl. Baird. That commander, by the exercise of great fortitude, skill and judgment, performed the difficult and perilous enterprize of marching his troops across the desert of Suez with perfect success. But the fate of the French army in Egypt had been decided previous to his arrival. Baird returned to India and was placed on the staff of the Madras establishment.

In April (1801) Col. Wellesley was formally directed by the Madras Govt. to resume the command of the forces in Mysore, and he accordingly proceeded from Bombay to Seringapatam. Here, for upwards of a year, he was occupied in concluding the organization of the military administration of Mysore, and completing the pacification of the country. At this time he was promoted to the rank of Major General. His position in Mysore was such as to subject him to heavy expenses; and a very handsome allowance had therefore been granted to him by the Govt. of Madras. The Court of Directors, who had for some time, been growing dissatisfied with the Marquis Wellesley's great military expenditure, took this opportunity of aiming an indirect blow at him, and ordered his brother's allowances to be reduced on the ground of their being extravagant. The Marquis fired at this, and bitterly complained that the Court had offered him "the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised." He further expressed his opinion that if the Court thought him capable of permitting the Madras Govt. to grant an extravagant allowance, or thought his brother capable of accepting such an allowance, it ought to remove both from its service. This circumstance, combined with some other matters of dispute with the Court, led the Governor-General in January 1802 to intimate a desire to be relieved of his high office at the close of the year. The Court of Directors, however, with many complimentary expressions, requested him to prolong his stay for another year. The state of British relations with the Mahrattas soon put all thoughts of quitting his post out of the Marquis Wellesley's head; and it was well that such a man was at the head of the Govt. in the contest which speedily ensued with the great Mahratta chiefs. The time had come for deciding whether the strangers from beyond the sea, or the mountain tribe which had so strangely risen from a horde of marauders to a nation of conquerors, were to be the Lords of India.

It would be out of place here to enter into a detail of the internal contests among the Mahratta chiefs, which led to the direct interference of the British Govt. in the affairs of the Mahratta empire. It will be sufficient to state that the Marquis Wellesley was desirous of forming a subsidiary treaty with the Peshwa, the nominal head of the Mahratta confederacy; and while the arrangements for this were in progress, Holkar, who was in arms against Scindia and the Peshwa, defeated their combined forces near Poona in October 1802. Upon this the Peshwa, Bajee Rao, fled to Bassein near Bombay, and threw himself upon British protection. Here, on the last day of the year, a treaty was concluded with him by Col. Close, the late Resident at Poona, whereby, among other stipulations, it was agreed that the British and the Peshwa would conjointly defend each other's territories against all enemies, and that the Peshwa would receive permanently into his dominions a subsidiary force, and, while exercising complete sovereignty over his own subjects, would conduct all his relations with other states under British advice. Dowlut Rao Scindia and Ragojee Bhonsla, the Rajah of Berar, the two leading Mahratta chiefs, were decidedly adverse to any such British interference as was here contemplated, and were, besides, displeased at not having been consulted regarding the treaty; while the third great Mahratta chief, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, was at the time lying at Poona with an army hostile to the Peshwa. Thus a war with these chiefs seemed almost inevitable as soon as the British Govt. proceeded to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty of Bassein. A British force had been previously assembled at Hurryhur, on the North-West frontier of Mysore, as a precautionary measure in consequence of the disordered state of Mahratta affairs. In March 1803, this army, which was commanded by Genl. Stuart, numbered twenty thousand men; and a strong detachment of it was ordered to advance into the Mahratta territory under the command of General Wellesley, who had been selected for this service by Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, as possessing (to use his Lordship's words at the time) much practical experience, great local knowledge and personal influence among the Mahratta chieftains, and eminent ability for the discharge of the political as well as military duties which were requisite to be performed. At this time, indeed, Southern India exhibited an array of officers of ability and political experience, such as never before or since appeared at any one period in Anglo-Indian history. A mere enumeration of the names will be sufficient to show this. In addition to General Wellesley, the destined leader in the impending war, there were Major Malcolm (who was to accompany him as Political Assistant), Col. Barry Close, Resident with the Peshwa, Col. Collins, Resident with Scindiah, Major Kirkpatrick, Resident with the Nizam, and Mr. Josiah Webbe, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Major (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, and Major Wilks, the historian of Mysore, who were variously employed in Mysore and the Deccan. Nearly all of these took part in some capacity or other in the war about to commence. Nor must we forget Genl. Baird, of whom we are now to take a farewell here. That gallant but very sensitive officer was in command of a division of the Madras Army, but finding that his corps was much reduced by drafts made upon it to strengthen Genl. Wellesley's force, and deeming that he was neglected in order that his more favoured rival might be advanced, he remonstrated with the Madras Govt., and this not proving successful he relinquished his command and returned to Europe. On a calm review of all the circumstances attending Genl. Baird's distinguished career in the East, it is impossible not to sympathize in some degree with his feelings on this occasion. The conquest of the Cape of Good Hope soon, however, afforded scope for his energy and zeal; and his conduct in Spain, as second in command under Sir John Moore, afterwards more widely extended his reputation. It is remarkable that on the very first service in which Sir Arthur Wellesley was engaged after his return to Europe—the Expedition to Copenhagen—there also was his old friend, Baird. It is gratifying to add that by none were the Duke of Wellington's successive victories in the Peninsula hailed with a warmer feeling than by Sir David Baird.

General Wellesley's advancing force numbered about ten thousand men including one regiment of European cavalry and two regiments of European infantry, besides a large body of the Raja of Mysore's horse. The object of the advance was in the first nstance, to encourage the jagheerdars in the Southern Mahratta country to declare for the Peshwa, and then to proceed to Poona and establish there an order of things favourable to the Peshwa's return to his capital. Wellesley marched with his army from Hurryhur, on the 9th March (1803,) crossed the Toombuddra on the 12th and reached the Kistna on the 31st. Since the General had been in this part of the country, three years previously, there had been nothing but one continued contest for power and plunder between the great Mahratta jagheerdars. His conduct in the command of Mysore and in the campaign against Doondiah Waugh had given him fame and extraordinary influence among these turbulent chieftains; and he took care on this occasion to conciliate the inhabitants by preventing all plunder and excess. The consequence was thathis army were everywhere received as friends; and the heads of the great Mahratta families of Gokla, Putwurdhun, Vinchor, Dessye, and others, ceasing their contests for the time, joined him with their forces, consisting principally of horse. In these chiefs it was easy to observe a thorough detestation of the Peshwa's person and a decided apprehension of his power, founded on a long series of mutual injuries. It was indeed rather to General Wellesley than to the Peshwa that they tendered their support. During his march onwards he relieved the Nawab of Savanore, a starving brother-in-law of Tippoo Sultan, with a present of five thousand Rupees. Being joined on the 15th of April by the Hyderabad subsidiary force under Col. Stevenson, he proceeded towards Poona so as to secure the Peshwa's march to that place from Bassein. Meanwhile Holkar had retired from Poona with his army and withdrawn to Chandore, three hundred miles distant; but Amrut Rao, the brother of the Peshwa by adoption, and whose son had been placed by Holkar on the musnud, was left behind with a small detachment. Repeated intimations were conveyed to General Wellesley by Col. Close from Poona that Amrut Rao intended to burn the city previous to retreating. Accordingly, General Wellesley pushed on by forced marches with his cavalry over a rugged country and through the difficult pass of the Little Bhore Ghaut, and arrived at Poona on the 20th April, having marched sixty miles during the preceding thirty-four hours. Amrut Rao moved off with precipitation on the morning of General Wellesley's arrival, leaving the city uninjured. The British were welcomed at Poona as deliverers by the few inhabitants who had remained in it, and great numbers who had fled to the adjoining hills at once returned to their houses and resumed their occupations. It was found that Holkar's barbarities and the ravages of the bands of Pindarrees attached to his camp, had reduced the country for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from Poona to an uninhabited desert. The grain and forage had been consumed; the houses had been pulled down for firewood; the inhabitants had fled with their cattle; and for fifteen days before reaching the Mahratta capital, the British army did not meet with a human being excepting in one village. Such was the devastating nature of Mahratta warfare.

The Peshwa reached Poona on the 13th May under a strong British escort. Next day he admitted General Wellesley to an interview, which was mutually satisfactory. The General was struck with His Highness' quickness and ability, and with his apparent anxiety to perform all the stipulations of the Treaty. The Peshwa, on his part, conversed with the British commander with frankness and cordiality, invited him to an entertainment to be given in his honor, and soon afterwards showed his confidence in the General's integrity and discretion by transmitting through him all important orders to the Mahratta Sirdars. But in the course of a few days Genl. Wellesley discovered that Bajee Rao's graceful person, polished demeanor and flowing conversation concealed a fickleness of purpose, an incapacity for government, a jealousy of British influence, and an excessive malice towards all who had ever opposed him or whom he had ever injured, that rendered him a very unsafe ally. It was not until a later period, however, that he fully fathomed the depths of that base, inhuman, treacherous and vindictive disposition which marked out Bajee Rao as a bad man even among Mahrattas.

Previous to this it had become apparent that a confederacy was being formed among the great Mharatta chiefs with the view of opposing British influence and subverting the Treaty of Bassein: Scindiah crossed the Nerbudda with his army and advanced to Burhanpoor; the Rajah of Berar was preparing to join him; and negotiations were carried on between Scindiah and Holkar for the accommodation of their mutual differences and with the view of inducing Holkar to take part in the confederacy. In this conjuncture the Governor-General had despatched Col. Collins to Scindiah's camp to learn the intentions of that chief. On Collins requesting to be informed if there was any intention to obstruct the fulfilment of the Treaty of Bassein, Scindiah coolly replied that he would answer the question as soon as he had held a conference with the Rajah of Berar, when the Colonel should be informed "whether there was to be peace or war." This insolent and hostile declaration, as the Governor-General justly deemed it, rendered it necessary to prepare for active hostilities. Genl. Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to assemble an army in Northern India. Col. Stevenson, with the Hyderabad subsidiary force, had previously proceeded from Poona to the Nizam's frontier, which had been threatened by Holkar ; Genl. Wellesely marched with his army from Poona on the 4th of June (1803): and General Stuart advanced with the reserve army to a position from which he could co-operate with Wellesley and Stevenson. The Governor-General, aware that in the course of the transactions, whether of diplomatic intercourse or of warfare, with the confederate chiefs, many questions might arise demanding prompt decision, resolved to unite for a time the general direction and control of all political and military affairs in the Deccan under a distinct local authority, and having full confidence in his brother's military and political abilities and in his zeal, judgment and experience, vested these powers in his hands. Similar powers were afterwards entrusted to General Lake for Hindustan. The Marquis Wellesley had formed a vast scheme of military and political operations, with the view of reducing the great military power of Scindiah, excluding the Mahrattas from Northern India and from communication with the Sikhs, destroying the quasi-French State which Perron and other adventurers had established on the Jumna, delivering the Emperor of Delhi out of the hands of the Mahrattas, or rather of their French subordinates, establishing the Peshwa and the Nizam in their respective Governments under British protection, obtaining possession of the Doab, of the Jumna and Ganges, including Delhi and Agra, of Bundelcund, of Cuttack, and of the seaports of Guzerat, so as thoroughly to consolidate and secure the Company's dominions. His object in a word was to render the British the paramount power in India. Of his success in this grand scheme, our present position in India is the result and the standing proof.

Genl. Wellesley's vigorous and judicious measures soon justified his brother's generous confidence in him. On the very day of his march from Poona, the armies of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had formed a junction on the frontier of the Nizam's territories. Holkar had retired into Malwa to watch the course of events. The negotiation between Col. Collins and the confederate chiefs dragged themselves slowly on. The language of these chiefs displayed the vagueness usual in Mahratta diplomatic intercourse, and might be made to bear any meaning. But it became gradually evident that their object was to gain time so as to draw Holkar into the confederacy and to enable them by menaces and promises to rouse the neighbouring native princes against the British. General Wellesley, after bearing patiently with their evasive and dilatory conduct for some time, at length resolved to bring matters to an issue and decide at once, in Scindiah's own words, whether there was to be peace or war. Accordingly on the 18th of July, being then encamped in the neighbourhood of Ahmednugger, he directed Col. Collins to intimate to the confederate princes, that if they were sincere in their amiable professions, they must show it by retiring from their menacing position on the Nizam's frontier and withdrawing their armies, Scindiah into his own territories across the Nerbudda and the Rajah of Berar to his capital of Nagpore,—in which case the British army would also retire to their usual stations. If this was not agreed to Colonel Collins was to leave Scindiah's camp, and hostilities would commence. This was a proposal which could not be misunderstood and which would soon bring the intention of the confederates to the test,—and they were perplexed how to meet such plain dealing. They attempted to continue their former game of evasion; and Col. Collins, unable to obtain a decided reply, at length left Scindiah's camp after more than five months of fruitless effort to avert war. Even after this the confederates addressed General Wellesley, proposing that he should move his troops to Madras, Bombay and Seringapatam, while they on their part should withdraw their united armies to Burhanpore, fifty miles from the Nizam's frontier. They could scarcely expect that such an absurd proposal as this, which would give them the opportunity of pursuing their hostile schemes unopposed and at the most favorable season for military operations, would be listened to. General Wellesley's reply was firm and decisive: "This proposal is unreasonable and inadmissible, and you must stand the consequences of the measures which I find myself obliged to adopt in order to repel your aggressions. I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honorable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." This was on the 6th August; and next day he published a proclamation announcing that he had commenced hostilities against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, but that he had no intention of making war upon the inhabitants of the country, and requiring all civil officers to remain quietly at their stations and obey his orders,—assuring them that if they did no injury to the British army none would be done to them, but that such of the inhabitants as abandoned their dwellings or endeavoured to injure the British army or its followers would be treated as enemies. Genl. Wellesley had at this time under his immediate command a force of above fifteen thousand men, including two large bodies of Mysore and Mahratta horse. Under his orders were also the Hyderabad subsidiary force commanded by Col. Stevenson, amounting to eight thousand men, besides a corps of Mogul cavalry, posted on the Nizam's frontier, and a field and garrison force of seven thousand men in Guzerat, commanded by Col. Murray, the same officer who, as Sir John Murray, was unlucky enough during the Peninsular war to lose his artillery at Tarragona. The united forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, which were lying in the neighbourhood of the Adjuntea ghaut near the Nizam's frontier, consisted of thirty-eight thousand cavalry, twelve thousand infantry, a thousand camels carrying rockets and light pieces of ordnance, and above two hundred guns. Several of these corps were, however, only half disciplined, and it may be added that neither of the confederate chiefs possessed any military ability or experience. Including General Lake's army, and various detachments at different points, above fifty thousand British troops were in arms to carry out the comprehensive plan which the Governor-General had formed for the extension of British dominion and influence. General Stuart had been authorized by the Governor-General to assume the command of General Wellesley's army wherever he thought proper. With rare self-denial, however mingled it may be, with somewhat of a feeling of deference to what he must have known were the Governor-General's private wishes, he declined this honor, and his words on the occasion are too creditable to General Wellesley to be omitted here. It will be seen what was the opinion formed of that officer at this early period of his career by his immediate military superior. Writing to the Governor-General on the 8th August, General Stuart says :—

> "The experience gained by Major General Wellesley during his former operations in the Mahratta territories, the extensive knowledge and influence which he has acquired in the present campaign, and his eminent military talents, enable him better than any other officer to prosecute with success the service which he has hitherto conducted with so much ability; and I have chosen to relinquish the gratification which I should derive from the command of an army, probably destined to undertake very distinguished services, in order to continue that important charge in the hands of the officer best qualified in my judgment to exercise it with advantage to the public."

On the same day on which this was written, orders were issued by the Nizam, placing all his military commanders and his frontier talookdars under General Wellesley, even to the extent of displacing them if he thought proper. The assistance rendered to him by the Civil officers of his ally the Peshwa was merely nominal. "The Peshwa is too bad," he writes to his friend Close :

"it is really discreditable to the British Government to have any thing to say to him." He describes in very dark colors the state of the Peshwa's territories at this time. The whole country was unsettled and in ruins. Entire districts had been depopulated by the extortion and marauding of Holkar's army and his Pindaree retainers. Very little revenue was received by the jagheerdars, who were consequently obliged to wink at their troops plundering the villages for the means of subsistence. No man who could find anything to seize or steal would employ himself in cultivation. Many of the jagheers and forts even in the neighbourhood of Poona, were in the hands of men who refused obedience to the Peshwa's Government, and that Government was in such a state of weakness and confusion as to be quite helpless against disobedience. This state of matters tended greatly to encourage the confederate princes, who were further under the delusion that a union of the chiefs of the Mahratta empire would be as powerful now against the British as it had been in former times. General Wellesley had very little doubt in his own mind that he would soon convince them to the contrary. The confederates also boasted that they would tire out the English as they had tired out the Mahomedans by the favorite Mahratta system of predatory warfare; but, to use Genl. Wellesley's words "unless they find British officers and soldiers to be in the same corrupted, enervated state in which their predecessors found the Mussulman in the last century, they cannot expect much success from it."

In accordance with the plan of operations which he had formed, Genl. Wellesley, on the 6th August, the day of declaring war, sent orders to Guzerat for an attack upon Scindia's fort of Broach, and he himself two days afterwards attacked Ahmednuggur. This fortress, ever since the days of the famous Chand Bibi, had been regarded in the Deccan as impregnable, and to the British General it appeared the strongest native fort he had seen excepting Vellore. The pettah, or fortified suburb, was simultaneously escaladed in three places, and after an obstinate defence by a party of Arabs was carried,—on which the fortress surrendered. The pusillanimous killadar seemed more anxious to save his property than to strike a blow for his master. During the attack on the pettah, Colonel Wellesley was struck with the gallantry of a young officer who had not before come under his notice, and immediately made him his Brigade Major. This officer afterwards became Sir Colin Campbell and was the Duke of Wellington's companion on many a hard-fought field. The acquisition of Ahmednuggur was of immense importance to the success of the war. Besides securing the communication with the South and affording a secure depôt for stores, it placed at the British General's command all Scindiah's territories south of the Godavery, and cut off the connection of the confederates with the Deccan. Leaving a garrison in Ahmednuggur, General Wellesley began his march northward on the [illegible] of August, through a country exhibiting [illegible] melancholy [illegible] Mahratta warfare in depopulated villages [illegible] fields. By the 24th the army had crossed the G[illegible] river was very wide; and the need [illegible] as [illegible] made by the troops themselves [illegible] covered with bullock skins. [illegible] M[illegible] obliged to quit the camp and proceed to Bombay on [illegible] health; and Col. Wellesley missed much [illegible] information regarding the country [illegible] his [illegible] in political matters. A gentleman, however, [illegible] ent with the force, admirably qualified to s[illegible] —Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Persian Interp[illegible] Wellesley's staff, and since so honorably distinguished [illegible] diplomacy and administration and in Indian [illegible]. The confederates had by this time [illegible] ies with a large body of horse [illegible] spread [illegible] Pindarrees over the country and began [illegible] with [illegible] success, that great distress existed [illegible] flour [illegible] were selling at two and a half seers [illegible]. [illegible] the villages were in general walled, and as the enemy [illegible] guns and their horse could not get [illegible] the inhabitants were tolerably secure. Indeed, [illegible] the cowardly Pindarrees were beaten off in fair fight [illegible] village peons. The enemy, however, managed [illegible] the principal inhabitants, whom they kept as hostages for the payment of contributions which they had demanded from the districts. On learning this, General Wellesley thought it necessary to retaliate, as the only means [illegible] mode of warfare, and at once req[illegible] Bombay and the Resident at Poona [illegible] lives of Scindiah or Raghoojee Bhonsla [illegible] places. The enemy, pressed upon by General Wellesley, abandoned the predatory warfare on which they had entered with their cavalry, and forming a junction with sixteen battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry and a large and well equipped train of artillery under two French officers, encamped on the 21st September in the neighbourhood of the village of Bokerdun on the bank of the Kaitna river. On the same day the respective corps of Wellesley and Stevenson were so close to each other, that the commanders were able to hold a conference, at which a plan was concerted of attacking the enemy with both divisions on the morning of the 24th. On the 22nd, in accordance with this plan, Wellesley marched towards them by the Eastern route and Stevenson by the western route. This separation was necessary, not only because both corps could not pass through the same defiles in one day, but because both the roads through the hills required to be occupied in order that the enemy might not move off by one of them, and thus avoid altogether the action so much desired by the British commanders. The object in view was, that both corps should arrive within twelve or fourteen miles of the enemy on the 23rd and move to attack them next morning. Erroneous information, however, disconcerted this plan. On arriving at the village of Naulniah on the 23rd, Genl. Wellesley found that the enemy, instead of being twelve or fourteen miles, were only six miles distant. He was informed at the same time that their cavalry had moved off and that their infantry were about to follow. Eager to prevent their escape he resolved to attack them at once, and sending notice of his intention to Col. Stevenson who was then only eight miles distant and whom he directed to move forward, and leaving a strong guard with his baggage and stores at Naulniah, he marched towards the enemy. He himself went on at the head of the pickets to reconnoitre, and found that he had been misinformed as to the enemy's cavalry having moved off. On ascending a rising ground he beheld the whole army of the confederates in his front encamped on the opposite bank of the Kaitna river near its junction with the Juahnullah. Their right, consisting entirely of cavalry, rested on the village of Bokerdun, and the line extended six miles to their left, consisting of infantry and artillery, in the direction of Assye. Their position was most formidable, and they greatly outnumbered the British force in all arms. They had above thirty thousand cavalry, above ten thousand regular infantry and about a hundred guns,—while to oppose this vast host Genl. Wellesley had only four thousand five hundred British troops (of which one regiment of cavalry and two of infantry were Europeans) and five thousand Mysore and Mahratta horse, with a few field pieces. Intelligence was also at this time brought to him that the Mahratta horse intended to go over to the enemy as soon as the engagement commenced.* The most daring commander that ever lived might well have hesitated under these circumstances. General Wellesley deliberated whether to attack the enemy at once, or withdraw to Naulniah and in conjunction with Col. Stevenson attack them on the following morning. Reflecting that if he withdrew he should be harassed by their hordes of cavalry all the way to Naulniah, that his baggage would also be in danger, and, above all, that the enemy, on hearing of the junction of the two British corps, would probably decamp during the night, he determined upon an immediate attack. The determination was a bold one, but he knew the Mahrattas, and he had such confidence in his own troops, that his predominant feeling was that the enemy could not now escape him. He had first come in front of their right, but he resolved to make the attack on their left, as the defeat of their infantry and artillery would most effectually break their strength. The river Kaitna, which flowed between the hostile armies, is bordered by steep banks: it was impassable every where for guns except at the village of Peepulgaon. This ford, which was beyond the left flank of the enemy who had most negligently omitted to guard it, was occupied by Genl. Wellesley. He left the Mysore and Mahratta horse on the southern side of the river in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry which had followed his route from the right of their position. He then crossed the Kaitna with his twelve hundred cavalry, thirteen hundred European infantry and artillery and two thousand Native infantry to encounter the confederate host of forty thousand men. Immediately on crossing he drew up his troops in order of battle, in three lines, on the tongue of land between the Kaitna and the rugged nulla of the Juah which ran parallel to it. The first line consisted of the advanced pickets, the 78th Highlanders and two battalions of Sepoys; the second of the 74th Highlanders and the remainder of the sepoys; and the third of the cavalry. Meanwhile the enemy, having discovered General Wellesley's design of attacking their left, had altered the position of their infantry, which was no longer, as at first, along the Kaitna, but extended in one long line right across from that river to the Juahnullah, with a second shorter line running at a right angle to the first the left of both resting on the village of Assye, where their formidable park of artillery was posted. This new disposition of the enemy determined the General to alter his plan of attacking their left, and to fall upon their right so as to push it upon the Juah. The order was given, and the British troops advanced under a heavy fire from the enemy. The officer commanding the pickets, which were opposite Assye, had been directed to keep out of the severe cannonade from that village, but by some misapprehension of orders he marched directly upon it. The 74th, which had been ordered to support the pickets, followed them towards Assye, and both bodies were thus exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns there, which did such terrible execution, that the pickets came to a halt. Orders were sent to the officer commanding them to move forward, but he sent word that the guns with him were disabled and the bullocks killed. General

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* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

Wellesley coolly, replied, "Well, tell him to get on without them," and most of the British guns were thus left behind. The 74th were so thinned by the cannonade from Assye, that the enemy's cavarly were encouraged to charge it. To repel this onset it was necessary at once to move forward the British cavarly who were to have remained in reserve for the pursuit. The 19th Light Dragoons, who drew only three hundred and sixty sabres, gave a loud huzza and, followed by the native cavalry, passed through the broken ranks of the 74th, who cheered them as they advanced, and cutting in among the enemy's horse, quickly put them to the route. The 78th, and the Native infantry on the British left, led by General Wellesley in person, had continued to advance steadily against the enemy's right which fell back upon their second line towards the Juah. The British infantry pressed forward, and the cavalry dashed upon Assye. The enemy's infantry and artillery made a firm and vigorous resistance, but at length their whole line gave way in all directions, and were driven into the Juahnullah, with great slaughter, at the point of the bayonet. On gaining the opposite bank the fugitives endeavoured to rally, but the British cavalry followed hotly across the nullah, cut in among the broken infantry, and charged them along the bank with great effect. Some of their corps, however, succeeded in drawing off in good order. Several infantry battalions of the Begum Sumroo, which had been left in charge of their baggage, also got off in safety. After the victory had been apparently won, a heavy fire was opened upon the British ranks from an unexpected quarter. In pressing forward they had passed many of the enemy lying on the ground near their guns as if dead. These men now jumped up and turned their guns upon the British rear with such effect, that General Wellesley was obliged to move against them with the 78th and some Native cavalry, with which he soon silenced their fire. Large masses of the enemy's cavalry still continued to hover around, and one strong body of infantry had reformed. Colonel Maxwell with the cavalry charged this corps; he fell; but the charge was so effective, that the whole of the enemy's infantry and cavalry that had not already drawn off, retreated from the field. The victory was complete, and seven stand of colors and ninety-eight guns remained in the hands of the conqueror. The wreck of the enemy's army did not pause until they had got twelve miles off; the British army passed the night upon the field of battle.

The Battle of Assye was one of the fiercest and most arduous contests that had ever been fought in India. Not even at Plassey had there been a greater disparity of force, for Soorujoodowlah's vast army was a rabble compared to Scindiah's well disciplined infantry and expert artillery. The loss on both sides was great.

Of the British army twenty-three European officers, 175 European soldiers and 230 Native soldiers were killed, and thirty European officers, 412 European soldiers and 696 Native soldiers were wounded, comprising above a third of the troops engaged.* The Mysore and the Peshwa's horse being on the opposite side of the Kaitna had no share in the action, and suffered little or no loss. Of the enemy 1,200 were left dead on the field of battle, and their wounded were scattered in numbers over the face of the country. Their loss was principally among the artillery and infantry. The artillerymen served their guns admirably and, as is generally seen in native armies, stood by them to the last; and De Boigne's old battalions fought with ardour and firmness. The bulk of the Berar cavalry, although repeatedly making demonstrations of a charge, kept aloof in the most dastardly manner: and, their chief Raghoojee Bhonsla, emulated their cowardice. He fled from the field at the commencement of the action, and was soon followed by Scindiah. On the British side all appeared to have behaved well. The infantry advanced with steadiness and in perfect order, and the 19th Dragoons fought as if every man felt that victory depended on his single arm. General Wellesley himself had two horses shot under him in the two charges in which he led his men; and as to the other qualities, besides personal intrepidity, which he displayed, the operations which we have narrated sufficiently show with what prompt and cool determination, judgment and spirit he engaged in and conducted to a successful issue this his first great battle. A very fair criticism on the General's conduct is contained in a private letter written by Major Munro to his brother soon afterwards: "If there was anything wrong at Assye, it was in giving battle; but in the conduct of the action every thing was right. General Wellesley gave every part of the army its full share; left no part of it unemployed; but supported, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with infantry, every point that was pressed, at the very moment it was most necessary." † But we think our readers will be inclined to go a step further and be of opinion with us, for the reasons we have already given, that, in giving battle, equally as in the conduct of the action, General Wellesley was in the right. With the result of the battle he was greatly elated, and he thus exultingly writes to his brother Henry: "The action, I believe, was the most severe that ever was fought in this country;

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* The return of casualities as abridged by Colonel Gurwood is very inaccurate. He sets down the number of officers killed at fourteen only. In "Notes relative to the late Transactions of the Mahratta Empire: Fort William, Decr. 15th, 1803," the full official return is given, as abstracted above.

† Life of Sir Thomas Munro.

and I believe that such a quantity of cannon, and such advantages have seldom been gained by any single victory in any part of the world."

Col. Stevenson reached Assye on the day after the battle. He was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, while General Wellesely remained on the field for the sake of his wounded. So deficient was the medical establishment with the army that, although Col. Stevenson was detained for two days in order to obtain the benefit of his surgeons, many of the wounded soldiers were not dressed for a week. At the same time the commandant of the Nizam's fortress of Dowlutabad positively refused to admit the sick and wounded into the fort; and several other killadars behaved in an equally unfriendly manner, one of them actually firing upon a British convoy. "It makes me sick to have any thing to do with them," writes Wellesley to his friend Munro. He at length threatened to treat the country as an enemy's unless the Nizam behaved more like an ally. The refusal of the Nizam's officers to receive his wounded or supply him with grain, obliged him to delay his military operations which he was extremely anxious to recommence. "Thus," he writes to Colonel Close, "are all our best plans thwarted, and yet these are the best of our allies !!!" In the matter of supplies, however, he was soon (to use a favorite phrase of his own) "in great style." With his usual care for the commissariat of his army, he had always treated the Brinjarrie grain carriers with great kindness, advancing them money, making them presents, and buying their grain even when he was not in want of it. A horde of them were at this time on their way to the enemy's camp with several thousand bullocks loaded with grain, which General Wellesley's kotwal induced them after some negotiation to transfer to the British camp. The General treated them with his usual liberality, and to the kotwal he presented a pair of heavy gold bangles which, to enhance the value of the gift, he fastened on the zealous official's wrists with his own hands. The wounded soldiers were at length placed in safety in the Adjuntee fort; but the necessity of defending the territories of the helpless Nizam rendered it impracticable to proceed against the enemy with the whole British force. "These things called allied governments," he writes with some bitterness to Major Shawe, the Marquis Wellesley's Private Secretary "are in such a state of deplorable weakness, they depend so entirely on us for the defence of their territories, and their power is so feeble over their own servants, who have so much connection with, and even dependence on, the enemy, that I have not means to move forward upon Aseerghur with my whole force; although I know that if I could take that step with safety, it would put an end to the war. But not one of the Soobah's forts is sufficiently garrisoned. He has not a soldier in the country : and his killadars and amildars would readily pay the money they may have, just to be allowed to sit quietly in their forts and towns. As for the Peshwa, he has possession of his palace at Poona and nothing more ; and he spends the little money he receives upon the Brahmins or upon women rather than give any to his troops or even to his menial servants." General Wellesley was now in an excellent school for learning that patience and forbearance with inefficient allies, which he had afterwards occasion so largely to practice in the Peninsular War.

Directing Colonel Stevenson to proceed against the rich city of Boorhanpoor and the strong hill fort of Aseergurh, Genl. Wellesley himself moved southward with the view of frustrating an intention which the enemy showed of marching upon Poona. Stevenson occupied Boorhanpoor without opposition, and after an hour's battering received the surrender of Aseergurh, the last of Scindiah's possessions in the Deckan and which used to be styled the key of the Deckan. Wellesley had directed Stevenson to levy a contribution on Boorhanpoor ; and ten lakhs of Rupees were demanded, but only three lakhs and a quarter were actually levied. The Governor-General does not appear to have been quite satisfied with this imitation of the Mahratta system of warfare. General Wellesley made an animated defence of his conduct in this respect. He told his brother (after the war was over) that "it would have been much more disgraceful and disastrous to have lost the campaign from the want of money than to have ensured in this manner the means of gaining it," concluding by saying, "I believe I am as anxious as any other man that my character should not suffer—I do not mean in the mouths of common reporters and scandal bearers, but in the eyes of a fair judging people I declare that I think that I have done what is right ; but if the Governor-General thinks it was wrong, it is easy to return the money to the people of Boorhanpoor. However, if he does this, he returns the money into Scindiah's pocket, for he will take it immediately." This, like almost all his private letters intended for the Governor-General's eye, was addressed to the Private Secretary. He seemed rather chary of private correspondence with his mighty brother, and when the latter asked him the reason, he excused himself by replying that he was always sure of getting an answer from the Private Secretary and thus being informed of matters which it was desirable that he should know.

Since the battle of Assye General Wellesley had been, to use his own words, "like a man who fights with one hand and defends himself with the other"—acting on the offensive with

Stevenson's corps, and defending the territories of the Nizam and the Peshwa with his own. The capture of Aseergurh now left him at liberty to pursue the Rajah of Berar who had separated from Scindiah and gone with his cavalry southward on a predatory expedition—Stevenson at the same time keeping a watch on Scindiah. The Rajah of Berar became so apprehensive of a night attack, as General Wellesley approached him, that he moved his camp five times in less than forty-eight hours. A detachment of five thousand of the Rajah's horse endeavored to cut off a British convoy, but were repulsed by the escort consisting of three companies of Sepoys with two three-pounders and a small party of the Mysore horse. A Jemadar and twenty men, posted at Rakisbon in charge of boats on the Godavery, were sufficient to prevent the Rajah from attacking the town, and not only so, but when he marched away they sallied forth and captured some of his horses and an elephant. In truth the Berar cavalry seem to have been more contemptible than we can well understand men to be who were mounted on horses that were accustomed to stand fire and who were well armed. They appear to have been formidable only to unarmed peasants; and the slightest show of force cowed them at once. When the Rajah learned that the British were within seven miles of him, he precipitately decamped and moved off in the direction of his own dominions. All apprehension of his invading the territories of the Nizam or the Peshwa being thus removed, General Wellesley marched northwards towards Berar for the purpose of supporting and covering Colonel Stevenson whom he had directed to attack the Rajah's strong hill fortress of Gawelgurh.

Here it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding General Wellesley's mode of conducting the details of warfare. He was conversant with the minutest details affecting his troops, and, like all men of extremely active minds, personally attended to small as well as great matters. The common story of his having told a negligent Commissary in the Peninsula that he knew the number of nails in his soldier's shoes we can readily believe after reading, in his Indian Despatches, and in the brief journal which he kept of his preparations for the Mahratta campaign, the instructions which he issued about the arrack kegs having iron hoops and the leathern covering of his basket boats being sewed with thong—and so on. When in the field, he left off the usual practice of previously announcing the march or halt of the army, in order to prevent the enemy from gaining any intelligence of his intentions; and the beating of the generale at half-past four in the morning was the first intimation conveyed to his troops that they were to march that day. At half-past five the assembly was sounded, and the army moved on immediately afterwards. During the march the cavalry were not allowed to exceed three-quarters of a mile in front of the infantry, and whenever a break of a hundred yards was occasioned by any corps it halted until the interval was closed up. On reaching the ground the headmen of the neighbouring villages were sent for; and the Captain of the Guards, after comparing their accounts, took down all necessary information regarding roads, rivers, supplies of water, and so forth. After the camp had been pitched and the men refreshed, the officers of Pioneers examined the adjoining roads and took care that a passage to the front and one to each flank were prepared for at least the distance of a mile. For the purpose of obtaining early intelligence of the enemy's movements three distinct departments were formed, to each of which a set of well paid hurkarras was attached, and the head of which communicated direct with the General who had thus the means of comparing their reports and arriving at a tolerably accurate knowledge of facts. He also encouraged the native vakeels to come to him daily and converse freely. Plundering he punished severely, and he took the greatest precaution to protect the people of the country from molestation. He had always from twenty to forty orderly men marching in front and on the flanks, and two or three of these were ordered into every village that was passed, where they kept guard at the gates until the whole army had gone by, allowing no man to enter. In the villages near camp the same precaution was adopted. The consequence was that on his line of march no village was injured—and the villages were indeed rarely entered—even by those determined prowlers, the camp followers; and every man felt as secure in his hut as if an army on active service, with its host of marauding followers, were not sweeping by. Indeed, so confident did the peasantry become under this treatment, that they did not hesitate to refuse an entrance into their villages to officers taking an evening ramble. Of the health and comfort of his own soldiers the General was particularly considerate. It had been the practice of the Indian army for the field officer of the day, even after the longest march and in the most oppressive weather, to put the troops through some manœuvre before dismissing them. After the first march in the campaign the field officer asked Genl. Wellesley what manœuvre he would wish the troops to be put through. "I think," said the General, "that the best manœuvre you can put them through is to march them to their tents." * Although from ignorance of the native languages he could not speak to the Sepoys, they long held his

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* Letters of Civis (Sir Henry Russell.)

memory in honor as a commander who treated them kindly and always led them to victory. We have ourselves met with old Sepoys who remembered " Ginrile Wessiley " with feelings of reverence. As to the officers, his maxim was one which, he says in a private letter to Col. Close who had sought his patronage for a friend, " ought always to guide those who have the disposal of military patronage, *viz.*, that those who do the duty of the army ought to be promoted and ought also to enjoy its benefits and advantages. Both you and I, my dear Colonel," he remarks, " must attend to claims of a superior nature to those brought forward either in consequence of our private feelings of friendship or of recommendation." In the same spirit he recommended officers to settle their quarrels privately instead of making them the subject of public investigation. Writing to Col. Murray who commanded the troops in Guzerat, he says, " I have long observed that the subjects which have come under the consideration of general Courts Martial in this country are in general referable to private quarrels and differences, with which the public have no concern whatever. The character of the officers of the army is undoubtedly a public concern ; but in many instances it would be much more proper, and more creditable for both parties, to settle these differences by mutual concession, than to take up the time of the public by making them the subject of investigation before a general Court Martial. It occurs to me that there is much party feeling in the army in your quarter : this must be put an end to. And there is only one mode of effecting this, and that is for the commanding officer to be of no side excepting that of the public, to employ indiscriminately those who can best serve the public, be they who they may, or in whatever service. The consequence will be that the service will go on ; all parties will join in forwarding it and in respecting them ; there will be an end to their petty disputes about trifles ; and the commanding officer will be at the head of an army instead of a party." This admirable passage deserves to be engraven on the hearts of all officers in command, and we are not sure that the advice contained in it is not as necessary in this country as in any part of the world.

Throughout the campaign Genl. Wellesley had much to do in the way of negotiation with native vakeels and chiefs. Gokla, who commanded the Mahratta Auxiliary Horse, was constantly dunning the General for money to pay his men, for he could get none from his worthy master, the Peshwa. The Peshwa's adopted brother, too, Amrut Rao, followed the camp with a body of horse, with the view of obtaining a provision for himself and his retainers. As Amrut Rao was an able man who might become a dangerous enemy, the General agreed, after an infinity of interviews, to grant him the handsome, not to say extravagant, pension of seven lakhs of Rupees, on which comfortable provision he quietly vegetated for fifty years dying in the enjoyment of it in 1853. Scindiah's overtures for negociation, which commenced soon after the Battle of Assye, would furnish an amusing illustration of the duplicity and trickery of Mahratta diplomatic intercourse, if we had space to relate them. He approached the British commander by means of all sorts of agents, accredited and unaccredited. In reply to a letter from one of these gentry General Wellesley says, " In regard to the designs entertained in the Maharajah's camp, and the threats which you communicate in your letter, I have to observe that it does not become you to write them, and I shall certainly not throw away my time by noticing them," and to the Governor-General he writes, " In proportion as I gain experience of the Mahrattas, I have more reason to be astonished at the low and unaccountable tricks which even the highest classes of them practise, with a view, however remote, to forward their own interest." The result, however, of Scindiah's diplomatic exertions was that on the 23rd November an armistice was concluded, by the terms of which Scindiah was to keep his army in Berar at a distance of forty miles from the British forces. The Rajah of Berar, not having sent any envoys to the British camp, was not included in the armistice." " The rule," remarks Genl. Wellesley, " not to cease from hostilities till peace is concluded is a good one in general." His principal reasons for breaking the good rule in this instance, were to effect a division between the confederate chiefs and to prevent Scindiah from interfering with the operations against the Rajah of Berar's fort of Gawelgurh. But whether the armistice was judicious or not, Scindiah did not comply with its conditions ; and it was never acted upon.

General Wellesley, while moving to support Colonel Stevenson in the siege of Gawelgurh, learned that the Berar army under the Rajah's brother, Munroo Bappoo, was encamped at Parterly, six miles from Argaum, and that Scindiah's army lay within four miles of it. Scindiah's vakeels earnestly pressed the General not to attack the Berar troops ; but he told them that there was no suspension of arms with the Rajah of Berar, and none with their master either until he complied with the terms of the armistice, and that he should certainly attack the enemies of the Company wherever he found them. On the 29th November, after several long marches of from seventeen to twenty miles daily, he effected a junction with Col. Stevenson, and the united forces marched to Parterly. The confederate chiefs had just decamped from that place ; but as the British troops had marched a great distance on a very hot day the General did not think fit to pursue the enemy. In the course of the day, however, parties of the enemy's horse made their appearance and began to skirmish with the Mysore cavalry. As the enemy's horse gradually increased in number General Wellesley, deemed it necessary to push forward the picquets to support the Mysore cavalry, and on advancing for that purpose he descried the combined armies of the confederates regularly drawn up in a long line of infantry, cavalry and artillery on the extensive plain that lay in front of the village of Argaum. Notwithstanding the lateness of the day and the fatiguing march of the morning, he determined not to lose this opportunity of attacking the enemy. The line of the enemy extended for five miles, having in their rear the village and the extensive gardens and enclosures of Argaum, and in their front a plain much cut by watercourses. Scindiah's army, consisting wholly of cavalry, formed their right, and was commanded by Scindiah in person. The Berar army, consisting of cavalry, a strong corps of regular infantry and a powerful artillery, formed the left, and was under the command of Munroo Bappoo. General. Wellesley moved towards them in column until within cannon shot. He then formed his troops in two lines, the infantry in the first, and the cavalry in the second. While this was being done the enemy had commenced a cannonade, the effect of which was that three native battalions, who had behaved admirably at Assye, were seized with one of those panics to which even the bravest men and the bravest regiments are liable, and fairly broke and ran. Fortunately the General was near, and, after some delay which could ill be afforded at that hour of the evening, succeeded in rallying the runaways,—but he has recorded his conviction that had he not been at hand the day was lost. The line being at length formed, with the right somewhat thrown forward in order to press upon the enemy's infantry and guns, advanced to the attack with steadiness and in perfect order. The enemy at first showed signs of making a good fight of it. A body of Persian infantry, five hundred in number, rushed furiously upon the 74th and 78th who destroyed them to a man; and Scindiah's horse charged the native cavalry but were driven back with loss: upon which their whole line, abandoning their guns and making no further effort at resistance, gave way in disorder. It was evident that Assye was still fresh in their minds. The British, Mysore and Mogul cavalry quickly cut in among the fugitives, destroying great numbers, and capturing many elephants and camels and much baggage. Only twenty minutes' sun remained when General Wellesley led on his cavalry to the charge, but the pursuit was continued by moonlight. "If we had had daylight an hour more," he writes, "not a man would have escaped." As it was, thirty-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors,—and what between the destruction dealt out on the field of battle and the subsequent desertions, the army of the confederates was reduced to a mere wreck. The British loss was exceedingly small. Fifteen Europeans and thirty-one Sepoys were killed, and the wounded did not number two hundred. No officer was among the slain. Thus easily was the battle of Argaum won, and won, too, by jaded men against an army comparatively fresh. It was perhaps to bodily fatigue acting with depressing effect upon the mind that the Sepoy panic in the early part of the day may be attributed. A march of twenty-six miles on a hot day is not, even with the bravest troops, the best preparative for a battle. As for the General himself he was in the saddle from six in the morning until midnight.

The Battle of Argaum was speedily followed by the appearance of an envoy from the enemy, but as he was without the necessary powers nothing was done towards peace. A Mahratta chief, however, in command of four thousand horse, tendered his submission, and was directed to remove his troops from the Nizam's territories into those of the Rajah of Berar, where, of course, he would plunder for subsistence. "Thus," writes Wellesley to his friend Close, "I have succeeded in bringing upon that rascal the full measure of God's vengeance; and if I live a month longer, he shall either be at peace with the Company, or I shall be at Nagpoor with all the armies either with me or about me." The Rajah's fort of Gawelgurh was the next object of attack. Gawelgurh stands on a lofty hill on the border of a very rugged country. It consisted of an inner and an outer fort, with a third exterior wall, the whole being strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. In order to reach the northern face, which was the best point of attack, the guns were dragged by hand for thirty miles over mountains and through ravines. An amusing anecdote is recorded of Colonel Wallace, a man after Wellesley's own heart, thoroughly devoted to duty. An artillery officer, who had been directed to convey a heavy gun by night over the rugged mountain tract adjoining the fort to an important point gave up the task in despair after many efforts, and reported to Colonel Wallace that the thing was impossible. "Impossible!" exclaimed Wallace, "Let us see," and calling for a light read the General's instructions, and then coolly remarked "Oh, no, not impossible: the order is positive." After much difficulty the impossibility was overcome and the positive order carried out. Gawelgurh was stormed on the morning of the 15th December. The garrison, although numerous and well armed, did not offer a vigorous resistance ; but their leaders, the killadar, and a Berar officer named Beny Singh who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, fought with desperation until they fell. These two men, Rajpoots of good family, had made up their minds to die sword in hand, and, after the manner of their race in such cases, had ordered the destruction of their wives and daughters. But the horrid mandate was found to have been imperfectly executed. Of twelve or fourteen women but three were dead, and three or four more lay bleeding. Genl. Wellesley visited the survivors and directed them to be treated with the utmost care and respect. The capture of Gawelgurh cost the victors only fourteen killed, including one officer ; of the enemy a vast number had fallen, particularly at the gateways. The fall of the Rajah of Berar's strongest fortress, following so close upon the victory of Argaum and the annihilation of the remains of Scindiah's disciplined infantry by General Lake at Laswarree, made the confederate chiefs sue in earnest for peace. Two days after the fall of Gawelgurh a treaty of peace was concluded by General Wellesley with the Rajah of Berar, and thirteen days later with Dowlut Rao Scindiah. The proceedings of the conferences with the vakeels of the confederates are in General Wellesley's own handwriting and occupy eighty-six pages. It is related that Rajah Moheput Ram, the Nizam's vakeel, was so anxious, for some purpose of his own, to ascertain what countries were likely to fall to the lot of his master in consequence of the treaties of peace, that he offered Genl. Wellesley five lakhs of Rupees for the information. "Can you keep a secret," said the General. "Yes ;" eagerly replied Moheput Ram, thinking that this question was preliminary to the acceptance of the bribe. "And so can I" was General Wellesley's rejoinder. Moheput Ram, however, is believed to have attained his object by the more summary method of murdering General Wellesley's courier and seizing the despatches which he carried.

By the Treaty with the Rajah of Berar, concluded at Deogaum, on the 17th December (1803), the Rajah ceded to the British Government and its allies the provinces of Cuttack and Berar, renounced all claims of Chout and other exactions on the Nizam, and agreed to refer all disputes that might arise between himself, the Nizam and the Peshwa to British mediation. Some difficulty afterward arose about the limits of Cuttack, which the British Commissioners there wished to extend beyond what General Wellesley considered was allowed by the Treaty. On this occasion he wrote to the Governor-General : "They have a natural desire to extend it (the article of the Treaty referring to Cuttack) as much as possible, because they feel that in proportion as they can extend its benefits, they increase the chance of the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people, whose country is committed to their management. But these, although important objects, are not to be compared to the importance of preserving the national faith." It was also agreed that accredited ministers from each of the contracting powers should reside at the Court of the other. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was at that time General Wellesley's Persian Interpreter, and who had been present at every action and siege throughout, the campaign, was nominated Resident at the Berar Court by the General, who thus wrote of him to the Governor-General: "I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the languages, and has experience and a knowledge of the interests of the Mahratta powers and their relations with each other and with the British Government and its allies." By the Treaty with Scindiah, concluded at Surgee Anjengaum, on the 30th December, that prince ceded to the British Government and its allies the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, all his territories (with certain unimportant exceptions) to the North of the Rajpoot States, all his territories between the Adjuntee Hills and the Godavery, and the forts and districts of Broach and Ahmednuggur, and agreed to renounce all his claims upon the British Government and its allies—the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Guicowar—as well as upon the Emperor of Delhi. Accredited ministers were to reside with each of the contracting powers. Major Malcolm, who had returned to the British camp some time previously, was nominated by General Wellesley, Resident at Scindiah's Durbar. By these Treaties, by General Lake's Treaties with the Rajpoot and Jat Chiefs, and by subsequent Supplemental Treaties with the Peshwa, Scindiah and the Nizam, the objects for which the Governor-General had engaged in the war were completely attained. The quasi-French State on the Jumna was destroyed, the Mahrattas were excluded from Northern India, the British territory was greatly enlarged and consolidated, and its influence extended over all the Native States. In short, the Company stood forth for the first time, avowedly and undeniably, as the Paramount Power in India. General Wellesley thus describes the result of the war in a letter to Major Kirkpatrick: "The British Government has been left by the late war in a most glorious situation. They are the sovereigns of a great part of India, the protectors of the principal powers, and the mediators, by treaty, of the disputes of all. The sovereignty they possess is greater, and their power is settled upon more permanent foundations, than any before known in India. All it wants is the popularity which, from the nature of the institutions and the justice of the proceedings of the Government, it is likely to obtain, and which it must obtain after a short period of tranquillity shall have given the people time and opportunity to feel the happiness and security which they enjoy." We suspect that this popularity was considerably greater shortly after the war than it is now, when a generation has arisen who have not the means of comparing the British rule with that which oppressed their forefathers. He adds, "I have no apprehension of any future wars: indeed, no foreign powers now remain." This, it must be conceded, was not a very prophetic glance into the future. As to the part which Genl. Wellesley performed throughout the war, we think none will be disposed to assent from the opinion of the Governor-General in Council who, in a general order, complimented him on the uninterrupted and splendid success of his military services, upon his invariable manifestation of all the qualities of a most skilful and gallant officer, upon his practice of those principles of justice, honor and moderation which are calculated to add to the lustre of the triumphs of the British arms, and upon the distinguished judgment, ability, firmness and temper which he displayed in his political negotiations.

Although the war was at an end, the Deccan was far from being in a state of order and tranquillity. General Wellesley thus strikingly describes its condition at the time: "Conceive a country, in every village of which there are from twenty to thirty horsemen who have been dismissed from the service of the State, and who have no means of living except by plunder. In this country there is no law, no Civil Government, and no army to keep these plunderers in order; and no revenue can be collected—indeed, no inhabitant can or will remain to cultivate unless he is protected by an armed forced stationed in his village. This is the outline of the state of the countries of the Peshwa and the Nizam." The Governments both of the Peshwa and the Nizam were too weak and inefficient to put down the bands of freebooters who infested their dominions, and as, in particular, the Peshwa was at feud with half the chiefs in his kingdom and would not or could not come to any arrangement with them, General Wellesley was obliged to undertake these tasks. His allies, as we have seen, had been a drag upon him throughout the campaign. It was impossible, he exclaimed, to raise their views above those of a Pindarree. He had the greatest difficulty in persuading either his Mahratta or Mogul auxiliaries to leave any district where anything remained to be plundered, and he did all but fire upon them before they could be induced to withdraw from the rich town of Boorhanpore. Secret information of his movements was now conveyed to the freebooters by the rascals who appeared to act in concert with him. His letters at this time abound with bitter denunciations of the Peshwa.—"The war will be eternal if nobody is ever to be forgiven; and I certainly think that the British Government cannot intend to make the British troops the instruments of the Peshwa's revenge. When the empire of the Company is so great, little dirty passions must not be suffered to guide its measures."—"Till the Peshwa organize his revenue departments and the other departments of his State, which he cannot do without relinquishing the whole system of revenge which is the only principle of his Government at present (excepting, indeed, jealousy of my influence), the British ought to give him no assistance whatever in settling his country. I certainly have a bad opinion of the Peshwa; he has no public spirit, and his private disposition is terrible. I have no positive proof that he has been treacherous, but I have a strong suspicion of it; and I know that since he signed the Treaty of Bassein he has done no one thing that has been desired, either with a view to forward his own interest or the views of the alliance or the common safety during the war. It may be asked, will you leave a fellow of that kind in possession of that government? I answer I have no remedy. I cannot take it for the British Government without a breach of faith or another war. If I was to give the government over to Amrut Rao, I should establish there a most able fellow who, if he should prove treacherous, would be a worse thorn in the side of the British Government than the creature who is Peshwa at present can ever be."—"The Peshwa is callous to every thing but money and revenge. He will call upon the Government to gratify the latter passion; but he will make no sacrifices unless to procure money."—"The Peshwa's only system of government is that of a robber."

Towards the close of January (1804) General Wellesley crossed the Godavery in pursuit of the freebooters who were plundering the Nizam's frontier. They would not comply with the terms of protection which he offered them on condition of the chiefs dismissing their men and coming into the British camp. He therefore followed them by forced marches and came up with their main body on the 5th of February after marching sixty miles since the previous morning, not only with cavalry but with the 74th Foot and the ordnance and provision carriages,—the greatest march, as he long afterwards remarked, that he had ever made. He fell upon them with the 19th Dragoons, three Regiments of Native Cavalry and the Auxiliary Horse, and, with the loss of only two or three wounded, cut up many of their horse and infantry and captured the whole of their guns, ammunition, bazaars and baggage. The Peshwa's good faith may be judged of by the fact that a part of the enemy's horse in this action belonged to Sirjee Rao Ghautgay, then in high favour at the Court of Poona,—a man distinguished even in Mahratta annals for treachery, repacity and the most atrocious cruelty, and whom General Wellesley regarded with such aversion, that he more than once expressed his wish to see the villain blown from a gun. A few more rapid marches after the remains of the freebooters in the direction of Beejapore completed their discomfiture, and they dispersed and went off to their villages. Since the Battle of Assye in September, the British army had not halted more than one day in any place, except during the siege of Gawelgurh. Leaving his troops to rest for some time at Perinda, the General himself proceeded to Poona. While there he had the pleasure of receiving a proposal from the officers of his army to present him with a golden vase (afterwards changed to a service of plate) of the value of two thousand guineas "as a pledge of their respect and esteem, and of their high idea of his gallantry and enterprise." This gratifying honour he accepted with pleasure. After many political conferences with the Peshwa and his ministers he proceeded to Bombay, accompanied by his friend Webbe. At Bombay he was presented with an Address from a hundred and twenty-four British inhabitants of the "settlement" (doubtless all it contained), congratulating him on "the glorious and happy termination of one of the most decisive, brilliant, and rapid campaigns ever known in the annals of British India,—a campaign in which he had personally borne so conspicuous a share, and proved himself at its close equally great in the cabinet as in the field." He was also entertained by the officers of artillery and by the Fencible Regiment. Honors poured thick upon him. At Bombay he received through the Governor-General, a resolution passed by the British inhabitants of Calcutta to present him with a sword of the value of a thousand guineas. Apparently, neither in Bombay nor Calcutta had the native inhabitants yet begun to coalesce with their European fellow citizens in doing honor to distinguished public men.

During his residence in Bombay, Genl. Wellesley negotiated the surrender of the strong fort of Logurh which commanded the communication between Bombay and Poona, and from which, for many years, the widow of the celebrated Nana Furnuwees had bidden defiance to the vengeance with which the Peshwa had pursued the relatives and adherents of that able minister. He was chiefly occupied at this time with arrangements for the settlement of the Peshwa's country, the disposal and support of his own troops in the Deccan, and the direction of preparations for the approaching hostilities with Jeswunt Rao Holkar who had written him a menacing letter to the effect, that he would overrun, plunder and burn countries of many coss, and that his army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea, would inflict calamities on lakhs of human beings in continued war, and would not give the British forces leisure to breathe for a moment. At this time a famine raged in the Deccan. At Ahmednuggur grain had risen to two and a half seers for the Rupee, and the deaths, chiefly occasioned by want of food, amounted to fifty daily. General Wellesley forbade the local authorities giving donations of food or money in charity, but ordered that the aged and children and sick women should be taken into hospitals and supplied with food and medical attendance, and that the distressed poor, able to work, should be employed in repairing the fortifications. The army, although encamped in the fertile country which lies between Poona and the Bhore ghaut, suffered so severely from the want of grain and forage, that he expressed a fear of not being able to keep it together. The men were also much in want of clothing; but this, in defiance of all the usual forms, he remedied by sending up cloth which was divided among the sepoys in the quantities necessary for their garments, and they managed to cloth themselves. In a few weeks upwards of five thousand men were clothed in this manner, who, if the Regulations had been observed, would have passed the monsoon in rags. General Wellesley's contempt of red tapeism often appears in his letters. Writing at this time to his friend Malcolm, he exclaims, "Confound these red boxes and the gentleman in Bengal! The delays they occasion will send us to the Devil." The Peshwa was all this time quite helpless, having neither money nor troops, and refusing to be reconciled to his Sirdars. He had the impudence to apply to the British commander to employ his troops for the ordinary purposes of police, but met of course with a refusal. Goklah, who had hitherto been staunch to his master and had served under Genl. Wellesley throughout the war with a fidelity, as the General remarked, "very extraordinary in a Mahratta," at last abandoned the Peshwa in disgust and withdrew with his troops to his own district. General Wellesley was at this time so much impressed with the Peshwa's incapacity for government, and with the aversion of the principle Mahratta Chiefs to him, that he formed the idea of not affording any further support to his authority. On the 18th of May the General quitted Bombay. At Panwell, the same day, he had an interview with the widow of Nana Furnuwees to ascertain her wishes regarding her future residence. The conversation was carried on in the "Moorish" language, a "Moorish" woman being the interpreter. Notwithstanding his seven years of residence in India, Genl. Wellesley does not appear to have been sufficiently acquainted even with that *lingua franca*, Hindustanee, to converse in it. Of the lady he gallantly writes to his friend Close, "She is very fair and very handsome, and well deserving to be the object of a treaty." On the 22nd May he rejoined his army. As it appeared to the Governor-General that the war with Holkar could not be prosecuted with advantage at that season, the British troops in the field, in every part of India, were directed to withdraw into cantonments. The army of the Deccan was broken up in the end of June; General Wellesley resigned the military and political powers with which he had been invested; and having established a subsidiary force at Poona, the command of which he conferred upon his friend, Colonel Wallace, he took his departure for Calcutta by way of Seringapatam and Madras, in accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General who was desirous of communicating with him personally on Mahratta affairs. During his progress through the Southern Mahratta country, he was waited upon successively by all the leading Sirdars, between whom and their vindictive and grasping master, the Peshwa, he acted as mediator. These men had a thorough confidence in General Wellesley's integrity and judgment; and they have handed down to their descendants traditions of his scrupulous good faith and extraordinary wisdom. He, on his part, treated the Mahratta chiefs with great courtesy and kindness. He accepted an invitation to an entertainment in the Fort of Dharwar, much to the surprize of the killadar, who, in talking of the circumstance afterwards, took no small credit to himself for not taking advantage of the General's defenceless situation. Hyder Ali used to say that no man of common sense would trust a Mahratta, and that, indeed, they themselves did not expect to be trusted. Their astonishment at the confidence with which Genl. Wellesley trusted himself in their hands shows the truth of the latter part of this dictum. Gokla's vakeel, conversing one day with Colonel Wilks, instanced, as an example of Genl. Wellesley's contempt of danger, that the General had on one occasion driven Gokla in an open carriage from the British to the Mahratta camp without a single attendant. Colonel Wilks, affecting not to comprehend him, asked what the General had to fear on that occasion. "You know what he had to fear," coolly replied the vakeel, "for after all we are but Mahrattas." On General Wellesley's arrival at Seringapatam he was presented with a warm address of congratulation by the native inhabitants who stated that they had reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of his protection. He reached Calcutta about the middle of August. Here he was received with great distinction, the Governor-General himself proceeding down the river to meet him and conduct him to Government House where the principal civil and military officers and the leading European inhabitants were assembled to congratulate him. While in Calcutta, he drew up Memorandums or Reports regarding the Treaty of Bassein, the state of Scindiah's Government, the Freebooter System in India, the system of regulating the Supplies for an Army, the operations against Holkar, and other subjects. The first of these reports is a long and very able document in reply to certain objections urged against the Treaty of Bassein by Lord Castlereagh, then President of the Board of Control; and of itself would suffice to show the intimate acquaintance of the writer with the civil and military systems and the general politics of India. Indeed, a whole code of political and military maxims might be drawn up from the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, the Indian portion, at least of which, deserve to be studied by every military man in this country and by every student of Indian politics. We have already, in the course of this article, quoted some of his opinions, and we could quote many more of equal interest did our space admit of it. Two subjects, however, which are now, and will long continue to be, of primary interest and importance, cannot be passed over: these are the Extension of British Territory and the Foundation of British Power in India. Regarding the first he thus wrote to Sir Thomas (then Major) Munro during the campaign against Dhoondiah Waugh in August 1800. "In my opinion the extension of our territory and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, we have added to the number and the description of our enemies, by depriving of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and of means of subsistence, all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies, or have plundered the country. These people become additional enemies; at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our government, and of defending ourselves, are proportionably decreased. Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am in general inclined to decide that we have enough; as much, at least, if not more than we can defend." We have seen this passage quoted the other day in the House of Commons by the opponents of the annexation of Oude. But however applicable the principal argument in it against the extension of territory—namely, that the dominion of the British in India was as large as they could properly manage and defend—might be to the year 1800, when there existed five powerful independent native sovereignties, it is evident that it has no force as applied to the present day when there is no native state or possible combination of native states that can pretend to cope with us for a moment. On the other subject we have named he thus wrote—"Bengal, 'the paradise of nations,' enjoys the advantage of a civil government, and requires its military force only for its protection against foreign enemies. All the other barbarous establishments called governments, without excepting even that of Fort St. George, have no power beyond that of the sword. Take from them the exercise of that power, and they have no other; and can collect no revenue, can give no protection, and can exercise no Government." Again—"In this part of the world there is no power, excepting that of the sword; the sword is the main support of the Government." Yet again—"The Company's power in India is supposed to depend much upon its reputation, but I do not admit that it depends upon its reputation, as distinguished from its real force." We hope that, since these passages were written, the governors and the governed have been gradually becoming connected, by more pleasing ties than mere domination on the part of one, and mere submission on the part of the other. But that our authority in India still rests mainly upon our military power cannot, we should imagine, be doubted by any one who is aware how, at the time previous to the Affghan war, when the idea of a Russian invasion of India had spread through the land, there was (to use Lord Auckland's expression) a sharpening of swords from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas in joyful expectation of the coming deliverer; or, who has mixed familiarly with the people of the North-West or Central India during such excited periods as the two Sikh wars. We can personally testify to one fact that speaks volumes—that, during the campaigns of the Sutlej and the Punjab, of the myriad rumours which we heard in those provinces, every one without a single exception, was unfavorable to the British arms. We believe India to be retained under British sway by the sword in the same manner in which the throne of Napoleon III. is kept secure by the sword,—as distinguished from the manner in which the people of England and of the United States are loyal to their rulers. But to return from this digression.

Monson's unfortunate retreat before Holkar made General Wellesley desirous of returning to the Deccan. "I tremble," he writes, "at the political consequences of that event." In a letter to his friend, Colonel Wallace, he deduces "some important lessons" from the campaign against Holkar: first, that a corps should never be employed on a service for which it is not fully equal; secondly, that in all military operations we should take care to be sure of plenty of provisions; thirdly, that British troops should never depend on native allies for supplies, which should be purchased by British officers, or, if purchased by natives, ought to be *seen* before the troops are exposed in a situation in which they may want the supplies; fourthly, that any fort which can support the operations of an army ought to be filled with provisions and stores in case of need; fifthly, that any river which is likely to be full in the rains ought to have a post and boats upon it; and lastly, that a retreat is safe and easy in proportion to the number of attacks made by the retreating corps. "But," he adds, "attention to the foregoing observations will, I hope, prevent a British corps from retreating." It will be seen with what keen discernment he studied the science of war.

In November General Wellesley sailed for Madras with the view of proceeding to the Deccan, after having been vested with the same military and political powers which he had previously held. The object of his journey was to prevent Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar from joining Holkar in his contest with the British Government. He remained at Seringapatam watching the course of events; but Holkar's defeat in Hindustan rendered General Wellesley's presence in the Deccan unnecessary. He had by this time become very desirous of returning to Europe. Writing to Major Shawe from Seringapatam on the 4th January (1805) he says: "I acknowledge that I have determined not to go into the Deccan not without a considerable degree of doubt and hesitation. I know that all classes of the people look up to me, and it will be difficult for another officer to take my place. I also know that my presence there would be useful in the settlement of many points which remain unsettled, and which probably will require time and peace to bring to a conclusion. But these circumstances are not momentary; whenever I should depart the same inconveniences would be felt even in an increased degree, and very possibly the same state of affairs which now renders my presence in the Deccan desirable will exist for the next seven years. I certainly do not propose to spend my life in the Deccan; and I should not think it necessary, in any event, to stay there one moment longer than the Governor-General should stay in India. In regard to staying longer, the question is exactly whether the Court of Directors or the King's ministers have any claim upon me strong enough to induce me to do any thing so disagreeable to my feelings (leaving health out of the question) as to remain for a great length of time in this country. I have served the Company in important situations for many years, and have never received anything but injury from the Court of Directors, although I am a singular instance of an officer who has served under all the Governments, and in communication with all the Political Residents, and many civil authorities; and there is not an instance on record, or in any private correspondence, of disapprobation of any one of my acts, or a single complaint, or even a symptom of ill temper, from any one of the political or civil authorities in communication with whom I have acted. The King's ministers have as little claim upon me as the Court of Directors. I am not very ambitious; and I acknowledge that I have never been very sanguine in my expectations that military services in India would be considered, in the scale in which are considered similar services in other parts of the world. But I might have expected to be placed on the staff in India, and yet, if it had not been for the lamented death of General Frazer, General Smith's arrival would have made me supernumerary. If my services were absolutely necessary for the security of the British Empire, or to ensure its peace, I should not hesitate a moment about staying even for years; but these men or the public have no right to ask me to stay in India merely because my presence, in a particular quarter, may be attended by convenience." Besides these reasons for going home he considered, also, that he had served as long in India as any man ought who could serve anywhere else—that there was a prospect of service in Europe where he would be more likely to get forward—and finally that his arrival in England was desirable in order that he might explode some erroneous notions entertained there regarding the increase of military establishment in India and afford a verbal explanation regarding a variety of Indian subjects. It is an old saying that a man can always find abundance of reasons for any step on which he is bent. Wellesley's anxiety to proceed to Europe seems to have principally arisen from an earnest wish to take part in the approaching great struggle in Europe. It is evident from the passage which we have just quoted, that he was quite conscious of his own abilities. He felt that he was competent to take a leading part in operations of still greater importance than those in which he had been recently engaged. Perhaps even the thought that he was worthy—or even destined—to encounter the dread Napoleon himself may have flashed through his mind. The Governor-General at once assented to his brothers resigning his authority in the Deccan whenever he thought proper. "This communication," he writes to Major Shawe, "has removed from my mind a load of anxiety. I now feel an anxiety only about my departure for England, the extent of which I cannot describe. I have no confidence in my own judgment in any case in which my own wishes are involved. This is the cause of the great anxiety which I have felt, and still feel, upon these subjects." Upon the whole, he resolved to engage his passage for England at once in the hope of its meeting the Governor-General's approbation. General Wellesley appears throughout his whole Indian career to have had rather an awe of his sultanized brother, who did not allow his warm fraternal regard to interfere in the slightest degree with the due exercise of his authority. General Wellesley arrived in Madras about the middle of February and prepared for his departure. His letters at this time show great warmth of friendship for those with whom he had been intimately connected. Col. Malcolm, then Resident at Mysore, and Col. Close, Resident at Poona, appear to have enjoyed his especial regard. To his brother, the Governor-General, he recommends Major Wilks, who had acted during Maclolm's absence as Resident at Mysore, as a most valuable public officer for whom the inhabitants of Mysore had the highest respect and regard. He recommended that his friend and Brigade Major, Lieut. Colin Compbell, should be taken into the Governor-General's own family. He also expressed officially his high sense of the services of Major Kirkpatrick, the Resident at Hyderabad, and of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Resident at Nagpore. Many officers who had served with him throughout the late campaign he specially recommended to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras; and mumerous Mahratta and Mysore officers who had conducted themselves to his satisfaction, were recommended by him to Government for pecuniary rewards or grants of land. To Poorneah, the able Mysore minister, he thus wrote: "For six years I have been concerned in the affairs of the Mysore Govt., and I have comtemplated with the greatest satisfaction its increasing prosperity under your administration. Every principle of gratitude for many acts of personal kindness to myself, and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration, render me anxious for its continuance and for its increasing prosperity; and in every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony of my sense of your merits upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by which I may think favourable for rendering you service. As a testimony of my sense of the benefits which the public have derived from your administration, of my sincere regard, and of my gratitude for many acts of personal kindness and attention, I request your acceptance of my picture." Nothing is more noticeable throughout the Duke of Wellington's Indian despatches and private letters than a desire to forward the interests of all who were qualified to be good servants of the public,—and an equal determination to permit no private friendship to bias him in the slightest degree in filling up offices of public concernment. This is a merit which may not appear very high; but it is in reality not only a high merit but an extremely rare one. To this principle he adhered throughout his life, and it had no small share in his extraordinary success. The evils which may arise from an opposite course, well illustrated by our Affghan disasters, are at this moment fresh in our memory from the disasters of the Crimean campaign. "The right man in the right place" was always a leading principle of the Duke of Wellington.

While at Madras General Wellesley received the pleasing intelligence that he had been created a Knight of the Bath and had received the thanks of Parliament for his "eminent and brilliant services." He also received congratulatory farewell addresses from the officers of his own regiment, the 33rd, from the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, and from the European inhabitants of Madras who requested him to sit for his picture in order that it might be placed in the Exchange Room of the "settlement" "as a just tribute of their applause and admiration of his splendid career." Here, too, he was entertained at a ball and supper by the Civil Servants of the Presidency, and a few days later at a grand dinner by the military. Both entertainments took place at "the Pantheon;" and the newspapers of the day are loud in praise of their magnificence. The ball was attended by upwards of five hundred, and the dinner by three hundred, the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, being present on both occasions. The ball was opened by Sir Arthur Wellesley leading down Lady William Bentinck. At the dinner, where, it is stated, the Company did not leave the table till a late hour, the "triumphant and honorable visitor" appears to have been twice toasted; and an original song was sung by a gentleman "in his usual happy manner," in which it was predicted that "From Sir Arthur Wellesley's great example, fresh heroes still shall arise"—not a bad prophecy as prophecies go. Towards the close of March (1805), Sir Arthur Wellesley embarked at Madras in H. M's. Ship *Trident* and arrived in England in the ensuing September.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's career in India requires no formal examination or studied eulogium. His best eulogium is a truthful narration of the deeds he performed, the difficulties he overcame, and the ruling principles of his public conduct by which he extorted the respect of his enemies and acquired the confidence of his soldiery, and the esteem and approbation of many men fully competent to judge of his qualifications both as a soldier and a politician. His distinguished and successful Indian career formed a fitting prelude to those brilliant services by which, first as the conqueror of Napoleon's ablest Marshals, and finally of the Great Emperor himself, he fixed the admiration of the civilized world and acquired an undying title to his country's gratitude and pride.

DARJEELING.

BY REV. T. BOAZ, LL. D.

1. *The Darjeeling Guide.*
2. *Records of the Bengal Government.* No. XVII.
3. *Indian Annals of Medical Science.* No. VII.
4. *Agra Guide.* Vol. II., 1841.
5. *Hooker's Himmalaya Journals.*

IT is a singular fact that the Darjeeling hills were, for many years after the British obtained a footing in Bengal, a *terra-incognita* to the Christian people resident in the plains in their immediate vicinity. Scorched by the burning sun, saturated by the heavy rains, and debilitated by the insalubrious climate of the lowlands, the Christian inhabitants of the zillahs Purneah, Dinagepur, Rungpur and Malda, lived within sight of the forest-clad hills and snowy peaks of the Himmalaya range, with scarcely a thought that they might be a refuge from the sultry heat and pestilential malaria of the lowlands in which they vegetated. The idea that this beautiful range of country might be turned to sanitary and other useful purposes did at length suggest itself to those who were interested, not only in the well-being of those who dwelt in their immediate vicinity, but for invalids resident, generally, in Bengal and Behar. The thought once suggested was, as soon as official routine would permit, reduced to practice. The sickly Terai was passed, the mountains were scaled, and the district surveyed by intelligent and enterprising men.

The advantages offered by Darjeeling as a sanatarium and a military station were frequently brought to the notice of Lord William Bentinck. The first official report on the subject was presented by Colonel, now General Lloyd ; the report was favorably received by the Government. Next to General Lloyd, Mr. Grant of the Civil Service was one of the most zealous advocates of Darjeeling as a station. Owing to the reports of General Lloyd, Mr. Grant and others, the Governor-General appointed Major Herbert, the Surveyor-General, and Mr. Grant, to visit and report on the general capabilities, and on the eligibility of the Sikkim mountains as a military station and sanatarium. The report of these gentlemen was highly favorable to the district, both for military and sanitary purposes.

The Darjeeling hills formed originally a part of the territory of the Rajah of Sikkim, a hill chieftain, whose capital lies contiguous to the Nepal country, and on the high road from Darjeeling to Thibet. This mountain chieftain had been driven from his country by the Ghorkas, the warriors of Nepal. When the affairs of Nepal were adjusted, the British Government replaced the Sikkim Rajah on his throne, and guaranteed to him the sovereignty of his territory. The principal object which the British Government had in view in this arrangement, was to make the Sikkim country a post of defence between Nepal, Bhotan and the whole Himmalaya eastward to the borders of Burmah, to prevent the marauding Nepalese from extending their conquests in the mountain countries between Nepal and the empire of the Golden Foot. Notwithstanding the importance of the locality in a military point of view, Darjeeling and its claims were held in apparent abeyance from 1817 to 1828. A frontier dispute between the Lepchas, the aborigines of the Darjeeling hills, and the Nepalese, brought the subject once more prominently into notice. The dispute, according to the terms of a treaty entered into by the British Government, the Nepalese, and the Rajah of Sikkim, was referred to the Government of India. While this matter was under consideration, Mr. Grant visited the hills, and pointed out to Lord William Bentinck the eligibility of the locality as a Sanatarium. The issue of his recommendation was the appointment of the commission to which reference has already been made. The various reports on the subject had, in the meantime, been forwarded to the Court of Directors. The authorities in Leadenhall Street looked with a favorable eye on "the Bright Spot," and suggested the propriety of making the new, settlement a depôt for European recruits, as well as a military station and sanatarium.

The Government of India, on the receipt of these instructions, at once took measures for securing a locality in the Sikkim hills. Application was made to the Rajah of Sikkim to cede a tract of country in which Darjeeling should be included, and for which an equivalent should be given. The terms at first proposed by the Rajah were exorbitant. He ultimately agreed to surrender the Darjeeling range, receiving from the British Government, in return for the ceded district, £300 per annum.

General Lloyd and Dr. Chapman were then despatched to visit the hills, to report on the most eligible locality for the new station. They selected Darjeeling, and the history of the settlement has proved the wisdom of their choice. In 1840, Dr. Campbell, then holding office at Nepal, was appointed Superintendent of the Darjeeling territory. He was also entrusted with the charge of the political relations between the British Government and the Sikkim Rajah.

The arrangements entered into between the British Government and the Sikkim chieftain went on harmoniously for the first few years. The Rajah was somewhat of an ascetic, and left political affairs in the hands of his Dewan or Prime Minister. The Dewan acted strictly in accordance with the spirit of the treaty entered into between the two Governments. He was succeeded by a man of a different temper—a Tibetan, a relative of the Rajah's wife, an insolent and avaricious man, whose object was to monopolize the trade of the country and to aggrandize himself. Every thing and person British was tabooed, and every impediment which a Chinese nature could present to friendly intercourse between the two countries was thrown in the way. The British Government and the Resident at Darjeeling met this conduct of the Dewan either with neglect or forbearance. This conciliatory conduct was misinterpreted by the Prime Minister. He mistook forbearance and neglect for weakness and fear: and like all narrow-minded men, became bold through the forbearance of those with whom he had to deal. His conduct at length reached its climax, and terminated fatally for the territorial and pecuniary interests of his master. Dr. Campbell, the resident at Darjeeling, while travelling through the Sikkim country, was seized by order of the Dewan. He was imprisoned, and during his imprisonment suffered such indignities as petty tyrants know how to inflict. Troops were despatched, the Resident was liberated, the Rajah's pension ceased, and a part of his territory, the Morung, was resumed by the British Government. All friendly relations, as a matter of course, ceased between the British and the Sikkim authorities; Sikkim was a sealed country to the former, and ceased to be the high road for commerce between Darjeeling and Thibet. This state of things continues up to the present time, though hopes are entertained that amicable relations may shortly be resumed between the two countries—a pension to the present Rajah looms in the distance, and is a ground of hope of a better state of things in that part of our eastern frontier. The old Rajah has retired to a Lama monastery; his son and successor is favorable to the British, but the Dewan still lives. His influence is great, and is the chief obstacle to friendly relations being entered into between the British Government and that of Sikkim.

The foundation of the station at Darjeeling having been laid, it steadily progressed. To the amiable and enterprising conduct of Dr. Campbell, the first Superintendent, may be traced the prosperity of the station and territory. That others have contributed to the present improved state of the district cannot be denied; but to Dr. Campbell the palm must be yielded. He watched over the territory with parental anxiety; it was in his heart that it should prosper. His object was to inspire the aborigines with confidence in the British rule, to induce the neighbouring tribes to settle in the territory, and to render Darjeeling a commercial centre for traders from the countries round about, extending even to Thibet. That he has to a great extent succeeded in obtaining settlers, is evident from the large tracts of land which have been cleared of dense forest jungle, and that his commercial hopes had begun to be realized, before the rupture with Sikkim, the Darjeeling bazar and the fair at Titalya, at the foot of the hills, amply prove.

Darjeeling, as will have been gathered from the brief history now given, is situated in the Sikkim hills. The name is applicable both to the Station and to the Territory. The word Darjeeling has been variously interpreted. The popular interpretation appears to be "The Holy or Bright Spot." The territory is bounded to the north by the river Raman, which divides it from Sikkim; on the east by the rivers Runjeet and Teesta; these divide it from Bhootan; on the west, the river Mechi divides it from Nepal; from the source of the Mechi northward, the ridge of the Tongloo and Phullat mountains, conveys the western boundary north to the River Raman. The zillahs Rungpur and Purneah are contiguous to its Southern or Terai boundary. The territory may be divided into two sections, the northern and southern. The northern consists of a succession of mountain and valley, with an average altitude above the sea level of from 4,000 to 9,000 feet; the Southern or Morung country consitsts of the skirts of the first range of the Himalaya, and the plains between that region and the zillahs of Rungpur and Purneah. The station of Darjeeling is situate in Lat. 27° 2′ 53″ N., Long. 88° 18′ 41″ E. It is a spur of the second range of the mountains of Sikkim. The spur trends in a northerly direction. It is shut in from the plains, and is sheltered from the winds and mists, which ascend from the lower districts, by two ranges of hills or natural screens, and to this provision of nature may be traced its comparative freedom from the mists and rains to which the outer ranges are subject. It is about thirty miles from the foot of the hills by the road, and fifteen in a straight line. Its elevation above the sea level is 7,165 feet. The ridge on which it stands varies in height from 6,000 to 7,600 feet; 8,000 feet being the elevation at which the mean temperature most nearly coincides with that of London. It is sheltered on the east by the Sinchal mountain, which rises to nearly 9,000 feet, and from whose summit a distant view of the plains may be seen, early in the morning, on a clear day.

The ridge on which Darjeeling stands, like most of the spurs in the Himalaya, is generally narrow, or what is termed hogbacked. It has a steep descent on its eastern side, which runs down to the torrent stream of the Rungnoo. The views presented on this side of the ridge, are on a favourable day, most exciting. Mountain and valley stretch away as far as the eye can reach, until they merge in the snowy range, which in every varying form trends to the east for upwards of sixty miles. The murmuring waters of the Rungnoo make sweet and fitting music to such a scene. On the western side, the ridge declines in more gentle declivities, a kind of terraced slopes, intersected by numerous mountain streamlets, the whole forming a picturesque amphitheatre two or three miles in circumference. The station viewed from the more artistic points forms a pleasing *coup d'œil.* The Swiss-cottage-like houses, perched on commanding knolls or nestling under sheltering hills, with their well-trimmed gardens, the bazar and sepoy lines, the village church on the hill, the cutcherry, the ruined Llama temple, with the wide spread valley clothed with luxuriant forest foliage and verdant crops, and flowers of every form and hue, with here and there a silvery mountain stream, give it the appearance, on a calm summer's eve, of

> "A spot enclosed by God,
> Out of the world's wild wilderness."

This sylvan refuge for the weary residents of the plains, is distant from the Metropolis of British India,—our busy, reeking Calcutta, 371 miles.

There are in Darjeeling some seventy houses, and a Christian population, including children, the invalids, and the Depôt establishment, of upwards of two hundred. In the season this number is considerably augmented. There are in the station the following public buildings and institutions. The Invalid Establishment for sick soldiers of Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's services. There are usually about one hundred and fifty invalids at the Depôt. They are under the charge of a Commandant and a small body of officers. There is a military officer and an apothecary attached to the Depôt. The establishment is on the Jellapahar, the highest point in the station. It is the first object which arrests the attention of the visitor on his entrance into the station. At the other extremity of the station stands the Episcopal Church, a neat and simple structure; near it is the Cutcherry, under its roof all the official business of the station is transacted. The Treasury is here also. Lower down are the Assembly and Reading-rooms. Below this again is the Baptist Chapel, and still further down the Jail. One Hindu temple stands near the bazar, and a small house fitted up as a mosque is in the same vicinity. The Government School is in the same locality. In a retired nook on a lower elevation stands the Roman Catholic Nunnery and Chapel. There is a Roman Catholic Chapel also at the Jellapahar for the invalid Roman Catholic soldiers. The bazar and the Sepoy lines are on a cleared spot in the centre of the station. The bazar is upon the whole well arranged, and tolerably well supplied. The Bunneahs are all from the plains. The shops have been erected by, and are the property of, the Government. The authorities, however, do not interfere with the prices of things sold in the bazar. Trade is quite free, and every encouragement has been given to tradesmen to settle at the station. The Lepcha bazar needs improvement. It is ill built and dirty; this is, however, quite in accordance with Lepcha taste. The officials in Darjeeling are not numerous. The Superintendent is the sole ruler of the station and territory, except in certain criminal cases, when the Judge from Dinagepore officiates. Assessors are sometimes appointed. The Judge is not, however, bound by their decision, they are merely selected with a view to give the Superintendent or Judge the benefit of their local experience. There is a resident officer attached to the Sapper corps; he has charge of the roads and other matters which call for the skill of the engineer. A Civil doctor resides in the station. A Chaplain is appointed by Government to officiate in the Church and to the invalids at Jellapahar. He is appointed for two years. There is a Baptist Missionary, connected with the Mission established by the Rev. W. Start; he labours chiefly amongst the Lepchas. A School Master has been recently appointed to the Government school, and there is a Teacher for the children of the invalids at the Military Sanatarium.

The prosperity of the station has called into existence, besides the native shops in the Bazar, European shopkeepers, butchers and gardeners, and one small Tavern, or as it is termed, a dâk bungalow. A good Hotel is needed at Darjeeling. Parties have commenced Taverns; but hitherto they have not succeeded. As the station progresses, and the number of casual visitors increases, there will be a better prospect for any one entering on such a speculation.

In presenting an account of Darjeeling we cannot omit to mention some by whose enterprise the station has been helped into prosperity. Amongst others may be mentioned General Lloyd, S. Smith, B. Hodgson and D. Wilson, Esqrs., Sir Thomas Turton, Mr. Lowe, Col. Crommelin, Dr. Withecombe, Capts. Masson, Cornish and Murray and Mr. Martin. There are others, of whom we doubt not honorable mention might be made, were we more familiar with the details of the history of Darjeeling. Amongst the florists, General Harvey with his garden of beautiful flowers deserves notice.

The approaches to Darjeeling are full of beauty and interest to the traveller. Having left the scorching plains of Bengal, the first change which the visitor experiences is the Terai or belt of dense forest jungle, which skirts the base of the Himalaya. This, though beautiful, is no paradise. It is most unhealthy, and notwithstanding the partial clearings, is deemed an unsafe spot for a stranger to pass the night in. To sleep in the Terai is generally equivalent to "gaining a loss" in the shape of jungle fever. The unhealthiness of this hot-bed of disease, arises from the want of drainage. The waters from the hills find no free passage, they are pent up by the massy jungle, and either percolate the gravel beds, or are carried off by evaporation. The want of circulation, owing to the proximity of the mountains, and the amount of malarious vapour ever hanging over the district, as well as the sources already adverted to, sufficiently account for the unhealthiness of the Terai. Cultivation and good drainage will doubtless tend very materially to change this nest of fever into a comparatively healthy district. In the mean time we may suggest the almost certain means of avoiding the evils of the Terai. Let the journey through it be made in the morning from seven to ten, and the chances are that no injurious effects will be experienced. In the season of 1856, parties traversed the Terai during the whole season in palkies, on elephants, on horseback, and by carts; and as far as Christians were concerned, in every instance, with impunity. The Terai is inhabited by the Mechis, a squalid and unhealthy-looking race; their companions are tigers, wild elephants and bears, fitting residents for such a region. In passing through the Terai, the bed of the Mahanuddi is passed. Having passed this mountain stream, the ascent is gradual through a district rich in natural scenery. Crossing a rustic bridge, and traversing a long picturesque mountain road, the first puffs of a cooler atmosphere begin to be felt. At the termination of this road the ascent becomes abrupt, and we have reached the first step in the Himalaya ladder. On a small knoll at the head of the ascent we reach Punkabarria, the first station in the hills. It is 2,500 feet above the sea level.

The India Rubber tree (Ficus Elasticus) is to be found here as well as in the valleys higher up on the same level. This, Dr. Hooker states, is the western limit of this plant.

The next stage is from Punkabarria to Kursion. The rise from the first to the second station is very abrupt. The road is, however, so constituted as to render the ascent comparatively easy. The journey from Punkabarria to Kursion is most enchanting.

The soil and its productions are completely new. The soil is mica and clay slate, the former, says Hooker, being full of garnets. A noble forest replaces the stinted and bushy vegetation of the Terai. The passage through this region in the spring is a treat even to the residents, much more to the weary traveller from the plains. It is like passing through the vast, well-wooded park of some feudal lord. Lofty mountains rise on every side, covered from the base to the summit with magnificent forests, their offspring of orchids, vines and climbers being interlaced in most fantastic forms. The sides of the road are covered with a rich variety of ferns and flowers, while here and there a mountain stream gives out its music to aid the few song-birds who chaunt sweet notes in shady groves.

Ascending, open spots give artistic views of the vast plains which stretch out from the base of the mountains to the horzion, " like the smooth surface of a summer's sea." The distance from Punkabarria to Kursion is six miles: owing, however, to the abruptness of the ascent, it takes about two hours to reach the second station. Kursion is one of the gems of the Sikkim hills, and will in time, we doubt not, become a station of importance. It is situated on a large ridge or spur, through which the high road to Darjeeling passes. Its elevation is 5,200 feet above the sea level. The view from the Eagle's Crag, a bold, rocky eminence, is most extensive and picturesque. The broad plains of Purneah, Dinagepur, Rungpur and Malda, with their dense forests and verdant crops, intersected by the silver streams of the Mechi, Mahanadia, Teesta, the Brahamputur, and on a very clear day, the great Ganges, are seen stretching as far as the eye can reach to the South and East. To the north Kinchinjunga and his companions raise their icy peaks, while immediately in the vicinity, lofty mountains and deep valleys, clothed with everlasting spring, encircle you on every side. The zephyr-like breezes wafted up from the plains, come laden with the rich perfumes of sweet scented flowers, and clouds, of which Kursion appears to be the laboratory, rise up in most fantastic forms. Kursion boasts of its water-fall, which during the rains is an object of great attraction. The climate of Kursion is not unlike that of Nice, with this exception, that during the rains it is necessarily damper. Medical men give the preference to Kursion for patients suffering from pulmonary affections.

The next stage is from Kurision to Chuttuckpur. The rise is abrupt for three or four miles, when it becomes more easy till you reach the third bungalow. The scenery is much the same as below. Nature, ever varying, changes her dress as we ascend, new varieties in the floral and arborial world make their appearance, and the atmosphere becomes sensibly cooler. The weariness of the plains is exchanged for the elasticity of the mountains. The whole system becomes invigorated, the appetite sharpened, and the spirits more exuberant.

Chuttuckpur lies like a nest in the side of a lofty mountain. It is generally in the clouds, and is on that account a damp and not over-comfortable bungalow. It is, however, a welcome rest-house to the mountain traveller. The road from Chuttuckpur to Darjeeling is, until you come within a short distance of "the Bright Spot," almost a level. The scenery is bold, the road passing through lofty mountains and majestic forest trees. The mountain streams are more impetuous, the air cool and refreshing.

On the road to Darjeeling, and about midway between Chuttuckpur and the central station, is Sanadah, a village and a resting place for troops. On a spur descending from this station is the new settlement of Hope Town. This station was only commenced at the close of the rainy season of 1856. It owes its existence to the enterprise of two or three gentlemen from the plains. The object is to make it a settlement for residents. The cleared land has been purchased from the natives. The proprietors have no wish to make a profit by the re-sale of the land, their object being to induce people to become settlers, and to develope the resources of the country. The location has been surveyed and marked out in lots of from one hundred to five hundred acres, with building plots. A Tea Company has been formed in connexion with the Hope Town settlement. A portion of the profits of the sale of land is to be appropriated to the erection of a place of worship,—unsectarian,—a school house, a dispensary and a bazar. The greater portion of the land has been taken, three houses are nearly erected, and others will soon be commenced; a road has been made from the main road down to the Balasun, and all the shares, and more than were originally issued, of the Tea Company, have been taken up. We shall watch with interest this attempt to form a colony of Himalaya farmers in the Darjeeling territory, and from what we know of the men who have started it, we have little doubt of its success. Retracing our steps we pass on to Darjeeling. The immediate approach to it is steep, the top of the Jellapahar has to be attained before we can see "the Bright Spot." Having reached the top of the Himalaya Pisgah, the station is in full view, and well repays the toil of the wearisome journey, the accidents by flood and field, by plain and valley and mountain.

The natural scenery of the Darjeeling territory is full of interest to the admirer of nature and the man of science. From the Jellapahar, the highest point in the station, the views on every side are pregnant with grandeur and beauty. To the south the landscape is a succession of mountain and valley, covered from the base of the mountains to their loftiest peaks with the most luxuriant forest foliage. To the east the Sinchul raises its lofty head, covered with the sweet-scented magnolia, and with a forest of richly hued rhododendra. To the north, the mountains of the lower range of the Himalaya, like massive mountain billows, rise one over the other covered with eternal spring, till they merge in the snowy range; while in the distance Kinchinjunga the monarch of mountains, raises his silver crested peaks high even above his aspiring companions. To the west rises Tongloo and Phullot. Abrupt slopes, deep ravines, cleared patches and mountain streams, encircled by lofty mountains, make up a picture which, when lit up by the rays of the rising or the setting sun, can have few if any rivals. Nor must we omit the cloud scenery of this beautiful region. Here the clouds are seen in all their perfection, assuming every imaginable form, and tinged with ever varying hues.

Their ever-changing forms and shapes
  By rainbow hues adorned,
Seem oft as if by heavenly skill
  For angles' chariots formed.

Nor is their beauty diminished by the dark outlines of the mountains on which they cast their airy shadows. The lover of nature can desire no view more entrancing than this land-locked Sanatarium, either at sunrise or by moon light. Both are calculated to stir the poet [illegible], or to inspire the artist with a desire to give, in mimic f[illegible] the great realities of nature; nor will the ordinary mind [illegible] unimpressed with the greatness, wisdom and benevolence of Him who made the whole.

The want felt in this region is that which lends additional enchantment to the scenery of the Alps and the hills of Westmoreland. There are no lakes in the Da[illegible]ling territory. The rivers, too, which in the rains are roaring and bulstering streams, become in the dry season mere gently flowing and erratic brooks.

The taste displayed by the residents in the selection of sites, and the laying out of their grounds, gives a minor grace to the scenery. It would be impossible to enumerate all, but we cannot p[illegible] by [illegible]anston, the residence of B. Hodgson, Esq., late of the [illegible]vil Service.

Both [illegible]ts s[illegible]on and taste, Brianston is a gem of a mou[illegible] Its broad acres tastefully arranged, and its rustic bung[illegible] o e th[illegible] it has been the product of an intelligent and [illegible]ul mind, of one who has determined to make the Himalaya not onl[illegible]ld of scientific research, but his home. The hospitalit[illegible]fested by the proprietor of Brian[illegible] too well-[illegible] neco[illegible]ore than a passing record[illegible] is h[illegible] confined to this mountain home If the en[illegible] wh[illegible] felt by those who are accustomed to busier scenes can be [illegible]pelled by domestic generosity, it will be by the hospitality of the residents in the Darjeeling hills.

[illegible]e *climate* of Darjeeling is adapted to the generality of Eu[illegible]ean constitutions. The mean temperature throughout the [illegible] is 55° to 56°. Equality of temperature, both of day and night [illegible]ring the year, is a marked peculiarity of the climate. The air, which is keen in the cold, dry season, is pure during the entire year. The people dwelling at Darjeeling may in the course of a few hours have almost any temperature they please. A descent of one or two thousand feet will take them from the cold breezes of the Jellahpahar to the more genial stations on the lower slopes, and in the neighbouring valleys, the old Indian may luxuriate to his heart's content in a climate almost as warm as that of the plains. The valleys are not, however, the most salubrious locations; want of free circulation engenders fever, and other diseases common to low and sultry localities.

The year may be divided into two parts, the rainy and the dry seasons. The rains commence about the middle of May, and continue until the middle of October. The rains in the hills are regular downpours; they come down in right good earnest. Owing to the slopes, and the porous nature of the soil, the water does not long remain on the surface, it is soon either absorbed or finds its way by the mountain streams to the beds of the rivers. A short interval of sunshine serves to render the ground dry,and gives a good road on which the pedestrian or equestrian may take his accustomed rambles. When during the rainy season there is a temporary cessation of the rain, the climate is exquisite and the atmosphere clear and brilliant. The dry season commences in October, and continues until May. January and February are very cold, with almost daily frost. March, April and May are the dry and warm months, or spring period; when beautiful, sweet-scented flowers and indigenous fruits make their appearance. The following extract from the Darjeeling Meteorological Register shews the mean temperature and fall of rain from 1853 to October 1856:—

Extract from the Darjeeling Meteorological Register, mean temperature and fall of Rain from 1853 ***to*** 1856.

MONTHS.	HEIGHT OF INSTRUMENTS ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE SEA, 7,168 FEET.								AVERAGE.	
	1853.		1854.		1855.		1856.			
	Mean temp. of day.	Rain.	Mean temp. of day.	Rain.	Mean temp. of day.	Rain.	Mean temp. of day.	Rain.	Mean temp. of day.	Rain.
January	36.79	1.85	45.85	.10	39.42	.10	40 99	1.78	40.76	.96
February...	47.23	.75	42.01	1.57	41 93	2.03	45.57	.00	44.18	1.09
March......	52.83	.00	51.47	.40	49 36	2.94	52.84	1.38	51.62	1.18
April	57.74	1.00	53.83	5.10	52.58	5.76	56.41	1.15	55.14	3.25
May..... ...	61.35	2.07	59.73	5.68	58.70	11.65	58.00	1.18	59 44	5.14
June	64.34	26.90	62.96	40.57	60 88	21.21	61 37	45.95	62.34	33.40
July..........	65.26	29.49	65.81	18.55	62.24	21 76	62.53	34.77	64.03	26.14
August	64.13	31 26	65.41	40.91	61 97	26.54	61.69	37.61	63.30	34.08
September.	62.02	20.15	63.55	28.10	60.42	15.80	61.18	17.51	61.80	20.40
October ..	56.71	4.34	58.52	4.05	56 20	.02	59.18	15.90	57.65	6.08
November.	49.28	.37	49 47	2.10	49.52	.41	...	...	..	...
December..	45.29	.00	45.14	.20	47 56	.00	...	...	...	...
Means ...	55.24	9.85	55.29	12.28	53.39	90.2				

Lat.. 27° 2′ 53″ N.
Long .... 88° 18′ 41″ E.
Mag. Var................................ 2° 30′ ... E.

Correction of Corresponding Greenwich time — + 5th. 53m. 14¼.

The soil is stiff red or yellow clay, with Gneiss rock lying under it, and in some places coming to the surface. Gneiss crumbled in the form of sand is met with in different parts of the hills. Where the jungle has not been cleared, there is a fine suface soil of vegetable mould, ranging from six to twelve inches in depth. This yields one or two fair crops ; when, however, the vegetable soil is washed away by the rains, little is left but the primitive clay ; with here and there the bald rock standing out. The only minerals at present found in the hills are copper, iron and manganese ; they have not, however, as yet been found in sufficient quantities to remunerate the miner. Lime is found in the valleys.

The prevailing winds are E. to S.-E. during the cold and dry season : and from S. to S.-W. during the rains. It rarely blows from the north, the snowy range being a barrier to the wind in that quarter.

The Darjeeling territory abounds with the following timber, fruit and flowering trees and plants—Oaks. There are several species of the oak. Five are known as yielding good timber. The oak of the Himalaya cannot, however, compete with the sturdy British oak. The damp appears to deprive it of the strength and durability for which its English namesake is famous.—Chesnut. This is an excellent wood, and is used for building purposes. The nut is small and sweet.—Birch—two species.—Maple, two species. Sâl.—This tree, which is one of the best Indian woods, grows abundantly in the neighbourhood of Punkabarria. It is also found on the other side of Darjeeling, near the Runjeet. Sissu,—grows in the valleys of the Ballasun and Runjeet. Toon,—grows to a large size in the lower districts. The Wild Mango,—grows between Kursion and Punkabarria. The fruit is small and cylindrical in form, it has not much of the flavor of the mango of the plains. Rhododendron—white and red. The latter is found only a Darjeeling, the white is in great abundance lower down. It grow to a gigantic size, and flowers in April and May. The wood is white, light and durable. Walnut.—This is a very handsome wood and is used for furniture and house building. Champ,—a yellow cross-grained wood, excellent for ceiling, flooring, chimney pieces, and doors and windows. Magnolia—large handsome tree, white flowered and highly scented, flowers in the spring, scenting the air with its fragrance. Lotus tree—a large handsome tree, flowers in the spring : it bears a profusion of large lotus-like pink flowers—when in full bloom this tree is really the queen of the forest ; it belongs to the genus Magnolia. Sycamore,—somewhat like the Plane tree. The wood is good. The natives use the leaves as a substitute for tea. Holly,—this is a large handsome plant, and especially in the winter, when it is in full leaf, and its branches are covered with scarlet berries. There is a species of Olive, the fruit is as large as a plum. The wood, though not durable, is used for door-posts and out-buildings. Semul,—well known in the plains for its cotton. It grows at an elevation of 3,500 feet. Figs,—two species, edible, they ripen in August. The Pimento tree bears a spicy berry, which has somewhat the flavor of strong orange peel—it is used medicinally by the natives. The Paper tree,—three species, the yellow, white and pink and scarlet flowered. The yellow flowered thrives at an elevation of about 5,000 feet. The paper made from this tree is coarse and dark coloured, the whitish pink is abundant; this thrives in a belt embracing 2,000 feet of elevation, that of Darjeeling, 7.257 feet being the centre—it is the most abundant of the species. The scarlet flowered is found on higher elevations, such as the Sinchal. Olea Fragrans is abundant about Darjeeling, it is sweet scented and flowers in October. Firs are found near the Runjeet. Wild cherry is abundant below Darjeeling. The Barberry is indigenous to the district, the fruit is equal to British fruit, the wood is green and is used for dyeing purposes.

There is a yellow, durable wood, very offensive when fresh cut, called in "the Darjeeling Guide," Stink Wood. The Tea Plant.—This is not indigenous to the Darjeeling district. It was introduced by Dr. Campbell. A few healthy plants are found in the station, the seeds are large and well formed, the leaf is large and coarse. The elevation of Darjeeling is too high for the plant to be very productive; besides which it must suffer from the frost. Tea plants have been sown and raised on the lower slopes, at Tuqvar, to the north, by Captain Masson, at Kursion by S. Smith, Esq., and tea is now being raised at the Canning and Hope Town plantations by the Companies attached to those locations, by Mr. Martin on the Kursion flats, and by Capt. Samler, the agent of the Darjeeling Tea Concern, between Kursion and Pankabarria. There can, we believe, be little doubt but that the tea plant will thrive at an elevation of from 3,500 to 4,500 feet. The managers of Hope Town Tea Concern have been obliged to increase the number of shares, to meet the calls made upon them by parties interested in the project. This concern is indebted for its prosperity to the energy and skill of F. Brine and E. D'Cruz, Esqs. Should these tea plantations succeed, and we see no reason to doubt their success, they will be a great boon to the Darjeeling district, as well as highly remunerative to those concerned. With a view to encourage the growth of tea by the natives, the Government has placed at the disposal of the Acting Resident, Capt. James, several maunds of tea seed for distribution amongst the indigenous agriculturists. It is an experiment worth trying; but we doubt whether the erratic disposition of the Lepcha farmer will allow him to wait four years ere he realizes the fruit of his labours.

The coffee plant has been sown below Kursion, and gives promise of fruit. The soil and climate is favorable to the production of the plant, and if there be sun enough to ripen it thoroughly, there is good hope of success with coffee as well as with tea. We have seen and tasted tea grown near Darjeeling, which to our taste was more palatable than the produce of the Assam tea plantations.

There are five species of raspberries—three of tolerable flavor. They require cultivation to give them a higher flavor. Strawberries are grown by the residents; they are well flavored, a little more acid than the English fruit. They are nevertheless a great treat to those who have so few opportunities, in the plains, of tasting this queen of fruits. Apples, pears, and plums have been introduced by the residents. They do not, however, arrive at perfection. The trees are healthy, and the fruit well formed, but they need sun to ripen them into the mellow flavor of the British fruits. Peaches are grown, but they are hard and bitterish to the taste. They, like the apple, require more sun than Darjeeling can afford. It is probable that these fruits of the Western world, may arrive at greater perfection in the lower ranges, such as Kursion and other spots at the same elevation. Besides the trees mentioned, the Elder, Hydrangia, Bramble, Honeysuckle, Camelia, and the Ivy, and different kinds of climbing plants are found in great abundance at different elevations. A wild purple grape grows on the lower slopes. It is a pleasant fruit, and makes a jelly with somewhat of the flavor of the English damson; if cultivated it would, we think, grow to a much larger size, and might probably produce a common kind of claret.

The Floral world is abundantly represented. Many common English wild flowers bring back to memory the hills and dales and shady nooks and lanes of the fatherland. The fox-glove, daisy and butter-cup, with others of the same order, greet the eye in the spring season. The daisy, though not indigenous, flourishes at Darjeeling. The English primrose is not found in the hills, but a plant with a palish pink flower, called the Sikkim primrose, is abundant in the neighbourhood. The English cabbage rose, imported, and others indigenous to the hills, attain to great perfection, one species of rose which flowers in the spring, deep crimson and well-scented, grows very profusely. Fuschias of two kinds grow to a large size. A large variety of flowers, including two or three varieties of violets, and indigenous to the hills, are continually developing their beauties and making the air aromatic with their fragrance. Ferns are found in rich variety, from the most minute of these feathery plants to the stately and graceful fern tree. The bamboo is found in the valleys, and up to six thousand feet, in great variety; the dwarf species is abundant between

Darjeeling and Kursion. Some of the species grow to a large size, and as in the plains so in these hills, the bamboo is a most useful plant. It is used by the natives for almost every purpose. The water carrier makes his *chunga* out of the larger ones ; and in the same form it is employed by the natives for carrying milk, butter and all similar produce. The leaves of the younger plants are used as food for horses and cattle. The Orchid race is largely represented—many beautiful species are found in the Darjeeling territory. They find a home on the large forest trees, and not unfrequently on their very topmost branches. In the depths of the forests they, with a number of the fern tribe, attached to huge trees and gracefully festooned by luxuriant climbers, give to the forests an elegant and refreshing appearance. Man, if he felt disposed, might well make some of these shaded forests, temples in which to worship Him who made them all.

The Darjeeling potato has earned for itself a name in India. It is well flavored, and when diligently cultivated, a good specimen of the root. It finds a ready market in the plains, and only needs care in the cultivation to become a general favorite. With a view to get the potato down to the plains early in the season, we apprehend it is often gathered before it is fully ripe. This gives it a darkish appearance, deprives it of some of its flavor, and often causes it to sprout. The seed transferred to the plains, the largest and best kinds being selected for seed, and the ground well manured, produces a larger potato than we generally find in the hills. The Darjeeling farmer should look to this. Murwah is extensively grown by the natives. This plant produces a small seed, which when fermented makes a drink which is most popular with the people of the hills. The seed is put into a *chunga* or bamboo bottle, hot water is poured into the bottle, and allowed to remain until the seed is well soaked, the liquor is drunk hot, through a reed or bamboo pipe. Murwah is an intoxicating drink. It forms a part of the daily rations of every native in the hills. It seems when taken as an ordinary drink to induce pleasantry; but like all intoxicating beverages, when taken in large quantities, it leads to drunkenness with its accompanying evils. The taste of Murwah is something like Sweet Wort, the juice of barley prepared for brewing purposes in England. Connoisseurs in Murwah, when they wish to make it more exciting, give it a spice of some pungent condiment.

Bhoota, or Indian corn, is extensively cultivated by the natives. It grows to a large size, and yields generally an excellent crop. It finds a ready sale in the hills. It is used as food for horses and cattle. The natives pound it and make from it a not over digestible cake. The castor-oil and pawn plants grow wild at Kursion and in other spots at the same elevation. Castor-oil and indigo might both be grown at Kursion and Punkabarria for seed. The produce would find a ready and remunerative sale in the plains. Munjeet and cotton both thrive in the Terai—the latter is being more extensively cultivated every year—the whole Terai if cleared might be made one vast cotton-growing country.

Darjeeling produces good specimens of both native and imported vegetables ;—the latter, such as rhubarb, cabbages, peas and beans, are large and upon the whole well flavored. The rhubarb is especially good—the other vegetables have not quite the rich flavor which their home namesakes possess : this in all probability is owing to the moisture of the atmosphere, and also to the fact that the land after a while requires to be well manured.

The native vegetables are not numerous ; the mountain yam is a mealy well flavored vegetable. It grows to a large size, weighing often from one to two seers : the *kachu*, a soft watery yam, a species of colocinth, ripens in the autumn. It is used by the Lepchas as a purgative.

There are also aromatic and medicinal plants, the virtues of which are as yet known almost only to the natives. Oils and essence have been extracted from some of the hill plants by amateurs ; and may probably yield a profitable return to those who bestow more labour in the preparation of the extracts. Grasses of different species, and some of exquisite formation, are found at certain elevations. The indigenous grass is large and coarse, and does not appear to be very nutritious. English grass has been introduced. White clover imported is now no rarity. Some of the slopes in Darjeeling are, in the spring, covered with its sweet-scented flowers, giving the homestead of the residents the appearance of an English farm. Not a stem of red clover rears its head amongst the white, nor have the English primrose or cowslip found their way to Darjeeling.

Butterflies of every size, shape and hue, and moths small and gigantic roam about in this fairy region. Nothing can exceed the beauty of some of the butterfly tribe. Nature appears to have exausted her skill in their formation and coloring. Nor are the moths less elaborate in formation, though not so pleasing to the eye. The Lepchas are great butterfly hunters. They sally forth with a muslin bag at the end of a bamboo, and give chase to these aerial beauties over brake and dell in the valleys of the Runjeet and Balasun, returning with their spoil for sale to the visitors at "the Bright Spot." The average price of these captured beauties if taken promiscuously, is sixty for the rupee, and thirty or forty if the choice ones are picked out. The butterfly hunters have, of course, their tales about some of their wards. One of them refers to the moth. They say that there is one species so large, that the man who catches it is sure to die ; no one, however, has seen this wonderful moth. It is a legend which has doubtless been handed down from generation to generation, a sort of bugbear with which to frighten the young and the timid. Sometimes a large and rare species of butterfly will realize a large price ; we heard of one which was sold for twenty-two rupees. Beetles of singular forms and hues are also abundant in the territory.

In the valleys, birds of rich plumage are found in considerable variety. On the upper ranges, an occasional brace of black eagles may be seen soaring aloft, and a few birds of prey of smaller size are indigenous to the region. Song birds are not numerous at Darjeeling. The thrush discourses sweet music in the spring; the cuckoo, with its once familiar note, comes in April and May; and a species of blackbird hops about, but does not sing often ; and a small blue canary chirps in the trees when the flowers begin to bud. Sparrows and crows are, as the Americans have it, sparse; they are not indigenous—they were introduced by Dr. Campbell. Pheasants of exquisite plumage are numerous; and partridges are found, but not in great abundance. Porcupines, bears, wolves and jackals are indigenous, bears are numerous and sometimes commit great depredations on the *Bhoota* farms. There are other wild animals, and some of the feline genus beautifully marked.

Fish abounds in the rivers, but little of it reaches Darjeeling. The Maha-seer, and some small mountain-stream fish are brought to the station either from the Runjeet or the Balasun by the natives. Fish, however, is not abundant at "the Bright Spot." Fishing is by some pursued as a recreation at the Runjeet. Bees abound in the forests. Honey and bees' wax, gathered by the natives, are brought into the station for sale. The honey is of a rich flavor and congealed. The wax when clarified is of fine quality and finds a ready sale. It is brought in by the natives in cakes of a dark dirty color, and sold for a rupee a seer. Milk and butter are of the first quality and cheap. Twenty quart bottles of milk can be obtained for one rupee. From the milk bought at the door, people sometimes make their own butter. The process is simple and cheap. A preserve bottle is the churn, in which the cream, is well "shaken before taken" out as butter.

The cattle produce of the territory and its neighbourhood consists of the Sikkim and Nepal cow, ponies from Thibet and the plains, sheep, some indigenous, others imported from the plains, and pigs. The cows are well formed, and about the size of good sized English cows. They do not equal the English cow in the quantity of milk they give; the quality is however good, and creams well. The cows feed in the jungle, and the milk has sometimes a taste of the aromatic plants on which they feed. The hill sheep is large boned, and when brought in by the natives is not over well fed. The beef and mutton has not the flavour, nor is it so tender, as that of the plains: but a good appetite, added to a few days' keep, makes it very palatable. Pigs appear to thrive in the hands of the caterers for the public appetite. The pork is well flavoured, and when cured, makes excellent corned pork. The Darjeeling hams are not unlike the small Yorkshire hams, and when carefully cured, find a ready market in the plains. A good ham, of from eight to ten pounds, may be bought in Darjeeling for from three-eight to five rupees. Poultry is scarce; the supplies are generally brought up from the plains. Ghee is abundant in some parts of the hills; and especially in the Nepal district; it is of fine quality and of reasonable price. It might be turned to profitable account by the Darjeeling farmers.

Mineral springs have been found in the Darjeeling district. Two of these "medicine wells" have attracted attention. The first to which the notice of the residents was called is Menchu, or the "medicine water." This is situated in the valley of the Rungnoo, about six miles from the station. Its medicinal virtues had been long known to the natives. They had resorted to it for the cure of rheumatism, cutaneous and scrofulous diseases. Their mode of administering the water was twofold—the hot bath, this they prepared by damming up the water and throwing in hot stones: in addition to the bath they drank the water and cooked their food with it. The same plan has been adopted by their more civilized neighbours, and in some instances with considerable success. Cases have been cited in which considerable benefit has been derived from a residence at Menchu. The water has been sent to practical chemists in Calcutta, to be analysed and reported upon. As in almost all similar cases doctors have differed. The first report was to the effect that the Menchu water contained iron and sulphur and other medicinal substances in small proportions: the last report pronounced it only the very purest water: both reports, however, may be to a certain extent correct. Every thing will depend on the season when the water is procured. If it be obtained in the dry season, its real properties will be developed; if in the rains, it must, from the porous nature of the soil, and the large and constant fall of rain, be so diluted as to be little better than the ordinary water found in the mountain streams. One thing is clear, whatever the chemists may report, that some persons have derived considerable benefit from, a residence at the springs. The natives, the children of nature, who seldom err in these matters, have looked upon the Menchu spring as medicine water. Another spring has been discovered a short distance from Menchu, on which the resident medical men have reported favorably. Water from a third spring in the centre of the station has been sent to Calcutta and has been analysed. It contained a considerable portion of iron, a trace of sulphur, and carbonates considerable. This was the result of a rough analysis. There can be no doubt but the Darjeeling hills abound with similar springs, some of which may be probably more impregnated with medical virtues than those at present discovered—a better acquaintance with the country, and more patients benefited by the waters, will however soon set this, at present debateable, matter at rest: Chemists, like Doctors, are not always infallible, and one cure is better than a dozen theories.

The Resident is invested with almost supreme authority in matters Judicial and Civil. An order in Council, dated 4th September 1839, contains the rules, twenty-one in number, for "regulating the assignment of locations and grants of land in the Hill Tract attached to the station of Darjeeling, and for the administration of the said Tract." These rules, says the Report on Darjeeling, speak of the Superintendent "as the officer in Civil and Political charge at Darjeeling." "The police and magisterial authority will be exercised by the officer in Civil and Polical charge." Rule 4 declares "The officer in Civil charge is vested with the power and authority of Civil Judge in respect to all claims, complaints and disputes that may arise, and be cognizable in the Civil Courts of the settlement, under the Acts and Regulations in force in the Bengal Presidency." These were all the regulations originally given to the Superintendent for the government of a tract of country covered with dense jungle, and in which he had to administer Civil and Criminal Justice and Police, and to collect revenue. Other instructions, principally suggested by Dr. Campbell, for the collection of revenue, have received the sanction of Government. The Acts and Regulations in force in Bengal, happily for the Darjeeling district, have never come into operation in the territory. With this simple code the territory of Darjeeling has, from a tract of jungle and forests, become a thriving country; an important frontier station.

The revenue from land as given by the Report is as follows :—

Total Jumma of Morung	30,761
Deduct cost of Collection	3,034
Remainder	27,727
Total Jumma of new Hill Territory, no cost of Collection	140
Total Jumma of Hill Territory appropriated to local purposes, no cost of Collection	6,025
Total Jumma of Darjeeling Territory	36,926
Total cost of Collection, 8 per cent	3,034
Net Income ... Rs.	33,892

"The income of the Hill Territory, Rs. 6,025, is appropriated to local purposes by order of Government. The income of the territory in the hills and in the Morung, according to the new settlement, is Rs. 27,867, this is the clear revenue derived from the district by the State and available as income."

The following statement of the Receipts and Expenditure connected with the Treasury, for the whole territory, will serve to show what a change has been wrought in this once jungly and unproductive district :—

In 1852-53.

Receipts.		*Disbursements.*	
Cash for Drafts issued	1,23,210	Executive Department Assignments	37,217
Ditto for Land Revenue	26,773	Post Office	8,032
Ditto for Abkaree	2,228	Drafts Revenue and Military Department	1,62,055
Ditto for Post Office	10,253	Audited Bills	74.362
Ditto for Fines	558	Pension	8,000
Remittances from other Treasuries	1,54,000	Interest on loan Accounts	1,235
Stamps	621	Miscellaneous	26,259
Miscellaneous	19,581		
Total Rs.	3,37,226	Total Rs.	3,171,80

The number of civil suits decided during five years, according to the Report, was five hundred and one ; or an average of one hundred suits a year. The number of criminal cases decided during the same period was one thousand four hundred and twenty-two. The number of prisoners sent up for trial in 1852, was four hundred and fifty-one,—convicted, one hundred and seventy-nine,—acquitted, two hundred and seventy-two. The

Report estimates the entire population of the district at ten thousand. The entire income derived from the territory is estimated by the same authority at fifty thousand rupees.

The following statistics will show the state of crime amongst the natives and the nature of the crimes to which the people are addicted. In 1852, there were petty affrays 57, abductions 37, false imprisonment 8, assaults with wounding 5, child stealing 1, burglary, aggravated 4, cattle stealing 22, thefts 60, plunder of houses 4. Not a solitary case of murder occurs in the list, and the graver offences against the laws are comparatively few.

The vigilance of the police must exceed that of the plains if the following statistics of property stolen and recovered be a standard by which we may judge :—

Value of property stolen.	Value of property recovered.
1850 .... 3.045	2,096
1851 2,460	1,237
1852 2,219	329

It is a singular and strange fact that the language in which the official business of the Court is transacted is Bengali, and this in a Court where the bulk of the people are almost as ignorant of that dialect as they are of the language of Timbuctoo. This, at least, whatever else may not need it, requires reform.

We have referred to trade with the neighbouring countries, and especially with Thibet—the people of Thibet are believed to be well disposed towards the British Government. The Chinese Government, with whom rests the appointment of the officials at Lassa, is not favorable to free trade with outside barbarians, and has done all in its power to prevent intercourse between the two countries. Previous to the disruption with Sikkim, through which country the high road to Lassa passes, the influence of the Chinese Government in Thibet had been much weakened. The value of the imports from Lassa to Darjeeling by this route was estimated at 50,000 Rs. annually. On the high road from "the Bright Spot" to Lassa are two large towns, Phari with a population of 40,000, and Geanchee Shubur with a population of 20,000.

The imports from Thibet consist of salt, gold, silver, precious stones, and coarse woollen stuffs. The principal import is wool. The flocks of Thibet are very numerous, and the wool is of the finest quality. It is as fine as Merino with a much longer staple. The Report treating on this subject says—

"The fineness of this wool is attributed to the same cause as that of the merino; the fine and succulent short pasture of the Thibet hills, while the cold climate has the usual effect on the fleece, of supplying that peculiar quality which is found in the shawl wool of the Thibet goats. The high plains on which these numerous flocks feed are of immense extent, and if the importation of the article could be facilitated, it would become a source of profit to our speculators and manufacturers, and of riches and civilization to the Steppes of Thibet, which have been hitherto excluded from all possibility of improvement by the rigid application of the exclusive policy of the Chinese. The nearest road to Lassa from the British territory lies through Darjeeling by the Choombi Valley, and the towns of Phari and Geanchee Shubur already mentioned, as forming the present line of traffic: the distance about 500 miles, of which 70 miles in Sikkim as far as Choombi. The Thibetan institutions are such as to admit, without difficulty, of the establishment of a consul of a foreign nation at Lassa for the protection and control of the foreigners carrying on trade there. I am informed that Lassa is visited by people of all the neighbouring nations as merchants. The merchants of each nation appoint their own consul as the medium of communication with the Thibet Government, and to settle their own disputes without reference to the Government of their own country. The Nimals of Nepal, the Cashmerees, the Ladakees, and the people of Bootan have all headmen or consuls of these descriptions in Lassa, as well as other States lying between China and Thibet. If, therefore, the traffic of Thibet could be extended by improvement of the communication, it would be easy to effect a commercial establishment in Lassa, if the opposition of the Chinese power, now so much on the wane, could be once got over."

The Lassa merchants are about a month on the journey from that place to "the Bright Spot." The traffic between the two countries shows how important it is for the British Government to obtain, once more, a free passage through the Sikkim country.

It is but natural that we should briefly touch on the diseases prevalent in the Darjeeling territory. The following medical statistics for eight years in connection with the convalescent depôt, give a succinct and clear view on this subject in connection with European ailments:—

Table showing the Strength of the Depôt, Mortality, &c., since its formation in 1848.

Years.	Strength.				Deaths.				Invalided.				Proportion of Deaths to Strength.	Percentage of Deaths to Strength.	Average Strength during each year.	Diseases of those men who have died during each year.											Total number of Deaths during each year.*
	Officers.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Officers.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Officers.	Men.	Women.	Children.				Anasarca.	Bronchitis.	Cynanche Tonsil.	Diarrhœa.	Dysentery.	Febris Remittent.	Hepatitis Ch.	Hematemesis.	Phthisis Pul.	Paralysis.	Syphilis Con.	
From 1st April 1848 to the 1st April 1849 ...	3	43	3	2	...	6	...	...	...	1	...	..	6 to 71⅔	8·32	71	..	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	6
Ditto ditto 1849 ditto 1850...	3	73	5	4	..	8	...	.	...	...	...	...	8 to 85	9·35	56·84	1	...	..	...	3	1	2	..	..	1	...	8
Ditto ditto 1850 ditto 1851...	5	107	8	7	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 to 127	1·73	70·88	...	...	...	...	2	...	..	..	...	...	...	2
Ditto ditto 1851 ditto 1852...	4	96	21	24	...	6	...	...	...	..	...	...	6 to 145	4·20	103·72	1	1	1	...	1	.	...	...	2	...	...	6
Ditto ditto 1852 ditto 1853...	3	72	2	..	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1 to 77	1·27	75·20	..	...	...	...	..	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ditto ditto 1853 ditto 1854...	8	136	4	5	...	6	...	...	...	6	...	...	6 to 153	2·38	77·86	...	...	...	2	1	1	..	1	1	...	...	6
Ditto ditto 1854 ditto 1855...	5	74	4	8	...	1	...	...	...	12	...	..	1 to 91	1·09	72·9	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ditto ditto 1855 ditto 1856...	4	68	3	7	...	1	...	...	...	12	...	...	1 to 82	1·18	68·2	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1

The following table shows the rate of mortality am native prisoners in the Darjeeling jail, and also amo Sebundy Corps during the years 1853 to 1856:—

Prisoners in the Jail.

1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.
3 Deaths occurred. 2 By Dysenteria Chro 1 By Diarrhœa.	1 Death occurred. By Febris Quodn. Intermittent.	8 Deaths occurred. 1 By Febris Tertian 2 ,, ,, Remittens. 2 ,, Dysenteria Acute 1 ,, ,, Chron. 1 ,, Coma. 1 ,, Cachexiœ Syphiloides.	1 Death occurred. By Diarrhœa in September last.
Average daily strength } 38.11 Average daily of sick ... } 6.2	Average daily strength .. } 37.91 Average daily of sick ... } 6 52	Average daily strength .. 45 65 Average daily of sick ... 6.65	

Sebundy Corps of Sappers.

1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.
3 Deaths occurred by Variola.	1 Death occurred by Splenitis.	1 Death occurred by Enterites.	No death.
Average daily strength . } 2.10 Average daily of sick ... } 3.04	Average daily strength } 209 Average daily of sick } 5.7	Average daily strength .. 209 Average daily of sick .. 5.21	

The natives are subject to slight fever, dysentery, rheumatism, small-pox, and other diseases common to genial but humid climates. Darjeeling is not the best climate for pulmonary complaints; nor is it a desirable residence for persons at all affected with rheumatic affections, or indeed for any troubled with complaints to which humidity is an ally. The effect of the climate on the majority of constitutions is in the highest degree favorable. A very brief residence enables the invalid visitor to shake off his weakness and his ennui. He becomes buoyant and cheerful; new life is sent through his veins like magic. The residents generally are pictures of robust health. For some constitutions it is better adapted than the colder climate of Britain. In cases, however, of complete prostration, we believe that the Darjeeling hills will not supply the place of the bracing and invigorating climate of Europe. It would at least require as long a residence in the hills as it would in Europe, in which case we suspect the majority of invalids would prefer Europe, with its home associations, advantages and excitement. Man is so constituted, that he needs something more than climate to and physically after a long and weary ng plains of India. For an agreeable and persons weary of the plains, or to those on fastened his chronic hand, we can think of arjeeling, while for old Indians who intend ir home, or for enterprising people with es, the Darjeeling hills offer a prospect than which nothing can be more pleasant or hopeful.

For children Darjeeling is indeed "the Bright Spot." Its climate is really the children's friend. If blooming, rosy faces, healthy bodies and buoyant spirits be a boon to the young, they have them all in Darjeeling. We doubt whether any English village could produce such a fine show of robust and healthy children as the station can display. It is quite a treat, after being familiar with the pale faced little ones of the plains, to meet the joyous, merry-faced urchins in the hills. Their faces vie in colour with the blushing roses of their own fair gardens. In proof of the adaptation of the hills to the constitutions of children, we may mention that the Roman Catholic Nunnery has been established upwards of ten years; during that period but little serious sickness has visited the pupils, and not one death has occurred within its walls. The pupils are all from the plains, and generally are sent up in a weak and sickly state.

The religious condition of the hill tribes has not been overlooked by Christian philanthropy. The Rev. W. Start, a truly good man, who has been the means of introducing several excellent Missionaries into the field of Missions in North India, while on a visit some years back, resolved on establishing a Mission at Darjeeling. His chief object was the conversion of the Lepchas.

Mr. Start brought out from Europe a small staff of German artizan Missionaries, and located them in Darjeeling and its immediate neighbourhood. His idea was that the Missionaries should after a time support themselves by engaging in agricultural and other secular pursuits. The plan, from causes which we need not discuss, did not answer, and the Mission now consists of one Missionary, who labours chiefly amongst the Lepchas.

There was in former years a school connected with the Mission for Lepcha children. It is at present discontinued. A Grammar of the Lepcha dialect has been compiled by Mr. Neible the Missionary: portions of the Holy Scriptures have been translated into the Lepcha tongue, and a few smaller publications have been published and distributed amongst the people. In addition to Missionary labours Mr. Start preached for some years, and before a chaplain was appointed to the station, to the Christian population, in a chapel built at his own cost, and free of all charge to the people. This is the only attempt which has been made to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel amongst the hill tribes.

We think, as a centre of influence for Christian missions, Darjeeling is a station of importance, and ought not to be lost sight of by the Christian Church.

The people resident in the Darjeeling territory are the Mechis, the Lepchas, the Nepalese and the Bhooteas. There are a few other mountaineers scattered here and there in the district, such as the Garrows, the Dimals and Lharrahs. Their neighbours are the Limboos, Murmis, Haioos and Kerautis. The first named tribes, however, form the staple of the population of the Darjeeling hills.

The *Mechis* inhabit the Terai district. They are seldom, if ever, found at an elevation higher than one thousand feet. Their cast of countenance is Mongolian, accompanied by a squalid softness of outline, which distinguishes them from some other of the mountain tribes of Mongolian origin. They are migratory in their habits. Though living in the Terai, which is so fatal to strangers, they are generally healthy. Their chief occupation is clearing the Terai: on the clearances they cultivate cotton and rice, and graze buffaloes. Of religion they have but a very slender knowledge. The little they have is of the Shivite form of Hinduism. The Brahmins have no influence over them, and they have no *Gurus*: priests they have none, nor have they any temples: they perform no *Shradh*. They bury their dead in some convenient part of the jungles. Their funeral obsequies consist in feasting and placing food on the graves of the dead. They are a dirty and easy living race, and rank very low in the scale of human society. They have no caste, eat fowls, buffaloes, cows, and the carrion of all animals, the elephant excepted. They have too much respect for the *hati* to serve him up as food. The marriages are contracted at an early period of life and at convenience. The men purchase their wives, at prices varying from ten to sixteen rupees. If the bridegroom cannot pay for the bride in cash, he works for her parents until he has earned his prize. Beauty is the standard by which the price is regulated. The women, besides attending to the household duties, take their full share with the men in the labours of the field. The Mechi language has no written character. It is doubtful whether it is of Thibetan or Burmese extraction, or whether it has a common origin with that of the Coles and other aboriginal wild tribes of India. The probability is that it is a compound of different dialects.

The *Lepchas* are the aborigines of the Darjeeling hills. They are divided into two races, the "Rong" and the "Khamba." They have a written language, but no history, legends, literature, books or manuscripts. They appear to have little if any tradition as to their origin or how they came into the hills. The only tradition which we could gather was that they came from a neighbouring district, and that their ancestors came from the top of one of the mountains—a faint tradition of the story of the flood. They are evidently of Mongolian origin.

Their expression of countenance is, when young, pleasing. It is soft and feminine. They are a cheerful, apparently contented people, with few wants and little or no anxiety ; and as dirty in their persons and habits as a people can well be. They are migratory and very erratic in their mode of living, seldom continuing more than three years on one location. Some of them take service in the families of the residents and visitors, but they are seldom to be depended upon. Love of change is so inherent in their nature, that they will flit in a night without rhyme or reason from one family to another. Their occupation is chiefly as chair bearers or house servants, they will not work as coolies. The religion of the Lepchas, such as it is, is in form Budhist. They appear, however, to give themselves but little trouble on religious matters—they are evidently timid and superstitious, fear their priests and evil spirits. Their concern religiously is evidently to avert evil. " If God be good " they say " he will not harm us, " and why should we trouble him, our business should be to avert " evil." We were informed by one well able to offer an opinion on the subject, that they have no word in the language to express the idea of the Supreme being : they only refer to some attribute of God, and not to God himself.

The dress of the Lepcha is graceful, it is quite an oriental Highland costume—their food is coarse and their cooking not over-delicate. The women labour as much, if not more, than the men : they, unlike the majority of oriental women, walk abroad as do the women of the western world. Every Lepcha carries a formidable knife in his belt. It is used for every purpose, from cutting a potatoe to clearing the jungle. In the hands of a Lepcha it is a powerful weapon. Marriages are contracted in mature life : the bride is purchased. Previously to marriage the women are not strictly bound to chastity, after marriage it is rigidly enforced. The Lepchas bury their dead ; they have a great dread of death ; they are a healthy race, and notwithstanding their dirty habits, are remarkably free from the ills which flesh is heir to. They have little taste for music, and unlike most mountain tribes, have but few musical instruments. Their singing is a sort of low chant, and not at all ungrateful in their mountain solitude. They have no towns and but few villages. They often perch one or two houses on the brow of a hill or some cleared spot, where at night its fire light shines like a dim star. The Lepcha is fond of a forest life. In excursions into the interior he is an excellent companion and a good servant. He is then in his element and appears to be quite in his glory. They are an intelligent race and display a good deal of curiosity about things beyond their ken, We once had occasion to spend a few days in the house of a Lepcha Subah or chieftain, and had good opportunities of forming a fair estimate of their domestic character. It was modest, cheerful, courteous, and inquisitive. It was, however, indolent and not over-marked by cleanliness. If the Lepchas could be brought under the influence of Christianity, we incline to think they would be a very interesting and hopeful race.

They have some imagination, and often use, in ordinary conversation striking figures : they say, referring to the leaves of the trees on which they eat their food, "we have plates of gold in the morning and plates of silver in the evening."

The *Bhooteas* are unmistakeably of Mongolian origin and Budhist in religion. They are a more athletic race than the Lepchas. They are a taller, more robust and a sterner clan than any in the hills; they are equally if not more dirty than the Lepchas. They are not so amiable or cheerful as their neighbours. They have more of the Chinese nature in them ; they are cunning and great cheats, are fond of strong waters, and when under their influence not over amiable. They are the coolies of the hills, and can carry very heavy burdens. Some of the men will carry four maunds, a distance of thirty miles up the hill. The women are also very strong, the old women may be seen toiling up the hill with not very light burdens.

The *Nepalese* are a light and nimble people : they come as agricultural and industrial labourers from the Nepal country. They have a pleasing expression of countenance and are a laborious race: their pay is two annas a day, the day reckoning from seven in the morning till five in the evening. They are in religion Hindus. They are not strictly speaking residents ; they come for a while, and then return to their homes, to visit their families, who by the laws of Nepal are not allowed to accompany them across the border. Such is Darjeeling, its territory and its people.

In a military point of view it is important. It is an outpost from which the Nepalese and the less numerous and diversified tribes which people the mountains and valleys to the north and east may be watched and held in check. To do this efficiently, should necessity require it, the station must have a stronger military force that it has at present: one hundred and eighty native sappers, with two or three small guns, and one hundred European invalids, could do little to protect the territory, should occasion arise for defence, much less could such a force attempt anything in the shape of conquest, should it be deemed necessary to strengthen our position on our north-eastern frontier. Happily, however, with the exception of the Nepalese, there is nothing to fear from the neighbouring tribes, and but little if any temptation to make conquest,—except it be the conquest of civilization—in a country so vast in extent, so scantily populated, and with so little to repay the expense of life and property, which invasion must entail.

As a Sanatarium Darjeeling must, so far as Bengal and Behar are concerned, ever hold a very high place. It is the only place, save the broad blue sea, to which the weary and jaded invalid of the plains can look, in this neighbourhood, for renewed health and re-invigorated spirits. Notwithstanding the exceptions we have taken to Darjeeling, we believe, it is the greatest boon to the people of the plains which a wise and kind Providence has placed at their disposal; and we only wish that the approaches to it were such as to place it within the reach of all classes of the community. A few years and the railway and a new road now in course of construction through Purneah will not only diminish the distance, but lessen the expense of a trip to Darjeeling. When these arrangements have been completed, the resident in Calcutta will be able to reach Darjeeling within a week by easy and pleasant stages, and at a reasonable cost.

As a field for emigration and settlement we look upon the Darjeeling territory with hope. If one of the finest climates in the world, and a country capable of producing the staples which the Darjeeling district has already developed, be at all indicative of success, we think that it affords hope of much better and greater things. Every man who has settled in these hills, with the determination to succeed, has prospered, and there is nothing to prevent the course they have pursued being pursued by many more. We do not say that immense fortunes could be realized in the Darjeeling hills, but of this we are assured, that prosperous and happy homesteads, and fair remuneration for honest industry, might be realized. Thriving and healthy families might be reared at comparatively little cost, while in the distance would loom for such families a good, healthful and peaceful homes.

The effect of such emigration on the territory would be only for good. Its resources would be more fully developed, and its traffic largely increased, and instead of untilled valleys, and jungle-covered mountains, would spring up on every hand, and as far as the eye could reach, small prosperous settlements of an industrious and happy people; the best safeguard of the frontier, and the best gift which civilization and religion could confer on the now wandering and ignorant tribes which people the countries immediately contiguous. Darjeeling answers a great and good object as a Sanatarium. This, however, ought to be but the precursor to a far nobler object: such a country, we believe, has been cast in our way for a far higher purpose than that of securing health or recreation for the sick and the weary of the scorching plains of India.

As a field of Missions, the Darjeeling territory should not be lost sight of by those who are interested in the diffusion of Christianity in the east, and especially on our north-eastern frontier. Attempts have been made in this direction, and though they have not been attended with the success which could have been desired, this is no reason why a more matured and determined effort should not be made to diffuse the knowledge of the Christian faith over this wide and interesting field. Here we have a country bordering on Thibet, and within a month's journey of Lassa its capital on the one hand, and on the other stretching away to the east to the very borders of Burmah and China, with Darjeeling, a most healthy spot, as a centre, from which the rays of Christianity and of civilization might be sent forth to cheer and guide those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of spiritual death. The door is wide; who will enter in and possess the land for Him who is destined to be Lord of all?

With reference to this subject, we may be permitted to remark, that it does not appear to us that the Moravian, or Industrial system of Missions will succeed here, or in any part of India. Europeans cannot gain a livelihood as tradesmen in competition with natives, to whom six-pence is not merely "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," but a very large return for it. It is true that a European will do more in a day than a native; but even if he could do double, and earn eight annas, or a shilling, a day, he could not live on that; indeed, that would be but a small contribution towards the defraying of his expenses. But we cannot doubt that openings would be found for introducing the Gospel among the natives by preaching, and by means of schools of a humble character, in which elementary education might be given in combination with Christian truth.

ROE AND CORYATE.

BY COLONEL BROOME.

1. *Purchas his Pilgrimes.* London, Paul's Church Yard, at the Sign of the Rose, 1625.
2. *Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels.* London, at the Golden Ball, Paternoster Row, 1744.
3. *A Voyage to the East Indies.* Observed by EDWARD TERRY, then Chaplain to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Roe, Knt., Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Reprinted from the edition of 1655. London, 1777.
4. *Coryate's Crudities.* Reprinted from the edition of 1611. London, 1776.
5. *Bruce's Annals of the East India Company.* London, 1810.
6. *Biographia Britannica.* London, 1760.

SIR THOMAS ROE and TOM CORYATE! What connection can there be—some of our readers may exclaim—between two men of such widely differing characters, between the firm, prudent, and dignified ambassador and diplomatist, and the flighty, crack-brained, erratic pedestrian, or—as he delighted to term himself—the Odcombian legge-stretcher? And yet widely as they differed in many respects, there were still certain points of resemblance in their characters, which may perhaps be deemed national features,—at any rate it is pleasing so to consider them. Both possessed a considerable share of independence and straightforward honesty, though exhibited in different fashions; each was actuated by a high sense of morality and of honorable feeling, although in the peripatetic it was frequently manifested in a form more quaint than chivalrous; and both were remarkably gifted with the great Anglo-Saxon virtues of energy and indomitable perseverance, which carried them forward successfully towards the widely different goals each had set before himself.

But the circumstances which lead to their juxta-position in this article is one of specially Indian interest, to wit, their having strangely and unexpectedly been thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the Durbar of the *Great Mogul*, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or *English Fakir*, were alike incomprehensible to the Padshah and to those around him. A brief sketch of the careers of the two men so strangely brought into contact and contrast under such peculiar circumstances, may not be altogether without interest; more especially as the requisite details are at present widely scattered, and probably not within the reach of the majority of our readers; even were they disposed to incur the trouble of hunting out and connecting the disjointed fragments of the narrative, which, in neither case, can after all be rendered satisfactorily complete.

We cannot pretend within the limits of a Review article to do more than touch on the leading points in the careers of our two heroes, dwelling only at any length on the period of their Indian experiences.

We commence with the greater though not the elder man of the two, whose name is the most familiar in India, although we believe that the details even of his history are but little known. Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the City of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson Sir Thomas Roe was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the City: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailor's School; he married a daughter of Sir John Gresham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one Robert was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan, but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen, he was entered a Commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and shortly after was appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March 1604, he was knighted by James the 1st, and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America.

With this object in view he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession.

Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 24th February 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it; having sailed up its course for 200 miles, and then proceeded above 100 miles further in boats. From thence he sailed northward and westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July 1611.

On the 14th January 1615, he was commissioned by King James the 1st, to be *Ambassador to the Great Mogul or King of India;* from which period he comes specially within the scope of Indian historical interest. The circumstances which led to the appointment were as follows:

Fifteen years had elapsed since "the Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" had received their Charter of Incorporation from Queen Elizabeth. Their efforts for the first ten or twelve years were confined to experimental voyages to India and the Eastern Archipelago; but everywhere they found the Portuguese firmly established in power, and both willing and prepared to oppose any intruders in a field which they considered especially their own. The English Company, however, persevered; and finally, under an imperial firman, dated 11th January 1613, established their head-quarters in Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya and Goza, whence they were extended to Ajmere and Agra. The Portuguese, jealous of these advances, assembled a powerful armament, and in the beginning of 1614, attacked four English vessels at anchor off Swally, the port of Surat; but were defeated with heavy loss in life and reputation, to the general delight of the native population, and especially of the Agents of the Mogul Government, to whom the overbearing, insolent and rapacious conduct of the Portuguese had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious.

The Agents of the Company at Surat taking advantage of this favourable change, despatched Mr. Edwardes to the Court of the Great Mogul, then at Agra, with considerable presents and directions to obtain more favourable terms of trade; whilst the Company at home applied to King James the 1st, to obtain his Royal authority that an Ambassador should proceed in his name to the Great Mogul, the Company agreeing to defray the expenses, in consideration that, under their exclusive privileges, they were to acquire such benefits as might result from the mission.

The royal choice fell upon Sir Thomas Roe, and a better selection it would have been difficult to make. In the prime of life, —being then about thirty-five years of age,—active and energetic, with a grave and stately demeanour, considerable tact, a good education, experience in mercantile affairs, a decided talent for diplomacy, great firmness of purpose and strength of character, he was eminently qualified for the difficult position of Envoy to a despotic and powerful native Court, as he was neither likely to be dazzled by the display of barbaric wealth, nor awed by the power or frowns of an arrogant sovereign, whilst he possessed the ability and temper requisite to enable him to deal with the intrigues and rapacity of the ministers at the Durbar.

The following letter addressed by King James to "*Selim Shagh the Great Mogol*" was entrusted to Sir Thomas Roe, as also a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance, the Mogul's acceptance of, and signature to, which was the main object of the Embassy.

"*James by the Grace of Almightie God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, &c. To the High and Mightie Monarch the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir) and Corazon, (Khorasan), &c. Greeting:—*

"We have notice of Your great favour toward Us and Our subjects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Captaines of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynment of Our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff *(Sheikh Suffee)* Governor of the Guzerats, in Your name, with Our loving subject Captaine Thomas Best appeareth; Have thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne betweene Us, and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable commerce. Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall gentleman of Our Court, to whom Wee have given commission under Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom Wee pray You to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall mouve or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of Our good inclination and welwishing toward You, Wee pray You to accept in good part the Present, which Our said Ambassadour, will deliver unto You. And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almightie God."

The presents prepared for the embassy were, unfortunately, on an unwise scale of economy, and moreover were ill selected; the most important amongst them being a State carriage of the period.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keelinge, Sir Thomas embarked on the "*Lion,*" Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March 1615, and after touching at Saldanha and the Comera Islands in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui! they reached Socotra on the 24th August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keelinge, the President and merchants of the factory, and "a Court of Guard of one hundred shot" *(musketeers)* from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships in their best equipage gave him their Ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect; which did not, however, exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the Governor, who by force searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit.

After much controversy and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started on the 30th of October for the Padshah's Court, which was then established at Ajmir. The details of this trip as given in *Purchas* and *Churchill,* although differing in some particulars, appear to be taken from the same journal; both narratives are somewhat scanty and meagre, but as they are written by Sir Thomas himself in the first person, we prefer adopting his own language as far as practicable; which course we will pursue in the whole account of his Indian visit, connecting the scattered notices of interest by the few necessary remarks, and, as far as we are enabled to do so, filling up the blanks in his narrative.

His suite appears to have consisted of a Secretary, a Chaplain, an Artist and fifteen English domestics. At starting he followed the course of the Taptee up to Burhanpur; his own brief account of this route is as follows:—

> "On the 30th of October I departed Surat and travelled but foure cosses to Oumaria: the 1st of November to a village: the 2nd to Biarat twenty-one miles, where there is a castle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of Guzerat, subject to the Mogul, and belonging to Abraham Chan. The 3rd entered the kingdom of Pardaffsha, a Pagan lord of the hills, subject to nobody, and at fifteen miles' end lay in the fields by a city of note called Mugher. The 4th, nine miles, rocky way, lay in the fields by a village called Narompara: the 5th, fifteen miles in the fields: the 6th, twenty miles to Nunderbar, a city of the kingdom of Brampore, subject to the Mogul. Here we had first bread after coming from Surat, because the Banians who inhabit all the country, make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, especially of cattle, the Banians killing none or selling any to be killed. One day I met ten thousand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and most days after, lesser parcels. The 7th, eighteen miles to Nimgul: the 8th, fifteen to Sirchelly: the 9th fifteen to Tolmere, (*Talnier*). The 10th, eighteen to Chapre, where having pitched the tents without the town, the king's officers attended me all night with thirty horse and twenty shot, for fear of the robbers in the mountains, because I refused to move into the town. The 11th, eighteen miles: the 13th, eighteen miles, and the 14th, fifteen miles to Brampore, (*Burhanpur,*) which I guess to be two hundred and twenty-three miles east from Surat. The country miserable and barren, the towns and villages all built of mud, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batharpore, a village two miles short of Brampore; in their store house of Ordnance I saw divers of brass, but generally too short and too wide bored."

At his entrance to Burhanpur Sir Thomas was met by the "Cutwall well attended with sixteen colours carried before him," by whom he was accompanied to the Serai of the town, which he calls the "*Seralia,*" and describes as being "a handsome front of stone, but the four chambers alloted me like ovens, no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the wall side;" a description that any one who has had the misfortune to put up in a Mogul Serai will readily recognize.

Here he found Sultan Parviz, the second son of Jehangir, who, together with the Khan-i-Khanan had, at the head of a large force, established their head-quarters at Burhanpur, in order to control the confederate Deckani monarchs, who,—under the guidance of Malik Amber, an Abyssinian adventurer, who had raised himself to the position of minister and actual ruler of the Nizam Shahi government,—continued to assert their independence. Of the relative positions of Parviz and the Khan-i-Khanan, Sir Thomas observes: "The Prince hath the name and state, but the Channa Channa governs all."

On the 18th "for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince who desired it, and whom he was loathe to distaste, because there was some purpose of erecting a factory in the town, where he found by experience that sword-blades sold well in the Armie," Sir Thomas went to visit the Prince, carrying a suitable present with him.

Here the ambassador had to make his first stand for his privileges and position. He was escorted to the palace by his old acquaintance the Kutwal with a hundred horsemen, and found the Prince "seated in a gallery in great but barbarous state, with a rich canopie over him, and underneath all carpets, and all his officers and the great men of the town standing round with their hands before them as slaves." To describe it rightly, he observes, "it was like a great stage, and the Prince sat above like as the mock kings doe there." On advancing to the front, through a lane of courtiers, an officer came and directed him to take off his hat and bow down touching the ground with his head. This he firmly refused to do, observing that "he came in honor to see the Prince and was free from the customs of servants," and passing to the front of the throne. which was raised on a platform ascended by three steps, he bowed his body in the English manner, observing that being ambassador from the King of England to the Prince's father, he could not pass the city without visiting him. Parviz bade him welcome, and asked him numerous questions regarding King James and England, when Sir Thomas, tired of standing below, and probably doubtful of his own exact rights, requested to be allowed "to come up and stand by him," to which Parviz replied that "if the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted." Sir Thomas ventured to doubt this assertion, but observed that he did not require the privileges or position of those potentates, but the same that their ambassadors would receive. The Prince protested that "he already had them, and should in all things." Still not satisfied, he demanded a chair, and goes on to say, "I was answered no man ever sat in that place, but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease myself against a pillar covered about with silver, that held up his canopie." These matters adjusted, the presents were produced, and permission solicited to establish a factory at Burhanpur, and also for a supply of fresh carriage to carry on the presents to the Padshah. These were readily accorded, and the Prince satisfied with the result of the interview, proposed—as he could not admit of Sir Thomas on the platform of the throne in public—to adjourn to a private room, when he would shortly receive the ambassador in a quiet way and on a more equal and familiar footing. He accordingly broke up the Durbar and went into another apartment; but unfortunately one of the presents was a case of wine, to which the Prince immediately applied himself, and soon became hopelessly drunk, when Sir Thomas, after waiting for a short time, returned to his quarters.

That night he was attacked with fever, which delayed his progress until the 27th, when he recommenced his march, though still weak and carried in a litter. On the 5th of December he crossed the Nerbudda, apparently at or below Mundlaisir, and encamped on the 6th, near Mandu, which he calls "the King's famous castle of Mandva," with which he subsequently became better acquainted. On the 18th of December, his tents were pitched under the far-famed fort of Chitor, which then, as now, was a deserted ruin, although its famous siege and capture had only occurred in the previous reign. He describes it as "an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appears a tombe of wonderful magnificence; there still stands above one hundred churches, all of carved stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow, many pillars and innumerable houses, but no one inhabitant. There is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitous, sloaping up, cut out of the rocke, having foure gates in the ascent, before one arrives at the city gate. which is magnificent. The hill is encompassed at the top about eight cosse, and at the south-west end a goodly old castle." All this is nearly applicable to its present condition. He falls into the common error of mistaking a title for a name, and says it belonged to "one Ranna, a prince newly subdued by this king, or rather brought to confesse tribute." He also says, "Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, the valiant Indian; overcome by Alexander; so that I take this Citie to have been one of the ancient seats of Porus, though Dely much further north is reported to have been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar erected by Alexander the Conqueror with a great inscription." This is most probably an allusion to Feroz Shah's Lath, and was written before Delhi had arisen from its ruins under the new designation of *Shah Jehanabad*.

On the 23rd of December our Ambassador reached Ajmir, where the Court was established; having been previously met on the way by Mr. Edwardes, the Agent at the Durbar and head of the factory, accompanied by Coryate and others.

Jehangir, who was at that time the ruler of Hindostan, had been on the throne about ten years, and, although his age was then only about fifty, his health had been materially affected by an inordinate use of wine, and his death was an event speculated on as one of early occurrence; various intrigues were consequently on foot having reference to the probable succession. The person possessing the greatest influence over the Padshah was the famous Nur Jehan or—as she is better known to the English reader—"Noormahal," celebrated for her romantic career, her beauty and her talents. Her brother Asof Khan was the principal minister and most powerful subject. The Emperor's eldest son Khusru, who had been in rebellion at the period of his father's succession to the throne, had since that time been a close prisoner, but carried about with the Emperor in all his campaigns and royal progresses. Of him Roe frequently speaks in terms of interest and compassion, under the title of Sultan *Corseronne.* The second son Parviz was, as we have seen, in nominal command of the Deckan Army at Burhanpur; he was a young man of limited ability, little education, and very dissipated habits. The third son Khurram, whom Roe calls both *Caroone* and *Carroune*, but who is best known by his subsequent title of *Shah Jehan*, was at the court, and warily playing his game for the succession, supported at this time by Nur Jehan, and then as after, by Asof Khan, whose daughter he had married, and to whom he finally owed his throne.

Jehangir had succeeded to an extensive and tolerably consolidated empire, including Hindostan proper, the Punjab, Cashmir, Kabul, Kandahar, Scinde, Guzerat, Behar and Bengal; but the kingdoms of the Deckan south of the Taptee still preserved an uncertain independence. The conquest of many of these provinces was however recent, and the viceroys of more distant governments frequently exhibited but lax obedience, whilst all were ready to throw off even the pretence of subjection whenever opportunity offered; a feeling of insecurity pervaded the whole empire; those in authority made the most of their time and opportunity: oppression was general, and the mass of the people were steeped in poverty, whilst the nobles accumulated and made a great display of wealth, and all kept up a large military following, as well for security as for state. The best and most trustworthy subjects were the Rajput Rajahs, whom Akbar had brought under subjection, and then attached to himself by liberality and family connections. Jehangir's mother was a Rajputni Princess of the house of Marwar, and he had himself married a sister of Man Singh the Jeipore Rajah; she was the mother of the unfortunate Khusru; whilst the latter also was married to a Rajputni, of whose affection and fidelity in adherence to him and sharing his imprisonment, Roe gives an interesting account.

Sir Thomas appears to have entertained a favourable opinion of Jehangir's disposition and ability, when not acting under the influence of Nur Jehan or other advisers; but at the same time he narrates numerous instances of cruelty, meanness and childish folly on the part of the Padshah. Of the unfortunate Khusru he is quite a partizan, although he saw but little of him; but of Prince Khurram or Shah Jehan—which latter title was conferred upon him during the father's life-time and whilst Roe was at the Court,—he speaks in far from favourable terms. He describes him as proud and haughty in manner, exceedingly bigoted, feared rather than respected; "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." But yet he is admitted to be a man of ability and prudence, as also of business habits.

Such was the new and strange world in which the English Ambassador now found himself.

He had been suffering from illness during the whole of his march from Burhanpur; which, with the fatigue and exposure of the journey, confined him to his bed for some days after his arrival at Ajmir; but having sufficiently recovered, on the 10th of January 1616, he was presented to the Padshah in open Durbar, and delivered his letters and presents. He had previously stipulated that he was not to perform any prostrations or go through any degrading or undignified ceremony; and although Jehangir was excessively particular in enforcing amongst his own subjects the custom of prostration and kissing the ground, introduced by Akbar, he appears to have made no difficulty about dispensing with it on this occasion, and consented to Sir Thomas adopting the same forms of salutation and respect as practised at the Court of his own Sovereign. On this point Sir Thomas appears to have been very resolved, and his prudent and dignified firmness prevented difficulties and objections that would have been thrown in the way of a less determined representative.

The account of this first interview we give in his own words:—

"At the Durbar I was led right before him, at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall noble slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to use the customes of my country, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reverence; entering in the inward raile, another; and when I came under the King a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the innermost raile under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silke; under foote laid with good carpets: the meaner men representing gentry, within the first raile: the people, without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery, the great men lifted on a stage as actors, the vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the brother of my master. I delivered his Majestie's letter translated; and, after my commission, whereon he looked curiously; after, my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his physicians, and advising me to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christians I were not flattered, then ever was showen to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoever."

Of the presents that which gave the greatest satisfaction was the State carriage,—"'a gallant Caroch of 150 pounds price"—which the Padshah got into and examined all over, causing it to be drawn about the Durbar. It affords a proof of the skill of the native workmen at that period, that in a few weeks they had made several other carriages from this model, equal in workmanship, but much more handsomely fitted up inside. There were also pictures of King James, his Queen and daughter, of several celebrities and beauties of the English Court, and one of Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the East India Company. These appear to have been appreciated; and it may surprise some of our readers to learn, not only that some of these were copied so exactly by the Padshah's order, that Sir Thomas could not at first distinguish the copies from the original, but that the monarch and his courtiers generally were good judges of painting. On this subject Sir Thomas writing to the Directors—relative to fitting presents to be sent—recommends "Historical paintings, night-pieces and landscapes, but good, for they understand them as well as we."

On the 22nd, Sir Thomas visited Prince Khurram, previously stipulating for the same ceremonial conditions that had been conceded by Jehangir. Of this visit also we will let him give his own account:—

"The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his father) to despatch his business, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a principall officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (never before done to any) and entertained mee with discourse of our owne business halfe an houre untill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used mee better then his promise. I delivered him a present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majestie would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the merchants who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part; and after opening of some grievances and injuries suffered at Surat by us from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall justice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, delivered by mee; especially of any command to dismisse us, which the Governour had falsely coyned, and for which he should dearely answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed state of our reputation, with promise of a firman for Surat effectually."

On the 24th he again visited the Padshah and entered more fully into matters of business, requesting a new firman and treaty, and protection against the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, all of which was promised. The substance of the proposed treaty, which, after much difficulty and delay, was finally obtained, was to the following effect: That there should be a perpetual league and friendship between the Padshah and the King of Great Britain; that British subjects should have liberty to trade and establish factories in any parts of the empire, including Surat, Scinde and Bengal: that they should be furnished with provisions and carriage at the ordinary rates of charge; that they should be protected against exactions, and not subjected to custom on sales not exceeding the amount of sixteen reals of eight; that all presents to the Padshah should be protected from being opened at the sea-ports, but should be forwarded to the English Ambassador at Court, to be delivered according to his instructions:—that all goods should be rated within six days after being landed, and that after payment of the stipulated duty they should pass free to any other English Factory:—that all purchases made by the British merchants should have free transit to the port of shipment:—that the property of the Company's servants who might die in the country should be made over to the Company's Agents:—that all provisions for the shipping should be free of duty:—that to obviate dispute, a special firman should be issued, clearly explaining and confirming the English privileges, and that copies of this firman should be forwarded to all officers at the ports. It was further stipulated that the duty on English imports should be fixed at three and a half per cent., and on reals of eight (the bullion in general use) at two per cent. only. Also that mutual assistance should be given against the enemies of the contracting parties. And lastly—at the request of King James—that the Portuguese should be included in this treaty, provided they acceded to the terms within six months after due notification to the Viceroy at Goa.

Although it was a matter of no little difficulty to adjust the terms of this treaty, and finally to obtain the Imperial acceptance and signature, very much yet remained to be done. Without the signature of Prince Khurram and the Minister, Asof Khan, the document was merely an useless form, and they had not only to be conciliated and bribed—a necessary and invariable course in carrying through any measure, however simple or unobjectionable, —but their personal interests, as also those of Mokurib Khan, and Zulfikar Khan, the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, and others of their friends and partizans, were strongly arrayed against the proposed measures. The Portuguese also were very active in their opposition to arrangements that would tend to transfer the commerce of Western India from their own hands into those of their dreaded rivals, the English. The intrigues of their agents were consequently directed to frustrate the Ambassador's objects; in which they nearly succeeded by a lavish distribution in high quarters of "divers rubies, ballaces, emeralds and jewels," which, Sir Thomas observes, "so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time nearly eclipsed."

Moreover, as time wore on and Sir Thomas' sound and liberal views regarding the best mode of conducting the commerce of India—so as to prove of the greatest benefit to his own country and Government—were developed, the agents of the East India Company became alarmed for the existence of their monopoly. Added to this, he steadily and consistently opposed the plans of the Surat Agency for the establishment of a factory in Persia, which they considered an interference with their authority; and, which was still more galling, he honestly and loudly inveighed against the inefficiency of some of the agents employed, and still more against their general dishonesty and rapacity. This raised up many enemies amongst his own countrymen, whilst the misconduct of others was a continued source of annoyance, and frequently obstructed his arrangements. Lastly, he had to contend with—at such a Court—the most serious disadvantage of having come very inadequately provided with presents, and with but limited funds at his disposal to smooth the way in his difficult career of diplomacy.

His journal is chiefly occupied with details of his interviews with the Padshah, his son Khurram or Shah Jehan, and the Minister Asof Khan, and with the narrative of the numerous and continued intrigues of the two latter to defeat his objects. It would be wearisome to follow him through this tangled and disgusting scene of folly and falsehood, but as an illustration of his difficulties and position we quote his own account of one amongst the scenes that occurred in the early part of his mission, which affords a sample of the state of affairs at the Durbar, and shows how much he had to contend with; his ignorance of the language and the want of a good and trustworthy interpreter not being amongst the least of his difficulties:—

"The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doo businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused: I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out; Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England, and of the present I gave the day before; to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my Interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his Majestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chan's desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him; he answered willingly: whereat Asaph Chan's sonne-in-law pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other: I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two moneths, whereof more than one was passed in sicknesse, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their Majesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countreymen. He answered, that was already granted. I replyed it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered the league was yet new, and very weake: that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

"He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his Majestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stuffes of gold and silver. He said it was very well; but that hee desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land: the Turke would not suffer passage.

"He replyed, that hee thought it not impossible by sea; I told him the dangers of stormes and variettíes of weather would proove it: he answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live; and though it came leane, he would fat it: I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his Majestie's satisfaction, I would write to advise of hisrequest. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such terms, which I forbeare to complain of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word, Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make unprofitable signes.

"The King hereat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my interpreter to answer, that with what was past I would not trouble his Maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the Prince, of whose favour I doubted not. The King, not attending my interpreter but hearing his sonne's name, conceived I had accused him, saying *mio Filio, mio Filio*, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himself: Asaph Chan trembled and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly and he excused himself, but I perceiving the King's error, made him (by means of a Persian Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my Italian spake better Turkish than Persian and the Prince both) understand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Government, appeale to him for justice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his justification, told the King he had offered me a firman, and that I had refused it, demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands wherein I would containe all the desires of my master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with compliants, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soveraigne to mutuall offices of friendship, and his subjects to any such conditions, as his Majestie would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which being drawne tripartite, his Majestie (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my master's behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the conditions I refused in the Prince's firman, which I recited; and so we fell into earnest dispute and some heate. Mocrib Chan enterposing, said he was the Portugal's advocate, speaking slightly of us that the King should never signe any article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne just de fence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them: the Jesuit and all the Portugal's side fell in, in so much that I explained myselfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were just, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them: to which the King replyed, yes: and I desired his sonne would doe the like, who answered he would; so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my interpreter say, that I came the day before to see his Majestie, and his greatnesse, and the ceremonies of this feast, that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that, therefore, I desired his Majestie to license me to stand up by his throne; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place."

With regard to the objects of his mission it will be sufficient to say that, after a weary two years of struggle, Sir Thomas having purchased the support of Nur Jehan and her brother Asof Khan, —the latter being secured by the present of a large and valuable pearl,—succeeded in obtaining the full confirmation of his treaty from all the parties concerned, together with other privileges, and firmans for the recovery of large debts due by the native officials to the Company and their agents at Surat, Ahmedabad and Cambay.

Sir Thomas' account of the scenes in which he participated at the Durbar is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligent witness relative to the habits, forms and customs of the Court and camp at that period, when the Mogul Empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the Native Courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers, who have visited the Durbars of the descendants of Jehangir, or of the independent successors of his powerful Viceroys.

Of the Padshah's Court and mode of life he gives the following account:—

"The King hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the Jaruco, looking into a plaine before his gate; and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returnes thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attend the men of ranke; from whence hee retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone hee returns to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper hee comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free stone, wherein hee sits, but sometimes below a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved and so registered; which if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings: but the common base people knew as much as the Councel, and the news every day, is the King's new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slaves, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage; for he is tyed to observe those houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two days no reason can excuse, but that hee must consent to open his doores and be seene by some to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants.—*Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses!*"

Of the celebrated ceremonies of the Noroz or New Year, and of the Padshah's birthday, Sir Thomas gives a gorgeous picture, although he sees and points out the hollowness that a close examination has always exhibited in these spectacles, but which has often escaped the notice of less discriminating observers.

The following is his account of the first feast of Noroz that he witnessed:—

"The second March, the Noroze began in the evening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the ceremonie begins the first new moone after it, which this yeare fell together; it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language nine days, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof to the place where the King comes out, a square of fiftie-sixe paces long and fortie-three broad was rayled in and covered over with faire Semianes or canopies of cloth of gold, silke or velvet, joyned together, and sustained with canes so covered: at the upper end, West, were set out the pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a citizen's wife of London, below them another of Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Companie: under foot it is laid with good Persian carpets of great largenesse; into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle right before the throne, to receive his commands; within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of silver, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne, had at the left side a pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with silver, as were some of those neare the King's throne. The forme thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of pearle, borne up with foure pillers, and covered with cloth of gold; about the edge overhead like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearle—upon which hung downe pomegranats, apples, peares, and such fruits of gold, but hollow: within that the King sate on cushions very rich in pearles and jewels; round about the Court, before Throne the principale men had erected tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with velvet, damaske, and taffatas ordinarily, some few with cloths of gold, wherein they retired, and sat to shew all their wealth; for anciently the kings were used to go to every tent, and there take what pleased them, but now it is changed, the King sitting to receive what new yeare's gifts are bought to him. Hee comes abroad at the usual houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: then are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report yet incredible enough; and at the end of this feast, the King in recompence of presents received, advanceth some and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure."

The details of the second birthday festival, which Sir Thomas witnessed, and which took place at Mandu, form a fitting pendant to the foregoing :—

"The first of September was the King's birth-day, and the solemntie of the weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautiful garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowers and trees, in the midst a pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a cross beame plated on with gold thinne: the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, rubies and turkeys, the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke corde. Here attended the nobilitie all sitting about it on carpets untill the King came, who at last appeared clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! His sword, target, and throne to rest on, correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes above the elbows, at the wrists, his fingers, every one, with at least two or three rings: fettered with chaines, or daylled diamonds, rubies, as great as walnuts, some greater; and pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed sixe times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias which are almost one thousand pound sterling: after with gold and jewels, and precious stone,

> but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee pibles: then against cloth of gold, silke, stuffes, linnen, spices and all sorts of goods; but I must believe, for they were in fardles; lastly against meale, butter, corne, which is said to be given to the Banians and all the rest of the stuff: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the silver is reserved for the poore, and serves the ensuing yeare, the King using in the night to call for some before him and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sat in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed he ascended his Throne, and had basons of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices, of all sorts, made in thinne silver, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies: which seeing I did not, he reached one bason almost full, and powered into my cloke; his noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne that all I had at first, being thousands of severale pieces, had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saved about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishful, which I keepe to shew the ostentation; for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his nobilitie in rich plate; I was invited to that, but told I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of blood, and durst not stay to venture my health."

In the published portions of the Ambassador's journal we do not find any account of the personal appearance of Jehangir; but Coryate describes him at the time of his visit as "a man of three and fiftie years of age, of complexion middle between white and black, or in a more expressive epitheton, olive; of a seemly composition of body," and of medium stature but corpulent. Sir Thomas, however, gives a remarkable sketch of his religious condition; after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion with himself as its head, he observes that Jehangir "being the issue of this new fancie and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this houre and is an Atheist." He describes him as very liberal not only in his own opinions but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostacy. "He is content with all religion, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of different creeds "often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose." He further mentions that Jehangir sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally "were solemnly baptised in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the Citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the King's expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression and seemed much contented in them." Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young Princes—who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne—odious, and incapacitated for Government in the eyes of a Mahommedan population.

Of His Majesty's predilection for the forbidden juice of the grape the Ambassador gives numerous instances: in fact, his journal contains a prolonged record of Royal dissipation and inebriety, often attended with serious consequences. The nature and qualities of the various European wines and liquors was a favourite topic with the Padshah, who was very minute and particular in his enquiries as to the process of manufacture, the sources and quantity of supply, the facilities and cost of importation. His sons all appear to have inherited the Royal taste in this respect. Sir Thomas, in alluding to the description of presents most suitable to send to the Durbar, especially recommends a large supply of Alicant and several cases of red wine: he mentions how very acceptable the small stock he had brought with him had proved both to the Padshah and his son, on which subject he observes "never were men so enamoured of drink as these two," and he goes on to say that "such a present they would more highly esteeme then all the jewells of Chepeside." But however freely the Padshah himself may have thought fit or agreeable to indulge in the use of wine, his subjects, even the highest, were prohibited from following his example except with special sanction or by invitation; neither did he approve of any allusion to the regal *penchant* at other than social hours and meetings. A dereliction from this courtly etiquette was severely visited on those concerned, an instance of which, on the occasion of a party given in honor of Mahomed Rosa Beg, who had recently arrived as Ambassador from Shah Abbas, the monarch of Persia, is thus narrated by Sir Thomas:—

> "The King returned at evening, having been over-night farre gone in wine; some by chance or malice spoke of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order demanded who gave it; it

was answered, the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King when he would onely doubt it). The custome is, that when the King drinkes (which is alone) sometimes hee will command that the nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so that every man who takes the cup of the wine of the officers, his name is written, and he makes Teselim, though perhaps the King's eyes are mystie. The King not remembering his own command called the Buxie; and demanded if he gave the order. He replyed No, (falsely; for he received it and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) wherat the King called for the list and the persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like spur rowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after, the porters to breake their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would have excused it on the Embassadour, but the King replyed hee onely had give him a cup or two. Though drunkennesse be a common and a glorious vice and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Guselchan where the King sits, but the porters smell his breath; and if hee have but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with diffecultie escape the whip; for if the King once take offence, the father will not speake for the sonne. So the King made the companie pay the Persian Embassadour's reward."

Sir Thomas gives a detailed account of the reception of this Persian Ambassador, and draws a satisfactory and agreeable comparison between the conduct and reception of the latter and himself. The Persian was profuse in his prostrations, his *Teselims* and *Sizedahs*, whilst Sir Thomas, prudently as well as honorably, refused to comply with any demands for abject forms of respect, or in fact to do more than would be required from him at his own Court in the presence of his own sovereign. The good policy of this line of conduct was evinced in the respect generally paid to him, the high position accorded him in the Durbar, and the ultimate success of his mission; whilst the Persian Envoy was placed from the commencement in a lower position, and although he brought a liberal and handsome supply of presents, was, after his introduction, treated with neglect and contempt, and finally returned to Persia, thoroughly disgusted with his reception and the complete failure of his mission.

But to conclude the summary of the Padshah's character, as exhibited in the glimpses with which Sir Thomas favors us, we must not omit to notice the indications of cruelty, or at least of all absence of feeling, which is apparent on many occasions; for instance, in alluding to a little anecdote of Court scandal we find:—

> "This day a gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the King's house in some action with an eunuch: another Capon that loved her, killed him: the poore woman was set up to the armepits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearles, jewels, and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies."

Again, when on the line of march, he observes:—

> "I removed foure course to *Ramsor*, where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery."

And on another occasion he says:—

> "I overtooke in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads sent from Candahar, by the Governor in present to the King, that were out in rebellion."

In the earlier part of his visit he recounts the following instance:—

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

Such was the character of the monarch and his courtiers as described by the Ambassador, whose views are fully borne out and repeated by Coryate and Terry, both of whom were at the Durbar at the same time.

From December 1655, to November following, Sir Thomas Roe remained with the Court at Ajmir conducting his difficult negociation. During that period he appears to have made several friends, especially Jemal-u-din Hussein, formerly Subahdar of Behar, and subsequently appointed Viceroy in Scinde. With this venerable nobleman, whom he describes as "of more understanding and courtesie than all his countrymen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not scantly ambitious," he had many friendly and social meetings and conversations, obtaining much information regarding the condition of the empire and the objects of the different parties in the state, and also some valuable hints and counsel as to his own proceedings. From the Shah himself he received marked and continued attention, being constantly invited to the Royal drinking bouts, and always kindly noticed and placed in a high and honorable position whenever he attended the Durbar: moreover he was frequently presented with the whole or portion of a deer or wild hog, the result of the Royal chase. From Prince Khurram he met with general coldness, and occasional incivility and active annoyance; especially on one occasion, when an English boy named Jones, a domestic of the Ambassador, having committed some fault and fearing punishment, left the embassy and took refuge with an Italian living at Ajmir. When the Prince heard of this—being at the time very irate with Sir Thomas for complaining against his protegé, Zulfikar Khan, Governor of Surat, —he took the boy under his protection and into his service, giving him a present of a hundred and fifty rupees and the monthly pay of two horsemen, and instructed him to set his master at defiance when he claimed him. But the poor lad shortly repenting of his conduct, confessed his fault and intreated pardon in the presence of the Padshah, who ordered him to be restored to his master without further injury or molestation, upon which the Prince, being exceedingly enraged, had the meanness to claim the refund of the present he had made the lad.

On the 20th of August, Ajmir was visited by one of those tremendous storms of rain, to which, on the Western coast, the Europeans had given the name of the *Elephant;* of this he gives the following description:—

"The twentieth day and the night past, fell a storme of raine called the *Oliphant;* usual at going out of the raines, but for the greatenesse very extraordinary; whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it breake over in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would give way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, in so much that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house, my next neighbour carryed away his goods and his wife on his elephants and camels to flye to the hill side. All men had their horses ready at their doores, to save their lives, so that we were much frighted and sat up till midnight, for that we had no help but to flye ourselves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher than the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away, being poore muddy buildings.

Foureteene yeares past, a terrible experience having showed the violence; the foot of the Tanke being levell with our dwelling and the water extreame greate and deepe, so that the top was much higher than my house, which stood in the bottome in the course of the waters, every ordinary raine making such a current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the arches of London bridge, and is for some houres impassible by horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy : the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way ; yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the walls of my house, and so weakened it by divers breaches, in that I feared the fall more than the flood, and was so moyled with dirt and water that I could scarce be dry or safe : for that I must be enforced to be at new charge, in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted, fires, smokes, floods, stormes, heats, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiet season."

During the residence of the Court at Ajmir the intrigues and influence of Prince Khurram aided by Asof Khan, Nur Jehan and their father Etimad Dowlah, obtained from the Padshah an order for the transfer of Sultan Parviz to the charge of Bengal, and the appointment of Sultan Khurram to the Government of the Dockhan. But previous to the departure of the latter for his new command, he was invested by his father with the title of Shah Jehan, by which he was thenceforth designated, and which was understood as equivalent to his nomination as successor to the throne. Further to insure his authority, and guard him against supposed attacks from his elder brother Khusru, the latter unfortunate prince was handed over to Shah Jehan's custody, the natural result of which was the subsequent opportune death of the unfortunate victim. The opposition that Roe experienced from Shah Jehan has evidently tinged his views regarding the character of that prince, and he insinuates one circumstance connected with his feelings and conduct, which we do not remember to have noticed in any other contemporary writer, and which is not borne out by the subsequent conduct of the parties, viz., that Shah Jehan was himself in love with his step-mother Nur Jehan.

The following is the passage referred to :—

'The Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatneese that I mentioned of the king. His throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver ; his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions : he received two lettetrs, read them standing, befere he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahall in the English coach the day before visited him, and took leave, she gave him a cloak all imbroydered with pearles, diamonds and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

Shah Jehan took his departure for the Deckan, on the 1st November 1616, and on the following day Jehangir moved into camp also, with the intention of marching towards Agra.

Of the ceremonies attending his departure, and the state and magnificence exhibited on the occasion, Sir Thomas gives the following gorgeous description:—

"The second, the King removed to his tents with his women and all the Court, about three miles. I went to attend him, comming to the pallace. I found him at the Jarruco window, and went up on the scaffold under him; which place not having seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two tressels stood two eunuches with long poles headed with feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many presents; what hee bestowed hee let downe by a silke, rould on a turning instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte deformed olde matrone, hung with gymbals like an image, pluckt up at a hole with such another clue; at one side in a window were his two principall wives, whose curiosite made them breake little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after, lying their faces close now one eye, now another, sometime I could discerne the full proportion; they were indifferently white, blacke haire smoothed up, but if I had had no other light, their diamonds and pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked up, they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose and wee retyred to the Durbar and sate on the carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about half an houre untill his ladies at their doore were ascended their elephantes, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with turrets of gold, grates of gold wyre, every way to looke out, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King as would have out-cryed cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like starch, into which he put his finger and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled his sword and buckler, set all over with great diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable: another hung on his quiver with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the Persian Ambassadour,) on his head he wore a rich turbant, with a plume of herne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as great; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great pearls, rubies and diamonds drild. About his necke he carried a chaine of most excellent pearle thrice double, so great as I never saw; at his elbows armlets set with diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of diamonds of several sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring; his gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; his coat of cloath of gold, without sleeves, upon a fine semain as thinne as lawne; on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was cloathed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had trained foure horses, which were trapped and harnished in gold velvets. This was the first he ever sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a gold Persian velvet. He got into the end, on each side went two eunuches, that carried small maces of gold, set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drive away flyes: before him went drummes, ill trumpets and loud musicke, and many canopies, quittusols, and other strange ensignes of Majesty of cloth of gold set in many places with great rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with rubies, some with pearles and emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

"The Persian Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three palankees, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with pearles, and a fringe of great pearles hanging in ropes a foote deepe: a border aboute, set with rubies and emeralds. A footman caryed a foot-stoole of gold, set with stones; the other two were covered and lined with cloath of gold. Next followed the English coach, new covered and trimmed rich, which he had given the Queene Normahall, who rode in it: after them a third of this countery fashion, which methought was out of countenance; in it sate his younger sonnes: after followed about twenty elephants royall, spare, for his own ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braved the sunne. Every elephant had divers flaggs of cloth of silver gilt satin and taffata. His noblemen hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carryed like parakitoes half a mile behind him.

"I took horse to avoyd presse and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended untill he came neare his tents. He passed all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other elephants of honor that went before and after about six hundred, all which were covered with velvet or cloath of gold and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way runne divers footmen with skinnes of water that made a continuall showre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the coach by two furlongs, except those that walked afoot by, so that I posted to his tents to attend his alighting."

Of the royal camp itself he, like all other travellers of the period, writes in great admiration:—

"They were walled in halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with divers coynes and bulkwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stuffe made like arras, red on the outside, within which, figures in panes, with a handsome gate house. Every post that bare up these, was headed with top of brasse. In the midst of this Court was a throne of mother of pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold; under it canopies of cloath of gold, under-foot carpets. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with tents. All the noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale showed like a beautiful citie for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled."

And again on a subsequent date he writes:—

"I viewed the Leskar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished and set up in foure houres, except some of great men that have a double provision, the circuit being little lesse than twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly and tents joined. Here are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that every man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the king's tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall use, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equale almost any towne in Europe for greatnesse, onely a musket shot every way no man approacheth the Atassy-kanah royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name; and the time of the Durbar in the evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on tanks by boat, in which the King takes wonderful delight and his barges are remooved on carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited, all is concluded at night at the Guzelchan, when often the time is prevented by a drowsinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of Bacchus."

The demands of the Imperial establishment for carriage were so heavy, that although furnished with an order for what he required, the English Ambassador experienced the greatest difficulty in getting away from Ajmir, and the Persian Ambassador was in even a worse plight, although he had "fought, chid, brauld, complained and could get no remedy." For some days they were left to comfort each other, until at last the population having found a similar difficulty or manifested a dislike to moving, "the king gave order to fire all the Leskar at Ajmir to compell the people to follow," when Sir Thomas succeeded in purchasing some carriage and joined the Padshah by the end of the month, the camp having only moved a short distance. His camp equipage and marching establishment appears to have been on a very reduced and inadequate scale, for he says, "I was unfitted with carriage and ashamed of my provision, but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suite sortable to others."

On the 6th December, they encamped near the walled town of Godah, which Sir Thomas describes as one of the best built he saw in India, "full of temples and altars of Pagods and gentilitial Idolatry, many fountains, wells, tankes and summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched," of which nothing now remains. On the 23rd January 1617, they reached the famous fort of Rintinbour, where information was received that Malik Amber, the head and soul of the confederacy of the Deckani princes, exhibited but little sign of alarm at the advance of Prince Shah Jéhan, and that the Khan-i-Khanan had manifested a spirit of insubordination, not approving of the change from the weak cypher Parviz to the active and ambitious Shah Jehan. This intelligence induced Jehangir to change his plans, more especially as an epidemic, which Roe calls the plague, but which probably was cholera, was then ravaging Agra; so he turned his course southward, and marched slowly *viâ* Ugin to Mandu, in order to be ready to act in support of his son if necessary.

The camp reached Mandu on the 3rd of March, where after some difficulty, Sir Thomas found comfortable quarters in an old tomb, having, as he says, "found a faire court well walled, and in that a good church or great tombe; it was taken up by one of the King's servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two miles from the King's house; yet so sufficient that a little change would make it defensible against rains, and save one thousand Rupias, and for aire very pleasant upon the edge of the hill."

Some years ago—if not still visible—the name of Sir Thomas Roe was to be seen on the walls at an old tomb amongst the ruins of Mandu, which however was generally supposed to have been traced there at a much more recent date. If really his autograph, it would tend to prove the antiquity of the English mania for scribbling names.

The greatest inconvenience he experienced was from the scarcity of water. He was, however, permitted to draw four loads daily from a well held in possession by one of the Omrahs of the Court. Mandu appears to have been even then in a ruinous condition, and he speaks of lions as being numerous in the neighbourhood, and even coming into the camp. One in particular invaded his residence and carried off his sheep and dogs, and he had to apply for special permission to destroy it, as the slaughter of lions was a royal prerogative.

On the whole, he does not speak agreeably of his residence here, for he observes "there was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Government or the natural disposition of the clime gave us not."

About the period of their reaching Mandu, a convoy arrived from Surat, containing presents for the Padshah and other members of the Court, together with various articles which Sir Thomas required for himself and suite, and also to use as presents or douceurs, as he might find expedient in the prosecution of his plans.

These presents had unfortunately been delayed some months at Surat, and were finally sent forward on his urgent requisition, placed under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Terry, who having recently arrived from England, was appointed to join the embassy as Chaplain in the place of the Reverend Mr. Hill, who had come out with Sir Thomas, but died at Ajmir in September 1616. Mr. Terry and his convoy fell into the hands of Shah Jehan at Burhanpur, who helped himself to a portion of the merchandize that accompanied, but was compelled to pass on the royal presents intact, Sir Thomas having made a serious complaint to the Padshah when he heard of their detention.

On their arrival at length in camp, instead of being forwarded to the British Embassy for distribution and presentation in the name of King James or the East India Company, they were seized by Jehangir, conveyed to his quarters, and the cases opened and inspected by the Monarch himself with childish curiosity and barbarian cupidity. Sir Thomas on hearing of this disgraceful proceeding was excessively indignant, and standing boldly on his privileges and position, protested strenuously against the insult thus offered to his sovereign and himself, upon which he was summoned to Jehangir's presence, who endeavoured to excuse himself and coax the ambassador into good humour. But the whole scene of royal rapacity and folly, as narrated by Sir Thomas, is so curious, and affords so good an illustration of the habits and morality of the Court, that notwithstanding its length we cannot resist laying it before our readers :—

"When I came, with base flattery worse than the theft, or at least to give me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for

otherwise it is no injury heere to bee so used; he beganne to tell me he had taken divers things that pleased him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse and the Dogges, and desired mee not to be discontent, for whatsoever I would not give him, I should receive backe; I answered, there were few things that I intended not to present him; but that I took it a great discourtesie to my Sovereigne, which I could not answer, to have that was freely given stayed, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed; and that some of them were intended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Majestie's favour to protect us from injuries that of strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private use, and some that were the merchants which I had not to do with all: he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbeare seeing them; hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first served, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and hee were all one, and for any to bring with me to procure his favour, it was a ceremony and unnecessary, for he would at all time heare me; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him; and for the merchants goods, pay to their content; concluding, I should not be angry for this freedome; he entended well: I made no reply. Then he pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Majestie's content pleased me; so seeing master Terry, whom I brought in with mee, he called to him, Padre, you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever your desire to come to mee, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoever you will require of mee, I will grant you.

"Then he converted himselfe with this cunning unto mee, naming all particulars in order. The Dogges, Cushions, Barber's case you will not desire to have backe, for that I am delighted in them; I answered, no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replyed, I entended one for his Majestie the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I have, being contented with one? I was forced to yield. Next he demanded whose the hats were for, that his women liked them. I answered three were sent to his Majestie, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said hee, you will not take them from mee, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on mee, which I could not refuse. Then next hee demanded whose the pictures were. I answered, sent to me to use on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them and caused them to be opened, examined mee of the women, and othere little questions requiring my judgments of them. Of the third picture of Venus and a Satyre, he commanded my interpreter not to tell me what he said, but asked his Lords what they conceived should be the interpretation or morale of that; he showed the Satyre's hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars; every man replyed according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived; and seeing they could judge no better, he would keepe his conceit to himself, reiterating his command to conceale this passage from me, but bade him aske me what it meant, I answered, an invention of the painter to shew his arte, which was poeticall, the interpretation was new to me, that had not seen it. Then hee called Mr. Terry to give his judgment, who replying, he knew not, the King demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein he was ignorant; at which I interposed that he was a preacher and meddled not with such matters nor had charge of them, only coming in their company, hee was more noted and so named as their conductor.

"This I repeate for instruction to warne the Company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupluous, full of jealousie and trickes; for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliver my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing I had never seen the picture, and my ignorance was guiltless) hee would not press hard upon me. But I suppose, he understood the moral to be a scorne of Asiatiques whom the naked Satyres represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike, who being held by Venus a white woman by the nose, it seemed that shee led him captive. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them up, and told me he would accept him also as a present. For the saddle and some other small toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually, that I should need no sollicitor in my businesses, with as many compliments, excuses, professions and protestations as could come from any very noble, or very base minde in either extreme. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to give him. I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill-shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other than a lumpe of wood. I was really ashamed, and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not intended for him but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with us. He replyed quickly, did you thinke in England that a horse and a bull was strange to mee: I replyed, I thought not of so meane a matter. The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for toyes, and what he thought I knew not; well said the King, I keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is all I will expect, and a male and female of mastiffes, and the tall Irish grey-hounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will give you the word of a King, I will fully recompense you, and grant you all your desires.

"I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lives, and if they died by the way, onely for my discharge their skinnes and bones should be preserved. He gave extraordinary bowes, layed his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he never used to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of love. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite and send me home to my countrey with grace and reward like a gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Majestie to deliver backe the velvets and silkes, being merchants' goods, that they were sent up among mine by his Majestie's command, for that by that pretence they escaped the ravine of the Prince's officers. So hee gave order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I delivered a letter I had ready written, contayning my desire for privileges and justice, otherwise I should return as a Fayzucante and disgraced to my sovereigne, and desired some justice for Sulpheckarkan's debt lately dead; he replyed he would take such order with his sonne for Surat, as I should have no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it, for which he gave instant order.

"For other places, hee would give me his commands, and every way shew how much he loved me; and to the end I might return to my Master with honour, he would send me a rich and worthy present with his letter of my behaviours, filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. I answered I durst not crave, it was not our custome nor stood with my Master's honour, but whatsoever he sent, I doubted not would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loved of my Lord. He replyed, that I thought he asked in jest to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he conjured me to beleeve hee was my friend, and would at conclusion prove so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestness enforced mee to say, if his Majestie pleased I thought large Persian carpets would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value, my Master expected not.

"He answered, he would provide of all sorts and sizes, and adde to them what he thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him. Next having venison of divers sorts before him, he gave me halfe a stagge, with these words, he killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wives, which was presently cut out in small pieces of foure pounds and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to divers such mummockes, as if it had been a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might have flattered mee into content, but the injury was above words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered, his Majestie's favour was sufficient to make mee any amends.

"Then, said he, I have only one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much, now I have seen your presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a merchant, a meane man, before you with five times as many, and more curious toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a commission and his letter mentioning presents, and yet that you brought was little, meane, and inferiour to the other. I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I have found you a gentleman in your usage, and I am annoyed why you were so slightly set out.

"I would have replyed, but he cut me off, I know it is not the King's fault nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better than they that employed you. At your return, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master; onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the merchants, to take with you for a patterne of a quiver and case for my bow, a coat to weare, cushion to sleepe on, of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of boots which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receive them from you, for I know in your country they can work better then any I have seene; and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it; which I most thankfully undertooke [and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes.] Then he demanded if I had any grape wine, I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if he liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose."

Such were the annoyances and troubles the English Ambassador had to encounter, and well might he write to the Company "I must plead against myself that an Ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The King has often demanded an Ambassador from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes, first because they would not give presents unworthy their King's greatness; next they knew his reception should not answer his qualitie. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

But in following the career of Sir Thomas Roe we have as yet purposely avoided allusion to the other object of this notice, in order not to break the narrative of the Ambassador's proceedings.

Thomas Coryate was born at Odcombe in Somersetshire in the year 1577. His father who was the Rector of Odcombe, was a poet and scholar, and had published several Latin works not without merit. Our hero was educated at Westminster

School, whence he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, having already earned a reputation or rather notoriety for his classical learning and eccentricities, he was appointed to the household of Henry, Prince of Wales, in the capacity, partly of scholar and partly of Court fool. According to Fuller "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course at all entertainments. Indeed he was the courtiers anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as it received, his bluntness repaying their abusiveness." In 1608, he undertook a pedestrian tour in the south of Europe, of which he published an account in 1611, entitled "Coryate's Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five month's travel in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, Helvetia, Germany and the Netherlands." This was followed immediately by "Coryate's Crambe or his Colwort twice sodden." Both works were undoubtedly crude enough, but they were not without a quaint originality, and considerable display of curious scholarship and truthful observation. Fuller observes regarding the first mentioned work, that "his book nauseous to nice readers for the rawness thereof, is not altogether useless; though the porch be more worth than the palace, I mean the preface of other men's mock commending verses thereon." This latter remark is in allusion to the work having been prefaced and ushered in by a number of verses in all languages and styles from the pens of the leading wits and authors of the time, who according to "the Rev. Mr. Terry did themselves much more honor than him whom they undertook to commend in their several encommiasticks." At any rate they added considerably to the popularity and sale of the work. Amongst his other eccentricities he hung up in the parish church of Odcombe, as a dedicatory offering, the old pair of shoes in which he had performed his European tour, together with a copy of quaint pedantic verses.

His restless spirit and ardent love of notoriety prompted him to be speedily on the move again; and this time he projected a voyage of much greater length and difficulty, no less than a pedestrian tour in Turkey, Syria, Persia and India to Samarcand, returning by the Oxus through Balkh and Bokhara, back to Persia, and thence through Egypt and Greece homeward. For this extensive travel he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of the period of Odysseus' wanderings.

In accordance with these plans he set sail from England on the 20th of October 1612, for the Grecian Archipelago, where, however, he only visited Zante and Scyo; thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and with a party of compatriots visited the ruins of Troy, and took an active and delighted part in a mock ceremony, got up on the spur of the moment under the influence of the locality, where he received the accolade of a Trojan Knight, returning thanks for the imaginary honour in an absurd oration replete with out-of-the-way learning, which has been preserved amongst the fragments of his travels and correspondence.

From thence he proceeded to Constantinople, where he remained nearly a year, receiving much kindness and hospitality from Sir Paul Pindar, then Ambassador at the Porte. Here he lost no opportunity of sight-seeing, and was witness to several interesting exhibitions, the details of which he narrates with much quaint humour. Amongst them were a " rigorous and austere kind of discipline "practised by a brotherhood of Francescan Friars who underwent severe flagellation *by proxy*; a visit to the Dancing Dervishes; a great fire; a flight of locusts; the entry of the Sultan into his capital after a long absence at Adrianople; a visit to several Jewish ceremonies, and the celebration of the Ramzan and feast of Beiram.

On the 21st January 1614, he left Constantinople; and visiting Lesbos or Mytilene, Scyo and Cos, sailed for Scanderoon, whence he proceeded to Aleppo. From thence, accompanied by a countryman, Henry Allard, he started for Damascus, where he remained some days, and then commenced his journey to Jerusalem, which he reached on the 12th April, and was witness to the ceremonies of the Greek Church at that season. From Jerusalem he made several excursions to the places of note and interest in the neighbourhood, including a visit to the river Jordan and the Lake Asphaltes, on the hither side of which, *though he saw it not*, he heard there was " the pillar of Lots wife in salte, with her childe in her armes and a pretty dogge also in salte by her, about a bow shot from the water."

From Jerusalem he returned to Aleppo, where he was compelled to remain three months waiting for a Caravan to Persia, with which he finally departed, and crossing the Euphrates at Bir, proceeded viâ Orfa, which he speaks of as " Ur of the Chaldeans, where Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Cittie," but he regrets that he could "see no part of the ruines of the house where that faithful servant of God was borne." Proceeding thence they crossed the river Tigris at Diarbekir, where poor Coryate was robbed by a Turkish Spahi of all he possessed except the clothes on his back, and a few coins he had prudently concealed about his person. From Diarbekir the Caravan, following the route between the lakes Van and Urrameah, reached Tabriz, regarding which Coryate writes, " Ecbatana the sommer seate of Cyrus his Court, a City eftsoone mentioned in the scripture; now called Tauris; more wofull ruines of a City (saving that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did my eyes beholde." After a short halt at Tabriz he proceeded viâ Kasbin to Ispahan. Here he remained two months studying the Persian language, and waiting for a large Caravan that was about to start for India. The extent of the overland traffic by that route may be estimated for the fact that this Caravan consisted of 6,000 souls with 2,000 camels, 1,500 horses, above 1,000 mules and 800 asses. The route followed was apparently by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrah and Grishk to Kandahar, and thence viâ Quetta and the Bolan Pass to Shikarpore. In this latter part of his journey he met Sir Robert and Lady Sherley proceeding from India to Persia, who treated him with great kindness, Lady Theresa making him a present of forty shillings, which in the reduced state of his finances was very acceptable, whilst Sir Robert greatly flattered his vanity by showing him a copy of his own work (the Crudities) and promising to bring it to the notice of Shah Abbas, from which circumstance Coryate calculated on some princely benefit when he should return through Persia, that monarch being, as he says, " such a jocund Prince, that he will not be meanly delighted with divers of my facetious heiroglyphicks, if they are truely and genuinely expounded unto him."

From Shikarpore he appears to have proceeded up the right bank of the Indus, and crossed probably at or above Mittunkot, whence he continued his journey to Lahore, which he describes as " one of the largest cities in the whole Universe, for it containeth at least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatnesse."

From Lahore he proceeded by the then famous Badshahi or Royal road to Agra, which occupied him twenty days " through such a delicate and even tract of ground, as I never was before, and doubt whether the like is to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world : another thing also in this way being no lesse memorable than the plannesse of the ground, a row of trees on each side of this way, where people doe travel, extending itselfe from the townes-end of Lahore to the townes-end of Agra, the most incomparable showe of that kind that ever my eyes surveyed." Agra he describes as " a very great citie, and the place where the Mogall did always (saving within these two yeares) keepe his coürt, but in every respect much inferiour to Lahore."

Ten days journey took him from Agra to Ajmir, where he arrived in 1615, and found ten Englishmen resident at the Padshah's Court, by whom he was hospitably received and entertained, and with whom he remained diligently applying himself to the Urdu and Persian languages. Here his vanity was highly gratified by a proof that his previous history and travels were known and appreciated by his countrymen in this distant part of the world, which was evinced by the receipt of a copy of humourous, or as Coryate terms them, pretty verses from one Mr. John Browne, a member of the Company's factory at Ahmedabad. As these verses, we believe, represent the first recorded British tribute to the muses in India, they may not be unacceptable.

To the Odcombian Wonder, our laborious countriman,
the generous Coryate.

What though thy *Cruder* travels were attended
With bastinadoes, lice, and vile disgraces,
Have not thy glorious acts thereby ascended
Great Brittaine's stage, even to Princes' places.
Led on in triumph by the noblest spirits
That ever deigned to write of anies merits.

If then for that they did advance thy fame,
How will they strive to adde unto thy glory,
When thou to them so wondrously shalt name
Thy weary footsteps, and thy Asian story :
No doubt more ripe (as nearer to the sunne)
Then was that first that in the cold begun.

Then rest awhile, and to thy taske again,
Till thou has throughly trod this Asian round,
Which yet so many kingdomes doth containe
As *Deckon*, where the diamond is found ;
And *Bisnagar*, *Narsinga ;* and if you be
Not weary yet, in *Zeilan* sake the Rubie.

Then could I wish you saw the *China* nation,
Whose policie and act doth farre exceed
Our Northern climes : and here your observation
Would novelists and curious artists feede
With admiration. Oh, had I now my wishes,
Sure you should learn to make their China dishes.

But by the way forget not *Gugurat*,
The Lady of this mighty King's dominion,
Visite *Baroch*, *Cambaia* and *Surat*,
And *Amdavar ;* all which in my opinion
Yield much content, and then more to glad yee,
Weele have a health to al our friends in *Tadee.*

Then crosse to *Arab*, happiest in divison ;
But have a care (at *Mecca* is some danger)
Lest you incurre the pain of circumcision,
Or *Peter-like*, to Christ do seeme a stranger.
From thence to Egypt, when the famous *Nile*,
And *Memphis* will detaine your eyes awhile.

This done, at *Alexandria* seeke your passage
For England's happy shores, when *How* and *Mundy*
Will strive to make your travels out-last age.
So long as stand their annals of our country.
For Mandevill will come of thee farre short,
Either of travell, or a large report.

He remained at Ajmir until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chitore to meet him.

Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight-seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably traveling on foot, had excited the attention of the Shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the *English Fakir*. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and above all being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to receive him, save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the Ambassador's household with his Chaplain, and kept as much in the back ground as practicable.

This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the Padshah in spite of the Ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the Royal Durbar, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehangir, who making enquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud, that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England.

These we subjoin for the benefit of Persian scholars or students, as copied from Purchas, with only such corrections in the original as were evidently typographical errors, the natural result of printing in an unknown language, leaving the peculiar spelling unaltered :—

" Hazaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruees jehaungeshta hastam ke inja amadam az wellayete door, yanne az mulk Inglizan, ke kessanaion peshem mushacas cardand ke wellayete mazcoor derrakehs magrub bood, ke mader hamma jazzaert dunyast. Sahbebbe amadane mari inja boosti char cheez ast, arwal be dedane mobarrek

deedare, hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Frankestan reeseed ast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan. Der sheenedan awsaffe Hazaret daneeda amadam be deedane astawne akdas musharaf geshtane. Duum bray deedane feelpay Hazaret kin chunin janooar dar heech mulk ne dedam. Seum bray deedane namwer daryace shumma Ganga ke Serdare hamma daryaha duniast. Chaharum een ast, ke yee fermawne alishaion amayet fermyand, ke betwanam der wellayete Usbeck raftan ba shahre Samarkand bray Zeerat cardan cabbre mobarreeke Saheb crawneah awsaffe jang oo mosachere oo der tamam aalum me shoor ast belk der wellayete Uzbec eencadee meshoor neest chunan che der mulc Inglizan ast, dige bishare eshteeac daram be dee dane moobarec masare saheb crawnca bray een saheb, ke awn saman ke fooker der shahr Stambol boodam ye aiaeb cohua amarat deedam dermean ye cush bawg nasdec shahe mascoor coja ke Padshaw Eezawiaion ke namesh Manuel bood ke Saheb crawnca cush mehmannee aseem carda bood, baad as gristane Sultan Bajasetra as jange aseem ke shudabood nasdee shahre Bursa coanja ke Saheb crawn Sultan Bajasetra der Zenieera tellajo bestand, oo der cafes nahadand een char chees meera as moolke man jumbaneed ta inja. As mulc Room oo arran peeada geshta as door der een mulc reseedam, ke char hasar pharsang raw darad beshare derd oo mahnet casheedam ke heeh ches der een dunnia een cader mahnet ne casheedast bray deedune moobarrec dedare Hazretet awn roos ke bo tacte shaugh in shaughee musharaf fermoodand."

The translation as made by Coryate himself we give verbatim:—

"Lord Protector of the world, all haile to you: I am a poore traveller and worldseer, which am come hither from a farre countrie, namely, England, which ancient historians thought to have beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of all the Islands in the world. The cause of my coming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majestie, I hastened hither with speed and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly, to see your Majestie's elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seene in any other countrie. Thirdly, to see your famous river Ganges which is the Captayne of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to entreat your Majestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious passe, that I may travelle into the countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Sumarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners *(this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this countrie, in that Persian language; and where as they call him the Lord of Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the Corners of the world, that is the highest and Supreme Monarch of the Universe)*: whose fame by reason of his warres and victories is published over the whole world: perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause, for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant garden neare the said citie, where the Christian Emperor that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neare the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners, bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a cage of yron.

"These foure causes moved me to come out of my native countrey thus farre, having travelled a foote thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the world into this countrey, that my pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortale men in this world did ever performé, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchal throne."

The Padshah, who appears to have been amused by this unusual address, and interested in the English Dervish or Fakir, entered into discourse with him relative to his past and projected travels, dissuaded him from his attempt to visit Samarcand, pointing out not only the difficulties of the route but the danger to be encountered there from the bigotry of the people. He then presented our traveller with one hundred rupees, which was most acceptable, for as he says in a letter to his mother, "never had I more need of money in my life than at that time, for in truth I had but twenty shillings sterling left in my purse."

As may be supposed Sir Thomas Roe was much annoyed when he heard of this proceeding; but for this Coryate was not unprepared. In the same letter to his mother, he says, "This humour I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my countrimen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe; for I well knew that our Ambassadour would have stopped and barricadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed he signified unto me after I had effected my project, alledging this, forsooth, for his reason why he would have hindered me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our nation, that one of our contreymen should present himselfe in that beggarly and poore fashion to the King out of an insinuating humour to crave money of him. But I answered our ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner that he was contended to cease nibbling at me." From an Armenian who was resident at the Court, he also received a present of twenty rupees when on a visit at his house, two days' journey from Ajmir, and from Sir Thomas Roe he receiveed an Asherfie, "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure and tweentie shillings;" this was given him on the occasion of his departure from Ajmir, which took place on the 12th of September 1616, when he started for Agra *en route* to Lahore, Kabul and Samarcand. After remaining a few weeks at Agra he appears to have visited Allahabad or Praag, to witness the annual *melah* or "memorable meeting of the gentile people of this country, called *Banians*, whereof about four hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to the same river, partly in stamped money, and partly in massive great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the river for a sacrifice, and doing other strange ceremonies most worthy of observation." From Allahabad, having given up his intention of visiting Samarcand, he returned to the royal Durbar, and joined the Ambassador at Mandu. Here the privations, fatigue and exposure which he had endured began to tell upon a naturally strong constitution. His health gave way, and his spirits also began to flag, a presentiment that he would not live to complete his travels having fastened upon him. This induced him, against Sir Thomas' advice, to hasten to Surat, although suffering from dysentery. He reached Surat in a very delicate state, having endured considerable privation and fatigue on the journey; for notwithstanding his failing health, he still travelled on foot. Here he was induced to indulge in drinking sack, which had the more effect upon him owing to his ordinary temperance. The consequence was that it aggravated his disease, which rapidly gained upon him, and carried him off in the month of December 1617.

Of his Asiatic travels, there is no record except what is to be found in various letters written to his mother, uncle and some of his friends, most of which were republished by Purchas.

At the present time, with all the comparative facilities of travel, such a trip as that made by Coryate would be deemed a remarkable undertaking. But when we consider the period when the journey was accomplished, that it was made wholly on foot, that Coryate started with very scanty funds, that he was twice robbed, and that during the whole trip he appears to have spent only a few pounds, it must be admitted to have been an extraordinary enterprise. He always wore the costume of the country, and was at little trouble or expense on that score. With regard to the expenses of his diet, he writes to his mother from Agra: "I have above twelve pounds sterling which, according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my pilgrimage any other liquour than pure water,) will manitaine me very competently three years in my travell, with meate, drinke and clothes." It is much to be regretted that he did not survive to publish an account of his travels, for he was far from deficient in observation, although his views were often quaint and eccentric, and he had the great merit of truthfulness. The Rev. Mr. Terry, "long his chamber-fellow and tent-mate," bears testimony to this virtue, and observes "as he was a very particular, so he was a very faithful relator of things he saw; he ever disclaming that bold liberty which divers travellers have and do take, by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, where they cannot be contradicted, taking pride in their feigned relations to overspeak things." He must have made good use of his time in the acquisition of the Oriental languages. In a letter written in 1615 from Ajmir, to the Right Honorable Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls, he says, "Three years and some odd days, I have spent already in this second peregrination, and I hope with as muche profite (unpartially will I speake it of myself without any over-weening opinion to which most men are subject,) both for learning foure languages more than I had when I left my conutry: viz. Italian, Arabian, Turkish and Persian, and exact viewing of divers of the most remarkable matters of the Universe; together with the accurate description thereof, as most of my countreymen." In a letter to his mother dated from Agra, October 1616, he writes that he had spent a year at Ajmir "to learn the languages of those countries through which I am to pass—viz. these three, Persian, Turkish and Arab, which I have in some competent measure attained unto by my labour and industry at the King's Court; matters as available to me as money in my purse, as being the cheapest or rather only means to get money if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidental to a poor foot-man pilgrim as myselfe in these Heathen and Mahometan countries through which I shall travell."

Of his knowledge of the vernacular Mr. Terry gives a remarkable and amusing instance, when speaking of "his great mastery of the Indoostan or more vulgar language," he goes on to say "there was a woman, a landress, belonging to my Lord Ambassador's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech that she would sometimes scould, brawl, and rail from the sunrising to the sunset; one day he undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her that she had not one word more to speak."

His curiosity and love of travel were both intense, and his enterprise and perseverance kept pace with them. Terry describes him as " a man of a very coveting eye *that could never be satisfied with seeing*," and who "took as much content in seeing as many others in the enjoying of great and rare things." But stronger than all was the love of notoriety and the "itch of fame," which stamped every act and object of his life, rendering him insensible to difficulties, hardships and dangers, but keenly alive to the least slight or wound to his vanity. This soreness and greed of praise had long rendered him a butt to the wits of the day, who ministered to his weakness by the most absurd and high-flown mock commendation, which poor Coryate readily and gladly swallowed. Terry notices two instances of his morbid vanity. On one occasion a Mr. Steel, who had recently arrived at Mandu from England, said that in an interview with King James the 1st, when speaking of his own travels, he had mentioned meeting Coryate in Persia, on which the King remarked "is that fool living yet?" This speech greatly annoyed our poor traveller who took it much to heart. The other grievance came from Sir Thomas Roe, who, on Coryate's departure, gave him a letter of introduction and credit to the new Consul at Aleppo, in which he spoke of Coryate as " a very honest poor wretch," a phrase which gave dire offence and led to indignant remonstrance, upon which Sir Thomas altered the letter to his satisfaction.

With all these weaknesses there was much that was amiable as well as manly in Coryate's character, and he deserves a prominent place amongst the Pioneers of British enterprise in the East.

The following Epitaph was writen for him by his friend the Rev. Mr. Terry:—

Here lies the Wanderer of his age,
Who living did rejoice,
Not out of need, but choyce,
To make his life a Pilgrimage.

He spent full many pretious daies,
As if he had his being
To waste his life in seeing?
More thought to spend, to gain him praise.

Some weaknesses appear'd his stains:
Though some seem very wise,
Some yet are otherwise,
Good Gold may be allow'd its grains.

Many the places which he ey'd,
And though he should have been
In all parts yet unseen,
His eye had not been satisfy'd.

To fill it when he found no room,
By the choyce things he saw
In Europe and vast Asia,
Fell blinded in this narrow tombe.

At the period of Coryate's death, Sir Thomas Roe's Indian career had nearly come to a close He appears to have accompanied the Court of Jehangir about the end of 1617, when that Monarch marched from Mandu to Guzerât, but we have no record of this portion of his travels. Early in the following year he took his final leave of the Durbar, but not until he had obtained the main object of his mission, and was dismissed with honor and presents, Jehangir forwarding a complimentary letter by him to King James.

On arrival at Surat, he found the Governor, who was a nominee of Shah Jehan, disinclined to act up to the spirit of the new treaty, or to pay attention to the firmauns and other orders of the Padshah ; under these circumstances he entered into direct and separate communication with Shah Jehan, who happening at that time to be at variance with, and exceedingly irate against the Portuguese, was ready and willing to come at once to terms. After some discussion a treaty was concluded, confirming all the benefits to the English granted by the Padshah, together with special privileges in the port of Surat, including the erection of a factory, the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms ; in return for which they were to assist in the defence of the port.

Finding that the Company's Agents had commenced a regular trade with Persia, and established factories in Ispahan and on the coast, Sir Thomas superintended the negociations for a treaty of commerce with Shah Abbas, which was obtained on very favorable terms.

He finally left India in the commencement of 1619, and on his voyage home, in the month of May, he met at Saldanha Bay, the Dutch Admiral Hoffman, with whom he had a long conference on the subject of the commercial animosities and jealousies of the English and Dutch in the East, which resulted in both writing to the agents of their respective establishments in India, enjoining mutual peace and good will, as being in accordance with the wishes and orders of the two Home governments, who were sending out a commission to adjust all points in dispute.

With this act Sir Thomas' career in India may be said to have terminated.

His proceedings during the whole period of his long and difficult embassy appear to have given satisfaction both to the King and the Company at home.

Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a Member of Parliament for the borough of Cirencester in Gloucestershire In 1621, he was sent as Ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha and Amurath 4th, with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English Ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and generous advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and Oriental Manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English Ambassador.

In 1629, he was sent as Ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgment of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of £2,000, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen and several of the German Courts.

In October 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April 1641, he was sent as Ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the Palatinate. Here he made so favorable an impression upon the Emperor, that he publicly said: "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an Ambassador till now," and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly "that if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English Ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue."

After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his Royal Master and the Parliament, which imbittered his latter days, and is believed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th November 1644, at Woodford in Essex, where he was buried.

On his return from his last embassy to the Emperor, he was appointed Chancellor of the Garter and a member of the Privy Council, the only recompense he ever received from the monarch whom he served so long, so faithfully, and with such beneficial results to the Crown and country. Although on the Royalist side in the great national struggle, he was respected and liked by all parties. He was a man of liberal education, of a refined mind, and sound scholarship. He made an extensive and valuable collection of articles of *vertu*, including a magnificent set of medals, all of which he bequeathed to the public. As a political negotiator he was looked upon as amongst the ablest of his time, and on all questions of commerce he was admitted to have no equal. He made several remarkable speeches on commercial questions in the House, especially on the currency, and he also published several pamphlets and left numerous valuable manuscripts.

In the words of his biographer "there was nothing wanting in him towards the accomplishment of a scholar, gentleman or courtier ; and as he was learned, so he was also a great encourager of learning and learned men. His spirit was generous and public, and his heart faithful to his Prince. He was a great, able and honest statesman ; as good a patriot, and as sound a Christian, as this nation hath had in many ages."

By such a man, it must be admitted, that England was well and worthily represented in her first Indian Embassy.

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# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

THE KHASIA HILLS.

By W. ROBINSON, ESQ., Inspector of Schools.

1. *The Geological Structure of part of the Khasia Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District.* By THOMAS OLDHAM, F.R.S., G.S., &c., *Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.* Calcutta, 1854.
2. *An Introduction to the Khasia Language ; comprising a Grammar, Selections for Reading, and a Vocabulary.* By the Rev. W. PRYSE. Calcutta, 1855.

THE Eastern portions of Bengal, though among the earliest acquisitions of the British in India, appear for a long time to have attracted but little public attention. The vast mountain regions that stretch along the frontier in that direction, formed a barrier that seemed a sufficient protection against the chances of any serious foreign invasions ; while the occasional predatory incursions of the adjacent Hill tribes, produced effects of but limited interest, and were easily curbed by a few local troops retained chiefly for that purpose.

If Sylhet, therefore, and the adjacent districts, excited but little interest, it is no matter of surprise that the independent states in the neighbourhood were viewed with indifference. It was only after the Burmese had conquered Assam and Munnipore, that a wish seems to have arisen in the minds of our rulers for more accurate knowledge of the condition of the tribes on the North Eastern frontier. But thirty years and more have passed away since then,—our boundary lines have been extended to include not only Assam, but a large tract of the adjacent hill country,—and even now, the amount of information possessed by the British public, regarding this portion of our Indian territories, is exceedingly meagre.

Though unknown, and unappreciated, there are probably few portions of the British dominions in India more important, whether considered in a commercial, a statistical, or a political point of view.

We purpose, therefore, on the present occasion, to lay before our readers all the information we can glean regarding one of these little known sections of British India—the KHASIA HILLS, —and to bring to notice such facts respecting their internal condition, resources, and traditional history as we trust will prove generally interesting.

The tract of country known under the above appellation, lies between 25° and 25° 40′ N. Lat. and 90° and 91° E. Long., forming an irregular parallelogram, the length of which from

North to South may be assumed at about seventy miles, and its average breadth at fifty, giving an area of about three thousand five hundred square miles. On the North it is bounded by the plains of Assam ; on the South by those of Sylhet ; on the West by the Garro Hills ; and on the East by the central portion of Kachar.

Viewed from the plains to the South, these hills have the appearance of a long table-topped range, running East and West, and rising abruptly to the height of from four to five thousand feet, with its upper crest straight, sharp and almost perfectly horizontal. The numerous streams which drain this lofty ridge flow in deep and large glens which stretch for many miles into the hills, adding greatly to the variety and beauty of the scenery—and as the upper portion of these deeply excavated glens or river gorges are nearly perpendicular and precipitous faces of rock, resting on a rapidly inclined talus, a number of large waterfalls may be clearly seen even from the distance of many miles, precipitating themselves over the cliffs, into a bright green mass of foliage that seems to creep half way up their flanks. But when viewed from a distance the nearer and further cliffs being thrown by perspective into one range, there is an apparent tameness of feature in the general profile of the hills, which seem to rise out of the jheels of Sylhet so abruptly as to remind one of some precipitous islands of the ocean.

The scenery of very few spots in India, we believe, is comparable in beauty and luxuriance with the rich tropical vegetation induced by the damp, and insular climate of these perennially humid mountains. That of the sub-Himalayas is doubtless on a more gigantic scale, and the noble forest trees along their Southern slopes, appear from a distance as masses of dark gray foliage clothing mountains ten thousand feet high. Here the individual trees are smaller, and more varied in kind, and there is among the vegetation a marked prevalence of brilliant glossy-leaved evergreen tribes, which contrast beautifully with the gray limestone and red rocks and numerous silvery cataracts.

The ascent to the hills by the beaten road, is at first very gradual, along the sides of a sandstone spur—but at the height of 2,000 feet, the slope suddenly becomes steep and rocky, and the road mounts by bold staircases and zigzags to the table-land above. In the first portion of the ascent the road is beautifully shaded by groves of the orange and citron, the jack and the betel-palm, mixed with stately forest trees, many of them entwined with *pawn*, and here and there a gigantic banyan, or caoutchouc tree—

> " Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree ; a pillar'd shade,
> High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

In their shade the pineapple and plantains also grow in wild profusion ; and all seem like the uncultivated gifts of the Creator ; but here and there water-pipes of hollowed betel trunks, carrying a stream for several hundred yards along the hill side, show that they are not altogether untended.

The groves from which the whole of Bengal is supplied with oranges, occupy a belt of from one to two miles in breadth, at the sloping base of these mountains, and in a soil formed of the detritus of the limestone, which constitutes the principal rock on this side of the range. They seem to thrive luxuriantly to an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet above the plains, where the character of the vegetation indicates a change from a tropical to a more temperate region, and the wild raspberry and strawberry are detected on the borders of the numerous small springs which issue from fissures in the rocks.

At the height of 3,000 feet all tree vegetation suddenly disappears, and the scenery becomes barren and uninteresting. A few steps further on, however, and we open a magnificent prospect of the upper scarped flank of the valley of Mansmai, along which we ascend by a gentle acclivity in view of four or five beautiful cascades rolling over the table top of the hills, broken into silvery foam as they leap from ledge to ledge of the horizontally stratified precipice, and throwing a veil of silver gauze over the gulf of emerald green vegetation 2,000 feet below. Indeed, the views of the many cataracts of the first class that are thus precipitated over the bare table-land, on which the station of Cherra stands, into the valleys on either side, surpass any thing of the kind seen in any of the other mountain regions of India. Ascending to the table top near the village of Mansmai, we catch the first view of the station of Cherra, at an elevation above the sea of 4,120 feet. This elevated land, covered with naked undulating hills, and at intervals of a few miles interrupted by deep and sudden valleys, is the general characteristic of the country as far North as Nongklaw, a direct distance of about thirty-five miles, when there is a sudden and almost precipitous fall to the level of the Borparri river, or more than two thousand feet, gradually dying away into the valley of the Brahmaputra, by a succession of sharply undulating hills and ridges which stretch to Gowhatti in Assam.

When the fate of war had transferred Assam to British rule, the expediency of endeavouring to open a direct communication between it and the more Southern provinces of Sylhet and Kachar presented itself to the attention of Mr. David Scott, then the Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General on the N.-E. Frontier; but it was not till the year 1826 that negociations to effect this desirable object were entered upon by him with the Khasia chieftains.

To enable the reader, however, better to understand our relative position in regard to these hills, it will be necessary to trace back the history of our connection with the Khasias.

The first appearance of the English power in these hills appears to have occurred in 1774, when a detachment under Major Henniker was employed against the Raja of Jaintia, the Eastern section of the Khasia hills. Of the cause of this collision, there appears to have been no written records preserved, though as Jaintia was one of the most considerable of the Khasia states, it is not improbable that some aggressions against the inhabitants of the adjacent plains of Sylhet had rendered the chastisement necessary. The country was conquered; but afterwards restored on payment of a fine. From that period till 1821 the country seems to have remained unnoticed, when some emissaries from the same State were detected in an atrocious attempt to carry off certain British subjects from Sylhet for the purpose of immolating them. The circumstances were brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, and a solemn warning was given to the Raja that any repetition of an offence so heinous would be followed by an immeditate confiscation of his territory.

The invasion of the adjacent territory of Kachar by the forces of Ava, early in 1824, and the information that they were preparing to march through Jaintia to Assam, rendered it necessary for the British Government to take some precautionary measures to prevent the carrying out of such an intention. For if the Burmese had effected an entrance into Jaintia, it was more than probable that the security of Sylhet would have been seriously compromised. Mr. Scott, therefore, proceeded at once to open a negociation with the Raja, proposing that he should enter into a treaty of alliance with the British Government. He was promised the assistance of the Government troops, if his own resources were actively employed in repulsing the enemy; and threatened with punishment if he admitted the Burmese into his territory. In February 1824 Mr. Scott felt it necessary to adress a letter to the commander of the Burmese forces in Kachar, prohibiting his entering the Jaintia territory, on the ground that the Raja's ancestor had received that country as a gift after conquest from the Hon'ble Company; that he had himself sought British protection; and that the Burmese having openly threatened war, they could not be permitted to occupy that or any other favorable position for commencing hostilities. Notwithstanding these representations, the Burmese wrote to the Raja of Jaintia requiring his presence in the Burmese camp, on the affirmed ground of his vassalage to the princes of Assam, which latter country had become tributary to Ava; and shortly after, a party of [illegible] near the Jaintia frontier a detachment of a hundred and fifty men under a British officer was sent to reinforce the Raja's troops, which led to the withdrawal of the Burmese force.

The Raja of Jaintia having now been convinced that his procrastinating policy had well nigh compromised his independence, was glad to enter into a treaty with Mr. Scott, who, early in April, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, with an escort of three companies of the 23rd Regiment Native infantry, under the command of Captain Horsburgh. In the treaty, the Raja formally acknowledged his dependence on the British Government, pledged himself to abstain from all independent negociations with any foreign power, and to aid the Government with a Military Contingent whenever called on to do so.

None of these conditions, however, did he fulfil with sincerity. During the war with Burmah, he was known in direct violation of the treaty which had preserved his country from the calamities that threatened it, to have permitted a Burmese detachment from Assam to occupy his territory. And during the unsettled state in which Assam continued for some time after the Burmese war, he is said to have appropriated considerable tracts of land which properly belonged to the former Province. In 1832 four subjects of the British Government were seized by the Raja of Goba, one of the petty chieftains dependent on Jaintia, and immediately bordering on the district of Nowgong in Assam. They were taken to a temple within the boundaries of Goba, where three were barbarously immolated at the shrine of Kali; the fourth made his escape to the British territories, and gave intimation of the horrible sacrifice which had been accomplished. A demand for the surrender of the culprits was immediately pressed by the British Government; but every minor expedient having been resorted to in vain, on the 15th of March 1835, Captain Lister with two companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry took possession of Jaintiapore, the capital of the country, and the determination of Government to annex the plains to the British territory was made known by proclamation. In the following month of April, the district of Goba, in which the scarifice had been perpetrated, was taken possession of by a detachment of the Assam Light Infantry.

That portion of the Khasia hills which thus became annexed to the British territories, consists of three principal divisions. The first, or Southern division, comprises a very fertile and well cultivated tract of civil country, extending from the foot of the hills to the North bank of the Soorma river; the central division includes all the hills bounded by Kachar on the East and the districts of various Khasia tribes on the West, embracing an area of about 500 square miles; and the Northern portion stretches from the foot of the inferior heights to the South bank of the Kullung in Assam, and is a tract of tolerably open level country by no means inferior in fertility to the Southern plains, which form by far the most valuable portion of the principality.

The other, or Western section of the Khasia hills, for the most part remains still independent.

In 1826, as we have already observed, Mr. Scott for the first time entered into negociations with the Khasia chieftains for the purpose of opening a communication with Sylhet. But it is necessary here to premise that so far back as 1794, when the power of the Assam kings had been very much diminished by internal dissensions and civil feuds, many of the tribes on the borders of the valley, taking advantage of their weakness, had gradually possessed themselves of tracts of country in the plains, from whence, the Assam Government being unable to dispossess them, and being conscious at the same time of its own weakness, was glad to compound with them for an acknowledgment of supremacy, they holding these lands as fiefs of the kingdom.

In 1826, Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw, having expressed a desire to rent some lands in Assam which had once been held by his ancestors under the native princes of the country, Mr. Scott promised compliance with his request if he would endeavour to obtain from the other Khasia chieftains, permission for the unrestricted passage of British subjects through their territories. The Raja agreed to convene a meeting for the purpose of considering the subject at which Mr. Scott's presence was requested. The principal chieftains having assembled at Nongklaw, a debate which lasted for two days, was followed by a decision in favor of Mr. Scott's proposition, which resulted in a treaty with the British Government, the Khasias agreeing to aid in the construction of a road which was to pass through their country.

For eighteen months and more, after the ratification of this agreement, the most cordial understanding appeared to exist between the British authorities and their new friends. And Mr. Scott, naturally enough, forming a high opinion of the salubrity of the hills, contemplated the formation of a sanitarium that might have been rendered accessible.to the European inhabitants of Bengal. He accordingly had bungalows constructed at Nongklaw, an elevation estimated at about 4,585 feet,—which for some time continued to be his favorite residence. A line of road had been marked out and cleared under his directions ; improved systems of agriculture and gardening, with many new vegetable products had been introduced, and the most sanguine anticipations of the benevolent spirit which influenced every act of his life seemed likely to be realized.

On the 4th of April 1829, however, these bright prospects were suddenly obscured by an act of the most atrocious cruelty on the part of the Khasia, which entirely changed the character of the existing intercourse, and converted their powerful friends into formidable and irresistible enemies.

The immediate cause that brought the Khasias into sanguinary collision with the officers of the British Government is unknown, but it has been supposed to have been the speech of a Bengalee chaprassi, who in a dispute with some Khasias, is said to have threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance, and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Whatever it might have been, it served to fan the flame of dissatisfaction which had apparently been kindled by the insolent demeanor and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills, and led to the formation of a confederacy for the extermination of the lowland strangers.

Lieut. Bedingfield, the first victim of this most atrocious conspiracy, had from the first hour of his intercourse with the Khasias, evinced the liveliest interest in their welfare; he had studied their language as the best avenue to their affections, and the great aim of his residence among them, appeared to be an anxious desire to improve their condition, to instruct them in the arts of civilized life, and to create a relish for its humanizing enjoyments. So sensible did the Khasias appear of his kindness that an intercourse of the most friendly and intimate nature existed between them, to the very moment preceding that in which their guilty hands were imbrued in his blood. He was invited to attend a conference, and disregarding the prophetic warnings of his companion Burlton, who suspected treachery, he entered the assembly unarmed, and was barbarously slaughtered. Lieut. Burlton, with the aid of a small military guard, defended himself in his bungalow at Nongklaw against vastly superior numbers, and at night succeeded in effecting his retreat a considerable distance on the road towards Assam; his route was, however, discovered on the following morning, and he and his exhausted party rapidly overtaken by their blood-thirsty pursuers. Burlton fell covered with wounds, and the greater part of his party were butchered under the most aggravated circumstances of diabolical cruelty. A very few only survived to tell of the horrors that had been perpetrated by these misguided and infuriated savages.

Mr. Scott's sudden departure from Nongklaw for Cherra alone saved him from the dreadful fate which befel his valued friends and faithful followers, and sometime elapsed before he was made acquainted with the afflicting reality. Troops were immediately called up both from Sylhet and Assam to avenge the atrocious murders which had been committed, and a harassing warfare commenced in which many lives were sacrificed. The Khasias, conscious that they had violated every pledge, which even savages are accustomed to regard with superstitious reverence, viewed with suspicion every pacific overture, and, despairing of pardon, protracted a contest which their first skirmishes with our troops must have proved to be hopeless.

At length, however, the submission of Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw, who had been the principal culprit, was soon followed by a general pacification. The other chiefs had, with few exceptions, prior to this, adopted the sagacious policy of withdrawing from an unprosperous cause; and the few who had supported him were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by his surrender, to throw themselves on the clemency of the paramount power.

Teerut Sing, on his surrender on the 13th of January 1833, was conveyed to Gowhati and eventually confined in the jail of Dacca, where he remained a State prisoner to the end of his life. But as there had been a marked difference in the conduct of the various chieftains, it became necessary to distinguish those who had been friendly, from the guilty participators in the crime of Teerut Sing, and measures were accordingly adopted for subjecting all those who were proved to have participated in the murders and plunderings which had been perpetrated, to the payment of pecuniary fines. All opposition having been finally overcome, and the principal chieftains having formally tendered their submission to the British Government, it was resolved to place the whole mountain tract under the superintendence of the officer whose skill and gallantry had so largely contributed to its pacification; and Colonel (then Captain) Lister, was shortly after appointed Political Agent for Khasia affairs, over which he exercised a general control.

Some time previous to this amicable settlement, however, the distinguished officer who had devoted all his energies to promote the welfare of the people placed under his official charge, was suddenly removed from the sphere of his labours. Mr. David Scott died at Cherra on the 20th of August 1831, and the Government he had served with such devotion, in order to mark the high estimation in which his services were held, caused a stone monument to be erected over his remains at Cherra with the following inscription:—

In Memory of
DAVID SCOTT,
Agent to the Governor-General of the
North-East Frontier of Bengal
And Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, in the District of Assam
North-Eastern part of Rungpore, Sherepore, and Sylhet.
Died 20th August 1831.
Aged 45 years and 3 months.

"This monument is erected by order of the Supreme Government, as a public and lasting record of its consideration for the personal character of the deceased, and of its estimation of the eminent services rendered by him in the administration of the extensive territory committed to his charge. By his demise the Government has been deprived of a most zealous, able and intelligent servant, whose loss it deeply laments, while his name will long be held in grateful remembrance and veneration by the native population to whom he was justly endeared by his impartial dispensation of justice, his kind and conciliatory manners, and his constant and unwearied endeavours to promote their happiness and welfare."

His many acts of kindness and urbanity still live in the grateful remembrance of the people, among whom the name of "U Saheb Scott," continues to this day to be held in high veneration. Extensive schemes had been formed by him for the improvement of this Hygeian Land of Promise, and the civilization of its wild and independent tribes, and in losing him the Khasias felt they had lost a sincere and warm-hearted friend.

Partial as Mr. Scott had originally been to Nongklaw, as the site for a sanatory station, his favourable opinion of the place was greatly shaken by a prevalence of sickness during the months of May and June 1827, which rendered the salubrity of Nongklaw more than questionable, and led to its relinquishment. Cherra appeared then likely to fulfil the conditions required for a sanitarium, and as the Khasias themselves maintained the superior healthiness of the place, measures were accordingly adopted for experimentally proving the correctness of their opinion.

The excessive rainfall at Cherra, however, is supposed to have been a great drawback to the salubrity of its climate for invalids, for whatever might be the advantages derivable by them from a reduced temperature during the winter and summer months, the torrents of rain that fall there during the wet season, could not fail, it was said, to prove injurious to men, whose constitutions had already suffered from the effects of an Indian climate—and in 1834, the Government was led to order the removal of the detachment of European invalids that had been temporarily stationed there. Others, however, have expressed themselves satisfied that bad accommodation, houses not water-tight, and almost below the level of the ground, coupled with the facility of obtaining the native spirits at an extremely low price, were tenfold more fruitful causes of illness among the troops, or of non-recovery, than any defect of climate.

The other European residents who had sought that station in search of health, were in consequence of this movement led to the apprehension that Government intended also to deprive them of the medical aid they had hitherto enjoyed, and under this impression they addressed the Governor-General's Agent on the subject. As their letter contains a brief summary of the advantages derived from the continued possession of this tract, and an acknowledgment of the benefits they had individually experienced from a residence there, an extract from it may not be without effect, in counteracting a prejudice against the Khasia hills, which, if the opinions of men who speak experimentally be valid, is wholly unfounded :—

> "It is in no sort intended to question the propriety of the decision of Government for the removal of the European soldiers; but we consider that they are so differently placed, in regard to the accommodation and comfort which are required here, and are deprived of so many sources of amusement which may be enjoyed by the members of the community at large, that the failure of an experiment in regard to them, as inconsistent with the object of Government, is no satisfactory proof that other members of the community may not benefit by residence here. On the contrary, we think, that with the exception of some cases, to which the climate has been unsuited, (and these are cases unsuited to any climate in the known world,) the greater portion of those who have visited Cherra Poonjee have derived advantage; and we even know that some have enjoyed a more perfect state of health here than they have in England. We consider that Government even would obtain considerable advantage by affording the opportunity to many of their public servants of warding off, by a timely visit to Cherra Poonjee, the necessity of withdrawing themselves from public employ for two years, if not altogether to revisit England—and to other members of the community in Bengal, but especially in Calcutta, this is of incalculable advantage. These considerations have, in fact, already made this station a very common place of refuge for invalids of all classes; many houses have been built in consequence, suitable to the climate, for their accommodation, and a considerable portion of the ground occupied here, pays a rent to Government annually. Even schools have been established here for children, for whose health it has been found that this climate is peculiarly favourable. Schools have also been established for the instruction of the natives themselves; and the population generally, have been both civilized and improved in circumstances, by their communication with the European residents."

The fears which had been excited were allayed by the subsequent establishment of the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry at Cherra. But it was soon apparent that by the removal of the European invalids detachment, the Government had virtually pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the Khasia hills, and Cherra very soon lost the prestige it once enjoyed.

Cherra's loss however has been a gain to Darjeeling, to which place the European invalid depôt has since been transferred, and which attracts to it the servants of Government, and all other

European residents in Bengal, to whom ill-health may render a change of climate desirable. It would be well, therefore, to institute a comparison between the two, with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of each as a sanatory station.

Darjeeling, * as is generally known, is situated on one of the lower and outlying ridges of the great Himalaya range, at an elevation, varying in different parts of the station, from 6,500 to 7,400, the mean height of the greater portion of the station being about 7,000 feet. It is a considerable distance within the hills—about 45 miles by the road, but in a direct line perhaps not more than 20. It is partially protected on the South by the higher ridge of Senchal and its spurs, while to the North it is freely open to the snowy range, of which it commands a magnificent view, extending for many miles East and West of the great culminating points of Kunchinjinga, the highest known summit on the earth's surface—28,177 feet. All round the station, the hills form a succession of remarkably steep and sharp saddle-backed ridges with deep glens, (from three to five thousand feet below the station,) and are covered with an almost uninterrupted and dense mass of forest trees, festooned with moss, and literally dripping with moisture.

Professor Oldham, the title page of whose work on the Khasia hills stands at the head of this article, observes, that comparing Darjeeling and Cherra as regards rain, it appears that the mean annual fall at Darjeeling is scarcely more than a quarter of the mean annual quantity at Cherra. For the years 1851 and 1852 the comparative rain-fall at the two stations stands thus :—

	1851.	1852.
Cherra	592.525.	449.63
Darjeeling	126.500	104.70

The following table gives a comparison of the number of dry days at each station :—

	Days of no rain.	Days of less than 1,000 inch.	Total.
Cherra in 1851	50	47	97
„ 1852	55	44	99
Darjeeling 1851	102	61	163
„ 1852	96	85	181

While, therefore, there is nearly four times the quantity of rain at Cherra than falls at Darjeeling, it is worthy of notice that the distribution of this amount of rain is far from being in the same proportion. Besides, at Cherra, where the fall is so excessive, a day with less than 1,000 inch of rain is actually a fine day, while at Darjeeling the same fall in the course of the 24 hours ge-

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* In latitude 27° 3′ 0″ North, and longitude 88° 18′ 40″ East.

nerally produces a wet day. The greatest fall at Darjeeling during the two years referred to by Professor Oldham, was in July 1852, when there were 35.40 inches recorded, or an average fall in the *twenty-four hours* of 1.15 inch.

"A fair estimate of the climatal condition of any locality" however, as Professor Oldham justly remarks, "can scarcely be formed merely from a consideration of the fall of rain; more especially as regards the comfort or convenience of residents. It is obvious that for most purposes of enjoyment a fall of rain of only 5 inches spread over the whole day, is much more objectionable than a fall of 15 inches, confined to 15 hours out of the 24; while the state of the atmosphere, amount of cloud, fog, wind, &c., are all equally important considerations." The mean humidity of the atmosphere therefore is, we presume, a much safer guide in estimating the conditions of any locality as to moisture, than the actual rain-fall. Professor Oldham it appears had not the means of comparing this at the two stations for the same year; but taking the results obtained by him at Cherra for four of the wettest months in 1851, and the corresponding result for the same in 1853 at Darjeeling,—a comparison which by the way is decidedly in favor of Darjeeling, as the latter year was finer than 1851,—we have the following comparative table :—

	July	August	Sept.	October	Mean of 4 months.
Cherra in 1851,	.873	.960	.932	.916	.920
Darjeeling in 1853,	.917	.936	.928	.887	.917

We have here then, the very unexpected result, that the *mean humidity* of the wettest season of the year is within a small fraction (.003) *the same at both the stations*, although the actual fall of rain is four times greater at one place than at the other.

The remarkable *absence of wind* at Darjeeling is another circumstance that tells to its disadvantage. "During the whole of the present season" (1853) Professor Oldham observes, "I find, on examining my daily records, only a single entry in which the force of the wind, stated according to Beaufort's scale, amounted to 4°; the large majority—four out of five days—giving nothing more than 0—1, or being nearly quite calm. I confess myself quite unable to explain the cause of this absence of wind, but it is an universally admitted fact." The consequence of this stagnation of the atmosphere, as might have been expected, is the almost constant presence of cloud and fog, which rise from the deep and humid glens around, and hang for days together unmoved over the station—engendering gloomy and oppressive feelings, which to invalids in particular, must be extremely unpleasant.

The loftier position and more open aspect of the Jilla-pahar, however, where the convalesant depôt of Her Majesty's Troops is placed, render it much less liable to this covering of cloud, but the fall of rain is in consequence considerably greater there than it is in the civil station below.

The constant *uncertainty in the weather*, is more complained of at Darjeeling than at Cherra. This is doubtless partly owing to the greater elevation of the former place, and may in some measure also be attributable to certain local peculiarities of position. " Even when apparently most settled," Professor Oldham remarks, the weather at Darjeeling " cannot be depended upon for an hour, while in the Khasia hills, even during the height of the rains, there frequently occur breaks of the most lovely summer weather, continuing for several days."

The *mean temperature* of the two places is another point worthy of comparison. From the more Northerly latitude of Darjeeling, and its greater elevation, combined with its more remote position within the hills, it would naturally have been anticipated that the temperature there would have been much lower than at Cherra: But this anticipation is not altogether supported by the result of observations, as will be apparent from a reference to the following Table :—

1851.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
Cherra,	53·70	55·10	65·30	67·10	69·30	71·30
Darjeeling,	40·90	41·70	51·80	55·30	61·90	62·50
Difference,	12·80	13·40	13·50	11·80	7·40	8·80

1851.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Cherra,	71·80	72·40	72·40	68·20		
Darjeeling,	63·70	64·30	63·20	55·80	50·40	44·80
Difference,	8·10	8·10	9·20	12·40		

This would tend to show, that while there is during the winter months a very much lower temperature at Darjeeling than at Cherra, the difference is not by any means so marked during the summer months. But another inference drawn from the above Table is, that the difference between the extreme mean temperatures for the whole year is much greater at Darjeeling than at Cherra, being 23·40 at the former place, and only 18·70 at the latter ; or, in other words, the temperature at Cherra is *more equable* throughout the year, than it is at Darjeeling.

One word more regarding the comparative advantages of situation between Darjeeling and Cherra. The latter decidedly possesses greater facilities of approach.

In the case of a traveller from Calcutta, for instance, proceeding to Darjeeling, the two nearest points of access to which he can get by water are *Nalagola* on the Purnababa (the Dinagepore river,) and *Dulalgunge* on the Mahanundo or Malda river. From Nalagola he has a land journey of 30 miles to make to Dinagepore, and thence 88 miles more to Siligooree at the foot of the hills, or 118 miles. From Dulalgunge the land journey to Titaliya is about 50 miles, and thence to Siligooree 16 = 66 miles. And from Siligooree to Darjeeling the distance by the road is 45 miles. That is, landing at Nalagola the traveller has to perform a long land journey of 163 miles, or, landing at Dulalgunge, a journey of 111 miles. While, proceeding to Cherra on the contrary, the traveller lands at Pandua at the very foot of the hills, and thence in one short march of 10 miles reaches the end of his journey. The Soorma, the Sylhet river, by which he proceeds to Pundua, is navigable at all seasons of the year, and as we understand it is the intention of Government to run their inland steamers to Sylhet and Kachar, the journey to Cherra may then be performed with perfect ease and facility.

The situation of Darjeeling relative to the neighbouring country, we must confess, is beautiful, standing on a ridge that juts out, as it were, into a vast basin in the very heart of the sub-Himalaya, and enclosed on every side by mountains generally higher than itself; except to the North and North-East, where the view is open, and exhibits range upon range, until the prospect terminates in the distant snowy mountain, the proper Him-alay. The ridge itself is, for the most part, narrow or hog-backed, with a steep descent on its Eastern side; while on the opposite or Western side, it declines in slightly gentler declivities. On this side most of the houses of the residents are built, with the exception of the Church, the Cutchery, and a few of the older houses, which have been constructed along or near the summit of the ridge. The building sites are mostly scarped and then superficially dressed and bound at the outer edge, either with a binding timber, fastened by stakes, or supported on a revetment of dry stone masonry. Cherra on the contrary stands on a flat table-land six or seven miles in circumference, with an aspect as bleak and inhospitable as can well be imagined; but surrounded at the same time with the most lovely scenery, and traversed by good buggy roads in almost every direction.

We now close this description of the comparative merits of the two sanitaria of Bengal, with the following quotation from Professor Oldham's book:

"I do not pretend," he says, "to offer any opinion on the chocie of such places as a summer resort for invalids, or a temporary residence for persons who may be suffering from the intense heat of the plains of India, and from the diseases which so commonly affect Europeans there. But I would express my own personal feelings, (the feelgins of one in good health and not long in a tropical clime,) that notwithstanding the enormous fall of rain, the climate of Cherra Poonjee is greatly to be preferred to that of Darjeeling. It is much more bracing, and less gloomy and depressing. The sensation there s that of an English summer (a wet summer certainly); the sensation at Darjeeling is that of a foggy English November."

We will not go so far as to presume that these remarks will cause the Government to adopt any changes at present, but as it is not improbable that when the Khasia hills come to be better known, Europeans may be induced to settle there in preference to Darjeeling, we cannot refrain from putting on record one or two more observations made by competent authorities regarding sites for a sanatarium that might prove preferable to Cherra. Two of these have been thus described by the late Major Fisher :—

"Though many of the central parts of the hills are extremely well calculated for the purpose of cantoning three or four hundred European troops, there are two spots which appear to me, above all others, to deserve a preference. First, the fine plain extending from the hill Chilling-deo to Nong-kreem, which presents a surface of about four or five square miles, unbroken by any undulation, and which could easily be rendered practicable for wheeled carriages. The total absence of jungle might indicate a poor soil; but abundance of short rich grass proves that it is very fit for the support of cattle. The altitude is probably about 6,200 feet; in winter there are frosts, but it does not appear that snow ever falls.

"The second spot is the plain about three miles South of Nogundee, crossed by the road between that place and Surra-reem. This possesses all the advantages of the one before mentioned, but is probably a little lower, though not so much so as to be perceptibly warmer; and as the access from Pundua to this spot is easier than to the first, I incline to give it a decided preference."

Mr. Robertson, who succeeded Mr. Scott as Agent to the Governor-General, after having made a tour in company with Col. Lister, for the express purpose of examining the various sites which had been proposed for a sanatarium, in a letter of the 23rd July 1832, says—

"As the site of any future establishment in the interior, I give the preference to Myrung. Nongklaw would perhaps be a better situation with reference to its bearing on Assam, but is liable to mists, does not appear to be very healthy, and is infested with annoying insects. There is a site to the Eastward of Mauleem, which possesses considerable advantages, both as to climate, and extent of table-ground; but it stands in a corner, and is therefore ill situated for a station for troops." This is Major Fisher's first site,—lying between Chilling-deo and Nongkreem. "Myrung seems to combine the advantages in which both of the other spots are wanting. It stands on the road leading from Cherra to Gowhati. Its climate is excellent, perfectly free from mist; and its salubrity is proved by the appearance of the sepoys and others stationed at that post."

Referring to the above, Capt. R. B. Pemberton writes:—

"I should prefer the site pointed out by Major Fisher, near Nogundee, which possesses an elevation so great as to lead to no perceptible difference in temperature between it and the very highest known spot, near the Chilling-deo hill, and which can be reached by a line of road, where not a single river of any depth or magnitude is crossed; and from which, two easy marches would convey troops to Nurtung, on the best and most salubrious line of route, leading into Central Assam, or to Myrung, should their services be required in the vicinity of Gowhati."

The great objection to Cherra as a station, is the heavy torrents of rain that fall their annually. But this heavy fall is very local, and a few miles inland the quantity that falls annually is not half so much as at Cherra. Its position at the top of a steep and precipitous ascent from the plains; the vast extent and size of the inundations and rivers which deluge those plains immediately below it; the general direction of the wind during the monsoon, and the altitude at which clouds generally float in the air, all tend to expose the place to a very heavy discharge of rain. Professor Oldham informs us that the fall during the year 1851 amounted to *five hundred and ninety-two inches*, or to EIGHT FATHOMS AND A QUARTER of water; for it seems absurd to use a smaller unit in treating of such a quantity.

The direct effect of this deluge, is to raise the little streams about Cherra fourteen feet in as many hours, and to inundate the whole flat; from which, however, the natural drainage is so complete, as to render a tract, which in such a climate and latitude should be clothed with exuberant forest, so sterile, that no tree finds support, and there is no soil for cultivation of any kind whatsoever. But owing to the hardness of the horizontally stratified sandstone, the streams have not cut any deep channels for themselves, nor have the cataracts worked far back into the cliffs.

The flat on which the station stands may be about three miles long and two broad, dipping abruptly in front and on both sides, and rising behind towards the main range, of which it is a spur. The Western part is undulated and hilly, the Southern rises in rocky ridges of limestone and coal, and the Eastern is very flat and stony, broken only by low isolated conical mounds. The scenery varies extremely at different parts of the surface. Towards the flat portion, occupied by the European residents, the aspect is black enough ; a thin stratum of marshy or sandy soil covers a tabular mass of cold red sandstone ; and there is not a tree, and scarcely a shrub to be seen. The low white bungalows are few in number, and very scattered ; and a small white Church stands lonely in the centre of all.

But in the immediate neighbourhood, and especially from the margins of this plateau, the views are magnificent. Four thousand feet below are bay-like valleys, carpeted as with green velvet, from which rise tall palms, tree-ferns with spreading crowns, and rattans shooting their pointed heads, surrounded with feathery foliage, as with ostrich plumes, far above the great trees. Beyond are the Jheels, looking like a broad shallow sea with the tide half out, bounded in the blue distance by the low hills of Tipperah. To the right and left are the scarped red rocks, and roaring waterfalls shooting far over the cliffs, and then arching their necks as they expand in feathery form, over which rainbows float, forming and dissolving as the wind sways the curtains of spray from side to side.

To the South, the lime and coal measures rise abruptly in flat topped craggy hills, covered with brushwood and small trees. Considerable caverns penetrate the limestone, the broken surfaces of the rock presenting many beautiful and picturesque spots. Westward, the plateau becomes very hilly, bare, and grassy, with the streams broad and full, but superficial and rocky, precipitating themselves in low cascades over tabular masses of sandstone.

On the heights to the North stands the extensive and populous native village, or Poonjee, the road to Assam running between it on the left, and a deep and richly wooded valley on the right. The country the traveller at first passes over is very open and bare, the ridges being so uniform and flat-topped, that the broad valleys they divide are hidden till their almost precipitous edges are reached ; and the eye wanders far East and West over a desolate-looking level grassy country, unbroken, save by the curious flat-topped hills. These features continued for eight miles, when passing the villages of Laitangkot and Surrareem, where the principal operations of the iron smelters are carried on, a sudden descent of six or seven hundred feet leads into the dark valley of the Kala-panee, or the black water river—near which stands a small staging bungalow. The almost perpendicular sides of the hills around, are clothed with the dark foliage of innumerable shrubs and creepers, indicating a soil more favourable to vegetable life than had been previously observed on the more Southern portion of the tract. Here in many places the sandstone alternates with alum shales, resting on a bed of quartz conglomerate, and the latter on black greenstone. In the bed of the river, whose waters are beautifully clear, are seen hornstone rocks, which give to the water flowing over them a darkish appearance, whence the origin of the name applied to the river.

Ascending from this chasm to the height of about 600 feet, the road enters a shallow, wild, and beautiful valley, through which it runs for several miles. The hills on either side are of greenstone capped by tabular sandstone, immense masses of which have been precipitated on the floor of the valley, producing a singularly wild and picturesque scene. Beyond this a high ridge is gained, above the valley of the Boga-panee, the largest river in the Khasia hills—from which the line of the Bhotan mountains may be seen in clear weather, at the astonishing distance of from 160 to 200 miles. The descent is very steep, and the road then follows a clear affluent of the Boga-panee, or the white water, and afterwards winds along the margin of that river, which is a rapid turbulent stream, very muddy, and hence contrasting remarkably with the Kala-panee. It derives its mud from the decomposition of granite which is washed by the natives for iron, and in which rock it rises to the Eastward.

An elegant iron suspension bridge was thrown across this stream, but in June 1851 a very heavy flood occurred which carried it all away, leaving scarcely a vestige behind. The greater proportion of the mischief resulted, not so much from the actual amount of rain that fell, and the rise of the waters consequent thereon, as from the waters being impeded in their course, and pounded back by numerous great slips of earth and stones, carrying down with them trees and underwood. The torrent, meeting with such obstacles, must have been restrained until its accumulated force burst through every barrier, and swept every thing before it. In certain parts of the river, the rise was not less than fifty feet, and the richly wooded slopes of that valley were next morning scored with innumerable gullies and deep ravines, extending frequently from the level of the water up to the very summit of the steep banks. From one of these deep cuts, in which a small stream usually found its course, a mass of rubbish consisting of stones of various sizes had been carried down, which on a rough calculation was estimated to amount to about five thousand tons of matter, the stones varying in size from one to twenty cubic feet. Not a vestige of the bridge was left; a single screw bolt, which had formed one of the fastenings of the wall-plates, alone indicated that such a structure had ever existed; and when the waters had subsided, one of the heavy cast-iron standards, which had supported the chains, was found about 250 yards down the stream, jammed between the huge blocks of stone in the river bed. A thick range of trees which formed a shady covering to the road for nearly a mile between it and the river, was entirely swept away, and with it the strongly formed revetment wall which supported the road. To such sudden rises, all mountain torrents must be more or less liable, but during previous years, the waters in this stream were never known to rise to much more than half the height they reached on the occasion now referred to.

Another bridge, on the suspension principle, now supplies the place of the iron one. Like many others seen in the hills, and erected by Khasia ingenuity, this is composed of long rattans stretched between two trees, at a height of about forty-five feet above low water mark. The footway consists of a bundle of small canes lashed together, and connected with two larger rattans forming hand-rails, but these are so low and so far apart, that it must be difficult to grasp both together. The length of this bridge cannot be much under seventy feet between the points of suspension.

We will here just mention one other instance of Khasia ingenuity in the erection of bridges. In the valley of Mau-smai, on the top of a huge boulder by the river side, grows a magnificent caoutchouc tree, clasping the stone in its multitude of roots. Two or three of the long pendant fibres, whilst still easily pliable, have been stretched across the stream, and their free ends fastened on the other bank. There they have struck firmly into the earth, and form a *living bridge* of great, and yearly increasing strength. Two great roots run directly one over the other, and the secondary shoots from the upper have been bound round, and have grown into the lower, so that the former affords at once a hand-rail and suspending chain, the latter a foot-way. Other roots have been laced and twisted into a sort of ladder as an ascent from the bank to the bridge. The greatest thickness of the upper root is a foot, from which it tapers to six or eight inches. The length of the bridge is above eighty feet, and its height about twenty above the water in the dry season.

But to return to the road; after crossing the Boga-panee we for the first time meet with groves of pine-trees, somewhat dwarfish and stunted in appearance, but giving a novel aspect to the scenery. A very steep ascent leads to the bungalow of Mau-flong, on a broad bleak hill-top near the axis of the range, at an altitude of 6,062 feet. The people in this neighbourhood grow a large quantity of potatoes, and also a species of coix (Job's tears) for the grain it yields, which is very much used in the preparation of a fermented liquor. Though planted in drills and carefully used and weeded, it is after all but a ragged crop, and yields a very poor return.

The finest view in the Khasia mountains, and perhaps a more extensive one than has ever before been described, is that from Chillong hill, the culminant point of the range, about six miles north-east from the Mau-flong bungalow. This hill, 6,660 feet above the sea, rises from an undulating grassy country, covered with scattered trees and occasional clumps of wood; the whole scenery about being park-like, and as little like that of India at so low an elevation as it is possible to be.

Northward, beyond the rolling Khasia hills, may be seen the valley of Assam, seventy miles broad, with the Bruhmaputra winding through it, fifty miles distant, reduced to a thread. Beyond this, even in a clear day, banks of hazy vapour obscure all but the dark range of the lower Himalya, crested by peaks of frosted silver seen at the distance of two hundred miles, occupying sixty degrees of the horizon, and comprising the greatest extent of snow visible from any known point in the world. Westward from Chillong, the most distant Garrow hills visible are about forty miles off; and Eastward, those of Kachar, which are loftier, are about seventy miles. To the South, the view is limited by the Tipperah hills, which where nearest are a hundred miles distant; while to the South-west lies the sea-like Gangetic delta, whose horizon, lifted by refraction, must be fully a hundred and twenty. The extent of this view is therefore upwards of *three hundred and forty miles* in one direction, and the visible horizon of the observer encircles an area of fully *thirty thousand* square miles, which is greater than that of Ireland!

Continuing Northward from Mau-flong, the road, after five miles, dips into a very broad and shallow flat-floored valley, fully a mile across, which resembles a lake-bed. It is bounded by low hills and is bare of aught but long grass and herbs. The road winds very prettily among these little elevations, and by a sudden descent of four hundred feet, leads to another broad flat valley called Sohiong, * where is another staging bungalow. This valley is grassy but otherwise bare, and is supposed to be at an elevation of 5,725 feet.

Beyond this, the road passes over low rocky hills, wooded only on their North or sheltered flanks, and dividing small flat-floored valleys, and extensive moors, till the descent to the valley of Mairung (Myrung), one of the most beautiful spots in the Khasia hills, 5,650 feet above the sea. Here there is an excellent staging bungalow, situated on the North flank of a very shallow valley, two miles broad, and full of rice cultivation.. The hills on either side are some of them dotted with pine-woods, others are conical and bare, with small clumps of pines on the summit only ; while in other places are seen broad tracts, containing nothing but young trees resembling plantations, but not owing their existence to human industry. Wild apple and birch are common trees, but there is little jungle except in the hollows, and on the Northern slopes of the higher hills.

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* Sohiong signifies, the black plum, from Soh, a fruit. Thus the Khasias have Soh-mluh, the red plum; Soh-shan, the strawberry; Soh-runkham, the black currant; Soh-shia, the raspberry, &c., &c.

About ten or twelve miles South-West of Myrung, and conspicuous from all directions, there is a very remarkable hill, known by the name of Kollong, which rises as a dome of red granite to an elevation of 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges, and 700 above the bottom of the valleys. The South or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the North is clothed with a dense forest containing oaks and rhododendrons. The view from the top of this rock Northwards is very extensive, commanding the Assam Valley, the Himalaya, and the hillowy range of undulating grassy Khasia mountains.

From Myrung to the next bungalow at Nongklaw * the distance is about ten miles, along an excellent road over an undulating country, the barrenness of which is greatly relieved by the presence of some noble firs, which crown the summit of the knolls, and are scattered over all the hollows which lie between the different heights.

Nongklaw stands at the Northern extremity of the broad plateau of the Khasia hills, and from thence the descent to the valley of the Brahmaputra is very rapid. None of the hills beyond it attain to an elevation of more than 1,000 feet, and these are for the most part very thickly wooded. The view Northwards from Nongklaw, in the early morning, is like a scene in cloudland, with its mysteries of beauty that defy the skill of the painter. An ocean of mist, as smooth as a chalcedony, as soft and white as the down of the eider duck's breast, lies over the whole lower world, with only an occasional mountain top visible like a verdant wooded isle, rich in beauty and glory.

The elevation of the bungalow is 4,688 feet, and by a rapid descent of a thousand feet the road leads down to a tropical forest rich in figs, birch, nutmegs, horse-chesnuts and oaks, with tall pines growing on the drier slopes and measuring from 80 to 90 feet in height. The descent continues by a zigzag road through this forest, down to the very bottom of the valley, in which flows the Bor-pani, a broad and rapid river, that descending from Chilong winds round the base of the Nongklaw spur.

This river is about forty yards wide, and is spanned by an elegant iron suspension bridge, clamped to the gneiss rock on

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* The village in the wilderness, from Nong or Shuong, *a village*, and Klaw, *desert, wilderness.*

either bank. Beneath is a series of cascades, none high, but all of great beauty from the broken masses of rocks and picturesque scenery on either side. From this point the descent towards the plains of Assam is comp ratively gentle, and for the first three or four miles the road winds beautifully among grassy knolls and groups of pine, till it reaches the bungalow at Mossia, a desolate looking log-house standing solitary and inhospitable amid the surrounding solitude. Wild animals are said to be very abundant here, though extremely rare on the higher part of the Khasia range.

From Mossia to the next bungalow at Jyrung the distance is about 20 miles, through a tract of country so decidedly insalubrious that it can be traversed with safety only between the months of November and March, almost entirely neutralizing the advantages anticipated by the residents of Assam, from the vicinity of so elevated and temperate a region. The glimpses of scenery as the traveller passes through this forest are sometimes exceedingly enchanting. Upwards the mists are still curling and hanging to the mountains, or rising slowly and gracefully from the depths of the valleys along the face of the out-jutting crags ; while below there are the clumps of trees in the sunlight, the deep exquisite green of spots of unveiled meadow, the winding stream, now hid and now revealed, the gray mist sleeping on the tender grass, the brooks murmuring, the birds singing, the sky above and the earth beneath uniting in a universal harmony of beauty.

The bungalow at Jyrung is a still more dreary and melancholy looking object than the one at Mossia. Small, dark and low, it stands on a little rising knoll, surrounded by thickly wooded hills of far greater elevation. The consciousness of having some place of shelter, and the soothing murmurs of the brook that runs close by, alone reconcile the traveller to this miserable accommodation. A further journey of nine miles brings him to the sun-lit plains of Assam, which look bright and cheerful in contrast with the dark and heavy forests he has passed through. Imbedded in these forests are numerous little Khasia hamlets, and the clearances in their neighbourhood are extending rapidly every year, so that it is to be hoped, that, as has been the case elsewhere, the danger at present attending a journey through this forest will vanish with the progress of improvement.

In relation to the extent of country that passes under the name of the Khasia hills, the population is exceedingly scanty, and very much scattered. According to the last census taken in 1846, the number of Khasia houses or homesteads amounted to 16,480 ; allowing five persons to each house, the population of the hills may be estimated at 82,400 souls.

Though the country is nominally under British control, the system of government has been allowed to continue almost unaltered, the people having to this day their own Kings or Rajas, and every village its own chief. They present the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics subject to no common superior; yet each member is apparently amenable in some degree to the control of his confederates.

There re said to be 23 of these confederated states in the Khasia country, exclusive of that portion known as the Jaintia territory. The two states of Mau-smai and Mau-mloo alone belong to the British Government by right of conquest, and Sooparpoonji has since been added by virtue of a treaty. Over these the Government exercises entire jurisdiction; and the sirdars or headmen are empowered to investigate and decide all petty cases, subject to an appeal to the Court at Cherra.

The 15 states noted below,* are dependent ones; that is, the chiefs have placed themselves under British protection and control—and although they are permitted to try all petty Civil and Criminal cases occurring amongst their own people, cases between the Company's subjects and theirs, or those of other states, are taken up by the Cherra authorities; while all serious cases, such as murders, homicides, &c., are reported to our Courts, and enquired into, in the first instance, by the Police.

The other 5 states, namely, those of Cherra, Khyreem, Lungree, Nurtung and Mespoong, are but partially dependent. The Rajas exercise sole Civil and Criminal jurisdiction in their respective states; but all cases of complaint occurring between their subjects and those of any other states, or the subjects of the British Government, are tried in our Courts.

The Government derives no land-revenue from any portion of these hills, with the exception of a trifling sum received as ground rent for the building lots in the station of Cherra. The tract of land on which the station is placed was transferred to Government by the Raja of Cherra, in exchange for an equal quantity of land in the district of Sylhet, at a place called Burgiste, near the foot of the hills. The total sum, from the above source, and all other items put together, judicial fines, the sale of opium, &c., &c., we believe does not amount to so much as 700 Rs. a year; while the receipts from the hill territory of Jaintia may probably be computed at 600 Rs. per annum, making a total of 1,300 Rs. a year.

No land tax is said to be imposed on the pepole by their Rajas; what public revenue they have is derived from fines, and in some cases, from trifling dues paid in kind by frequenters of the markets. The business of the State is usually transacted at public meetings called by order of the King, at which subjects affecting the welfare of the parties are canvassed, opinions advanced, and the question decided by a majority. Petty complaints are usually settled by the headmen of the villages or by arbitration, but if the chief of the village is not able to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, a public meeting is called. The crier is sent out about 8 or 9 o'clock at night, when the people are supposed to have all returned home from their daily occupations. Taking up a position whence he is likely to be heard, he attracts attention to himself by a prolonged, unearthly yell, and then delivers himself of his errand :

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* Nongklaw, Mau-leem, Maram, Chilla, Mullye, Ramrye, Bhawal, Murriow, Mau-young, Mau-rolee, Shoing, Mau-flong, Jyrung, Dowarrah, and Mullung.

"KAW! Thou, a fellow villager! thou, a fellow creature! thou, an old man! thou, who art grown up! thou, who art young! thou, a boy! thou, a child! thou, an infant! thou, who art great! thou, who art little! HEI! in his own village, in his own place. *Hei!* in his own village. in his own place. *Hei!* in his own prohibition, in his own interdiction. *Hei!* in his own drawing of water, in his own drinking of water. *Hei!* there is a quarrel. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* to come to sit together. *Hei!* to cause to deliberate together. *Hei!* to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in Durbar to hear, to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then, to cut firewood then. No, *Hei!* to go to work then. No, *Hei!* to go a journey then. No, *Hei!* to descend to the valley then. *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own master; lest destruction come, lest piercing overtake us. KAW ! Come forth now fellow men ! !"

After this proclamation no one is to leave the village on the following day. Guards are placed at various points on the public roads and by-paths, for the purpose of apprehending all recusants, who by attempting to leave the village subject themselves to the penalty of a heavy fine. On the following day, from about 4 P. M. till near sunset, the men may be seen gradually assembling at the place where such meetings are usually held. This is an open place in the neighbourhood of the village, where a large number of stones are circularly arranged for the accommodation of the assembly, something probably after the fashion of the ancient Druids, or as was the custom of the Greeks, when—"The heralds spoke, the aged judges sate on squared stone, in circle for debate."

The proceedings are opened by the chief augur of the village, and the witnesses are then examined ; the chief at the close summing up the evidence on both sides, pronounces judgment making at the same time a hearty appeal to the assembled villagers : "Is it not so my young, energetic ones ?" To which they unitedly respond "Yea ! so it is, young energetic ones." Decisions are given, not so much according to any fixed law, as agreeable to the customs of the community, which admit of various modifications ; so that when true justice is done, the trial, especially in cases involving disputes regarding property, resolves itself into an equitable arbitration, in which the disputants cannot avoid concurring.

The Khasias have no prisons, and corporal punishment is seldom or never resorted to, but all crimes and misdemeanours are punished by fines more or less heavy. In cases of inability to pay the fine, the criminal forfeits his freedom, and he and his posterity become the slaves of the chief. It sometimes occurs, that in a case of great intricacy, the village community aided by their chief are unable to bring matters to a final settlement. The contending parties are then called upon to clear themselves by ordeals of different descriptions. The water ordeal used to be the one most often appealed to. The opponents with much ceremony plunged their heads under water on the opposite sides of a consecrated pool, and he had the right who remained longest under water. It not unfrequently happened that the ordeal proved fatal to one of both of the parties, and all such cruel practices have now been interdicted.

Imperfect as their mode of government is, it is worthy of remark that crimes, such as would be cognizable by our law, are of very rare occurrence. Among their bad qualities, dissoluteness of manners and drunkenness are the most prominent. But there is also much of what is good in their character which raises them above their neighbours in the scale of moral worth, considering that they are destitute of the only source from which true morality proceeds. Frank and independent in manner, and in spirit too, they have much more manifestly a conscience to distinguish between write and wrong, than any of their neighbours below. Whether they always act up to it is another question ; but there are many amongst them whose right feeling, truthfulness and strict uprightness, would do honor to men even in a Christian land.

Efforts have for some years past been made by Christian Missionaries for the instruction of the Khasias, and their labours have not been without success. We had an opportunity a few months ago of attending Divine service at the Missionary chapel at Cherra Poonjee. The preacher was a converted Khasia, who addressed his countrymen with great animation and feeling, and was listened to by a large congregation with the utmost decorum, and apparently with considerable attention and interest.

Most of our readers are probably aware, that the first attempt made to introduce the great source of the world's enlightenment amongst these people, was made by that noble body of men,—the Serampore Missionaries. The New Testament was translated by them into the Khasia tongue ; but their efforts to maintain a Mission on the hills not having been properly sustained and followed out, failed of success. The Rev. Mr. Lish's efforts, however, during the short period he was at Cherra, were productive of considerable good, and there are many Khasias now living, who speak of him with feelings of grateful remembrance as one of the benefactors of their tribe.

The translation of the New Testament having been found to be unidiomatic, and in a large number of instances almost unintelligible, a new translation is now in course of preparation by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, who has acquired a thorough knowledge of the language, and whose efforts to promote the welfare of the people are beyond all praise. At the present time, there are several schools both for boys and grils, in active operation, and hundreds of Khasias are able to read intelligibly in their own language. Portions of the Scriptures, and books teaching the fundamental principals of Christianity, have been rather widely diffused among the people, and several others are in course of preparation. The efforts made by the Missionaries for the spread of education have, we are glad to observe, been very kindly noticed by the Supreme Government, and a 'grant-in-aid' given them to enable them to extend their operations. That they have done, and are doing, a vast amount of good to the people for whose welfare they have devoted their lives, there can be no question, and we heartily wish them God-speed in their labors of love.

Where the Khasias may have originally come from, or from what particular branch of the great Tartar or Mongolian stock they may have sprung, it would be difficult now to ascertain. "There are," however, as the Rev. Mr. Pryse observes in his "Introduction to the Khasia Language," "various indications extant amongst the people, both in their dialect and in their customs, to point out either the empire of Assam, or the range of hills intervening between that empire and the Khasia hills, as the cradle of the tribe."

Their language is a purely monosyllabic one, and has been very fully delineated by the Rev. Mr. Pryse in the little book above alluded to. It abounds in nasal sounds, and is spoken with a peculiar jirking tone which has a singular effect to a stranger. The same language, with no substantial difference, appears to prevail in all their villages, though there are considerable differences of accent, especially between the men of Jaintia and those of the other Khasia States. The Khasias, like most of the tribes on the

North Eastern frontier have no written character, no books, and no literature of their own In preparing books for them, therefore, and reducing their language to writing, it was necessary to introduce a written character. The Serampore Missionaries gave the preference to the Bengalee character which they found quite adequate to express all the sounds of the language—and it is a great pity we think that the Roman character, surrounded by a halo of dots and dashes, has been since substituted in its stead. The adoption of the former, it was said, was objectionable, "because it entailed on the illiterate Khasia youth the—to him—almost unsurmountable difficulty of learning some hundred or more signs of different sounds, including the whole of the Bengalee letters, simple and compound, whilst some 18 or 20 Roman marks of sounds properly combined, would be ample to represent and express every sound in the Khasia dialect." But when it is considered that the Roman alphabet has distinct forms for the capital and small letters, and there is another distinct form in these letters when used in ordinary writing, it will be apparent that the illiterate Khasia youth will have in either case almost the same difficulty to surmount, and "to learn some hundred or more signs of different sounds." One of the objects in teaching the Khasia the arts of reading and writing, is doubtless to give them a greater facility of intercourse with the people of the plains, with whom, in their commercial dealing, they are now brought into almost daily intercourse. The Bengalee character, used as it is by the people of Sylhet on the one side, and those of Assam on the other, would have been to them a much more useful character to have adopted. It is obvious that such a small and non-influential tribe will not long be able to retain characters different from those of the larger nations of the plains in their neighbourhood. And as they are brought under the influence of education and their commercial intercourse is extended, the Bengalee character, we venture to foretell, must at no very distant day supplant the Roman. Nor is it beyond the bounds of probability to expect that the time will be, when the various hill dialects on the N.-E. frontier will all be likewise supplanted by the Bengalee language.

No satisfactory explanation, we believe, has yet been discovered of the meaning of the term KHASIA, as applied to the people of this tribe. Some derive it from the name of a female "Ka Si;" in which case the *h* should be dropt, and the word spelt "*Kasi:*" others derive it from "Kha," a verb, signifying to give birth, and Si, a woman's name, making the term "Khasi" to signify, the descendants of Si. The natives call themselves "Ki Khasi," (the Khasis) and their country they call "Kari Khasi." The word "Cossyah," as sometimes used by Europeans, is therefore an unfortunate one, as to its orthography at least; for it is one of those in which the departure from the pronunciation of the natives is such as to render it quite unintelligible to them.

A few indistinct traditions are current among the tribe, but we believe nothing tangible can be derived from them. There is one, for instance, which may probably be traced back to the common patriarchal or antediluvian source from which the traditions of most tribes have taken their origin. The story tells that in olden times, a Bengalee and a Khasia swam across the ocean, each with a book in his mouth to protect it from the watery element. The former carried his book in safety to land, but the latter unfortunately, during his exertions in swimming, swallowed his book. Hence comes it that the Bengalee has a literature, and the Khasia none.

The story of the "*Diingei*," or *forbidden tree*, is another very popular one among the tribe. The following may be said to be the leading features of the tale as now told. In the origin of the race there was an enormous tree, by means of which man and God held intercourse with one another; this tree brought a curse of darkness upon mankind which they were unable to remove. Another feature is, that the sun was deified in the circumstance of the tree. A third feature, that a mediator was necessary between mankind and their sun-god; which was found in the domestic cock. A fourth, that the mediator voluntarily offered himself as a sacrifice, in order to effect a reconciliation between the parties. Such are the leading features of a story which, for aught we know, may have originated in a tradition of the Biblical narrative of the forbidden fruit.

God is commonly considered by the Kahsias to be the "Nongthaw," or Creator of all, and He is occasionally spoken of as, "*He who carefully watches over and protects: who is the cause of goodness and prosperity.*" No sacrifices are offered to him, nor is he ever invoked in prayer. The goddess, supposed by the Khasias to be the wife of God, is said to be full of mercy, the bestower of happiness and prosperity on mankind; and offerings are constantly made to her in order to insure her protection. But evil spirits are particularly regarded by them, and their religious forms and ceremonies consist for the most part in sacrifices and offerings to appease these spirits and avert those evils that they are to originate. Temples and idols they have none, except in certain villages of Jaintia, where Kali and her Brahmins have unfortunately effected a lodgment, under the patronage of the former king of the country, whose devotion to the bloody goddess cost him his kingdom.

The people are much addicted to consulting auspices of different kinds, but especially by the breaking of eggs. Indeed, this lateter superstition is so prominent and has got such a fast hold on the minds of the people, that it would seem to be the principal part of their religious practice. On all occasions of doubt it is resorted to, and they will sometimes spend whole days in dashing eggs upon a board, with much wild chaunting and wilder gestures in search of a decisive or a favorable augury.

The only possible condition of the immortal spirit of man in a future state, known to the Khasia, is that of a "*Ksuid*" or demon, malignant, malicious, unjust, bent on injuring those left behind him on earth. Hence the frequency of the sacrifices offered to pacify the spirits of the dead, especially the bones of the deceased are deposited in a small repository. But if they were placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is therefore not so frequent; because "la buh ka niom ka rukom"—the religion and customs were observed—regarding him.

For this reason, too, it is that the greatest festivities of the people are funereal; either at the burning of the dead or when the ashes of the family are collected, and a monument erected in their honor. When by the help of the oracles the time is fixed for the removal of the ashes to the family vault, a public dance is held, which on great occasions is continued for several successive days, and the numerous performers are recompensed by an ample feast of pork and whiskey. The dance is performed either with fans or swords. If with the former, the men dance round and round a circle, somewhat monotonously, attitudinizing and brandishing their fans. They are all clad in the most brilliant finery that they possess, or can hire for the occasion,—richly embroidered outer shirts of broadcloth, silken turbans and dhotics, large bangles, heavy silver chains, and gold necklaces with plumes of down or peacock's feathers, and ornamental quivers. In the centre are the village maidens; they form in twos and threes, and *set* to one another with a comical *Pas* of exceeding simplicity, which seems to be performed by raising the heels, and twisting from side to side, on the forepart of both feet, which never leave the ground. They, too, are loaded with silver chains, tassels, and armlets, and all wear on the head a peculiar circlet of silver, having a tale spear head rising behind. In the sword dance, the men accompanied by music and musquetry, dance and bound, clashing sword and shield, and uttering in chorus a chaunt, at first, seemingly distant and sepulchral, but gradually becoming louder and louder, till it bursts into a terrific unearthly howl,—then sinking to a doleful chaunt again, and again rising to wake the echoes.

The various remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every way side cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger from the peculiar aspect thrown by them on almost every scene in the upper parts of the country. They are of several kinds, but almost all of them recall strongly those mysterious, solitary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries. which abound in England and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe and Western Asia. The most common kind in the Khasia country is composed of erect oblong pillars, sometimes unhewn, in other instances carefully squared, and planted a few feet apart. The number composing one monument is never under three, and occasionally they are as many as thirteen. The highest pillar is in the middle, sometimes covered with a circular disk, and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of these is what English antiquaries call a *cromlech*, a large flat stone resting on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary broadside resting-place of the weary traveller. Some of these stones are of considerable size and must have cost immense labour in erection.

The tallest of a thick cluster of pillars in the market place of Murteng, in the Jaintia country, rising through the branches of a higher old tree, measures *twenty-seven feet* in height above the ground. And in another place, near the village of Sailankot, a flat table stone or *cromlech* elevated five feet from the earth, measures 32 feet by 15, and 2 feet in thickness.

In some cases the monument is a square sarcophagus, composed of four large slabs, resting on their edges and well fitted together, and roofed in by a fifth placed horizontally. In other cases the sarcophagus is in the form of a large slab accurately circular, resting on the heads of many little rough pillars, closely planted together, through the chinks between which may be seen certain earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are merely cenotaphs, and some few among them have probably been erected in commemoration of certain important events.

Many of the villages doubtless derive their appellations from such erections, as is apparent from the number commencing with *Mau*, which signifies a stone. There was war once, we are told, between Cherra and Mau-smai, and when they made peace and swore to it, they erected a stone as a witness, thence the name Mau-smai *the stone of the oath.* So they have Mau-mluk, from "mluk," *salt*, Mau-flag, from "flag" *grass*, Mau-inlu, from "inlu," *upturned*, and several more that might be enumerated.

The Khasias are not in the habit of marrying young. The proposal of marriage comes from the man, who usually selects a friend of his as a go-between, and sends her to the father of the girl to ask his consent to the union. This is sometimes done without giving any intimation of his intentions to the girl herself. The consent of the parents being obtained, and the day fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom in company with a party of his friends proceeds to the house of the bride, there, a feast is prepared for the occasion, consisting of all the good things within the reach of the family. Before the party partakes of the feast, the young couple are placed to sit together, with a maternal uncle of each on either side of them. These uncles talk to one another regarding the desirableness of uniting the two parties, and in them their respective families. The consent of the parties having been obtained, he couple are pronounced united, and the feast follows. After which the friends return to their respective homes, but the bridegroom remains in the house of his bride, and becomes an inmate of it if she happens to be the youngest or only daughter; if otherwise, the husband removes her to his own house, which then becomes the property of the wife.

The marriage tie, however, is a very lax one, and the simple exxchange of five cowries between the parties dissolves the union; but the children abide with the mother.

Closely connected with this system and as we may suppose originating in it, is their strange, though not unique, law of succession. The son has no claim to succeed his father, whether it be in the chieftainship or in private property. The sister's son has the inheritance.

The volatile disposition of the men naturally takes them much from home; and while they are engaged in trade, or cultivation, or sauntering about the hills and valleys in pursuit of amusement and pleasure, the domestic occupations devolve upon the women. The men have generally speaking great powers of industry, but are somewhat capricious in exerting it. They are seldom tall, generally well made, and shew great strength of limb. Their features can rarely be called handsome, yet there is often a strong attraction in the frank and manly good humour of their broad Tartar faces, flat noses, and angular eyes. The children are sometimes very good looking, but beauty in women seldom rises beyond a buxom comeliness. The characteristic dress of the men is a short sleeveless shirt of thick cotton cloth, sometimes striped blue and red, and almost always excessively dirty. It has a deep fringe below, and is ornamented on the breast and back with lines of a sort of diamond pattern embroidery; over this is usually thrown a large mantle of Eria silk procured from Assam. A large and loosely made turban covers the head of the better class; others wear a greasy cap with flasps over the ears or go bare-headed. The forepart of the head is shaven, and the back hair gathered into a knot on the crown. The women are generally wrapped in a shapeless mantle of cotton cloth, similar to those worn by the Assamese women, with its upper corners tucked in above the breast. The Khasias are utterly unacquainted with any art of weaving, and nearly all their usual articles of dress, peculiar as they are, are made for them in the Assam villages bordering on the hills.

Their common food is rice, but since the introduction of the potatoe, this useful esculent is also used very largely as an article of consumption. Dried fish is a universal favorite, and is brought from below in large quantities ; and almost all animal food, pork especially, they are very partial to They are extremely addicted to chewing *pawn* (the leaf of the betel vine,) and some of them have their mouths literally crammed with it. Distances are often estimated by them, by the number of pawns that will be consumed on road.

A great proportion of the proper names of men are quaint monosyllables, such as Tess, Bep, Mang, Sor, Mir, Bi, reminding one irresistibly of Walter Scott's Saxon Hig, the son of Snel. But there are generally euphonised by the masculine prefix U, into U-tess, U-sor, &c. " Ku-ble ! " is the singular salutation in common use when acquaintances meet. The literal signification of which we believe is, " Oh God ! " It is probably nothing more than an elliptical expression corresponding to our *adieu !* or *good-bye !* The derivation of which—God be with you—perhaps few ever think of.

Amongst the amusements of the Khasias, archery may be mentioned as the chief, as well as the most interesting. In the trial of skill, each village has from time immemorial its established competitor, and with this alone is the contest carried on. The Toxophilite meeting is held at each village on alternate market days. The target is pitched at about sixty yards, and is made of an oblong piece of soft wood about three feet and a half high by one broad. Four or five persons generally shoot at once ; they draw the arrow to the ear, and their attitudes are often very striking. The bow, the bow-string, the arrow, and the quiver are all made from various species of the all-useful bamboo. When all have shot, the arrows in the target are taken out, and the people crowd round the umpire as he distributes them. As each arrow is recognised, the party to which its owner belongs, dance and hop about, fencing with their bows, spinning them high in the air, and shouting together in a wild cadence. Bird-catching, fishing, hunting, and gambling also occupy no small portion of their leisure time.

The houses of the people are by no means so dirty as their persons. They are generally dry, substantial, thatched cottages, built either of a double wall of broad planks placed vertically in the ground, or of loose stones cemented together with earth, and with a good boarded floor raised three feet or more from the earth. As they have rarely anything like a window, one sees nothing on first entering, and rarely escapes a bruised head from a collison with one of the massive low beams. The fire is always burning on the hearth in the centre, and as there is no chimney, the house is generally filled with wood smoke. The verandah is partly stored with lumber, and partly affords shelter to the fowls, calves and pigs, which last are carefully tended, and attain enormous obesity.

Milk is not used in any shape, and the cattle though numerous, are not applied to any useful purpose, being kept only for slaughter, and especially for sacrifice. Their husbandry is confined to the hoe, and their grain is thrashed with the flail. Man is the only bearer of burdens. All loads the people carry on the back, supported by a belt across the forehead ; and in the rains they and their burdens are protected by a large hood made of palm leaves which covers the head and the whole of the back.

There is a market place in the neighborhood of almost every large village which is a great convenience to the people, who seem fond of buying and selling. The luxuries exhibited at these markets are all Khasian, consisting of stinking fish, some other things of dubious appearance, and still more dubious odour, rice, millet and the inferior grains, the fashionable articles of Khasia clothing, and all the adjuncts to that abominable habit, *pawn* chewing. Iron implements of husbandry, of native manufacture are also vended, and, in short, all the various luxuries and necessaries of a Khasia are usually obtainable.

Their trade with the people of the plains consists chiefly in the barter of oranges, pawn and betel-nuts, honey, bees' wax, cotton, iron and ivory—for rice, dried fish, cotton and silk cloths, and salt. Potatoes are grown to a considerable extent in the valleys and on the acclivities of the hills, and may now be considered as one of the staple articles of their trade.

The manufacture of iron appears to have been carried on by the Khasias from time immemorial. And so marked an effect have their works achieved on the undulating hills which cover the country, that in many instances what must once have been, like their neighbours, round swelling knolls, appear to have collapsed and sunk to their skeletons, showing nothing but fantastic piles of naked boulders ; the earth which once bound and covered them, having been entirely washed out by the heavy rains following in the track of the miner. So numerous and extensive are the traces of former excavations, that judging by the number at present in progress, one may suppose them to have occupied the population for twenty centuries.

The ore occurs in the form of a find sand, consisting of minute crystals of titaniferous magnetic oxide, which are irregularly distributed in the mass of the softer portions of the granite rocks, and also occasionally in some of the gneiss-ore beds. The upper portion of the granite is partially decomposed to a considerable depth, and this soft and easily yielding rock is not quarried or mined ; but simply *raked* into a small stream conducted to the base of the small scarp, or face of rock from which the ore is obtained.

The workmen standing on one side of their work, poke out the soil from between the boulders with long poles, terminating in iron spikes. The loosened soil tumbles into the stream, and is carried by it violently down a narrow channel to a point about 200 yards distant, and about 80 feet perpendicularly below. Here a little post is fixed at each side of the stream, and against the upper side of these posts little bits of stick are laid, so as to form a kind of dam, which stops the heavy particles of iron, whilst the lighter grains of soil are carried off by the rapid stream, bounding over the obstacle. As the iron accumulates sticks are added to heighten the dam, and when this is nearly as high as the bank (or about one foot) the ore, a fine black sand is taken out, the dam lowered, and the process repeated. Above the dam a man is constantly employed in turning up the channel of the stream with a hoe, to prevent the ore from sticking in the passage, and with a long hooked fork, he occasionally takes out any pieces of stone brought down by the current.

The ore thus procured is now removed to the washing trough which is supplied with water by a small branch of the upper stream. The washing is generally performed by two women, working the ore against the stream with their feet, and occasionally turning and mixing it with a hoe. It is then put in a heap to dry, and washed again. This process is repeated four times.

The ore is then carried to the smelting house. The bellows are double, formed of two half cylinders of cow skin, and worked by a man or woman, with a leg on each, swaying from foot to foot. The furnace is about twenty inches in diameter, and the chimney about five feet high, made of clay, bound with iron hoops. The iron is wetted and placed on a shelf. At short intervals a handful of fern leaves is dipped into the sand, and shoved into the furnace, and charcoal to replenish the fire is poured down the chimney. In some places instead of using the fern, as above described, the ore is mixed with pounded charcoal and placed on the shelf. The person who works the bellows, at almost every other sway of his body, takes up a small quantity of the mixture with a long handled spoon and drops it into the chimney. After an interval—which from the equal size of the masses must be very regular, though judged by guess—one of the workmen stirs up the mass with a poker, takes it out with a pair of tongs, lays it on a block covered with earth, beats it with a wooden club into a sort of hemisphere, and then splits it nearly in twain with an axe. He opens the split further by the insertion of a couple of wedges, and then pitches the hot mass into a trough full of pounded dross to cool. The metal, impure as it is, is now fit for the market. Heating in the furnace and hammering, form the only further process of purification. But the loss of iron, purchased in this form, is at least three parts in four.

By far the larger portion of this impure iron, in the balls or lumps in which it comes from the smelting furnaces, is sent to the plains, where it meets with a ready sale. The quantity annually exported, it is supposed, may be valued at about 3,000 Rupees.

Of the iron which is converted within the hills, the greater portion is wrought into *Kodalis* or hoes, or into the *Daws* or larger knives which the Khasias use.

"The quality of this Khăsia iron," Professor Oldham informs us, "is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms, however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or *wootz* of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved, and possibly extended. The great defects in the present system are, the want in the first instance of a means of sustaining a sufficiently high and equable temperature in the hearth, so as to keep the whole of the mass or bloom of metal in a molten state at the same time, and thus more completely separating the slag from the purer metal; and, of some more powerful means of expressing the slag from the spongy metallic mass than the slight hammering is now receives with a wooden mallet or club."

Owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it, it is extremely doubtful whether the manufacture of this iron could be very much extended. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, while the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain a sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix.

Among the other mineral products of the Khasia hills, coal and limestone are the most important.

Most of our readers are probably aware that the source whence lime for the Calcutta market, for the last thirty years or more has been supplied, is in the neighbourhood of these hills. Professor Oldham's remarks on this product are so interesting that we subjoin them at length.

"The extent of this trade, and the importance of the product, as an element of progress in civilization, demand a brief reference to the circumstances attending it. The principal localities of the manufacture are at Chattuc and at Sonamgunge (*Chunamgunge*, or the *lime mart ?*) and along the banks of the river Soorma, between these two villages. The rude kilns in which the stone is burnt stretch for miles along either bank of the river; and the many large and well constructed buildings, in which the lime is stored until required for market, give an aspect of wealth, comfort, and prosperity to the district, which contrasts forcibly with the almost unlimited extent of marsh and jheel that bounds the view on either side lower down the river.

Almost the entire range of the limestone quarries, along the base of the hills eastward, from Cheyla, belong to the firm of Inglis and Co., whose principal establishment is located at Chattuc. Westwards, the quarries in the neighbourhood of Laour, and some smaller quarries between, are in the hands of Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, and of some native merchants.

The extent and importance of the trade will be more evident from a consideration of the quantity of stone raised annually, and of the quantity of lime produced. On an average of ten years ending in November 1851, the amount of limestone quarried on the borders of the Khasia hills is stated to have been—

By Messrs. Inglis and Co.	Maunds	14,48,550
„ Messrs. Stark and Sarkies and native merchants	„	2,31,500
Total average amount quarried annually ...		16,80,050

Equal to *sixty thousand tons* of limestone yearly. From this stone there have been burnt by natives, who have for the most part purchased the stone from Messrs. Inglis and Co.—annually	Maunds	12,34,000
By Messrs. Inglis and Co.	„	1,57,000
„ Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, &c.	„	80,000
Giving a total average amount of lime ...	Maunds	14,71,000

The whole of this very large amount is quarried from the several plans along the foot of the hills, where the limestone occurs close to the level of the plains, and from whence it can be removed by water. The quarrying of the stone is carried on at all seasons, but chiefly during the spring and cold months, and the stone, broken into pieces of convenient size, is piled up in suitable localities until the rains, in May, June and July, fill the little streams from the hill sufficiently to float the small *dinghies* or canoes which are here used. As soon as this takes place, every available boat is at once employed for the removal of the stone into the larger streams. It is scarcely possible to conceive a busier scene than the neighbourhood of some of these large quarries presents after a good fall of rain. Hundreds of men and women are busily engaged loading their canoes, and then rapidly shooting down the narrow stream, while others are hastily poling the returning empty boats up the current, again to load, and shoot down the rapids with their freight of stone. The whole place seems alive with eager workmen, who know well, from experience, the necessity of taking advantage of the sudden rise of the waters. So sudden is the fall sometimes of those little nullahs, that even these light canoes, which draw only a few inches of water, are frequently left stranded in the middle of their course. In this way the greater portion of the stone is removed from the quarries, these small dinghies carrying the limestone only into the larger streams, where all is quickly thrown on the bank, or into the water near the bank, to be again shipped into larger boats for conveyance to the place of manufacture.

In that portion of the hills which lies more immediately to the South of Cherra, the largest quarries are near the village of *Tungwai* or *Tingye,* from which the stone is brought to the neighbourhood of *Pandua,* to be again removed from thence to *Chattuc.* Other very large quarries are in the vicinity of the great orange groves between Teriaghat and Laukat, from which also the stone is conveyed to Chattuc for burning.

The whole of this limestone belongs to the nummulitic group. It varies but slightly in mineral character, and produces a good sound, but not very strong lime, of good colour, and slacks readily. Some of the beds are magnisian, and more gritty in aspect; and the lime from these is somewhat darker in tint than that produced by the purer beds.

At present the only fuel employed in burning this limestone is wood, or reeds (called *nul*), principally the latter, which are collected in immense quantities from the extensive jheels in the vicinity. The kilns are placed on the banks of the river, which are cut down perpendicularly for some feet, to form the face, in which the opening into the lower part of the kiln is made. The excavation is circular in plan, and nearly semi-globular in shape; and generally of sufficient size to take when piled up from 500 to 700 maunds of stone. After ignition each kiln is, in ordinary weather, allowed to burn for about four days and nights, when the burnt lime is removed from the kiln at the top. The kiln, if sound, is then again charged, again lighted, and after a sufficient interval, again emptied.

The system in ordinary use in Europe, of drawing the lime from the bottom of the kiln, and replacing it by fresh stone and fuel at the top, so as to keep up a continued combustion as long as required, is quite unknown in this district. Such a system, indeed, is quite incompatible with the rude and imperfect kilns here in use, and also with the kind of fuel now used. There can be no question, however, that the cooling down of the kiln on the removal of each charge, causes a very considerable waste of heat, while the impossibility of burning lime, on the present plan, excepting during a few months of the year, entails a great additional loss. The burning, at present, does not properly commence until the end of January, or until February, and must be completed by April.

Twelve hundred maunds of stone yield on the average one thousand maunds of lime, and will require from 3,500 to 4,000 bundles of *nul,* or reeds for their combustion. The stone delivered at the kilns, on the river bank, costs from 14 to 18, or sometimes 20 Rupees per 1,000 maunds.

Much of this limestone would produce most durable, and occasionally very handsomely veined marble. It would answer well for ordinary purposes, chimney pieces, slabs for tables, garden seats, and for flooring tiles. Of the latter article, I believe many hundreds are annually imported, of inferior colouring and beauty to those which could be manufactured out of this Khasia limestone."

Regarding the coal of the Khasia hills, a considerable amount of information may be obtained from the Proceedings of the Coal and Mineral Committee, published between the years 1838 and 1846.

The most important coal locality in the hills is that on the small ridge to the West of the station of Cherra, and in which the adits hitherto worked are situated. It was first brought to notice in 1832 by Mr. Cracroft.* That which occurs elsewhere in the hills is said to be too limited in extent, too much disturbed, and too poor in quality to be worth considering at all.

"The Cherra coal," observes Professor Oldham, "is undoubtedly superior to the Coal from the Damoodah valley, and it is equally certain that it is equal to *some* English coals, but it is as certainly inferior to others. It is *quick in its action*, and therefore would generate steam rapidly; it coked well, but gives out a large amount of smoke: it is fragile and easily broken, and from the absence of that definite structure, which produces the flames of division known to English miners, as "backs," or the joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently would not stow well. From its composition, therefore, its quick combustion, and its irregular cleavage, I conceive it to be at the least 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to *good* English coal. As a gas-producing coal, it is superior to any English coal imported, both as regards the quantity and purity of its gas. And with proper precautions in burning, it would yield a very passable coke."

Between the years 1842 and 1844, Colonel Lister at various times sent down large quantities of this coal to Calcutta, and on his experience, Professor Oldham informs us that the *average* cost in Calcutta was 7 annas 6¼ pie per maund or 47 Rs. per 100 maunds. This was the cost inclusive of all charges for overseers, weighmen, coolies, freight, &c., excepting only any charge for superintendence and general management.

The coal is situated within the territory of the Raja of Cherra Poonjee, but he has given a perpetual lease of it to the British Government at a stipulated royalty of one Rupee for every 100 maunds excavated by Government, reserving at the same time the right of all his own subjects to mine on their own account. But the Government have rarely availed themselves of the privilege, and almost all the coal hitherto procured from these mines, has been purchased from the Khasias, who have raised and sold it.

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* *See* Journal of the Asiatic Society for Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 250—252.

Though it may not be possible under present circumstances to send the Cherra coal with profit to the Calcutta market, yet there is every probability that it may at no very distant period be turned to great and useful account. The Districts of Sylhet, Kachar and Munnipore, with their daily increasing traffic, and the vast tracts that have lately been taken up there for the cultivation of the Tea plant, cannot be much longer deprived of the benefits of steam communication, and the coals of Cherra will then prove highly valuable for the supply of the requisite fuel, at an economical rate.

Years may elapse ere the full value of the controlling influence established by the British Government in these hills becomes generally appreciated, or their resources fully developed. The people, however, have felt our strength, they are becoming better acquainted with the advantages of a civilized life, and so great is their appreciation of our system of administration, that it requires no great foresight to perceive, that all the Khasia states will before long cheerfully acquiesce in a renunciation of their nominal independence, and an acknowledgment of their allegiance to the paramount power. Our Government has, therefore, a high and responsible duty to discharge, in regard to the people who are thus voluntarily placing themselves under its fostering care; and we sincerely trust that while measures will not be neglected to render this salubrious tract of country a really valuable acquisition, the best means will also be used for the moral and intellectual improvement of its inhabitants.

HISTORY OF COORG.

By Rev. Moegling, D. D.

Unpublished Manuscripts.

A CLOUD of mystery overhangs, in the Hindoo mind, the nature and character of the Honorable the East India Company. The people of this country have known Rajahs and Maha Rajahs, Ranees and Maha Ranees, as rulers of their destinies ; but all these personages and visible divinities (pratyaksha devatas) have had their ascertainable places of residence, their tangible capitals, palaces, and thrones ; they have conquered and have been conquered ; they have lived and died. Not so the "Kumpani." Her dominion stretches over the whole land ; her name is a tower of strength ; her fame fills the world : yet nowhere is she seen in her royal splendour. She appoints Governors great and small, and through them rules untold millions ; she gives salt to an enormous army, wages wars, subdues kingdoms, deposes princes, gives laws to nations. But who is, where is, this High Mightiness that presides over the vast household of Hindustan ? Is she some Devi, dwelling high above this nether world in the regions of Kailasa and Vaikunta, or some great Ranee, sitting on a throne of Devendra in a palace of pearls and gold on a Genii-guarded island in the far ocean ? Her power is ever on the increase, her glory ever rising, her wonders multiplying in the land. Her chariots run over rivers and through hills by the joint powers of Agni and Varuna, reduced by her to servitude. Her messages fly from sea to sea, outstripping Marut and Vijing with the bolts of Indra. She was never born and never dies. Continual changes take place among the grandees of her empire, but the centre of all power remains unchanged. *Who* is the Kumpani ?

The schoolmaster is abroad. The dreams of night and the mists of morning will soon vanish, and the Hindu mind awake to the board daylight of the nineteenth century. Then it will be seen by all eyes what the Company is. The virtues and vices, the power and weakness, the resources and the burdens of its government of India will be known by all men ; and the peoples of Hindustan may then judge and act according to their knowledge, admire and obey, love and bless the great guardian power of their country, or despise and hate, and throw off the yoke of foreign selfishness. The next volume of the East India Company's history will contain an account of its trial in the face of the world, and of the judgment of God upon its character.

There is, however, some force of truth in the popular personification of the "Kumpani," which has established itself in the Hindu mind. The East India Company's government up to the end of the last, and the beginning of this century has had a peculiar character of its own—thoroughly heathen, affectedly half

Hindu, half Mussulman, as much at variance with the growingly European character of the East India Company of the first-half of our century, as the temper and principles of any ill-favoured mother can differ from those of a daughter born under happier auspices and belonging to a better generation. And there is much hope, that the mind and heart of the Company of the second-half of the nineteenth century will rise to a still higher standard, political and religious. The year 1853 has been the commencement of a new era. The old Ranee of the ancient regime, living in the fashion of the land, ordering salutes in honor of devils, male and female, great and small, almost worshipping holy Brahmans and their gods, looking complacently on the burning of widows and the destruction of infants, and jealously guarding her domain against the entrance of the Bible and of Missionaries, appears a thorough Asiatic—licentious and brave—avaricious and prodigal—faithless and intolerant. Her daughter, of the present century, has the air of an European Princess, enlightened, liberal, humane, averse to and disgusted with the abominations tolerated or cherished in her mother's time. She has dared to avow her religion, to open the country to Missionaries, to suppress Sati (Suttee) and infanticide, to import Bishops, build churches, and gradually to withdraw from the open support of idolatry. At the same time she has been nervously anxious to preserve a so-called strict neutrality, and quite zealous in disavowing any care whatever for the spiritual welfare of the millions entrusted to her keeping by the king of kings. Her daughter, of the present generation, can scarcely be recognized as the grand-daughter of the old godless Begum. She harbours noble thoughts in her mind, and meditates vast schemes of reform, worthy of her high calling. The fear of God and the love of man seem to exercise a holy influence upon her heart ; a generous ambition appears to animate her soul : in short, she looks as Christian-queen-like as her Royal Mistress, Victoria.

It was during the latter end of the eighteenth century that Coorg was first brought within the influence of the East India Company, during one of those great struggles through which the latter has risen to the height of its present power. Old Vira Rajendra Vodeya, for his important services during the war with Tippoo Sultan, was taken under British patronage, received the thanks of the Supreme Government, a splendid sword, a costly bracelet " as an amulet ! " (quite in keeping with the character of Begum Company,) and a solemn promise of protection to his favorite daughter and designated heiress, which was not kept. Of Christianity he seems to have seen and heard nothing from his British friends and patrons.

In 1834, during the second period of the development of the

East India Company's character, Coorg was delivered from the grasp of a chief as cruel, licentious and cowardly as any of the Indian puppets, whom the Company has too long permitted to play their fantastic tricks upon their tottering thrones, and to spread contagion and wretchedness all around them,—by Lord William Bentinck, and transferred to European rule. For 20 years, however, the country has been almost left to take care of itself, the power of the Commissioner for Mysore and Coorg being paralyzed by a most unhappy arrangement by which the Supreme Government kept Coorg under its own immediate control. The consequence was, that the poor principality was almost forgotten by the great men at the helm of all India ; doing nothing themselves for the improvement of their little charge, they prevented, by the customary system of checks and endless references, one of their ablest administrators, under whom Mysore has revived and prospered, from extending the blessings of his rule to the unfortunate appendage of the great kingdom under his charge.*

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* Lieut. Genl. M. Cubbon, Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness, the Rajah of Mysore and of Coorg, is one of that race of gentlemen kings, whom the British nation alone, in modern times, seems to be capable of producing, and certainly has alone the means of aptly employing in the government of dependencies which encircle the globe. A Persian Satrap, an ancient Subadar of the Mogul, a Roman Proconsul may be more attractive to the imagination, in their glitter of "barbaric pearl and gold," their pomp and pride of office, or their stern, invincible power. The statesmen of the East India Company, who are placed in charge of countries as large as great kingdoms in Europe, affect no other character but that of English gentlemen. While the Rajah of Mysore idles away his time with trivial amusements and in despicable company, and squanders lakhs upon lakhs in thriftless extravagance, the real ruler of the country quietly and unostentatiously performs the hard work of Government, leading the life of a country gentleman of property. Half his day is spent in his Cutcherry, where he arrives as regularly as his clerk, and much of his time at home, too, is filled up with hard office work. There is no parade, no assumption of consequence. The Governor of some millions of people is as courteous to all comers, high or low, as affable and kindly in the intercourse with his subordinates, as frank, and urbane in his whole deportment as any private gentlemen could be. Lieut. Genl. Cubbon has long ago reached the time, when men generally cease to be equal to the severer duties of life ; but age seems to have taken most kindly to him ; he has retained much of the liveliness and energy of youth. You may hear him, relate, from the stores of his unfailing memory, some anecdote with keen relish, introduced by "The other day." The names of the persons mentioned point to days long passed ; but you are quite taken aback when you happen to hear " it was in 1805 or 1806," half a century ago. General Cubbon came to India in 1800. Of his merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a better and a more competent testimony, than the writer of these pages could give, in the subjoined despatch.

Dated Fort William, the 7th February 1856.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th November last, No. 84, and the five printed papers which accompanied it, comprising all the information procurable on the principal points connected with the administration of Mysore.

The Governor-General in Council has read with attention, and with very great interest, the papers submitted by you. They present a record of administration highly honorable to the British name, and reflecting the utmost credit upoh the exertions of the valuable body of officers, by whom the great results shewn therein have been accomplished.

In 1852, Gauramma, the favorite daughter of the ex-Rajah of Coorg, was baptized in London, Her Majesty being sponsor. In

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In the past autumn, the Governor General had the opportunity of witnessing some portion of these results with his own eyes, during his journey from the Neilgherries through Mysore to Madras. His journey was necessarily a hasty one. Even the cursory examination of the country, which alone was practicable during the course of a week's visit, enables him to bear testimony to the extent to which works of public improvement have been carried in Mysore, and to the favorable contrast, which the visible condition of that territory and of its people, presents to the usual condition of the territory of a native prince, and even to the state of districts of our own which may sometimes be seen.

During the period of 25 years which has elapsed since Mysore came under the administration of British officers, every department has felt the hand of reform. An enormous number of distinct taxes have been abolished, relieving the people in direct payment to the amount of 10¾ lakhs of Rs. a year, and doubtles the indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief. Excepting a low tax upon coffee, (which is raised on public land free of rent or land tax) no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless the public revenue has risen from forty-four to eighty-two lakhs of Rs. per annum.

In the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice vast improvements have been accomplished : regularity, order, and purity have been introduced, where, under native rule, caprice, uncertainty and corruption prevailed : substantial justice is promptly dispensed, and the people themselves have been taught to aid in this branch of the administration by means of a system of Punchayets, which is in full and efficient operation. And in the department of Police the administration of British officers has been eminently successful. In short, the system of administration which has been established, whether in the Fiscal or Judicial Department, although it may be, and no doubt is, capable of material improvement, is infinitely superior to that which it superseded ; and has, within itself, the elements of constant progress.

The chief merit of the conduct of this good work, of which the formal record is now before the Government, will, the Governor-General in Council remarks, be assigned by all without dispute or cavil, to you, as Commissioner.

To your ability and judgment, to your long continued and vigilant superintendence of the interests committed to your charge, and to the vigorous yet kindly control by which you have drawn zealous and willing service from all who were placed under your aurthority, the Government of India owes, in a great measure, the successful issue of its interposition in the affairs of the principality of Mysore.

These services, His Lordship in Council trusts, may yet receive a more honorable recognition than it is in the power of the Government of India to bestow upon them. General Cubbon, by the latest news, has been created K. C. B. It confers as much honor upon the Government to have offered this mark of distinction, as upon the General to have received it. But His Lordship in Council desires me in the mean time to convey to you the sentiments expressed above, and to tender to you the most marked acknowledgments and most cordial thanks of the Governor General in Council.

The Offcers of the Commission, in the opinion of His Lordship in Council, are fully entitled to share in this approbation. It is therefore requested, that you will make known to them the great satisfaction with which the Government of India has received the high testimony which you have borne to their merits; and you are authorized to convey to them all, (especially to Major Haines whom you specially name,) the thanks of the Governor General in Council, for their praiseworthy and successful exertions in the administration of Mysore.

The points of detail in your letter will be separately noticed.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) G. F. Edmonstone,
Secretary to the Government of India

the following year the first Protestant Mission was established among the Coorgs, and one family baptized. Now Engineers are at work making roads, and carrying the electric telegraph line though the forest. A liberal system of education is on the eve of being introduced, in accordance with the spirit of the third era of British Indian Government, the inaugural manifesto of which is the Education Despatch of 1854.

The affairs of Coorg have seldom, and for short seasons only, attracted public attention. The campaign of 1834 speedily ended in the deposition and deportation to Benares of Virarajah, the last of the Coorg princes, whose impotent and insolent tyranny was gladly exchanged by the chief men among the Coorgs, for the civilized and equitable dominion of the East India Company. A badly contrived and bootless insurrection in 1837 was quelled, without much ado, by the chiefs of the Coorgs themselves, under Captain Le Hardy, the first Superintendent of Coorg. Some stir was created in England and in Coorg by the ex-Rajah's voyage to England, and the baptism of his daughter; but it has died away gradually. Little Victoria's growing up into womanhood, under the fostering care of her illustrious sponsor, is no matter of public importance, and the Rajah's law proceedings against his over indulgent patrons of Leadenhall Street, for the recovery of a large sum of money (the principal amounted originally to about ten lakhs of Rupees or £100,000) invested about the beginning of the century in Company's paper by old Virarajah, in the name of his beloved eldest daughter, Devammaji, do not seem to be very successful, except in transferring part of the Rajah's remaining wealth to the pockets of some legal friends in London; at all events, they do not much interest the British public. *

A little book entitled, "Coorg Memoirs" by the Rev. H. Moegling—Bangalore, 1855—contains the first published descrip-

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* Poor Devammaji received of her father a treasure amounting to a lakh of Pagodas or £40,000, besides the above sum invested in Company's paper. According to the will of her father, which was solemnly guaranteed by the Supreme Government, she was to have succeeded him; but her uncle, Lingarajendra, the father of the ex-Raja, contrived to induce the Supreme Government, first to acknowledge him as Regent, and then as Rajah of Coorg. On his death, his son succeeded him. Yet nothing effectual was done or even attempted for the ladies, and they died in the Fort of Mercara, a short time before the annexation of the country. It is the property of this cousin, invested in Company's paper fifty years ago, in the name of Devammaji, for which it was somehow managed to substitute Viraraja's name, which the ex-Rajah now claims from the Court of Directors, together with the interest of half a century. This large sum ought, in strict justice, perhaps to have been given up as prize money to the troops of the expedition in 1834; or to have been confiscated at once as State property, and generously expended on the improvement of Coorg. By some mismanagement, neither of these courses has been adopted; a separate account is still kept of the deposit of old Viraraja, and thus the wily ex-Rajah has been tempted to trust in the ignorance of Indian matters prevailing at home, and to claim the property as his own.

tion of the Coorg country. Copious extracts are given in it from the Puranic history of Coorg, preserved in the Skanda Purana, and from a tolerably correct history of the fortunes of the Coorg Rajahs, since the middle of the seventeenth century, composed under the eye of Virarajendra Vodeya, who died in 1809. A full account, also, of the customs, manners and religion of the Coorgs is presented in a condensed form. The small volume, however, has been printed in an edition of 500 copies only, and, though favourably reviewed by some Indian papers, it can scarcely be said to have obtained publicity. The following pages, therefore, have the advantage of telling most of their readers a new tale.

Coorg is the only native principality which has been added to the territory of the East India Company by Lord William Bentinck, the most liberal, the most peace-loving, and, among the land-devouring Governor-Generals of India, the most abstemious. In ancient times the Rajahs of the Coorg Hills were subject to the Ikkeri Government. They were perhaps an offshoot, originally, of that dynasty. Certain it is, that they have imported upon the wild soil of their fief the Shaiva religion and an establishment of Jangams. Adopting the policy of constant intermarriage with daughters of principal families among the Coorgs, the Rajahs succeeded in naturalizing themselves. They adopted also the superstitions of the country by the side of their own Lingatic worship; their subjects, however, did not return the compliment, but, with few exceptions, adhered to their ancient worship of the Kaveri Amma (Mother Kaveri) the divinity of the principal river of Coorg; of the spirits of their departed fathers and grandfathers, (ancestral worship does not go farther back among those mountaineers,) and of innumerable demons and goblins which people their forest-solitudes, pasture-lands, fields and gardens. Brahmanism has spread its polype-tendrils into Coorg. Haviga priests have immigrated from the Tulu country, and established themselves at the sacred fountain of the Kaveri, in the room, probably, of an indigenous priesthood, the Amma Kodagas (Coorgs devoted to "Mother Kaveri,") who have entirely ceased from the performance of priestly offices, and of whom but a small number of families now remain, as they intermarry only among themselves. Yet Brahmanism also has found the Coorg a tough material.

When Hyder Ali took Ikkeri, which was thenceforward called Hyder Nagara, (Nuggur,) and incorporated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg, and though foiled for a long while in his assertion of suzerainty, at last succeeded by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refactory hill chiefs into a state of vassalage. Lingaraja of Haleri agreed, about the year 1774, to pay an annual tribute of 24,000 Rs. to Hyder Ali. Virarajendra Vodeya, in his Rajendraname, admits also the fact, that one of his ancestors, Dodda Virappa, with the harelip, paid and annual tribute for some towns in the Yelusaviraskime district of Coorg, which he held from Chicka Deva Vodeya of Mysore. But the two awkward proofs of the dependency of the Coorg Rajahs on more powerful neighbours are carefully disguised.

In the year 1780, Lingaraja, who had betrayed the Horamale branch of the family into the hands of Hyder Ali, died, leaving a natural son, Appaji, and two sons by his queen, Viraraja and Lingaraja. Viraraja was then 17 years old; Lingaraja still of tender age. Hyder Ali, who had destroyed the entire Horamale family, now declared himself guardian of the two young Coorg princes, and appointed a Brahman, Subarasaga, who had formerly been in the service of the Coorg Rajahs, Mamaldar of Coorg. In the same year he led his army against Arcot. The Coorgs were indignant at the seizure of their princes and the ascendancy of the Brahman. In the Monsoon of 1782, they broke out into open insurrection. The Mamaldar reported to his master, who replied from Arcot, that the princes must be secured in Garuru, a Mysore fort, but at the same time promised to inquire by and bye into the grievances of the Coorgs. The princes were deported to Garuru, in September 1782. The Coorgs flew to arms, and swept the Mussulmans from the country. Hyder Ali died before the close of 1782. In 1784, Tippoo, after having treacherously seized General Matthews and his officers at Nuggur, and reduced Mangalore, marched through Coorg on his way back to Seringapatam, and compromised matters with the insurgents. The young Coorg Rajahs and their families were kept prisoners at Periyapattana. They were ill-treated and starved, and the small-pox carried off several of the family. Before the lapse of a year, the Coorgs rose again, defeated a force of 15,000 men sent against them from Seringapatam, but afterwards submitted to Tippoo himself, who treacherously seized large numbers of them and carried them into the Mysore. They were replaced by Mussulman landlords, whom Tippoo supplied with laborers from Adwani in the Bellary district. Nagappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg, but was soon convicted of embezzlement, and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kote Arasa in the Maleyalam.

In December 1788, Dodda Virarajendra Vodeya, by the help of his Coorg partizans, escaped from Periyapattana with his family, for whom he found a refuge at Kurchi, a sequestered spot in Kiggadnad, near the sources of the Lakshmanatirtha river. He now sallied forth, at the head of his Coorgs, to fight the Mussulmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers, from Bislighat to Manantwady. Successful plundering expeditions into the Mysore were carried on at the same time, and large supplies of cattle and grain carried away into Coorg, where they were divided among the adherents of the Rajah. During this season full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Virarajah once, on his return from an expedition into the Mysore, found the residence of his family at Kurchi a heap of ruins and ashes. Every soul of his family had been destroyed, and all the old family treasures carried off. The runaway Mamaldar had shewn the way to a troop of Nair banditti despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood, by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rajahs, the Kote Arasu. Tippoo now ordered a large force into Coorg under the command of Golam Ali, who carried fire and sword all over the country. Virarajah must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Maleyalam Rajahs compelled Tippoo to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western coast. The latter was not, however, permitted to leave Coorg unmolested. On his march he was fiercely attacked at the Kodantur-pass, and suffered severe losses. Thereupon Tippoo despatched a considerable reinforcement to Golam Ali's assistance under four Captains. Virarajah lay in wait for them at the Heggala pass. The Mysoreans left 800 men dead on the ground, and 400 wounded. Their baggage and stores fell into the hands of the hill men ; the whole force might have been destroyed, had not the Coorgs preferred plundering to fighting. Virarajah sent his prisoners back into Mysore. Tippoo was alarmed, and despatched Buran-u-din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies to secure Coorg. Buran-u-din was attacked and beaten on his way from Kushalanagara (Fraserpet.) He escaped into the fort of Mercara, with the loss of one-half of his military stores. Thus Virarajah sustained a successful contest against his mighty neighbour, in whose eye Coorg had acquired great importance, as a decisive struggle with the rising power of the East India Company was impending, when the possession of Coorg by the enemy might seal the fate of Seringapatam. The Company's Government, on the other hand, was equally aware of the strategical value of Coorg. They had, with difficulty, maintained their ground at Tellicherry against the Mussulman forces under Pajal Khan, aided by the treachery of the Bibi ; and Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, who was preparing for an attack on Mysore from the Westward, knew that the shortest way for his army from Cannanore or Tellicherry lay through the passes of Coorg, which, by an enemy, might be closed against him with ease. Virarajah dreaded and hated Tippoo, from whom he could expect no mercy, and whose assurances and promises he knew he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union of Tippoo's enemies was effected without difficulty. Muttu Bhatta, an agent of Viraraja, arrived at Tellicherry, ostensibly for the purpose of purchasing a superior horse and other articles. Robert Taylor, the English chief at Tellicherry, had an interview with the Coorgman, who gave him an account of the long feud between his master and Tippoo. Robert Taylor said: Tippoo is the common enemy both of the Rajah of Coorg and of the Government of the Company. The two latter parties ought to be good friends and allies. Muttu Bhatta carried a letter back to Coorg, containing a proposal for a cordial alliance. Viraraja cheerfully responded to this offer of friendship between the Company and himself. He agreed to procure draught cattle for the Bombay army, and immediately commenced forays into the Mysore, for Tippoo's cattle was superior to that of Coorg. In a short time he despatched upwards of 500 heads to Tellicherry. Soon after, the Rajah was informed that despatches had arrived from Bombay with orders to conclude, in the name of the English Government, an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rajah of Coorg. Viraraja repaired to Tellicherry in the beginning of October 1790, accompanied by Captain Brown who had been sent to conduct him to the then head-quarters of the Company on the Western coast.

A formal treaty was concluded with the following stipulations:

1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.
2. Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo.
3. The Rajah will furnish, for fair payment, all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwallahs."
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, sun, moon and earth be witnesses!

Signed: Robert Taylor, Esq., on behalf of the Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal.—Virarajendra Vodeya, Rajah of Coorg. When Sir R. Abercromby arrived on the coast, the

Rajah was invited to an interview, and was escorted by an officer and a company of Sepoys. *

A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay army. The route of the Heggala pass was chosen. Viraraja provided again, in his old fashion, a supply of upwards of a thousand draught cattle from Mysore. When Sir R. Abercromby had ascended the Heggala pass, Viraraja came from Nalkanad to wait upon him. He had collected a great quantity of grain, which was made over to English officers. Viraraja accompanied Sir Robert before Seringapatam. When the monson of 1791 suspended active military operations, and Lord Cornwallis and Sir Robert retired, the former to Bangalore, the latter to Bombay, the artillery, stores, and ammunition belonging to the Bombay army, were left in the charge of the Rajah, who during the rainy season, was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people, and from the Pindari contractors of Tippoo. The latter now condescended to send a confidential officer, Kadar Khan Kesagi, a friend of Viraraja with an autograph of Tippoo—and letters from Mir Saduk, the Prime Minister, and Purnayah, the Minister of Finance, soliciting Viraraja's forgiveness and friendship. Viraraja shewed these letters to Sir Robert, and replied to Tippoo: "By similar fair speeches and promises, you have formerly deceived and ruined Coorg. God has given me one tongue, with which I have pledged fidelity to the Company. I have not two tongues like you." Mussulman violence and treachery had now their reward. Viraraja remained faithful to the Company and the Bombay army had a safe road through a friendly territory into the heart of Mysore. Lord Cornwallis made peace with Tippoo under the walls of Seringapatam, on severe, but still too easy conditions. Tippoo had to pay three crores of Rupees, and to cede one-half of his dominions to the Company and to its allies, the Nizam and Peishwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their situation." Coorg was in danger of being overlooked and sacrificed. It required the zealous intercession of Sir Robert Abercromby to induce the Governor General to make an after demand for the cession of Coorg, though not adjacent to the Company's territory, in order to keep faith with Viraraja, and to save him from the fangs of Tippoo, whose first move after the peace,

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* He on this occasion, interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby for the poor Bibi and her son. She had made an attempt at decoying to Cannanore, and betray into the hands of the Mussulman army, the English detachment at Tellicherry; and Sir R. Abercromby had resolved on deposing her, and sending her with her son prisoner to Bombay. Virarajendra effected a reconciliation, and thus requited the service, which the Bibi's ancestor, Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Dodda Virappa with the harelip, by delivering his Captain from the hands of the Charakal Rajah.

would, no doubt, have been to wreak his vengeance upon his former vassal. The rage of Tippoo was unbounded. "To which of the English possessions, he cried, is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?" The treaty was in danger of being broken off; but Lord Cornwallis remained firm. English guns, which had already been sent away, were ordered back, and Tippoo began to prepare for defence. At the last moment he gave in, and peace was concluded.

Viraraja was now asked to give back the districts which he had lately wrested from the Sultan, and informed, that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English Government. He was indignant at both these propositions, for he had expected some better reward for his important service. Sir Robert Abercromby did all in his power to pacify the brave ally who had served him so well, but, of course, the Mysore territory had to be restored, and the dream of an "independent principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert humoured, however, Viraraja by the drawing up of a document, at his last meeting with the Rajah, in March 1793, when, proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta, he touched at Cannanore. In this paper, the Rajah was permitted to assert, that he had been an independent prince, and had never paid tribute to Mysore, while, at the same time, he declared his willingness "to pay, of his own free will, the sum of 8,000 Pagodas to the Company every year, for their friendship and protection." The Company, on the other hand, engaged to give no molestation to the Rajah, and in no wise to interfere with the Government of Coorg, as the Rajah was quite competent to take care of his own affairs; the tribute of 8,000 Pagodas was to be paid at Tellicherry.

From this time to the end of his life, Viraraja remained the trusty friend of the Company, and his affairs prospered. In 1795 the Rajah communicated to the English Government the intelligence he had obtained through some spies, that Tippoo Sultan was concerting plans with the Mahrattas. He himself had to guard against assassins, secretly despatched into Coorg by his mortal enemy. In 1793 Viraraja took up his residence in a new palace built at Natkanadu, and in the following year celebrated there his second marriage in the presence of a deputy from the Commissioner of Malabar.

In the beginning of 1809, the Rajah was again actively employed in assisting the Bombay troops marching towards Seringapatam, with coolies, draught of cattle and elephants, grain and sheep. An hospital was erected for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam. Viraraja offered to accompany the English force into Mysore; but was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs to protect his own country and secure the rear. The Coorgs were rather troublsome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Captain Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident to Viraraja a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippoo, communicated to the Rajah, the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George, 22nd February 1799, and asked him, in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippoo were victorious. In the early part of March, Tippoo moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Periapattana. The battle of Siddapur ensued, when two battalions under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney held their ground from morning until 2 o'clock in the afternoon against the whole army of Tippoo, and two European regiments, led by General Stuart to their assistance, broke Tippoo's line, and obtained a complete victory, after a hard fight of three hours and a half, over the Mysoreans. On the 11th of March, Tippoo retreated towards Seringapatam. Viraraja was present at the battle of Siddhishvara. While Seringapatam was besieged, Viraraja sent an expedition of Coorgs, under Subaya and Bopu, into the Tulu country, thegreater part of which was wrested from the Mussulmans and plundered in Coorg style. On the 4th of May, Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippoo himself killed in the fray. On the 23rd of May, General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter of thanks to Viraraja, accompanied by a present of one of Tippoo's own horses, one of his palkis, and one of his howdas. The promise was also given, that the country of Coorg would be restored to the Rajah. The annual tribute was remitted as an acknowledgment of the services of the Rajah to the Company in their wars with Tippoo, instead of which Viraraja was requested to send a yearly present of an elephant. Purnaya, the Brahman Minister of Finance under Tippoo, was placed at the head of the Government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant, then a child of six years, of the ancient Rajahs. Viraraja had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities, and Karanika Subaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Viraraja did not consider himself well treated, and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, and the request addressed to him that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Colonel Close, the Resident at Seringapatam. Yet he never wavered in his faithful allegiance to, and his perfect confidence in, the friendship of the Company. In 1801, Rajapumoji, a daughter of Viraraja, by his first Ranee, was espoused to Basaralinga, the Rajah of Sode. Viraraja wrote to the Governor-General to apprize him of the intended marriage, and of his wish to settle one lakh of Rupees of the property held by him in Bombay Government paper, upon the Sode Rajah, as Rajaminaji's portion. In 1804, Captain Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor-General, informing Viraraja, that six Maganes of the province of Canara would be transferred to him by Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies he had furnished, and the services he had rendered to the British Government during the late wars. The districts thus added to Coorg on its western frontier, yielded 24,897 Pagodas. In the same year, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subrah Manya side, was finally adjusted. Before the end of 1805, Rajaminaji, the Ranee of Sode, was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadashivaraja.

Viraraja was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow, and Lord W. Bentinck, and of the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him at Sode; he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadevaranee, who had borne him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives, and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison, and it is difficult to say, if the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him, was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution. In 1807 he caused a history of his house to be written, which is still extant. An English translation of this work was completed by a "Robert Abercromby,"* probably an officer in the service of the Company, perhaps a relative of Sir Robert Abercromby, on the 10th of August 1808, at Mangalore. The Rajendraname, in its conclusion, affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rajah's heart. His last words are—"On the 7th of the Pushya month, Ractaxi year, (1805) Captain Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal, and fastened it round the Rajah's waist. In the Magha month (February 1806), Viraraja told Captain Mahoney for the information of the Governor-General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ranee, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had borne him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rajashekarappa, Shishushekappa, and Chandrashekarappa, should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been borne by Mahadeva Ranee, who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday, the 7th day of the month Jeshta, 4909, Prabhava year. As by her death the Rajah's hopes of having a son by her were blasted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful Queen, the Rajah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named Devammaji, Muddanmai, Rajammaji, and Mahjadevammaji, the eldest should be married, and whatever son she might have, he should be named Virarajendra, receive the Rajah's seal, and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley, and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters, according to seniority, should be the successor, and so long as the line of any of his four above-mentioned daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons, or their posterity, should succeed. The Rajah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper now to determine and record this matter in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sarkar will be the guardian of his family, and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

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* Both the Rajendraname of Virarajendra Vodeya, and the translation of Robert Abercromby, are in course of publication by orders and at the expense of the Government of Madras.

In order that the Rajah's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature, and which is lodged in the Palace treasury.

This passage shews distinctly enough the Rajah's fondness for the four daughters of his beloved Ranee, his morbid anxiety for being succeeded by a grandson at least, of his own name, his fears regarding the safety of his beloved daughters in case of one of his other relatives (brothers) succeeding him, and his absolute confidence in the English Sarkar.

In May 1807, Mahadeva Ranee died; and now commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors, of the drama of poor Virarajendra's life. His beloved wife had, he suspected, been destroyed by sorceries; he dreaded a similar fate. The spirits of the many victims he had sacrificed in fits of passion, or in whims of suspicion, began to trouble him. A conspiracy, in which all his Coorg guards were implicated, nearly succeeded. He extinguished it in a flood of blood; 3,000 Coorgs were massacred by his band of Africans in the palace yard. The Rajah himself shot dead 25 of the conspirators, from a balcony window. Many of their families also appear to have been destroyed on that occasion. The shades of death thickened around him. From the settled gloom of his melancholy, he was roused now and then only to deeds of cruelty. The only object for which he yet cared to live, was to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Government for his settlement of the succession, upon which, he thought, the future happiness, yea the safety of his beloved daughter and her sisters depended. His requests were never distinctly granted, but he thought they were. His daughters, however, were solemnly taken under the protection of the Company by Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore. The Madras Government took charge of 186,000 star pagodas, in behalf of his favorite daughter Devammaji. His wishes were thus, in a great measure, accomplished. Yet he had no rest. He suspected his two brothers Appaji and Lingaraja. One morning he sent executioners to fetch their heads. His repentance came too late for saving Appaji's life : Lingaraja escaped. Another day, in a fit of rage, he ordered four of his principal officers to be destroyed, and was overwhelmed with remorse, when, on calling for them, after the cooling of his frenzy, he was informed that they had been executed by his orders. These deeds, he feared, would be reported to the Supreme Government. He dreaded their displeasure. Twice he attempted his own life, perhaps *pretended* to do so ; once he cut his throat with a razor ; once he swallowed poison. On both occasions he was restored by Dr. Ingledew. The Supreme Government, in answer to the reports sent to them, pitied, pardoned, and comforted by kind assurances the poor distracted Rajah. All was of no avail. When the gloom of the monsoon 1809 set in, he sunk by degrees. His violence diminished ; he felt more kindly towards the Sode Rajah, his son-in-law, and appointed him Dewan during Devammaji's minority. But his mind never fully recovered its tone. On the 9th of June, he sent for his favorite daughter, gave his seal into her hand, and expired. He lies buried in one of the mausoleums which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

His brother, Lingaraja, a man of consummate hypocrisy, and of a depth of cunning extraordinary even among Coorgs, stealthily crept into power. The Sode Rajah, Dewan and guardian of Devammaji, was frightened away. He was paid off with a lakh of Rupees. Lingaraja contrived to obtain the sanction, or at least, acquiescence of the Supreme Government, as he proceeded, slowly but surely, to the fulfilment of his schemes. He first made himself Regent of Coorg, and guardian of his niece, the Ranee, (as such Devammaji was acknowledged in a letter of the Marquis of Hastings, dated 2nd April 1809) before the end of 1810. In 1811, he announced to the Government of Fort St. George, that he had assumed the Government of Coorg in his own name. Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, was ordered to make enquiry in Coorg as to the lawfulness of Lingaraja's claim to the throne. The enquiry was not made ; it would have been futile. The Resident's own opinion was, that female succession in Coorg was contrary to the Shastras, (Query—what Shastras ? the Coorgs have none) and the usages of the country. (But Ranees have reigned in Kokeri, of which Coorg, in ancient times, probably was a dependency, and elsewhere.) The Supreme Government put off the decision of the somewhat intricate question until the Ranee would obtain her majority, when she might prove her claims. There was no protest against Lingaraja's assumption of power. He now tried to obtain possession of three lakhs of Rupees in the Bombay funds, left to Devammaji, by selling the bonds to Messrs. Forbes and Co. But the Government refused the payment of the money, until Lingaraja proved, in a Court of law, that the property was his own. The attempt was not made He succeeded better at Madras. There he obtained permission to draw the interest of five and a half lakhs, in behalf of Devammaji, through Messrs. Binny and Co. Before the end of 1812, Lingaraja had substantially succeeded in his schemes. He continued, however, to feel uneasy. He dreaded enquiry, and a change in the measures of the Supreme Government. He prevented, as far as lay in his power, all communication between Coorg and the surrounding territory of the Company. The frontiers were guarded, and, nobody was allowed to pass out or in without the Rajah's leave. European visitors were treated with profuse hospitality, and overwhelmed with civilities, but all communication between them and the natives of the country was carefully prevented. During his first years, the Dewan Kshoury Karyappanna, to whom he owed his first successes, was a check upon him ; but, when he found himself safely established, he charged one day his parton and advocate with treacherous designs, and tormented him to death with several of his friends, nailing them to large trees in a forest not far from Mercara. A great slaughter of relatives and friends of the so-called traitors accompanied the cruel destruction of the principals. In 1820, Lingaraja died, after having held possession of Coorg for eleven long years, at the age of 45. His elder brother had died at about the same time of life. Like him, he suspected that he died a victim to magic arts, employed by enemies among his own people. No doubt, many hated him in secret, and poison may have been administered to him; for poison was as freely used in Coorg (perhaps still is) as sorcery. A little tank at the foot of the hill on which the fort of Mercara stands, the water of which the Rajahs used to drink, was once poisoned in the time of old Viraraja, and he suffered long from the effects of an unsuspected draught of water. Lingaraja's Ranee swallowed diamond powder in order to escape from the hatred of the young Rajah, and was buried with her husband in one of the above-mentioned tombs.

The present ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acknowledged by the British Government without any difficulty, it appears. Devammaji's claims, and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings, that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten. The new Rajah was under twenty when he became his own master. His education, in the European sense of the word, had been entirely neglected. He was a proficient, however, in all Coorg accomplishments, good and bad. An excellent rider, a good shot, dexterous gymnastic, a deep philospher, deadened by the pantheistic Guana, on which he prided himself, to the feelings and scruples of common humanity, surrounded by trembling and flattering slaves, and possessed, he fancied, of absolute power within his own territory, he commenced life, the life of a Hindu Rajah. No wonder that he followed the example of his father, and that being destitute of Lingarajah's caution, and aided, if not led, by an infamous upstart, a creature of his father's, the Dewan Kunta Basava, he rendered himself an object of hatred and contempt to his chiefs, provoked at the same time the just displeasure and resentment of the British Government, and thus forfeited his fief and his liberty in 1834. He is generally represented by the natives as more licentious, but less cruel than his father and his uncle Virarajendra. On his accession to power those who had, in the life time of his father, incurred his displeasure, or thwarted his wishes, were sacrificed to his vengeance. Several of his male relatives, also, seem to have fallen at this season. The idea seems to have established itself in the Rajah's mind, that he would be more secure in the possession of Coorg, if no other male member of his family existed, by whom the British Government could displace him; for, on an occasion, when a Mysore Resident enquired after the members of his family, he replied with evident satisfaction, that he had none but female relatives; I am quite alone, he said—the only male of the family. Chaunavira, a relative of the Rajah, fled into the Mysore territory with his family in 1825. Viraraja immediately applied to Mr. Cole, the then Resident, for the seizure and extradition of the fugitives, describing Chaunavira as a Coorg farmer, who had fled from justice. Mr. Cole complied with the false request. Chaunavira was seized in the neighbourhood of Periapatna and delivered to the Coorg peons.

The Resident contented himself with a letter in which he requested to be informed of the man's guilt, and the punishment awarded to him. The whole family, consisting of 22 souls, was destroyed on one day at Kantamuranadu; and, when Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Cole's successor, in 1826, enquired through Captain Monk, after the fate of Chaunavira, the Rajah told the Captain, that Chaunavira and his whole family had been carried off by cholera. In spite of the strict frontier watch, rumours of frequent executions by the Coorg Rajah spread in the Mysore, and came to the notice of Government. The Resident was instructed by the Supreme Government to demand of the Rajah a regular report of every case of capital punishment inflicted by him. Viraraja protested against this assumption of authority; but the Supreme Government insisted upon his obedience; its orders, however, were never complied with. In the beginning of 1832, Mr. Casamajor heard, that the Coorg Rajah had raised a troop of female cavalry, and had shot in effigy a Coorg Nagah, who had fled the country. The Resident thought the young man had gone mad. In the month of September of the same year, Devammaji, a sister of the Rajah, and Chaunabasava, her husband, suddenly appeared at Yelwal, as fugitives from Coorg, and implored the protection of the Company. Chaunasava told Mr. Casamajor, that they had fled for their lives. The story found full credit, and great interest has taken in the two Coorg refugees. Viraraja immediately demanded the surrender of his relatives. Mr. Casamajor demurred, and wrote for instructions; the Supreme Government ordered Chaunabasava and his wife to be kept under protection. Now the real state of Coorg affairs gradually came to light, and the Rajah was detested by all who heard of his misdeeds. Aware of the consequences of Chaunabasava's and Devanunaji's escape, the Rajah was irritated beyond measure and was excited to mad schemes. Mr. Casamajor, who resided at Yelwal, was to be seized at night, and carried off to Mercara by a party of Coorgmen. Chaunabasava and Devammaji, who had been removed to Bangalore, were there to be assassinated by some emissaries of the Rajahs. He went headlong into treasonable intrigues; harboured Suryappa, a rebellious Polygar of Nuggur, plotted with the Rajah of Mysore, yea, sent an Agent to Ranjeet Sing. Messrs. Binny and Co. were now prohibited from continuing to draw, in behalf of the Rajah, the interest of Virarajendra's legacy to his daughter; still the British Government was reluctant to resort to violent measures. In January 1833, Sir Frederic Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to Viraraja, full of sound lessons on good government, and positively demanded compliance, in future, with the order of 1827, that all capital punishments, which took place in Coorg, should be regularly reported and explained. Mr. Casamjor carried the letter to Mercara in person, and had several conferences with the Rajah. The latter at first talked, as if he were an independent prince; the Resident reminded him of the tribute formerly paid by the Coorg Rajahs to the rulers of Mysore, and of the elephant Viraraja himself had annually to present to the Company in lieu. When Mr. Casamajor proceeded to hint that strong measures were in contemplation, the Rajah declared, that he was an ill used and much calumniated man, and made great professions of most dutiful allegiance to the British Government. The Resident returned from his bootless visit. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. Mr. Casamajor recommeded the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to act as a check upon the Rajah, but Government were still loath to proceed to extremities. Mr. Graeme was despatched from Madras to Coorg, and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. The Rajah seized and kept in durance a native deputy of Mr. Graeme, would not see the British envoy, and refused to set Kalpavaty Karyakara Menou, at liberty, until the Rajah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. He addressed, moreover, insolent letters to Sir Frederic Adam, and Lord W. Bentinck, and resolved on going to war with the Company. Troops were collected, (this was a very farce; the blind, and the halt, and the maimed were swept together and assembled for drill on the open space in front of the Mercara fort) and the Coorgs were ordered to prepare for the fight. The Maharajah of Coorg issued proclamations to the people in the Company's territories, calling upon Hindoos and Mussulmans to rise against the foreign despots, who aimed at the spoiling of castes, and the destruction of the religions of Hindusthan, under the banners of the Haleri dynasty, etc. In order, however, to keep his own person out harm's way, the Rajah removed twenty miles to the westward of Mercara, to the palace built by his uncle, at Nalkanadu, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He took with him his women, his band, his treasures, * and what remained of the members of the Coorg Rajah's families. The Company's

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* The Coorg Rajahs were possessed of great wealth. Old Viraraja's lamentation that he had lost every thing he had at Kurchi, is probably far from correct. The ex-Rajah, before his retirement to Nalkanadu, buried at Mercara one night, 40 pare (one pare is equal to ten seers) of Rupees. A still greater amount of treasure he buried in the jungle behind the Nalkanad Palace, which has never been detected. The prize money distributed to the Company's troops, amounted to sixteen lakhs of Rupees; yet the ex-Rajah has carried away with him great wealth in jewels. Devammaji's treasure, worth a lakh of Pagodas, a person might have put into his pocket; it filled but half of a small brass vessel (lota.)

troops advanced from East and West towards Coorg. Affairs began to look serious. The leaders of the Coorgs, who, in their ignorance, had boasted before the Rajah,* that they would sally forth and exterminate the English, were true enough to their words, and took up their posts at the different passes, where they might have defended themselves most effectually, and would, perhaps, have repulsed the Company's troops, had not the Rajah, incited partly by the hope (founded probably on him unaccountable and really accessive of the British Government,) that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by the fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted for their success and even safety, than to the skill and talents of their commanders. Colonel Lindsay, especially, who marched from Fraserpet towards Mercara in his approved style, guns foremost, through the narrow passes blocked up by trees, that had been felled and thrown across—with the greatest difficulty, might have been destroyed, and his ammunition blown up, simply by setting fire to the high jungle grass, which, dry as tinder in April, abounded on his road. When Viraraja had gone to Nalkanad, the Dewans, Bopu and Ponappa, who were left at Mercara, considered matters for themselves, and with their friends, and came to the resolution of surrendering to the Company, and of exchanging, if possible, a master, from whom they had every thing to fear, the life of no man and the honor of no family being safe under his rule, for the just and peaceable dominion of the Company. Accordingly Dewan Bopu with a party of 400 Coorgs, went to meet Colonel Fraser, the Agent of the Governor-General, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. On the 10th of April 1834, the English flag was hoisted at Mercara. Viraraja in the mean time, had at Nalkanadu, buried part of his treasures, and murdered the remainder of his relatives, with the exception of some aged females.* Life and honorable treatment being offered to the Rajah by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender ; he was not slow to avail himself of so favorable terms. On the 12th April he came to Mercara, and had an interview with the Agent of the Governor-General. The new aspect of things boded him no good, he had yet pleased himself with the hope of being allowed to remain in Coorg, though, it might be, under sharp control ; but he found out, that his deposition and removal were determined upon ; he felt uneasy also at the thought, that Kuntabasava, the accomplice of all his acts, was likely to be delivered, or to give himself up to Colonel Fraser. Only after he had succeeded in delivering himself from the wretch, he breathed a little more freely, and commenced to represent himself as a misguided young man, led astray by a wicked minister. Some fighting had taken place at Somavarpet, where a stockade had been incautiously attacked by Colonel Miller, and well defended by Appachanna, afterwards Subadar of Beppanad, and Kengala Nayaka, a reckless fellow of the Bedar caste, who shot the silver-haired Colonel whilst sitting on the ground at the foot of the Hegala-pass, which leads from Cannanore into Coorg, where also one or two officers lost their lives. With these exceptions, Coorg was peaceably taken possession of, and the expedition earned their rich prize-money very easily.

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* Not all the advisers, however, of the Rajah bragged like Kuntabasava, who may have wished to ruin his master, and eventually to betray him to the British Government. Nor is it unlikely, that the Rajah at last suspected his intentions. After he had surrendered to Colonel Fraser, and returned to the Mercara palace, Kuntabasava, for whose apprehension a reward of 1,000 Rs. had been offered, was brought in from the Nalkanadu jungle; but, as the story goes, strangled in the Cutcherry at the foot of the Mercara hill, by orders of the Rajah, before he could divulge secrets and compromise his master. One moonlight night, a short time before the commencement of hostilities, the Rajah walked with Kuntabasava, and the Parsi, Darashetty, (Daraset) on the Maidan before the Fort of Mercara, accompanied by two torch-bearers, and one of the lads of his band. Viraraja talked of the war; Darashetty ventured to give hints of caution. Call Ponappa, exclaimed the Rajah suddenly; let us hear his opinion. He appeared forthwith (he was one of the Dewans, a member of an old and wealthy Coorg family of Kiggatnadu; he has a good name in Coorg as an honest man who took no bribes, even under the Company's Government.) He stood before the Rajah in the position required by the slave etiquette of Coorg. The palms of his hands shut upon his breast, the head bowed down almost to the knees. His master asked: what do you think of our war with the Company? they refuse to surrender Chaunabasava, what can I do? Honest Ponappa answered: "It is impossible for us to fight with the Company; they are like the sea; we like a ditch; they are our protectors; the old treaties ought to be remembered." Before he had well finished his short reply, Kuntabasava, with his balled iron fist, gave him a blow on the temple, which sent him to the ground for dead. The torch-bearers wanted to lift him up, but the Rajah cried: "let him alone!" From that moment he was in disgrace. Aftor the Company had taken possession of Coorg, Ponappa became the principal man in the country; he was made first Dewan, and was much respected, both by his superiors and the people.

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* There was a rumour in Coorg, during the ex-Rajahs time, that one of the Haleri princes was still alive, but wandered about in other parts of India. The Rajah himself seems to have given some credit to the rumour. When the palace at Virarajandrapet was built, under Lingaraja, the people said, that the residence was intended for the Haleri Prince; no man, however, in Coorg had seen him for many years. In 1833, the news spread in Coorg, and reached the Rajah, that a Sanyasi, an extraordinary man, went about in the Munjerabad district, (North of Coorg) that he had a number of followers, performed miracles, and composed extempore songs like Dasapadas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara, and sung in the palace. The Rajah became curious to see the man. At last a report came from the Northern frontier gate, that Abhrambara wished to enter Coorg. He was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival, he was brought into the palace, and introduced to the Rajah. He was a tall powerful man; his hands reached almost down to his knees; he was dressed very sparingly, and wore a large beard, looking more like a Mussulman Fakir than a Hindu Sanyasi. The Rajah asked him: "Who are you?" "A man," was his answer. R. "Where is your home?" S. "Here." R. "Who was your mother?" S. "The womb." R. "Who is your father?" The Sanyasi continued to give the Rajah short, contemptuous, and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, and though afraid of maltreating him, (for the man had an imposing appearance,) he sent him abruptly away, and ordered him to live near the Rajah's tank, which was carefully guarded, where he should receive, whatever he required for food. The Sanyasi, however, wanted very little; he used to eat one or two small brinjals, and a few tender shoots of rushes every day, without touching any thing else. The tank guards were ordered to have a sharp eye upon him; but on the third morning, about 10 o'clock, after he had performed his ablutions, while the guards were walking about, he suddenly disppeared. Report was made to the Rajah, who caused strict search to be made, and immediately despatched messengers to the different frontier gates. All in vain. Abhrambara was no more seen in Coorg till after the establishment of the Company's government, when he appeared again in the North of Coorg with a retinue of about 100 people, Sanyasis, Brahmins, Jangamas, &c. It is said, that he visited Haleri in order to see his wife, one of the women, who live in the old palace on a pension from the Company; that he there held a kind of Durbar, which was attended by a number of Coorgs and others, who however, entreated him to leave the country again for fear of the new Sarkar, that his followers gradually increased to 500, whom he fed every day out of one dish of rice, which never failed. Abhrambara's story moves altogether on the confines of reality and myth. Captain Le Hardey, the then Superintendent, heard of the man, and wished to apprehend him; but he was not to be caught. Two of his followers, Kalyanabasava, and Puttubasava were seized at Baitur, in the Maleyalam, and brought to Mercara. Lakshmanarayana, one of the Dewans, began to meddle in these matters, and eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the head of the so-called Coorg insurrection of 1837.

The representative of the Governor-General now entered into negotiations with the remaining Dewans and other principal men, which must have puzzled them not a little, but which they turned to pretty good account, after having comprehended their novel position. They, no doubt, had expected that the principality would, without much ado, be converted into a Company's talook. They were surprized to find themselves treated almost as an independent body. Not being quite sure whether the Rajah would not, in the end, be allowed to remain in Coorg, and, wishing to be on the safe side, they made a proposal to Colonel Fraser to permit the Rajah to stay among them. When they were informed most positively, that he *must* leave the country, they were greatly relieved, and readily acquiesced in the orders of the Sarkar. They were induced, however, to express anxiety for the maintenance of their religion, and especially begged of Colonel Fraser to stop the pollution of their country by the killing of beef for the use of the European troops. Their petition was at once granted ; the butchers were ordered down to Fraserpet, a distance of twenty miles from Mercara, and to this day the beef consumed by soldiers and other European residents at that station is carried up from Fraserpet ! In other respects also, the Coorgs were treated as if they were the masters of the country, and were greatly pleased with the sudden change from abject servitude to a kind of consequential independence. The upshot was, that Colonel

Fraser issued a proclamation, which declared that Coorg was annexed, because it was the wish of the people to be ruled by the British Government ! It ran thus :—

> "Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency, the Right Honorable the Governor-General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government, to augment their security, comfort, and happiness.
>
> (Signed) J. S. Fraser,
> *Lieut.-Col. and Political Agent.*"

Camp at Mercara, 7th May 1834.

After a short stay at Mercara, the Rajah had to leave under an escort. He rode away through the town of Mercara, ordering the band to strike up—"The British Grenadier." A number of his wives accompanied him. In their palkis and his own he concealed vast sums of money in gold. On the road from Mercara to the low country, the bearers, who had to carry the women's dhoolies, which were filled with bags of gold, stumbled and fell in difficult places, and refused to carry such heavy loads. In the confusion, bearers and other attendants helped themselves freely to part of the spoil, which was secretly carried away by orders of the Rajah. The latter soon became aware that it was not safe to carry with him such an amount of treasure, for he had been permitted to take away only ten thousand Rupees. On the first halting place, therefore, near the frontiers of Coorg, he had a pit dug in the kitchen tent, by those of his attendants, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Bag after bag, filled with large gold coins, was piled up in the pit, all the men present swore a great oath to the Rajah, that they would faithfully keep the secret. The ground was levelled again, and kitchen fires lighted upon it. When the escort moved again, the Rajah's palkis were lighter. After a short time, Mandria Uttaya of Nalkanadu, a Karyakara of the Rajahs, returned home ; in a few days he set out again with bullocks, and accompanied by a brother-in-law, to fetch Ragi from the Eastern country. The bullocks and men, however, found their way to Sirlekote, to the place of the Rajah's encampment. There the bags of the bullocks, were filled with something heavier than Ragi. In the night, the treasure was carried to a safe place in the neighbourhood of a relative's house at Hudikerinadu, on the Eastern side of the Coorg hills, and thence leisurely transferred to Nalkanad in the west. Before, however, the whole had been brought into safety, the secret oozed out, and Uttaya found it necessary to inform Captain Le Hardey, that he knew of treasure secreted by the Rajah, both in the Hudikerinad, and at Mercara. An elephant was despatched to the Eastward under the guidance of Uttaya, who faithfully delivered to the Company all he had left there. He shewed also the place, where the Rajah had buried the abovementioned 400 seers of Rupees, and received a reward of 1,000 Rs. for his loyal honesty! But the treasure he thought he had secured in his home at Nalkanad, got wings; he had taken the precaution of burying the gold bags in different parts of the garden behind his house. His frequent visits in that direction excited the suspicions of other inmates of the house. One after the other had the luck of finding a bag; gold coins were handed about rather freely at Nalkanad. The Pales (a lower caste, generally servants,) got the scent, and came in for their share, so that in the end poor Uttaya had gained little beyond incessant quarrels among the members of his family, who had secretly divided the spoil. Behold the famed honesty of Coorg! The Rajah proceeded first to Bangalore, then to Vellore, and finally to Benares. Channabasava and his wife continued for some time in the Mysore; afterwards, when they thought themselves safe, they returned to Appagalla, their farm, in the neighbourhood of Mercara, where they still live, upon a liberal pension. Viraraja contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Coorg, and to revive from time to time rumours of his return to the principality. Few men, if any, wished to see him come back, and to exchange the mild and unoppressive rule of the Company for the excitement and the terrors of the old regime. But whenever Coorgmen are sounded by officers of Government, they are sure to put on a face, and to throw out hints, as if the return of the Rajah was likely to cause great embarrassment to the present Government; when, of course, their services and fidelity would be of great value.

By the deposition of the Rajah, the Coorgs have lost nothing and gained every thing. Under the former rulers, the life and property of men, and the honor of women were equally insecure. Several hundred Coorgmen, sometimes a thousand, had to attend upon the Rajah at Mercara, and to absent from home for months. They were all fed out of one common kitchen, filthy to a degree, disgusting even to Coorgs. Forced labor was the order of the day. A Parpatigara's pay was one Rupee per mensem; the allowances of a Subadar amounted to 30 Rs. per annum. The favourite Dewan, Kuntobasava, was a Badaga (a Canarese man of lowest extraction, who had risen from a dogboy to the Dewanship under Lingarajah), who hated the Coorgs, as he was hated in return, and maltreated them whenever he had an opportunity. The Rajah, also, perhaps under the influence of Kuntabasava, had no affection for the Coorgs ; he mistrusted, perhaps feared them. No one dared to speak a free word, no one even dared to appear in good clothes. A fine coat, if seen by the Rajah, was pretty sure to draw a sound flogging upon the back which had sported it. The new Government did all they could to please them, and though the liberation of the Rajah's slaves (Panyada Holeyam) was rather obnoxious to them, yet the new masters paid their public servants splendidly, giving them as much per mensem as they formerly had received per annum. The common people were free from forced labor ; every body's person and property were safe, and the Coorgs were now the pet race of the country. When, therefore, three years after the annexation of Coorg, the miscalled Coorg insurrection broke out, the Coorgs proved themselves the most loyal subjects, for which again they were most abundantly praised and rewarded with enam lands to a great extent, gold and silver medals, guns, swords and knives, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Dewans.

The causes of the abortive outbreak in 1837 have not fully come to light. One of the Dewans, the above named Lakshminarayana, a Brahman, who was ill-pleased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Dewans, was deeply implicated. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, to the west of the Coorg Hills, which had been ceded by the Company to old Virarajendra as a reward for his services during the Mysore wars, was in league with some rich and influential Gandas, a tribe on the Western slope of the ghats, who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits and sometimes intermarry with them. These were disaffected to the Company's government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara Sulya, Puttin and Bantwala, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been re-transferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been taken. Under the Rajahs, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now demanded cash payment : this was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money-changers. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore, and two companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the jail, and, with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Cutcherry and some civilians' houses, situated on the hills overlooking the town. All the world was seized with a panic. The civilians, who fled on board a ship, which carried them to Cannanore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses behind them, and thought the whole country was in arms. The commanding officer held a council of war, usually a very unwarlike thing ; and, had boats been procurable, the garrison consisting of a Regiment, much weakened it is true, by the detachment of several companies, would have embarked and run away before a few hundred Gandas, if so many, and the rabble of the jail. Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay ; but, when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with. The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind, and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground, and restoring order. This was altogether a Ganda affair. However, from the centre of the movement at Sulya, two other trains were fired, one across Nalkanad and Beppunad, the centre of the Coorg world, to Virarajendrapet, the second town in Coorg, and the principal place of trade ;—the other across the districts of Panje and Ballari and Subrahmanya to the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by Badagas, who had been trusted and favored by the ex-Rajah above the Coorgs. The Dewan, Kantabasava, had his relatives, connections, and his ever ready tools there. Formal proclamations were issued, in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambara, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haleri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance. A number of Coorgs about Talekaveri and Nalkanadu believed the Nirupas, to which a Rajah's seal was attached, and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms, and went down to the head-quarters at Sulya, Abhrambara's letters patent were carried to Beppunad. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe, and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Virarajendrapet went to Mercara to see the Dewans, to report to them and ask for their directions. Captain Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Dewans, he left Ponappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampaji, whether Bopu had received intelligence that the insurgents were moving from Sulya. When Captain Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampaji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt that they had moved towards the Bislighat and the North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels, through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampaji. He forthwith marched to Sampaji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Dewan companion. On his return to Mercara, he was told by Bonappa, the Coorg nobleman, who seems to have borne the poor parvenu Bopu a grudge, that information had been received in the meantime of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Captain Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu, and charged him straight with treachery. Go down to your friends, the rebels ; be an open enemy ; go, and I will come after you, and if I catch you, you shall be hung. Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Bonappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances, certainly, were against him ; yet he was innocent. But how was he to regain the confidence of the chief, which he had evidently lost ? The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. Do you stay at Mercara, Captain Le Hardey, he said, and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility upon yourself, I will set out immediately, and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead. Captain Le Hardey felt the man was true, and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunad and other districts had in the meantime collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the North under Subadar Appachanna. Bopu, with another troop, marched straight down to Sampaji. Two Lictors of his own fashion preceded the Coorg Consul, *viz.*, two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Dewan evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Nalkanadu friends gathered around him ; three of them marched a little in advance of the Dewan to scour the way before him ; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rajah's shooting master and great favorite, a man of the Malekudiya caste, one of the jungle tribes, who could hit if he chose they said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded farther than a quarter of a mile from Mercara, and were just descending the Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya, and a late Parpatigara, Appaya. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give information of the insurrection ; they must have known things, and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows, and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demanded explanation ; they were answereed by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows was the answer. They cried for mercy ; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground, and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampaji pass, he met with a party of Nalkanadu Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance ; they were armed, but dared not to fight the Dewan ; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous, and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopuwent on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nalkanadu had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word, and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn, and from that day Coorg has been at peace.

ACCEPTED TRAVELLERS.

BY H. G. KEENE, ESQ., C. S.

1. *Voyages and Travels to India*, &c. BY GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1809.
2. BISHOP HEBER'S *Journal in India.*
3. MURRAY'S *Home and Colonial Library.* Nos. 3—6. London 1846.

MONTESQUIEU, in a fit of self-dissatisfaction which circumstances neither justified nor required, once recorded—"I'ai la maladie de faire des livres, et d'en être honteux quand je les ai faits. We could desire no more appropriate, and perhaps no heavier punishment for some of our modern book-makers, than the shame which, a calm reconsideration of their own handiwork would be certain to inflict. Time was, when the composition of a book was on all hands admitted to be an undertaking by no means rashly to be commenced. In the first place, there was the subject, the thing to be said ; for the theory was that no one would propose to appear in print unless he had something to communicate to the public ; and it was considered, moreover, essential that this same thing to be communicated should be very clearly and completely understood by its professed expounder. Then there was the style, the manner of saying ; for in those rude times, it was held generally that writing was an art, and that like other arts, it had its rudiments and rules which required patience and labour for their mastery by the common race of people, and were not disregarded, but rather instinctively acquired, even by genius itself. But now-a-days, as we all know, audacity, writing materials, and a liberal bookseller are the only qualifications the least necessary, and equipped with these the aspiring *literateur* may make his debût with every chance of success.

It is rather curious that the branch of literature most readily chosen by complete ignorance as least likely to involve failure or provoke contempt, should be the writing of Travels: for surely, if we come to consider it, a good deal more should be required in a book of Travels than " gentle dulness " could by any species of conjuring be able to provide. And yet, is it not the case that no shallow-pate shall be found existing, who having from sheer ennui, or, perhaps, so recommended for change of beer, transferred his perfectly useless person, let us say, to the Holy Land, but shall desire on his return to communicate the result to the public; and shall not only so desire, but *shall* communicate it in two volumes octavo, bound in red cloth and lettered handsomely in gilt—" Montagu Square to Mount Sion." There is one thing certainly to be said, that the subject-matter of travels, in accordance with those modern views of convenience which suggest the sub-division of labor, has been distributed, and one branch alone generally falls to the lot of an individual traveller. Thus one gentleman takes up the *cuisine*, and we are informed, in considerable detail, what to " eat, drink and avoid " at the different hotels on the Rhine or in Italy. Another assumes the cab, omnibus, and railway department, and the different rates of travelling fares charged, and amounts of luggage permitted are discussed, always with spirit, and sometimes not without acrimony. Then we have comic tourists, flippant young gentlemen full of the slang of " Punch," who think it smart to carry an atmosphere of London magazines, London theatres, and their London "set" into the august and silent scenes of history. And have we not Protestant travellers who come home dreadfully shocked at the paganism of Rome, datail the singular acumen by which they discovered their courier to be a Jesuit in disguise, and declare, with astonishing gusto, that every educated catholic they conversed with—was an infidel?

In this fashion do these poor creatures, some perhaps, driven to it for bread, huckster their pennyworths of travellers' lore: and no class of literature, it is certain, though puffed through paying its expenses, affords so full and constant a supply of waste paper to the trunk-maker and the butterman as this,—which may be designated, from the only subject it adequately illustrates —the literature of locomotion.

How different from the reality of those paltry book-makers, the ideal of the true traveller!

Rarely gifted by nature with a body to withstand fatigue and endure climate,—with a courage to act promptly in danger and a tact to avoid needlessly seeking it,—with an eye quick to discern the form and color and distinctive character of all that falls under observation,—with a tongue facile in adapting itself to foreign and unfamiliar form of speech, and a temper engaging, generous and conciliatory:—and all these precious gifts again finely disciplined and fully developed by education:—the mind deeply instructed in the history and customs of ancient times,—minutely acquainted, with the social, political and religious features of its own country—and nicely taught by a study of human nature to detect in the casual stranger a trustworthy informant or the contrary, and regulated in its inquiries by a delicate tact that puts the right question, and a sensitive judgment that recognises the true answer;—expression, too, not neglected, its rules examined, its principles artistically ascertained and mastered: and then the body fitted by long training and acquired skill for the arduous tasks it has chosen as its own;—the untamed horse to be backed,—the burning desert to be trodden,—the eddying river to be swum across,—often, for subsistence, the fishing-rod or the fowling-piece to be deftly handled,—and sometimes, in defence of life itself, the sword to be drawn, at once with determination and with science.

Nor endowed with such gifts and embellished with such acquirements in vain, for impressed with a belief that the removal of the ignorance which hides the life and thoughts and hopes of man from his fellow-man, is the most important step in advancing that great federation, which, according as we look upon it from the point of view of the philosopher, the poet or the pietist, may assume different aspects,—but is still dimly expected by all:—impressed with such a belief, he will view his wanderings as a lofty mission, and will, from first to last, keep the great end in view.

This is, of course, an imaginary ideal, but to show that it is not entirely extravagant in its requirements, take but one name,—a name which Anglo-India may justly rejoice to be able to call her own. With more moral earnestness, with somewhat loftier aims in view, with greater self-respect, with less Zingaresque admiration of the lawless and the vagabond in itself, how nearly to the specified standard would come our eminent compartriot—Richard Burton.

England has had great travellers; Bruce and Mungo Park on the one hand, and Sir Robert Porter and Dr. Edward Clarke on the other, are fair specimens of two classes of which any country might well be proud; but she has been capricious in the treatment of her sons who have distinguished themselves in this respect. Some of the most trustworthy she has laughed at as increditable, some of the most learned she has set aside, and unjustly censured as heavy and unreadable;—others, again, she has unaccountably neglected. Nor is this all: the English reading public have always liked to have a favorite authority for each part of the world, and when any one writer has attained this position, it is astonishing how long he may preserve it, without fear of overthrow by a rival. There would not be much harm done by this, if the favorite was always the best authority, but unfortunately this is very seldom the case, and the system of accepted travellers has done real injury to the claims of superior persons. If the view of a country given by a traveller be substantially correct, whatever new light may be thrown by more recent research will only serve to further illustrate what was previously delineated: a really good book of travels may therefore without injury to knowledge remain the standard, though its details may no longer be adequate or satisfactory: but if a book embodying a false representation of a country come improperly to be considered a standard work, any later writer of truth or merit, if he gain the public ear, must displace the usurper, and failing to do this, will himself pass into oblivion. Every one must remember some of the old accepted travellers. There was a certain Mr. Russell who was a great authority on Germany, and whose travels in that country were greatly in vogue at one time. He may still be come across in Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, discoursing *ore rotundo* of the morals of Vienna, but in no other place of common resort that we know of, will he be likely to be found. Yet so predominant was he at one time, that we recollect another gentleman publishing a book on Germany, and apologizing in the preface for intruding upon a domain so ably administered by Russell. Much later than this now-forgotten author, came Trollope, and Marryatt, who acceded jointly, by the *coup d' état* of an impudent book apiece, to the Presidentship of the United States. Now that we know America so much better, now that her literature is in our hands, that we have read her own portraitures of life and society; now that Prescott and Bancroft have shown us how Americans can treat the political questions of history, and men like Everett and Buchanan and Dallas have in person demonstrated the fact that no mean political education is the common accomplishment of her best men,—it seems incredible that we should ever have taken our notions of American manners and American feeling from the caricatures of a thoroughly vulgar-minded woman, or been misled into a low appreciation of their political standard by the boisterous misapprehensions of a humorous sea-captain. But of all unquestioned authorities no one has held so supreme or so lasting a sway as Bishop Heber. To him India has been made over, as one might suppose, in perpetual possession, and with what is called the general reader, he is as unimpeachable a dictator on all Indian subjects, as Sir David Brewster is about stereoscopes, or Dr. Cumming about the end of the world. If you look out an Indian topic in any Encyclopædia, you will find at the end of the article—" Bishop Heber's Journal."

When Mr. Youatt discourses of the temper of Arab horses, he refers to a description of the behaviour of a certain Arab—in Bishop Heber's Journal. When the Editor of the "Press" wishes to damage Lord Dalhousie's political reputation, and show that an Indian province under native rule is a kind of New Atlantis,—he quotes, or misquotes if a little pushed,—Bishop Heber's Journal. In fact there is no sort of purpose useful or unworthy, to which this notable journal has not been put. The pre-eminence it holds, however, as any candid enquirer will be obliged to admit, has been bestowed upon it without due consideration, and, indeed, in a large measure by mere caprice. It is true, indeed, that at the time the book appeared India had not many specimens (as she has not now) of the traveller proper to represent her: to a certain extent Heber's Journal supplied a desideratum and filled a vacancy: but of another class of works closely allied to travels, half travels, indeed, and half reports,—such works, we mean, as Buchanan's Mysore, Kirkpatrick's Nepal, &c., &c.,—India had always abundance, and to these the general reader (a sad dilettante, we fear,) might have had easy access, if the love of truth had been in him. But even if the pre-eminence had been just thirty years ago, it might naturally be supposed that in these days of Indian newspapers, reports, statistics, maps, gazetteers, and the thousand other sources from which ascertained facts well out, like water from a hill-side, the public might require something newer and fresher than they would be likely to find in the Bishop's pages. But the prestige of Heber still prevails with unabated vitality.

We propose in the present article examining into the merits of this celebrated work; not in a very elaborate manner, but testing its qualifications rather by general principles, and trying to form an opinion as to the degree of authority it was ever entitled to carry with it, as well as what authority, if any, it has claims to retain at the present day. We have associated with it another book, exceedingly celebrated in its time also, the travels of Lord Valentia, and one which will be found largely quoted in reference to Indian matters, in all writings of some years back: it will not be, we hope, without profit to apply the same tests and criticisms to it as to the later work, and as Lord Valentia's book was always an expensive one, and is not now very common,—the extracts we shall transcribe may be new to some of our readers, and not without interest, if it be only that communicated by the circumstance that they refer to the India of half a century ago.

We shall commence with the elder traveller. There is an edition in three volumes octavo, but the one at present before us we find to comprise three large quarto volumes, printed on thick paper and in a handsome type, and illustrated with numerous steel engravings, from drawings by a Mr. Salt, presenting that hard, stiff, distinct, appearance which will be familiar to those who recollect the engravings from Stothard's Designs. The title of the book in full is "Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806." The author, George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, was the eldest son of the 1st Earl of Mount Norris, and was at the time he started on his travels a married man of about two and thirty, an amateur botanist of considerable acquirements, and, as we shall hereafter see, a man of considerable judgment, and quite capable of forming his own opinions on subjects which interested his mind. He was accompanied by Mr. Henry Salt, an artist, who acted also as Secretary, and by an English servant, and they left the Downs in June 1802, on board the Indiaman, *Minerva*. The treaty of Amiens had been signed in the preceding March: there was peace, therefore, on the high seas, and no necessity for a convoy, but their course was much impeded by an order directing them to keep company with the *Lord Eldon*, another Indiaman which, like the statesman from whom it derived its name, was opposed to progress, and could not be persuaded, under any circumstances, to go ahead.

At Madeira we find our botanical Lord in raptures with the bananas and fig-trees, oranges and pomegranates, all of which growing in their natural luxuriance were of course novelties to him. He is intelligent, too, about the wine, making inquiries about the exportation, which he is informed is about 16,000 pipes annually, and adds "the London particular is £40 per pipe; but very good may be purchased at £35 per pipe, which is the usual price paid for the India market."

On the voyage from Madeira to St. Helena we find a circumstance noted, which incidentally gives us a glimpse of the difficulties navigation had to contend with in those days. A south-west wind allowed them to keep close to the coast of Africa: there is this entry for the 19th July.

> "The same wind, with little variation, enabled us yesterday to pass Cape Palmas, which we found laid down falsely in all the maps; it is in longitude 8° west. Laurie and Whittle have published a chart of the whole coast said to be on the authority of five Captains in the Liverpool trade. This is grossly erroneous; many lives may be lost by a deception which ought to be publicly noticed."

He remarks, too, on a future day, "we sailed over the spot where Messrs. Laurie and Whittle have been pleased to place the island of Annabore. The manner in which charts are published in England is a disgrace to a mercantile nation."

There is a good deal of interesting information about St. Helena, which we might extract, had we not other objects in view;

but we must pass on, merely remarking how strange it is to have Longwood spoken of calmly as the country residence of the Governor, and noting also one little incident which as illustrative of a trait in Lord Valentia's character by no means unimportant should not be omitted. Let him mention it himself, "September 23rd. The Governor invited us to an early dinner; after which, accompanied by his Aide-de-camp, he attended me to the water-side. As I embarked, the fort on Ladder Hill saluted me with fifteen guns, a compliment which Captain Weltden also paid me on my arrival on board the *Minerva.*"

We shall see hereafter what importance his Lordship attached to these little matters, and how jealous he was of their omission. The treaty of Amiens had stipulated that England should give up all her conquests during the war, to the powers to whom they had formerly belonged, with the exception of Trinidad which had been taken from Spain, and the part of Ceylon which had been possessed by the Dutch. When, therefore, Lord Valentia arrived at the Cape, he found the authorities there preparing to give the settlement back into the hands of the Dutch: a measure which caused him deep regret; and it is much to the credit of his sagacity that he clearly discerned the great importance of the Cape not only in a political point of view, but also as possessing resources which skill and care might extend to a remarkable degree. "I have observed with astonishment," he writes, "the systematic plan of the East India Directors to depreciate the value of this settlement; and to the credit which Ministers gave to their assertions, I, in a great degree, attribute the facility with which it was abandoned at the peace."

The settlement, however, as we all know, *was* given back, and it did not come finally into our possession till the year 1806.

We cannot pause to take a delightful trip with our traveller into the interior, but must again embark on board the *Minerva*, which, delivered at last of the conservative *Lord Eldon*, is at liberty to go a little faster. The decks of the vessel, which is but a small one, only some 540 tons,—are crowded now with the stalwart forms of English troopers, for we have got with us a division of the 8th Light Dragoons, and their commanding officer, Vandeleure, sailing now, unconsciously, to his appointed end,—for in one short year from this time, nearly to a day, he is to fall on the fiery field of Laswaree. Shortly after embarking we fall in with a storm and our lord, after it has somewhat subsided, notes down with great *naïveté.*—"The scene was magnificent, but too awful to be agreeable. I am glad I have seen it once, but hope I never shall again."

Of course we have albatrosses and Cape geese and pintados, and we cross the line a month hence on Christmas day, and as the evening is perfectly calm, place lanterns in the rigging, and with soldiers' wives for partners join in a merry dance. Finally, we touch at Car Nicobar and are astonished with the nakedness and ugliness of the savages, and delighted with their plantains and shaddocks, and thence, sighting on the 17th January, the black Pagoda, we on the 20th reach the pilot ground of the Hooghly river, having accomplished our voyage in seven months and a half.

The very day Lord Valentia landed in Calcutta, there happened to be a grand party at Government House in honor of the Peace, which, by the way, in four months from that date had ceased to exist. It was the first occasion of a public entertainment being given in the new Government House, which had only lately been completed, and on this score as well as for its illustration of the times, we will extract Lord Valentia's account of it.

"The State rooms were for the first time lighted up. At the upper end of the largest was placed a very rich Persian carpet, and in the centre of that, a musnud of crimson and gold, formerly composing part of the ornaments of Tippoo Sultan's throne. On this was a rich chair and stool of State, for Lord Wellesley; on each side, three chairs for the Members of Council and Judges. Down to the door on both sides of the room, were seats for the ladies, in which they were placed according to the strict rules of precedency, which is here regulated by the seniority of the husband in the Company's service. About ten, Lord Wellesley arrived, attended by a large body of Aide-de-camps, &c., and after receiving, in the Northern verandah, the compliments of some of the native princes, and the vakeels of the others, took his seat. The dancing then commenced, and continued till supper. The room was not sufficiently lighted up, yet still the effect was beautiful. The row of chunam pillars, which supported each side, together with the rest of the room, were a shining white, that gave a contrast to the different dresses of the company. Lord Wellesley wore the orders of St. Patrick and the Crescent in diamond. Many of the European ladies were also richly ornamented with jewels. The black dress of the male Armenians was pleasing from the variety; and the costly, though unbecoming habits of their females, together with the appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, resembled a masquerade. It excelled it in one respect: the characters were well supported, and the costume violated by no one. About 800 people were present, who found sufficient room at supper, in the marble hall below, thence they were summoned about one o'clock to the different verandahs to see the fireworks and illuminations. The side of the citadel facing the palace was covered with a blaze of light, and all the approaches were lined with lamps suspended from bamboos. The populace stole much of the oil; and, as it was impossible to light so great a range at one time, the effect was inferior to what it ought to have been. The fireworks were indifferent, except the rockets, which were superior to any I ever beheld. They were discharged from mortars on the ramparts of the citadel. The colors, also, of several of the pieces were excellent; and the merit of singularity, at least, might be attributed to a battle between two elephants of fire, which by rollers were driven against each other."

This description serves, we think, to bring out one characteristic which is peculiarly marked in Lord Valentia: the facility with which he throws himself into the spirit of a new scene. This is positively his first evening on Indian ground, yet he at once seizes the character of the entertainment, and understands, without difficulty, the position of the guests.

The subject of rank being one upon which Lord Valentia was particularly touchy, he was much gratified at a private audience by Lord Wellesley assigning him precedency of every body, except the immediate Members of Council.

Only a month was devoted to Calcutta, as his lordship was very anxious to travel up-country before the heat set in. During this period he only notes as objects of interest the Botanical Garden and Barrackpore. His tastes naturally led him to appreciate the first very highly, though he complains that "Utility seems more to have been attended to than science," and thinks "it is a pity a small compartment is not allotted to a scientific arrangement." One remark is curious: he writes "it is by far too hot for European vegetables, and of course many even of our pot herbs are in the list of their desiderata." The present generation may say with allowable pride "*nous avons changé tout cela.*"

Barrackpore had passed during the incumbency of Sir John Shore into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, who gave £500 a year to the Governor-General to hire a residence for himself; Lord Wellesley, however, had taken the house back again and gave the £500 a year to the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Wellesley appears to have improved it very much; "several of the bungalows," we are told, "belonging to the lines have been taken into the park and are fitted up for the reception of the secretaries, aides-de-camp, and visitors." The view on the river, too, was striking:—"the water itself," it is said, "is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the State barges and cutters of the Governor-General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene." By the 21st of February, our traveller had started for the North-West. There were two roads by which he might have travelled to Benares. "One new, carried over the mountainous and wild part of Behar, not two hundred miles nearer than the old, through the populous cities of Bengal." But as dawk bungalows had not yet been built on it, only three halts would have been possible on this road, and therefore the old one through Moorshedabad, Rajmahal, etc., was preferred. Lord Valentia was rather pleased with his first, night in a palkee. "The motion," he says, "though incessant, was by no means violent. I soon composed myself to rest, but was awakened by my bearers at the first changing place asking for buxys, or presents; I gave them, as is now pretty customary, a rupee for each palanquin; and finding myself cold, though every window was shut, added a shawl to my covering. I was soon so perfectly reconciled to my lodging, that nothing but the application for buxys awakened me." The application for this dreadful "buxys" remains to this present day the nightmare that murders a dawk traveller's sleep, but he would meet it, we suspect, in these times of reduced emoluments, with a four-anna piece in preference to the customary rupee of 1802. The expression, "though every window was shut," seems to show that palkees usually had windows or venetians in the side-panels, as is still frequently the case with those used by native gentlemen. We may remark another point about the palkees of these days, too; they seem to have been larger and heavier than those in use now,—for Lord Valentia several times remarks on the bearers falling down with him, an occurrence which very seldom, if ever, happens to modern travellers by the same conveyance.

We shall only remark generally on the journey to Benares, that in every place he passed through Lord Valentia appeared conversant with its history and associations, and exhibited his usual talent for at once apprehending the nature and spirit of what he saw.

Mistakes he made, it is true, and what traveller does not? but they were the errors of misinformation, not misapprehension. Thus at Rajmahal, he mentions that no vestiges of the ancient palace remain, which is incorrect, but clearly only so in consequence of some one who should have known better having told a falsehood. He gives a very clear and interesting account of the silk manufactory at Jungpore, and the following remarks on roads, when we consider the time they were written, and the then state of public opinion on the subject, are very creditable to his sagacity.

"The roads hitherto (as far as the province of Behar) have been very indifferent; in many places not sufficiently wide to let my palanquin pass without difficulty, and in most parts the inequality of surface was such as to render the motion unpleasant, and to cause considerable delay. This in a great degree is owing to the force of the torrents during the rains, which tear up all the bridges, and carry devastation through the whole country: a large allowance is made the the Zemindar, for the re-erection of the bridges (made of wood covered with reeds) and the repair of the roads; but as no one appointed to see that these are properly executed, or indeed executed at all, he generally pockets the money, and most of the high-ways remain impassable. During the full power of the house of Timour, they made magnificent causeways from one end of their dominions to the other, and planted trees on the sides to shelter travellers from the sun; a most useful plan, in a country where men are the chief instruments of conveyance. Surely we ought to follow so good an example now that we are in tranquil possession of the same empire. But alas! its sovereigns are too apt to confine their views to a large investment, and an increase of dividend, and have usually opposed every plan for the improvement of the country, which has been brought forward by the different Governors-General."

There is some little exaggeration in this as to what the house of Timour did for the country, and we could surely scarcely be said to be in "tranquil possession" of the Mogul empire, before the battle of Assaye and the campaigns of Lord Lake, but still the thinking is all in the right direction, and considerably above the tone of the day.

By the 7th of March, Lord Valentia had arrived at Secrole where apartments had been provided for him by General Deare. Here, on the next day, he was waited upon by the Judge, Mr. Neave, who appears to have suggested that his Lordship should call upon the principal residents. His Lordship, however, who had an exceedingly good opinion of his own position, would not consent to do so. "I found from Mr. Neave," he writes—

"That according to the custom of India, the stranger should pay the first visit. As his Excellency had arranged otherwise at Calcutta, I conceived myself bound to decline complying with it, but expressed my wish to be introduced to the different gentlemen resident here, and I would certainly return their visits. I agreed to dine with him, where I met a very large party."

There were living at Benares at that time certain princes, grandsons of Shah Allum, whom the English Government had agreed to pension by the Lucknow treaty of 1798, which Sir John Shore had concluded with Saadut Ali. As Shah Allum was still, nominally, the paramount power in Northern India, although in reality he had been wholly stripped of authority by the Mahrattas, these princes were treated with great respect.

Lord Valentia seems to have taken extraordinary delight in all the etiquettes and formalities connected with calling upon these distinguished stipendiaries. He relates that he at once applied to Mr. Neave for a proper suwarry, and details it, when it arrived, as consisting of "four chobdars and two sontaburdars with ten hurcarrahs."

He describes at full length all the circumstances of his visits to these princes, and of the Durbar which he held, to admit of their returning him the same compliment. Want of space forbids our extracting from these accounts, but it is really remarkable how completely he enters into the sort of thing, how clearly he understands the exact position of the princes, and how graphically, though in quite plain language, he describes the details of the different scenes. Mr. Davis's house at Benares was naturally at that time an object of great curiosity, as only four years previously it had been the arena of that dreadful conflict which the affection of a son has preserved to us in all its striking incidents, in the charming little volume entitled "Vizier Ali; or the massacre of Benares." Lord Valentia writes:—

> "Mr. Hawkins resides in the house that was occupied by Mr. Davis, during the ephemeral insurrection of Vizier Ali. I examined the stair-case that leads to the top of the house, and which he defended with a spear for upwards of an hour and a half, till the troops came to his relief. It is of singular construction, in the corner of a room, built entirely of wood, on a base of about four feet: the ascent is consequently so winding and rapid, that with difficulty one person can get up at a time. Fortunately, also, the last turn by which you reach the terrace faces the wall. It was impossible, therefore, for the people below to take aim at him whilst he defended the ascent with a spear; they, however, fired several times, and the marks of the balls are visible in the ceiling. A man had at one time hold of his spear, but by a violent exertion he dragged it through his hand, and wounded him severely."

The writer then enters at some length into the circumstances of the outbreak, and appears clearly to show that Mr. Cherry's confidence that no mischief would occur, was little short of infatuation.

Before Lord Valentia left Benares, he had given him a piece of meteoric stone, said to have fallen in the province in the year 1799. He has taken the trouble to give copies of the actual depositions of the peasants, by whom it and similar pieces had been found. It is curious that the fellow-pieces of this actual stone had been transmitted to Sir Joseph Banks, and were considered important evidence on a subject to which scientific attention had only recently been called: and in 1802, the analysis of this Benares ærolite published by Howard in the "Philosophical Transactions" was held to have established the credibility of the phenomenon. We cannot stop for a good account of the city, or for the details of a visit to the Rajah, the grand nephew of the celebrated Cheyt Singh, but must hurry on towards Lucknow, merely noticing one remark, entered in the diary at Juanpore: "Mr. Hodge's view of the bridge seems to have been done from memory." This refers to "Hodge's Views," a now quite forgotten set of pictures, by the Hodges who accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage to the South Seas, and who afterwards realized a large fortune in this country. Reaching the frontier, our traveller records :—

"In the night I passed the boundaries of the East India Company's territory and entered that of his Excellency the Nawab Vizier. On awaking in the morning, I should have known the change by the face of the country. The heavy hand of oppression had evidently diminished the quantity of land in cultivation. The crops were more scanty, but the mango topes increased in number, and were now more beautiful from the vicinity of the jungle where the Butea shone resplendent."

He remarks at Sultanpore :—

"The cantonment is built to contain an entire brigade; but at this time the greater part are on duty with General Lake, and several of the rest are absent assisting the Aumils in collecting the Nawab's rents from the Zemindars who frequently refuse to pay without compulsion."

We do not increase the emphasis of these passages by italics, but they are surely not without their significance.

Lucknow was just the sort of place that Lord Valentia thoroughly enjoyed. The pomp and parade of an Eastern Court excited his imagination, and he was particularly flattered at being treated by these gingerbread princes as a chieftain of equal rank. Saadut Ali was more of a nominal potentate than his successors were, of later times. Owing his elevation wholly to the English, and supported in his position by the large masses of troops it was then considered politically advisable to concentrate in Oude, although he was paid higher respect and seemed to wield a far more potent sceptre, his independent action was scarcely perhaps so great as that of the ill-starred descendant who laid his turban so recently on the knees of Sir James Outram. His delight in English society and his affectation of English habits, and, we must unfortunately add, English vices, are well known. Lord Metcalfe, who, as quite a young man in the beginning of 1802, had accompanied Lord Wellesley to Lucknow, says of him :—

"The Nabob's horses are remarkably fine. His pleasures are all in the English way; he is fond of horses, dogs, hunting, etc., etc. His breakfasts, dinners, houses, are completely English. It struck me very forcibly as worthy of remark, that a Moosulman prince should sit after dinner merely for the purpose of handing about the bottle, though, of course, *he* did not drink. He has a French cook and a military band of English instruments."

We may remark about the Nawab's "of course not drinking," that it was a matter of notoriety that he did, but in a stealthy way, —and always at night.

A day or two after his arrival, Lord Valentia went to breakfast with the Nawab, was embraced as his equal, and complimented with a salute of seventeen guns. "We were led," he writes, "to a breakfast table in a room furnished with chairs, and every other article in the European style.

The greatest part of the Nawab's family were present, but he introduced only his second son, who is his General and Prime Minister. Two courtiers, who are more particularly under the protection of the English, and who have been dignified by them with the titles of Lord Noodle, and Lord Doodle, were also there; but the person I observed with the most curiosity, was Almas Ali Khan, the eunuch so celebrated by Mr. Burke's pathetic account of the distresses which his wives and children suffered from the barbarity of that "Captain General in iniquity," Mr. Hastings. He is a venerable, old-woman-like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion. After all the cruel plunderings which he is stated as having undergone, he is supposed to be worth half a million of money; and no wonder, when it is considered, that for a considerable time he was Aumil, or renter, of nearly half the province of Oude. The Nawab watches for his succession, which by the Eastern custom belongs to him. With all his affluence, Almas is but a slave now nearly in his dotage, though formerly an active and intriguing courtier. Lieut. Colonel Marshall and several of his officers were of the party. The breakfast partook of every country; tea, coffee, ices, jellies, sweetmeats, French pies, and other made dishes, both hot and cold. The Nawab himself laughed, and said that his French cook had provided rather a dinner than a breakfast."

The Nawab returned this visit and came to breakfast with Lord Valentia, who expresses himself agreeably surprised, after his departure, to find only a few silver spoons missing, "for," says he, "the plunder of his Excellency's followers is often to a much greater amount." Besides the Nawab, there were then residing in Lucknow, Prince Suliman Shekoo, son of the King of Delhi, and the Begums of Sujah-ud-Dowlah and Asoph-ud-Dowlah; there were therefore plenty of ceremonial visits in store for our traveller.

The Begum of Seraj-ud-Dowlah was the mother of the reigning Nawab: she was the younger of the two "Princesses of Oude," for whom so much sympathy was expressed in England, when the fashionable crowds in Westminster Hall thrilled at the brilliant periods of Sheridan. Lord Valentia found her "enshrined rather than immured" in a handsome Zenana with melancholy wooden lattice-work on the outside of the windows, being comfortably enough with her virgin daughters, some of whom were upwards of forty years old, and their establishment of slaves quite unconscious how many beautiful eyes had wept over her distresses; and as thirteen years afterwards she left the Company fifty-six lakhs of Rupees, it may reasonably be supposed, not in that state of destitution to which the eloquence of the "English Hyperides" would have led the world to suppose she had been reduced.

Prince Sooliman Shekoo relying upon his royal descent, and supposing probably the English lord to be ignorant of oriental customs, attempted to take a liberty with his visitor. He had, however, entirely mistaken his man, for the journal records as the conclusion of a morning call—"The prince did not think proper to rise from his chair, in consequence of which I gave him no salaam on departure." Lord Valentia was clearly not altogether pleased with the European character of the Nawab's entertainments: they were so unlike the "Arabian Nights," and an imagination which would fain have conjured up all the associations of oriental romance, was chilled and checked in painting its gorgeous pictures, when the central figure insisted on appearing in "boots and nankeen breeches with a long riding coat of velvet." His ideal was, however, nearly realized one evening, shortly before leaving Lucknow, by a party given him in a building, which by a trifling incorrectness he calls the "Sungi Dalam." "It is," he writes,—

> "In my opinion a very elegant building, perfectly in the eastern style, open on all sides, and supported by pillars. It is, as the name designates, built of stone, but the whole is painted of a deep red color, except the domes that cover the towers at the corner. These are gilt all over; the effect is extremely rich. The centre room is large; two, narrower on each side, make the shape of the whole building a square, with circular towers at the four corners. It is raised one storey from the ground, and a large terrace connects it with a smaller but similar building. A most magnificent musnud of gold, covered with brocade and embroidered wreaths of roses, was placed at one end of the large apartment. We dined in the smaller, on one side, whence we had a view of the baron of water, which extends to the hummaum attached to the place, where I used to bathe. The sides of the baron were covered with colored lamps; and a complete trellis work of the same extended on each side of the walk. The overhanging trees were perfectly lightened by the glare, which was much increased by the reflection from the water. It was the splendor of the Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid as described in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," completely realized, and by no means inferior to the idea my fancy had formed of it."

The only thing was the band which would play European tunes, and of course to a certain extent interfered with the beautiful dream.

Lord Valentia stayed four months in Lucknow, during which period he had ample opportunities of seeing all that that city had to show, its elephant fights, etc., etc., with which most people are familiar; but we must hurry over the descriptions of these, as well as a most violent attack on the character of General Martin, then not three years deceased, and must follow our traveller to Futtyghur which was as far as Lord Wellesley would permit him to go.

> "As the total want of police," he writes, "in the Nawab's territories renders an escort necessary, his Excellency kindly sent orders that a company of sepoys and twenty horse should attend me on my journey."

And here, as Lord Valentia is just re-entering the Company's dominions, we may appropriately quote some remarks of his on the subject of Oude in general, which show, we think, clear discernment and are much to the purpose.

> "The dissatisfaction the Nawab might have experienced at the cession of a moiety of his territory is absorbed in the discovery, that he has more real revenue, and can add more to his treasure, than he did when he paid the East India Company one hundred and twenty lakhs of Rupees per annum. It is said that he actually accumulates from one to two lakhs per week, and the treasures he received by inheritance cannot be less than two crores. If His Highness is satisfied with the arrangement, most certainly all the other parties must be so.
>
> "The British have obtained an additional revenue, and a secure payment; the ryots have obtained security from the oppressive plunderings of the aumils, and the protection of the British laws, instead of being at the mercy of every robber. So conscious are they of these advantages, that the land which was rated to the Nawab at a crore and thirty-five lakhs, has been let at a crore and eighty lakhs. An intermediate personage, the Zemindar, who, from a tenant, has been promoted by the fanciful generosity of the British into a landowner, may indeed be dissatisfied at being deprived of the power of doing harm: he cannot now rob the traveller, or oppress the ryot under him; nay, he is obliged so pay his rent, or submit to have his mud fortress levelled with the ground. But if these are evils to him, they are blessings to the large mass of the population, which, indeed, has ever been the consequence of the British Government in India, and I sincerely hope will ever continue so."

When Lord Valentia arrived at Futtyghur, the treaty had only been signed a year, by which the Nawab of Furruckabad had agreed that the Company should obtain his territories on consideration of a pension of 9,000 Rupees a month. The disorganization of the district had been terrible. "The state of the country was then most wretched: murders were so frequent at Furruckabad, that people dared not venture there after sunset; and the workmen who came out to the cantonments, always retired to their own houses during day-light." When Mr. Grant first arrived there as Magistrate, about a hundred Pathans waited on him to know whether he really meant to have a police. On being assured that he was quite in earnest, and did most assuredly mean to have a stringent one, they remarked that that sort of thing did not at all suit them, but they could go elsewhere; which accordingly they did, making off at once and returning to that part of the country no more.

There were seventy persons in jail for murder, when Lord Valentia was there, but not one case he declares, of that sort, had been committed since the police had been established. "The idea of security also," he adds, "under our Government, operated in raising the value of lands, so that on letting them for those years, we have a profit of nearly three lakhs, instead of a loss of one" which had been previously expected.

The plan of one per cent. on the revenue for the repairs of roads is highly approved, and it had just been introduced into this district with great success. It was originated, in the first instance, by the well-known William Augustus Brook, and wherever it had been substituted for the old *corvée*, had been found to succeed far better.

At this time, General Lake had taken the field, notwithstanding the season was that of the rains, and had already advanced within twenty miles of Futtyghur, whither Lord Valentia goes out to meet him at a place called Gosiah Gunj. "My reception," he says—

> "Was perfectly polite and cordial. The General had paid me the compliment of pitching my tent in a line with his, and close to him; my escort was behind. The scene was very pleasing: the camp covered a very large extent of ground, was frequently divided by mango-topes, and in the back-ground, here and there, appeared a few houses. The white tents, covering the plains in every direction, formed a pleasing contrast with the dark trees that backed them; and the colours in the front added greatly to the effect. The elephants were strolling about; the soldiers were retired to their tents; the numerous army followers were collecting forage in every direction."

This picture must have often recurred to the writer's memory, and as each distinguished victory reached his ears, which glorified the future campaign, he cannot but have reflected how thinned the numbers must have been becoming of those he had seen thus quietly encamped at Gosiah Gunj.

From Futtyghur Lord Valentia made for Mukhunpore where the great fair was going on in honour of the holy Syud Muddar, to which thousands still annually resort in what is called the procession of the Black Flag. Here with his characteristic versatility he enters at once into the spirit of the scene, has the conjurors before his tent to exhibit on the tight and slack ropes, visits the shrine of the saint, and appoints one of the faqueers his vakeel there, and then makes a tour of the fair, where he is much amused by a mungoose fighting with some snakes. The next morning on leaving the place he is astonished by the thousands that are crowding in from the neighbourhood, he says:—

"The crowd we met going to the fair astonished me: for the first ten miles it was as great as in London streets; and afterwards, some party or other was always in sight. The scene amused me much; Hindoos and Mussulmans equally hastening to the religious festivity. The females with their infants in hackerys, when they could afford the expense: the males on horseback; the poorer women on foot, with their husbands frequently carrying two children in the bangys slung across their shoulders. The faqueers with their flags, and beastly appearance, added to the crowd and stunned us with their tom-toms. Mounted on our elephants we got on without difficulty, and were greeted with a blessing and chorus as we passed them."

There is something to us very touching in a passing glimpse, like this, of the poor, nameless herds, who appear but little in histories of any kind, and least of all in those of India. Here, for a brief moment, we see them, on a September morning, fifty-four years ago, performing a part of their troublous journey towards the grass! Fifty-four years ago! where are they now? A few, perhaps, still lingering in age and decrepitude, but the mass, of course, departed finally, and to be traced no more on the surface of earth now or ever.

From Mukhunpore our traveller makes for Allahabad whence he embarks to proceed by boat down-country. At Benares he hears with delight of the taking of Allighur, and hears also, which seems so strange to us in these days, that he has been lucky in escaping from Major de Fleury, for that officer at the head of six thousand Mahratta horse had made a sudden sweep into our provinces, plundered Etawah, captured a detachment under Mr. Cunningham at Shekoabad, and driven Colonel Vandileure back on Furruckabad. Thence down the Ganges, past Patna, and so by the Bhagerutty to Moorshedabad, where we stop to pay our respects to the Nawab, and to the celebrated Munny Begum. We must make room for a short extract about the latter personage, it is said:—

"She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Meer Jaffier's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years ago. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence, and the boys (her adopted sons) were handsomely dressed. Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous. She owns to sixty-eight years of age. Mrs. Pattle, who has seen her, informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. In this description, who would trace the celebrated nautch-girl of Mr. Burke? * * * During the whole of our stay two minahs were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said and praised their talents. Her *hookah* filled up the intervals."

These last little details are very graphic and clever, and remind us of similar artistic touches in the diary of Haydon, the painter.

By the 7th of October, Lord Valentia had reached Calcutta, and in two months started again for Ceylon, and although from thence he visited Madras, and after an intermediate voyage to the Red Sea, travelled for three months on the Bombay side, and in the accounts of both Presidencies the Indian reader will find much to amuse him, still as our object is only to follow the traveller as far as is necessary to obtain a fair view of his qualifications, we shall here take leave of him, extracting only further a few illustrations of Calcutta life in 1803, before we give a summary of what appear to us his merits and what his deficiencies.

Of the salubrity of Calcutta, Lord Valentia writes :—

> "The place is certainly less unhealthy than formerly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks in the streets, and the clearing more and more of the jungle; but in my opinion it is much more owing to an improved knowledge of the diseases of the country, and of the precautions to be taken against them; and likewise to greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors, and a superior construction of the houses. Consumptions are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute in great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

He was much pleased with the society of Calcutta; fetes and receptions were numerous and well arranged: he objects to the dinner parties, that they are too large, and is sorry to find the Subscription Assembly a failure from the number of parties into which the fashionable world is divided, but the convivial hospitality which prevails generally, meets with his warm approval. Habits appear to have been nearly the same as now, except that tiffin was much earlier, he says :—

> "It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant, before sun-rise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call tiffing, and then generally to bed for two or three hours.' The dinner hour is commonly between seven and eight, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight, or later."

He approves of the *cuisine* and informs us "the wines chiefly drank are Madeira and Claret; the former which is excellent, during the meal; the latter, afterwards. The Claret being medicated for the voyage, too strong, and has little flavour."

Palanquins were of course more in general use than in our days, but we hear "most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate the horses, of which the breed is much improved of late years." Free and easy costume was, it appears, going out of fashion, for, we are told, though white jackets had been formerly worn on all occasions, they were thought too much undress for public occasions, and were being laid aside for English cloth.

There were no races in those times at Calcutta itself, Lord Wellesley setting his face very decidedly against them, but the lovers of sport managed to evade viceregal objections, for we learn "at the end of November 1803, there were three days' races at a small distance from Calcutta. Very large sums were betted, and, of course," it is added duly enough "were lost by the inexperienced."

We shall now, we think, have no great difficulty in forming a correct opinion of the value of Lord Valentia's book.

In some respects, it cannot be denied, he possessed qualifications eminently fitting him for a successful traveller. He was a close and correct observer, he had a singular facility of catching the point and appreciating the spirit of what he saw, and considering the short time he was in the country, it is astonishing how at home he appears to be on most of the current Indian subjects of the day. He records, comparatively speaking, but little of what he heard, but he exhibits, when he does do so, a talent for distinguishing between what is valuable information and what the reverse. And he has another talent, which is of the greatest service to the traveller; a faculty of discerning the person most likely to give correct information on any particular point. He buys a zodiac mohur at Benares, one of a class erroneously supposed by Tavernier and others to have been coined in one day by the Begum Nur Jehan. Doubtless there were plenty of people ready to read him the inscription on the medal, and offer their opinions as to the origin of its distinctive signs, but Lord Valentia keeps it quietly by him, till he meets Major Gore Ouseley, and then rightly judging him to be a person likely to know, records his description of it at full length.

Add to the qualifications we have mentioned, that he seems to have possessed lively manners, great curiosity, and a *bonhommie* that relished amusement of every sort, and, in a literary point of view, that he wrote plainly indeed, but always easily, and sometimes with considerable graphic power, and we have clearly a traveller considerably above the average of the herd that deluge the reading public of our days with their meagre diaries, and their chronicles of wanderings at once without interest or purpose.

The deficiencies of the traveller are those of the mass, and therefore, though in our opinion grievous and damnatory, not such as any previous preparation would have been likely to supply. The fault of the book is, that it is written by a nobleman with the stereotyped views of social philosophy and politics common to his class in George the Third's reign. What shall we think of a traveller who goes to a country and tells us hardly anything of the people, appears to have made but few inquiries about their ways and habits, never to have entered their villages or dwellings, or felt any curiosity as to how the myriads around him were pulling through the different crises of the " fever called living."

If the people form picturesque groups, he notices them : if they industriously till the ground, he is glad to see the *country* so prosperous. As for the masses being aggregated units, that does not occur to him, or enter in any way into his philosophy. Not that he shirks questions connected with the people ; on the subject of missions, for instance, he is very earnest, thinks they should be put down as likely to shock prejudices and do no sort of good : does not, however, object to the circulation of the scriptures, but thinks keeping up the established church on a grander scale would have a good effect on the imaginations of the populace. And the Established Church being in his view one of the great institutions, like the British nobility, and so on, he is of course favourable to its full introduction into the dependencies. Indeed, he would like the whole Government to be carried on in a more impressive way, as likely to have a melodramatic influence on the subjects ; " I wish," he says, " India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting house : with the ideas of a prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo." Here then is the rub : sound opinions on many public measures, intelligent insight into what may be called physical politics, general common-sense and clean-handedness we can obtain from this man, but further than this we must not seek. As far as a British nobleman of the period was likely to be a valuable traveller, he was one : but unfortunately what we consider the higer qualifications will be sought for in vain, because they neither exist in the man nor is he conscious of their existence anywhere. We are no enemies of the aristocracy : we do not think their days are numbered, or wish such to be the case : on the contrary, we believe a new and noble career of usefulness to be but just opening before them. But several times, as we have been perusing this book of travels, we delighted to think that the aristocratical notions of those days have been exploded, and shall trouble our times no more. That old *ab extra* way of treating the people, that old notion that Government was strong and prosperous if you did not *hear* of the masses ; that cheerful old political philosophy that considered the governing classes the State, and the governed classes only just—the country !* Gone, gone—all of this—to the "tomb of the Capulets !"—Poor Lord Valentia and his British nobility ! We note, far more in sadness than with any other feeling, that he outlived his two sons, that the Mount-Norris peerage to which he succeeded in 1816 became extinct on his death in 1844, and that the title of Valentia has passed to quite a distant branch of the family. No mark left of him, but the "unwelcome cypress !"

It is now time we should turn to Bishop Heber : and with his journal we shall adopt a different method of criticism, both on account of its great length, and also that the public are now far more familiar with its contents than with those of the older work. We shall first state the opinion which a familiarity with his character and writings, and a recent careful perusal of the journal itself, have enabled us to form of Bishop Heber as a traveller, and we shall then endeavour to justify and corroborate our estimate by illustrative extracts. It may first, however, be desirable to recall to the mind of the reader, in briefest outline, the chief events in Heber's career as well as the circumstances which produced the book under notice.

Reginald Heber was the son of a Cheshire clergyman,—percocious in infancy as is testified by his having translated "Phædrus" when he was seven years old, and distinguished in youth at Oxford by his "Palestine," a prize-poem of which it is surely high praise to say that it is still extant :—for a fossil prize-poem is, we believe, unique. After leaving the University, he entered the Church, but not before he had performed a tour in Germany, Russia and the Crimea, which the readers of his Indian Journal have constant reason to regret, for it supplied him with certainly the strangest stock of geographical analogies that were ever committed to paper. Upon settling as a married man, at his family living of Hodnet, he commingled the duties of a parish minister with those of an industrious man of letters. His contributions to the "Quarterly Review" were very frequent ;—both on literary and political topics. Those on the latter were emasculated by the candour and gentleness of his nature ; for Toryism, in those days, without violence and irrationality, was considered a very rose-water kind of creed, and such portions of his articles on literature as still exist, will be found in the notes to Byron's Works, where the immortality they sought to stifle still lends them a precarious tenure of life. Poems and Hymns, too, are yet extant, published by him in his Hodnet days, all of them evincing considerable powers of versification, exquisite taste and gentle, fervid piety. Nor were "Bampton Lectures" wanting, which may still, perhaps, be found in Theological Museums; and finally appeared an edition of Jeremy Taylor's Works, which for many years was, we believe, esteemed the standard one. In 1822, he was appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and shortly afterwards, through the influence of his friend Mr. Wynn, then President of the Board of Control, was offered the Bishopric of Calcutta which, after two refusals, he finally accepted, and started for India in June 1823. In the same month of the next year, he left Calcutta for the North-Western Provinces, on a Visitation Tour. This extended from Dacca to Almora, to Delhi, to Agra, to Ajmere, to Bombay, to Ceylon, and so home. Early in 1826 a second tour was commenced in the Madras Presidency, but this was cut short on the 3rd of April, at Trichinopoly, where, after holding a confirmation in the morning, the Bishop retired to a cold bath, in which he was found dead about half-an-hour afterwards. It was known that he had kept journals, the whole time of his residence in India, and it was also known that he had intended either to publish them, or a book founded upon their materials; on the occurrence of his death, therefore, his widow thought she was justified in giving them to the public, and their subsequent popularity has shown that she did not over-estimate the interest they were calculated to excite.

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* "Gone—not, we think, for India." Mr. George Campbell may say,—the advocate of a healthy despotism—whatever that may be. But a wiser than he, the present Governor of Bengal, has recorded, in his evidence before the House of Commons, that the best of Indian Legislators have agreed that "self-legislation," is the End to be aimed at in modern Indian measures, come what may.

The fact, however, that the work was posthumous, that statements might have been modified, and inaccuracies corrected, had the author lived to publish it himself, cannot be received as any legitimate deprecation of criticism. We can only judge of books as we find them: they form their influence on public opinion solely by what they are, and in no sort of way by what they might have been: rightly, therefore, should they, in the same manner, be weighed and estimated. In proceeding, however, to examine calmly, and we trust quite fairly, what qualifications Bishop Heber possessed as a traveller, we feel and are glad to express, that he deserves every respect which is compatible with candour.

Perhaps a more humble character never existed: gentle, graceful, holy—it would indeed be difficult to conceive a nature more calculated to command esteem. In the tender atmosphere he breathed around him, zeal lost its coarse, polemical features: dogmatism relaxed into firm but considerate principle, and religion herself became only more attractive and influential from her genial association with social and literary graces. Few men ever died more regretted: few men ever led a life more calculated to rob death of its terrors: he left an unsullied name, and his actions still smell sweet and blossom from the dust. And with this tribute to his memory we will proceed to our task.

There is certainly no want of human sympathy in Bishop Heber: the deficiencies we remarked in this respect in Lord Valentia, cannot, with any shew of justice, be charged against him. The delicate sensitiveness to human joy and human suffering, the warm fellow-feeling he always entertained towards the roughest sketch of man, the interest with which he viewed the rudest and frailest human cockle-boat battling with the driving winds and grey waves of life, knowing that in common with the trimmest and noblest bark, it, too, was formed for eternity and freighted with a deathless soul: these traits of character constantly exhibited, form to our minds the great charm of the journal. As the subject, too, which chiefly attract a man's attention are those which he has generally the most facility in describing, we find that all the little sketches of character are admirably done, and though the colors are soft and the hues tender, still there is a vitality in the portraiture which stamps the master hand. And although his natural disposition prompted him to throw a *couleur de rose* over people's conduct and motives, still his eye for human subjects was too correct to allow of his missing the frailties and foibles which constantly presented themselves, and he accordingly reproduces them, with a certain quaint simplicity, which, however it may indicate a perception of the darker side of our nature, seemed quite unable to preserve him from becoming the dupe of imposture and design. But correct as his eye was in the perception of traits of character, and ready as was his pen in seizing the tangible points which would give life and reality to the human figures he introduced in his pages, both eye and pen seemed to fail when he came to describe natural scenery, the physical features of a country, or to bring up before the mind's eye the streets and shrines of cities, or the ruins of the magnificence of other days. In the first place, he was a loose and inaccurate observer of these matters, and in the second, he made the fatal mistake of supposing that he could adequately describe them by putting down the vague and unconnected associations they awoke in his own mind. The consequence is, that his journal is not only disfigured by gross inaccuracies in local description, but rendered in places absolutely farcical and ridiculous by imagined resemblances between scenes, upon which both nature and art have set the seal of absolute dissimilarity. Almost every river, hill and town in India is declared to remind the author of some other river, hill and town in either Sweden, Cheshire or the Crimea: in many instances no sort of reason being given for the association, so that as far as description goes, we are as wise as before, and in others, the points of resemblance specified being such as the most moderate knowledge of geography enables the reader to reject as untrustworthy. Another gross defect he has as a describer, and this applies to institutions as well as physical scenes, is, a habit of constantly using technical terms in a strained and unallowable sense, in the attempt to avoid the difficulties of detail. For instance, in mentioning the ruins of an old bridge near Dacca he says, "it is a very beautiful specimen of the richest Tudor Gothic." Surely such a description as this, far from really assisting the reader, can only serve to indicate in the writer a most superficial knowledge of both Eastern and Western architecture. But two far graver deficiencies remain. Least of any traveller whose work we ever perused does he possess the talent of discerning between sound and worthless information, and between trustworthy informants and the opposite, and this failing, added to a very remarkable thirst for information, and a habit of constantly recording what he heard, has introduced into his pages a mass of statements, the value of which is perfectly unequal: some being sound and sensible and worth retaining, others again precisely the contrary, unsound, deficient in sense, and to be retained only as calculated to refresh the judicious reader, at intervals, with an allowable laugh. The other remarkable deficiency is, his incapacity for understanding anything in the Indian social or political system for which he cannot find a counterpart in the English system: there is really hardly a public question, measure or institution which he does not either hopelessly misunderstand, or if he does get a glimpse of its nature, it is through the aid of some English matter, to which it bears only a forced and incomplete analogy. We shall now illustrate what we have said of Bishop Heber, by extracts from his journal. And as it will be pleasanter to dwell on his best points last, we will corroborate our statement of qualifications and deficiencies in the reverse order to that in which we have mentioned them. First, then, for his general misapprehension of public matters. Let us hear him on the judicial system as it exists in Calcutta.

> "The Mahratta Ditch is the boundary of the liberties of Calcutta, and of English law. All offences committed within this line are tried by the "Sudder Adawlut" or Supreme Court of Justice; those beyond fall, in the first instance, within the cognizance of the local magistracy, and in case of appeal are determined by the "Sudder Dewanee," or Court of the people in Chowringhee, whose proceedings are guided by the Koran and the laws of Menu."

We need not point out, surely, to the reader that there is here a confusion between the Supreme Court and the Nizamut, a confusion between Criminal and Civil Courts, an utter mis-statement about the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and an utter mis-statement about the nature of the law of the Sudder Dewanee. And this is not noticing the perfectly unmeaning expression of the " Court of the people."

Now we will try the permanent settlement. A great deal has been written about this matter, and much discussion has from time to time been raised as to the merits and demerits of the measure, inclining of later years more exclusively to the side of condemnation. It might, however, in Bishop Heber's time have had the difficulties of a *vexata quæstio*, and erroneous conclusions would have been excusable. But how can we excuse an entire incapability of understanding what the settlement was, what sort of people it was concluded with, or how its being a permanent one made it differ from any other. "The free or copy holders," he writes, "have been decidedly sufferers under Lord Cornwallis's settlement, as have also been a very useful description of people, the " Thannadars " or native agents of police, whose " jaghires " or rent-free lands, which were their ancient and legal provision all over India, were forgotten and therefore seized by the zemindars, while the people themselves became dependent on the charity of the magistrate."

This passage is really a choice *morceau*, and would, uncommented upon, afford appropriate amusement to the initiated reader, but should any one not conversant with Indian matters peruse these pages, we may as well mention that it is a tissue of absurdities. It so happens that every description of Jageerdar was most unjustly benefited in an indirect way by the permanent settlement, in a direct way, of course, having nothing to do with it. For though no settlement could obviously, be made with Jageerdars, yet the principles enunciated at the time of the permanent settlement, caused them to be considered absolute proprietors, free from payment of revenue, though in many cases they had previously only been assignees of the Government demand. More than this, Lord Cornwallis positively exempted them from the necessity of showing that their tenures were valid. With regard to the destitute Thanadars, it will be enough to say that the entire management of the police passed into the hands of Government in 1792, and that the permanent settlement took place in 1793; at the time, therefore, of its promulgation the Thanadars had just begun to receive fixed salaries from the Government, and had they ever received landed stipends, it would of course have been expected that they should relinquish them: but the circumstance is wholly imaginary. Revenue always led the good Bishop into immediate confusion: he mentions in the part of his journal kept in Oude, that one of the most desirable measures for the benefit of the people, which had been attempted was "a regular system of Zemindaree Collectors for the taxes," which is just one of those expressions which indicate that he had been correctly informed, and had made a note in his common-place book, without understanding what he had heard. At Patna, the sight of an absurd old tower which had been built years before for holding rice, to save the people from possible famine, and which Lord Valentia had ridiculed in 1803, leads the Bishop into a dissertation on the advantages of preventing scarcity by such sensible means. These ideas, even at the time he wrote, must have been some thirty or forty years behind the political economy of the day. But it is unnecessary multiplying instances to prove, what must be obvious to every candid reader, that the turn of Heber's mind was not the least in the direction of "affairs," and that, however it may suit the views of unprincipled political writers to claim the sanction of his name for their own crude and ill-considered diatribes, his journal, as an authority on public questions, is absolutely valueless. We will just mention one circumstance to our mind, conclusively illustrative of how foreign to the natural tendencies of his mind public matters of any kind were. The Bishop landed in Calcutta in October 1823. Shortly after his arrival, great alarm was felt throughout Bengal at the hostile attitude of the Burmese. In January 1824 they marched into Sylhet, and in May of the same year our armament, under Sir Archibald Campbell, occupied Rangoon. During the whole of this period, although the Journal chronicles the most trifling personal details, there is not one single allusion to these events. This circumstance, surely, speaks for itself.

But we must proceed to notice his want of judgment in testing the truth of information, and the trustworthiness of his informers.

Returning on one occasion from Tittyghur, the Bishop gives his sircar a seat in the carriage, and as he considers him a shrewd fellow and well-informed, an interesting conversation ensues. They pass one of the common village cars of Juggernath. "That," said the sircar smiling, "is our god's carriage, we keep it on the main road, because it is too heavy for the lanes of the neighbouring village. It is a fine sight to see the people from all the neighbourhood come together to draw it, when the statue is put in on solemn days." I asked what god it belonged to, and was answered "Brahma."

Now it is easy to see why the shrewd sircar gave this answer; he thought it rationalistic and advanced to mention a god whom he knew the English associated rather more with the Supreme Being, than any of his other gods, but surely it is strange the Bishop should believe him, when Juggernath's car is a household word in every European language. The shrewd sircar afterwards told him a large house they passed was the residence of the "Nawab of Chitpore." "Of this potentate" Heber adds with charming simplicity "I had not heard before." The title is an equivalent to that of the "Mayor of Garrett," and it is plain our sircar was in his quiet way a humourist.

On another occasion the Bishop fell in with a horde of "Kunjurs" who were encamped, as their wont is, in little dirty tents, with their goats and ponies. Their appearance attracted his notice, and a native Christian present, named Abdullah, who had travelled a good deal, observing his curiosity, proceeded to romance in a very distressing fashion about Gypsies in general. Abdullah declared that these "Kunjurs" were exactly the Gypsies of England, that he had seen the same people in Persia and Russia, and that in Persia they spoke Hindoostanee the same as in India. He further added a theory of his own, that before Peter the Great's time all Russians were much like Gypsies. Taking this information for a sound and satisfactory basis, the Bishop proceeds with the stately march of historical philosophy. "It therefore follows that these tribes, whose existence in Persia seems to be traced down from before the time of Cyrus, &c., &c., &c." We are much afraid this same Abdullah had something to do with the celebrated "turtle soup." It is better known in India that Bishop Heber once eat a "Kuchooa" than that he edited Jeremy Taylor. Abdullah was on board the boat at the time, and as it was evidently a favorite pastime of his to impose upon his master's credulity, we fear the circumstantial evidence is strong, that he either suggested, or at least was consenting to the preparation of the tortoise. As we believe there is no other account extant of the flavor of the "Kuchooa," we must make room for the following extract: "There was not much green fat, but what there was, was extremely sweet and good, without the least fishy taste, and the lean very juicy, well flavored meat, not unlike veal."

The habit of putting everything down, without reference to its value, leads, as might be expected, to very contradictory entries. On the authority of one gentleman, it is stated, "as there is among India cottagers no seclusion of women, both sexes sit together round their evening lamps in very cheerful conversation, and employ themselves either in weaving, spinning, cookery or in playing at a kind of dominos." On the authority of another informant it is remarked that one of the worst contingencies of Suttee was, that as it was not necessary for the wife to burn with the *body* of her husband, any ill conditioned son might murder his mother under pretence that his father was dead, and that, as not the slightest notice was taken of a female's death, no troublesome questions would be asked. Now, whether the evening conversations around the social lamp of families where such very serious domestic events were in the habit of occurring, would be likely to be cheerful, we may reasonably pause to doubt. But if Heber was a careless inquirer, so also it must be admitted, he was on occasions a careless describer and a clumsy observer. We have remarked on his use of technical terms in an inaccurate sense, to save the trouble of definition. Thus a tehsildar is called a "tacksman": a maafeedar a "copyholder," aumils are "fermiers publics," old buildings are all "Gothic," and modern ones all "Grecian," a sowar is a "janissary" and his chupkun a "caftan." Now the worst of these forced synonyms is by no means their slovenliness, though that is bad enough ; in many instances they are positively incorrect, and in the rest they mislead by introducing associations which are entirely out of place. The history of all archæologies is full of warnings against these careless adaptations. It is impossible to say how long Niebuhr's discovery of the true character of "plebs" and "populus" may not have been retarded by the slipshod nomenclature that rendered them both "the people."

But the strongest peculiarity in Heber's descriptions is the alleged perception of similarity between Indian places and places he had seen in former journeys or had read about in books. These resemblances are introduced so frequently that at last they become quite humourous, and produce a laugh as readily as those iterations in old comedies, "what will Mrs. Grundy say?" and the like, which prove in the end, irresistible from simple recurrence. We will give merely a specimen of them. The Hooghly is said to be like the Don, and Kedgeree like "Oxai, the residence of the Hetman Platoff." Chowringhee from Kidderpore was thought to resemble Connaught Place from Hyde Park. The Botanical Garden brought up Milton's Paradise more than any place the Bishop could remember. A pagoda near Barrackpore is stated to resemble Chester Castle. A house at Chandernagore called to mind Moreton Corbet in Shropshire. Some old ruins on the bank of one of the branches of the Ganges, Heber thought like the upper part of the city of Coffer, but a gentleman who was with him declared *he* was reminded of the baths of Caracalla. Most rivers are said to be more or less like the Dee, and the towns have a curious virtue in common, of calling up Chester, except Dacca, which is said to be exactly like Moscow.

But let us conclude the list with a climax. The Bishop lands at Bogwangola and takes a stroll : he is in a sentimental mood and writes some very pretty verses commencing, "If thou wert by my side, my love!" altogether enjoys himself exceedingly, and feels called upon to record on returning, that the whole scene was more like a "Fiatookah" in "Tongataboo" than anything he could think of.

We give the page of this: it is p. 113, vol. I. of the edition named at the head of our article: let those who disbelieve that a man of education, not intending to be comic, could write such nonsense, satisfy themselves by a reference. It is hardly necessary to remark that these supposed resemblances are the idlest whims, apparently, felt by the author, on occasions, to be merely such,—for at Lucknow, for instance, he writes that the Imambara reminded him of the Earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire, *but perhaps more of the Kremlin.* One might really suppose that Dickens had this idiosyncracy of the Bishop's in mind, when he drew the character of Mr. Nickleby.

Nor can we allow Heber to have been at all a good observer of nature or art. In going carefully over his descriptions of places familiar to ourselves, we do not find them vividly recalled to us. Those artistic little touches of outline and color which give truth and vitality, and produce real resemblance appear to us to be wanting. We will cite a few examples from scenes, which will be likely to be best known to our readers, and have been rendered familiar by repeated descriptions even to fire-side travellers,—we mean those in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Agra. Take the Bishop's picture of the Jumma Musjid at the former city.

> "In front it has a large square court surrounded by a cloister open on both sides, and commanding a view of the whole city, which is entered by these gates with a fine flight of steps to each. In the centre is a great marble reservior of water, with some small fountains, supplied by machinery from the canal. The whole court is paved with granite inlaid with marble. On its west side, and rising up another flight of steps is the mosque itself, which is entered by three noble Gothic arches, surmounted by three domes of white marble. It has at each end a very tall minaret. The ornaments are less florid, and the building less picturesque, than the splendid group of the Imambara and its accompaniments at Lucknow; but the situation is far more commanding, and the size, the solidity and rich materials of this building, impressed me more than anything of the sort which I have seen in India."

Now, not to mention minor mistakes, there is to our mind in this description a great deficiency. Ninteen people out of twenty, if the recollection of the Delhi Jumma Musjid were even just fading from their minds, would be able to recal that it was a *red* and *white* one. And yet this striking feature in its appearance, the contrast of the sandstone and the marble, is not noticed at all, and there would be no real verisimilitude in the idea formed in the reader's mind, had he only this description to guide him.

A great number of subsequent travellers have been misled by the following passage in reference to the inlaid work in one of the palace rooms at Delhi. "It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, lapis-lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labor of an artist of that country." From this sentence a verdict hath gone forth that the inlaid work at Agra and Delhi was executed by Italian artists. Bishop Heber has said so, and it is so. Now whether Italians did or did not execute the exquisite work in question is a point to be decided—like other points of antiquarian interest—by evidence. But that the *flowers* evidence the Italian origin of the work we entirely deny: the flowers are almost exclusively *imaginary* flowers, and unless similar forms can be found in any pieces of Italian workmanship, which no one has yet shown, the flowers, as far as their evidence is worth anything, testify to the native origin of the work. But the Bishop's inaccurate eye only saw flowers, and as he recollected that Italian artists *did* execute flowers, and here were also flowers,—why, that was of course proof irrefragible that the Delhi work was by Italians. Of the Kootub Minar it is remarked that there is a very tolerable description of it in "Hamilton's Gazetteer." There are said to be near it granite pillars, which have no existence in reality, there being no remains whatever in granite near the spot: altogether the account is wholly unsatisfactory. Not a suspicion should we glean from it of those traces of Jain architecture, which serve to complicate the history of the whole place, and are the especial delight of the local archæologists. Nor shall we fare much better at Agra.

The account of the Taj is incorrect and quite deficient in warmth and feeling. "The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material." This is not the least the case: the terrace of white and yellow marble is *not* the one on which the building itself stands, and the "four tall minarets at its angles" would give the idea that the Taj was a four-cornered building, which any one who has seen a wood-cut of it will remember is not the fact. The tomb again is by no means, as stated, that of Noor Jehan, nor was Noor Jehan, as is also stated with equal confidence and inaccuracy, the wife of Shah Jehan. The lady buried there was named the Begum Moomtaz Mahul, and Noor Jehan, we have always thought, was the mistress of Jehan Geer. The *inscriptions* on the Taj are stated to be executed in "beautiful Mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli and jasper": which is not in a single instance the case.

Lastly, a *coq-à-l'âne* story is told about a bridge to have been built across the Jumna, for which there is no sort of foundation, historical, antiquarian, physical or other, and which has been copied into every traveller's note-book since, generally with the addition that the ruins on the opposite bank are the incomplete remains of Shah Jehan's tomb. We can only forgive all this romance, on the score that it produced the pretty saying of a recent American traveller that "what Fate had permitted to Love, it denied to Vanity."

If we proceed to Futtehpore Sikri, alas! we shall find our guide but little more trustworthy. There we meet with the gateway of the Tomb described as "a fine arch surmounted by a lofty tower," but the tower is an "airy nothing" which has only obtained a "local habitation" from the munificence of the Bishop's imagination, and will not be found there by the most exploring stranger. Next the "simple character" of the interior of the mosque is remarked upon. But Bayard Taylor, who was recently from Spain, where he visited it, declares that its extreme elaboration reminded him more of the Alhambra—than anything he had seen in India. And how can we explain the absence of any notice of the screen-windows in the tomb itself, without exception the most lovely works of art, of their kind, now existing?

Shall we confess that we fear the traveller who thought the minarets one of the great blemishes of the Taj, was a little deficient in taste. But we have said more than enough, perhaps, of censure, and we gladly turn to what has a just claim on our admiration, concluding the harsher part of our criticism with noticing that the editing of the book is sadly slovenly, and that to correct all the misprints of even the latest edition would be, as Coleridge said of a similar task, "a hecatomb to Jupiter Augæus."

And now before making a few extracts that we much admire, we would say generally that the style of the whole book is everything that could be desired: the English is always easy, flowing and interesting:—the English of the scholar and a gentleman, flashing occasionally into epigram, and rising softly, at other times, into fervor and poetry.

Even before reaching Calcutta, and whilst yet on the river, the great interest Bishop Heber felt in the doings of humanity, led him to visit a village on the bank. "As we approached" he writes:—

> "A number of men and boys came out to meet us, all naked except the *cummerbund*, with very graceful figures, and distinguished by a mildness of countenance almost approaching to effeminacy. They regarded us with curiosity, and the children crowded round with great familiarity. The objects which surrounded us were of more than common beauty and interest; the village, a collection of mud-walled cottages, thatched, and many of them covered with a creeping plant bearing a beautiful broad leaf, of the gourd species, stood irregularly

scattered in the midst of a wood of cocoa-palms, fruit and other trees, among which the banyan was very conspicuous and beautiful; we were cautioned against attempting to enter the houses, as such a measure gives much offence. Some of the natives, however, came up and offered to show us the way to the pagoda, "the Temple," they said, "of Mahadev." We followed them through the beautiful grove which overshadowed their dwellings, by a winding and narrow path; the way was longer than we expected, and it was growing dusk; we persevered, however, and arrived in front of a small building with three apertures in front, resembling lancet windows of the age of Henry the Second. A flight of steps led up to it, in which the Brahmin of the place was waiting to receive us,—an elderly man, naked like his flock, but distinguished by a narrow band of cotton twist thrown two or three times doubled across his right shoulder and breast, which is a mark of distinction, worn, I understand, by all Brahmins; a fine boy with a similar badge, stood near him, and another man, with the addition of a white turban, came up and said he was a "police-walla." The occurrence of this European word in a scene so purely oriental had a whimsical effect. It was not, however, the only one which we heard, for the Brahmin announced himself to us as the "Padre" of the village, a name which they have originally learnt from the Portuguese, but which is now applied to religious persons of all descriptions all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century. The village we were now in, I was told, had probably been very seldom visited by Europeans, since few persons stop on the shore of the Ganges between Diamond Harbour and Fulta. Few of the inhabitants spoke Hindoostanee. Mr. Mill tried the Brahmin in Sanscrit, but found him very ignorant; he, indeed, owned it himself, and said in excuse, they were poor people. I greatly regretted I had no means of drawing a scene so beautiful and interesting. I never recollect having more powerfully felt the beauty of similar objects. The green-house like smell and temperature of the atmosphere which surrounded us, the exotic appearance of the plants and of the people, the verdure of the fields, the dark shadows of the trees, and the exuberant and neglected vigor of the soil, teeming with life and food, neglected, as it were, out of pure abundance, would have been striking under any circumstances; they were still more so to persons just landed from a three months' voyage; and to me, when associated with the recollection of the objects which have brought me out to India, the amiable manners and countenances of the people, contrasted with the symbols of their foolish and polluted idolatry now first before me, impressed me with a very solemn and earnest wish that I might in some degree, however small, be enabled to conduce to the spiritual advantage of creatures, so goodly, so gentle, and now so misled and blinded. 'Angeli forent si essent Christiani.'"

The following little anecdote related by the Bishop of himself pleases us exceedingly: it must be premised that the good prelate was mounted on "a hot and obstinate Java poney" which we have no doubt gave him a good deal of trouble when the little *gamin* of Benares would insist upon his stopping:—

> "Nothing remarkable occurred during my ride in Benares this morning, excepting the conduct of a little boy, a student in the Vidalaya, who ran after me in the street, and, with hands joined, said that I "had not heard him his lesson yesterday, but he could say it very well to-day if I would let him." I accordingly stopped my horse, and sate with great patience while he chanted a long stave of Sanscrit. I repeated at proper pauses, "good," "good," which satisfied him so much that when he had finished, he called out "again," and was beginning a second stave, when I dismissed him with a present, on which he fumbled in his mouth for some red flowers, which he gave me, and ran by my side, still talking on till the crowd separated us. While he was speaking or singing, for I hardly know which to call it, the people round applauded him very much, and from the way in which they seemed to apply the verses to me, I suspect that it was a complimentary address which he had been instructed to deliver the day before, but had missed his opportunity. If so, I am glad he de did not lose his labour; but the few words which, from their occurrence in Hindoostanee, I understood, did not at all help me to his meaning."

If we possessed an Indian Frith, would he not almost select this scene—the mild and benevolent pastor—the impudent little urchin spouting his task—the gaping crowd surrounding them both—as a fitting subject for his genial canvas.

Here is an exquisite passage recorded at Chunar. The writer is speaking of the invalids stationed at that place:—

> "Some of the Europeans are very old; there is one who fought with Clive, and has still no infirmity, but deafness and dim sight. The majority, however, are men still hardly advanced beyond youth, early victims of a devouring climate, assisted, perhaps, by carelessness and intemperance; and it was a pitiable spectacle to see the white emaciated hands thrust out under a soldier's sleeve to receive the sacrament, and the pale cheeks, and tall languid figures of men, who, if they had remained in Europe, would have been still overflowing with youthful vigour and vivacity, the best ploughmen, the strongest wrestlers, and the merriest dancers of the village."

We must make room for two portraits before we conclude our extracts. The first is of an Indian pilgrim, one whom Wordsworth, had he seen him, would have delighted to depict. The scene was near a small bungalow, one stage from Almorah:—

> "During the afternoon and soon after I had finished my early dinner, a very fine, cheerful old man, with staff and wallet, walked up and took his place by one of the fires. He announced himself as a pilgrim to Bhadrinath, and said he had previously visited a holy place in Lahore, whose name I could not make out, and was last returned from Juggernath and Calcutta, whence he had intended to visit the

Burman territories, but was prevented by the war. He was a native of Oude, but hoped, he said, before he fixed himself again at home to see Bombay and Poona. I asked him what made him undertake such long journeys? He said he had had a good and affectionate son, a Havildar in the Company's service, who always sent him money, and had once or twice come to see him. Two years back he died, and left him sixteen gold mohurs, but since that time, he said, he could settle to nothing, and at length he had determined to go to all the most holy spots he had heard of, and travel over the world till his melancholy legacy was exhausted. I told him I would pay the Goomashta for his dinner that day, on which he thanked me and said, 'so many great men had shown him the same kindness, that he was not yet in want, and had never been obliged to ask for anything.' He was very curious to know who I was, with so many guards and servants in such a place; and the name of "Lord Padre" was as usual, a great puzzle to him. He gave a very copious account of his travels, the greater part of which I understood pretty well, and he was much pleased by the interest which I took in his adventures. He remarked that Hindustan was the finest country and the most plentiful he had seen. Next to that he spoke well of Sinde, where he said things were still cheaper, but the water not so good. Lahore, Bengal and Orissa, none of them were favourites, nor did he speak well of Kemaoon. It might for all he knew, he said, be healthy, but what was that to him, who was never ill anywhere, so he could get bread and water? There was something flighty in his manner, but, on the whole, he was a fine old pilgrim, and one well suited to

"Repay with many a tale the nightly bed."

A nightly bed, indeed, I had not to offer him, but he had as comfortable a berth by the fire as the sepoys could make him, and I heard his loud cheerful voice telling stories after his mess of rice and ghee, till I myself dropped asleep."

The other portrait is of a Ghorka boy who brought the Bishop some fish, when he was in the hills:—

"The history of the poor lad who brought the fish was not without interest: he was the son of an officer of the Ghorkas, who, during their occupation of the country, had been Jemahdar of Havilbagh, and had been killed fighting against the English. This boy had been since maintained, as he himself said, chiefly by snaring birds, catching fish, and gathering berries, being indebted for his clothes only, which were decent though coarse, to his mother, and the charity of different neighbours who had pity on him as a sort of gentleman in distress. He had his forehead marked with chalk and vermilion to prove his high caste, had a little Ghorka knife, a silver clasp and chain, and a silver bracelet on his arm, with a resolute and independent though grave demeanour, not ill-suited to his character. His tools of trade and livelihood were a bow and a fishing-rod, both of the rudest kind. He seemed about sixteen, but was broad set, and short of his age. His ambition was now to be a Sepoy, and he was very earnest with Sir R. Colquhoun to admit him into his corps. He said he should like much to do it, but doubted his height. He, however, told him to meet him at Havelbagh on his return, and he would see what could be done for him. Meantime we paid him liberally for his fish, and encouraged him to bring us another basket next day at Dikkalee. He said, at first, he feared the fishermen of that place would beat him, but after a moment's recollection, added, 'let them do it if they dare; if I have your orders I will tell them so!' He was no uninteresting specimen of a forester born and bred—one who from his tenderest years had depended on his 'wood craft' for a dinner, and had been used to hear the stags bray and the tigers growl round the fires of his bivouac."

With these extracts, which, in our judgment, exhibit his best powers, and display the most pleasing features of his style, we must close our notice of Heber.

It is not difficult, we think, rightly to estimate the value of the Bishop's Journal. As a companion for the fireside at home, or the sofa out here, it will always be found an entertaining narrative, charmingly written, full of human interest and human sympathy, and in every sense of the word eminently readable. The general panoramic view of India, conveyed in its pages, may be considered as tolerably correct, but in details it is grossly erroneous, and any separate portion viewed by itself will be found deficient in verisimilitude and local coloring. To lower the work into a chatty, cheerful, anecdotical diary is really only to place it in the category where its real merits will be most discussed : to attempt to sustain it as a grave authority on social, political or antiquarian topics is to call attention to its most prominent defects, and to subjects its author to the severe castigation he would justly have deserved had he intended his journal to be recevied as a book of such a description. We know that the journal was written, as we now possess it, chiefly for the eye of the Bishop's own family, and though this fact, as we have already said, cannot be received as an excuse for its inaccuracies, it does acquit the writer wholly of the charge of offering himself as an authority on many subjects with which he was only partially acquainted, and on some of which he was radically ignorant. To the foolish admiration of his readers and critics alone does Bishop Heber owe the elevated rank he is so unfitted to fill: we would desire to brighten his reputation and to increase his chance of becoming a standard writer, by placing him in that more appropriate, albeit lower sphere, in which he really is calculated to shine. No book ultimately survives on a false reputation, (for time is the true critic), and this journal has, at present, to fear the danger of disappearing altogether when discovered not to be, what it has pretended, or to speak more justly, *been* pretended to be. We wish for it a better fate.

The increased facilities of reaching India, as well as of moving about in India when it is reached, have brought us many visitors, but they have not brought us yet any one very capable of describing the visit. We have remarked that India is not rich in travels, and those she has recently added to her catalogue are not much calculated to embellish her scanty store. The earnestness of Von Orlich and the vivacity of Bayard Taylor claim exemption for them from the general censure. The former, we understand, still retains a deep interest in this country, and has recently drawn up a paper on the Punjab, embodying an account of all the "latest improvements." Bayard Taylor has a quick and correct eye, and though he has given publicity to some gross mis-statements, where he trusts to himself, and describes from his own impressions, there is great truth and life in his touch; still his book, as a whole, cannot rank very high, and has about it something of a newspaper tone; indeed, its several chapters appeared, we believe, originally as letters in the *New York Tribune.* There is color and movement, however, in his pictures, it cannot be denied; you rise from the perusal of the scenes described with distinct images in your mind. In this respect, his book reminds us of a little volume published some thirty years ago, called "Sketches of India" and known to be from the pen of Major Moyle Sherer. There too, the accuracy of outline and truth of coloring serves to impress the descriptions on the memory, and though the book is quite unpretending and aims in no way at offering a social or political view of India, yet the perusal of its brief pages leaves the imagery of the places visited fresh and bright in the mind.

But what can we say of such books as old Madame Pfeiffer's or that of Baron Cromberg or that of Captain Egerton? Really it is scarcely possible to conceive less profitable reading. Their value is inappreciably small. They are no use to the student of history or geography or to the antiquarian, and utterly fail to instruct or interest the politicians: they harrow the feelings of the reader of taste, and fatigue and aggravate the mere seeker of pleasure. And why it is so? Simply because they are devoid of knowledge and truth and beauty: and are mere vamped up farragos of dull detail, inaccurate anecdote, misunderstood information, and lifeless description. We have had no traveller to go fully, laboriously and conscientiously into the subject of the country as Dr. Edward Clarke would have done: we have had no brilliant and dashing pictures of India brought before the public eye, such as those which startled and delighted in the pages of Eöthen; scarcely could we name any Indian tourist who would bear comparison with the gentle and graceful Elliot Warburton. A good traveller is, clearly, one of our "crying wants."

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EARLY SPREAD OF ISLAM AT MECCA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Sîrat Wâkidi.* Arab M. S.
2. *Sîrat Hishâmi.* Arab M. S.
3. *Sîrat Tabari.* Arab M. S.
4. *Life of Mohammad.* By A. Sprenger, M. D., Allahabad, 1851.

THE weary field of uncertainty and speculation, which we lately sought to explore, has been left behind ; and, towards forty-fourth year of his age, we find Mahomet, now emerged from doubt and obscurity, clearly and unequivocally asserting that he had been ordained a prophet to call the Arabs to the Lord,—reciting his warnings and exhortations as messages that emanated direct from the mouth of GOD, and implicitly believing (to all outward appearance) his inspiration and mission to be divine. We find him, also, already surrounded by a little band of followers, animated by an ardent devotion to himself, and an earnest belief in God as his guide and inspirer.

It strongly corroborates the sincerity of Mahomet, that the earliest converts were his bosom friends and the people of his household ; who, intimately acquainted with his private life, could not fail to have detected the discrepancies that must, more or less, always exist between the professions of the hypocritical deceiver abroad, and his actions at home.

The faithful KHADIJA has already been made known to the reader, as the sharer in the enquiries of her husband, and probably the earliest convert to Islam. " So Khadîja believed," (thus runs the simple tradition,) " and attested the truth of that " which came to him from God. Thus was the Lord minded " to lighten the burden of His prophet ; for he heard nothing that grieved him touching his rejection by the people, but he " had recourse unto her, and she comforted and supported him " and re-assured his confidence "*

ZEID, the former slave, and his wife Omm Ayman, (Baraka) the nurse of Mahomet, have also been noticed. Though Zeid was now a free man, yet being the adopted son of Mahomet, and his intimate friend, it is probable, that he lived in close connexion with his family, if not actually an ostensible member of it. He, too, was one of the earliest believers.[*]

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* *Hishâmi*, p. 63. He is said to have promised her a house in Paradise, formed of a gigantic pearl hollowed into the form of a palace.

The little ALI had now reached the age of thirteen or fourteen years, and had begun to display that wisdom and judgment which distinguished his after life. Though possessed of indomitable courage, he was, like his uncle, meditative and reserved, and lacked the stirring energy which would have rendered him a more valuable propagator of Islam. He grew up from a child in the faith of Mahomet, and his earliest associations strengthened the convictions of matured age. It is said, that as Mahomet was once engaged with the lad in prayer, in one of the glens near Mecca, whither they retired to avoid the jeers of their neighbours. Abu Tâlib chanced to pass by ; and he said to Mahomet, "My nephew ! what is this "new faith I see thee following ?" "Oh my uncle ! This is the "religion of God, and of His angels, and of His prophets,—the "religion of Abraham. The Lord hath sent me an Apostle "unto His servants ; and thou, my uncle, art the most worthy "of all that I should address my invitation unto, and the most "worthy to assist the prophet of the Lord." And Abu Tâlib replied :—"I am not able, my nephew, to separate from the "religion and the customs of my forefathers ; but I swear that "so long as I live, no one shall dare to trouble thee." Then turning to the little Ali, who had professed a similar faith, and the resolution to follow Mahomet, he said :—"Well, my son, "he will not invite thee to aught but that which is good : "wherefore thou art free to cleave unto him."[†]

To the family group it is hardly necessary to add the aged cousin of Khâdîja, Waraca, whose profession of Christianity and support of Mahomet have been already alluded to ; because it is agreed upon all hands that he died before Mahomet had entered upon his *public* ministry.

But in the little circle there was one, belonging to another branch of the Coreish, who, after Khâdîja, may be ranked perhaps as the earliest convert. ABU BAKR, of the Bani Taym, had long been a familiar friend of Mahomet ; with him had probably lamented the gross darkness of Mecca, and had sought after a better faith. He lived in the same quarter of the city as Khadîja;[*] when Mahomet removed thither, the intimacy became closer, and the attachment of Abu Bakr was soon rivetted by an implicit faith in his friend as the apostle of God. Ayesha, his daughter, (born about this period, and destined, while yet a girl, to be the prophet's bride) could not remember the time when both her parents were not true believers,[†] and when Mahomet did not daily visit her father's house both in the morning and evening.[‡] Of Abu Bakr, the Prophet used to say: "I never invited any to the faith who "displayed not cogitation, examination, perplexity—excepting "only Abu Bakr, who, when I had propounded unto him Islam, "tarried not, neither was perplexed."[§]

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[*] *Hishâmi*, p. 66.

[†] *Hishâmi*, p. 66 ; *Tabari*, p. 108. This conversation, like most of the stories of the period, is of a type moulded by subsequent Mahometan prepossession. The tale is, however, in itself, not improbable, the facts being at any rate in accordance with Abu Tâlib's character, and constant support of Mahomet.

The character and appearance of this chief of Islam, and bosom friend of Mahomet, demand further description. Abu Bakr was about two years younger than the prophet; short in stature, and of a small spare frame; the eyes deeply seated under a high projecting forehead. His complexion was fair, and his face so thin, that you could see the veins upon it.[||] Shrewd and intelligent, he yet wanted the originality of genius; his nature was mild and sympathetic, but not incapable of a firm purpose where important interests were concerned. Impulse and passion rarely prompted his action; they were guided by reason and calm conviction. Faithful and unvarying in his attachment to the prophet, he was known, (and is to the present day familiar, throughout the realms of Islam,) as AL SADICK, "*the True*";[¶]

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[*] Both Abu Bakr and Khadîja lived in the quarter now called *Zuckâck al Hajar*, or "Street of Stone." See the plan of Mecca in *Burkhardt's Travels*, p. 102. This street "comprises the birth place of Fâtima, the daughter of Mahommed, and of Abu Bakr, the prophet's successor." (Idem, p. 126.)

[†] *Wâckidi*, p. 211½. Asmâ, Ayesha's sister, (but by another mother) is stated by tradition to have said the same thing of her father, Abu Bakr. (Ibidem.)

[‡] Ibidem.

[§] *Hishâmi*, p. 67.

[||] This description is from Wâckidi. It must, however, be remembered (as has already been remarked in the case of Mahomet.) that the personal details preserved by tradition are those of his old age. The "loose clothes" and "flaccid hips," described in Wâckidi, were probably not characteristic of his manhood, and have therefore not been adopted in the text. He had little hair on his body, and the joints of his fingers were small and fine. At the emigration to Medina, his hair was the whitest among Mahomet's followers; but he used to dye it.

[¶] Some say he was so called because he bore testimony to the truth of Mahomet's heavenly journey. He was called also *Al Atîck*, as Hishâmi says, from his handsome countenance, (p. 67) but Wâckidi, because Mahomet named him so as one preserved from hell-fire. His proper name was Abdallah, son of Othmân or Abu Cahâfa. It is not clear when he obtained the name of *Abu Bakr*. If, as appears probable, it was given him because his daughter Ayesha was Mahomet's only virgin he was also styled *Al Awwâh*, "*the Sighing*," from his tender and compassionate heart.

Abu Bakr was a diligent and successful merchant, and possessed, at his conversion, about 40,000 dirhems. His generosity was rare, his charity unwearying. The greater part of his fortune was expended in the purchase of slaves, who, from their inclination to the new faith, were persecuted by the Meccans ;—so that but 5,000 dirhems were left when, ten or twelve years after, he emigrated with the prophet to Medina. He was unusually familiar with the history of the Coreish who often referred to him for genealogical information. His judgment was good, his conversation agreeable, his demeanour affable and engaging: wherefore his society and advice were much sought after by the Coreish, and he was popular throughout the city.[*]

To gain such a man as a staunch adherent of his creed, was for Mahomet a most important step. His influence was entirely given up to the cause, and five of the earliest converts are attributed to his exertions and example. Three of these were but striplings. *Sáad*, the son of Abu Wackkâs, converted in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, was the nephew of Amina.[†] *Zobeir*, son of Al Awwâm, probably still younger, was at once the nephew of Khadîja, and the son of Mahomet's aunt, Safia.[‡] About the same age was *Talha*,

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wife, then it could not have been till after the emigration to Medina, when the prophet, by marrying many widows, had given a distinction and peculiarity to his marriage with Ayesha.

[*] The authorities for these details of Abu Bakr are *Wâckidi*, pp. 211½, 215 ; *Hishâmi*, p. 67. ; *Tabari*, p. 112. Sprenger (pp. 170, 171.) has ably and faithfully drawn his character ; and we agree with him in considering "the "faith of Abu Bakr the greatest guarantee of the sincerity of Mohammed in the "beginning of his career ;" and, indeed, in a modified sense, throughout his life.

[†] See *Wâckidi*, pp. 205—207½. Sáad pursued at Mecca the trade of manufacturing arrows. He died at Al Ackîck, ten Arabian miles from Medina, whither he was carried to be buried, A.H. 50 or 55, aged about seventy These dates would make him still younger at the period of conversion than is represented in the text. But throughout this stage we must bear in mind the Canon ii. c. (p. 48 of the "*Sources*" *for Mahomet's Biography*) ; the tendency of tradition is to place the conversion of the leaders of Islam earlier than it actually occurred. It is therefore not improbable that Sáad's conversion may have been actually a few years later than the period referred to in the text :—or, occurring at the age specified, he may have died more advanced in years than is admitted by tradition.

[‡] Zobeir was the grandson of Khuweilid, Khadîja's father. He was also the grandson of Abd al Muttalib by his daughter Safia. He was assassinated, A.H. 36, aged sixty-four, others say sixty-seven. (See *Wâckidi*, pp. 197½—200.) He was a butcher, and his father a grain merchant, or as others have it, a tailor.

the renowned warrior of after days, related to Abu Bakr himself.*

The fourth was *Othmân,* son of Affân (the successor of Abu Bakr in the Caliphate ;) who, though of the Ommeyad stock, was a grandson, by his mother, of Abd al Muttalib. Rockeya being now, or shortly after, free from her marriage with Otba, the son of the hostile Abu Lahab, Mahomet gave her in marriage to Othmân, whose wife she continued until her death, some ten or twelve years afterwards. Othmân was at this period between thirty and forty years of age.† The fifth was *Abd al Rahmân,* the son of Awf, a Zohrite (the same tribe as Amina, the mother of Mahomet,) about ten years younger than the prophet, and a man of wealth and character. Abd al Rahmân, Othmân, and Talha, were like Abu Bakr, merchants or traders ; and the pursuit of the same profession may have occasioned some community of interest among them.

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* Talha was a Coreishite of the Taym branch. His grandfather was a brother of the grandfather of Abu Bakr. He was killed in the battle of the Camel, A. D. 36, aged sixty-two or sixty-four. He would thus be at the period referred to in the text, fifteen or sixteen years old. Wâckidi tells an absurd story of his having been at Bostra with a caravan, of which a monk enquired whether "Ahmed" had yet appeared at Mecca. "And who is *Ahmed ?*" they asked. "He is the son of Abdallah, the son of Abd al Muttalib," replied the monk; "this is the month "of his appearance, and he will emigrate from Mecca to the country of date "trees, and the stony salt land (Medîna,) ; ye should haste away to meet him." Talha set forth at once for Mecca, and was told on his arrival that Mahomet had set up prophetical claims, and that Abu Bakr had declared for him. So Talha believed, and accompanied Abu Bakr to Mahomet, whom he caused to rejoice by narrating the story of the monk.

Talha may *possibly* have heard from some Syrian monk of the evil of idolatry, &c., and been thus *prepared* to follow Mahomet's doctrine ; but the details of the story are too absurd to need refutation.

Nowfal a brother of Khadîja, persecuted Abu Bakr and Talha, and bound them together with a rope, whence they received the soubriquet of *Al Caranein* "the Bound." (*Wâckidi,* p. 220½ ; *Hishâmi,* p. 75.) The latter calls Nowfal one of the *devils* of the Coreish ; the former, their *lion.* He was killed at Badr.

† The account given by Wâckidi of Othmân's conversion, is that he and Talha followed Zobeir into the house of Mahomet, who propounded to them the principles of Islam, and recited the Coran ; whereupon they believed. And Othmân said, "Oh Prophet ! I have come lately from Syria, and as I was asleep between Al Mâân and Al Zuraka, one cried to me, *Arise, thou sleeper ! Verily, Ahmed hath appeared at Mecca ;* so we arrived and heard the tidings of thee. This is of a piece with the story of Talha, the one probably invented to rival the other.

He is said to have been early exposed to persecution. His uncle, Al Hakam, grandson of Omeyd, seized and bound him, saying, "Dost thou prefer a new religion over that of thy fathers ? I swear I will not loose thee until thou givest up this new faith thou art after." Othmân said, "By the Lord, I will never abandon it !" So when Al Hakam saw his firmness in the faith, he let him go. (*Wâckidi,* p. 189.)

He was subsequently called Abu Abdallah, after a son by Rockeya, who, when about six years of age, having his eye pecked out by a bird, fell sick and died, four years after the Hegira.

He was murdered, A. H. 36, aged seventy-five (according to others eighty-two :) which would make him at the time of the emigration to Medina, thirty-nine or forty-six years of age.

Four persons are related to have accompanied Abd al Rahmân on his first visit to the house of Mahomet, and simultaneously with him to have embraced Islam. *Obeida*, the son of Mahomet's uncle, Hârith ;[*] *Abu Salma*, a Makhzumite ;[†] *Abu Obeida*, son of Al Jarrâh, subsequently a warrior of note ;[‡] and *Othmân*, son of Matzûn. The latter is said to have already abandoned wine before his conversion, and to have been with difficulty persuaded by Mahomet, to renounce the asperities of an ascetic life.[§] Two brothers, a son, and other relatives of this Othmân, are likewise mentioned among the early believers.[||]

Of the slaves ransomed by Abu Bakr from the persecution of their unbelieving masters, the foremost is BILAL, the son of an Abyssinian slave-girl. He was tall, dark, and gaunt, with negro features and bushy hair; but Mahomet honored and distinguished him as "*the first fruits of the Abyssinians ;*" and to this day he is renowned throughout the Moslem world as the first Müadzzin, or crier to prayer.[¶] *Amr ibn Foheira*, after being purchased and released from severe trial, was employed by Abu Bakr in tending his flocks.[**] *Abdallah ibn Masûd*, " small in body, but weighty in faith," the constant attendant of Mahomet at Medîna,[*] and *Khobâb*, son of Aratt, a blacksmith, were also converted at this period.[†] The slaves of Mecca were peculiarly accessible; as foreigners, they were familiar with, perhaps adherents of, Judaism or Christianity; isolated from the influences of hostile partizanship, persecution alienated them from the Coreish, and misfortune made their hearts susceptible of spiritual impression.[‡]

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[*] Obeida was killed at Badr ; he was ten years older than Mahomet. (*Wâckidi*, p. 188.)

[‡] He emigrated twice to Abyssinia with his wife *Omm Salma.* He was wounded at the battle of Ohod, and died shortly after, when Mahomet married his widow. (*Wâckidi* p. 225½.)

[‡] *Wackidi, p*, 261.

[§] He belonged to the Coreishite stock of the Bani Jumh. He wished to renounce the privileges of conjugal life ; but Mahomet forbad him, recommending his own practice to his adoption and saying that the Lord had not sent His prophet with a monkish faith. (*Wâckidi*, p. 258). The particulars there given are strongly illustrative of Mahomet's character, but we are precldued from entering into further detail by the grossness of language and idea which pervades the pas-

[||] His brothers were Abdallah and Cudâma ; his son emigrated to Abyssinia. Mumir, another Jumhite, is also mentioned as converted at this stage. The *whole* family of Othmân ibn Matzûn, with their wives and children, emigrated to Medîna, at the Hegira.

[¶] He belonged to the Bani Jumh. (*Wâckidi*, p. 224.)

[**] He was possessed by a son of Abu Bakr's wife (the mother of Ayesha) by a former husband. (*Wâckidi*, p. 223½.)

Twenty persons have now been noticed as among the first confessors of the new faith. At least *thirteen* others are enumerated by Wâckidi as having believed "*before the prophet's entry into the house of Arcam*," the expression of biographers to mark the few earliest years of Islam. Among these, we observe the youthful son, *Sâîd* [§] and several of the relatives of the aged enquirer Zeid already some time dead, but whose remarkable life, as possibly paving the way for Mahomet, has been already alluded to. The wife of Sâîd, *Fâtima*, a cousin of the same family, and her brother *Zeid*, [||] son of Khattâb, were among the early converts. There was also *Obeidallah*, the son of

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[*] He was of the Bani Tamîm, and attached to the Bani-Zorah, but whether in the capacity of an attendant or confederate, is not stated. He was once at Medîna climbing up a date tree, and his companions were indulging in pleasantry at the expense of his spare legs, when Mahomet used the expression quoted in the text. He was sallow, with his hair smoothed down. (*Wâckidi*, p. 207½) On what authority Weil (p. 50) calls him *a dwarf*, "Der Zwerg," is not stated.

[†] He was of the Bani Tamîm, having been sold as a prisoner at Mecca to Omm Ammâr, (or Omm Saba) whose trade (*feminarum circumcisatrix*) was so offensively proclaimed at Ohod, by Hamza, when he challenged Khobâb. It it related of this man, that when he claimed a debt from Al As ibn Wâil, the latters a denier of the resurrection, deferred him ironically for payment to the judgmen, day. (*Wâckidi*. p. 210½)

[‡] Sprenger says—"The excitement among the slaves, when Mahomet first "assumed his office, was so great, that Abdallah ibn Jodáân, who had one hundred "of these sufferers, found it necessary to remove them from Mecca, lest they "should all become converts." (p 159.) This, however, appears to be an exaggerated statement, as well as the preceding, that "two of them died as martyrs." We do not believe that there was any martyr *before* the Hegira. We shall consider below the only case of martyrdom alleged by early authority during that period.

[§] *Wâckidi*, p. 255½. He died A. H. 50 or 51, aged above seventy; so that at this period he was little more than a boy.

[||] *Idem*, 254½. He was an elder brother of the famous Omar. *Khuneis*, the husband of Omar's daughter, Hafsa, is also noted as a believer of this time. He has one of the emigrants to Abyssinia. He died about two years after the Hegira, when Mahomet married his widow. (*Wâckidi*, p. 257½.) *Wâckid*, a confederate of the same family, (*ibidem*) and Amir ibn Rabia, the freedman and adopted son of Khattâb, Omar's father, are likewise among the earliest converts. The latter shortly after emigrated with his wife to Abyssinia. (*Idem*, p. 256½.) These facts show the close connection between the family and relatives of the "enquirer" Zeid, and the new religion.

Jahsh, himself one of the "four enquirers." On the persecution becoming hot, he emigrated with his wife Omm Habiba (subsequently married to Mahomet,) and others of his family, to Abyssinia, where he was converted to Christianity, and died in that faith.* It is interesting to notice likewise among these converts, *Abu Hodzeifa*,† son of Otba, the father-in-law of Abu Sofiân, a family inveterately opposed to Mahomet. There is also the name of *Arcam*, whose house will shortly be mentioned as memorable in the annals of Islam.‡

Besides these *three* and *thirty* individuals the wives and daughters of some of the converts are mentioned as faithful and earnest professors of Islam.§ It is, indeed, in conformity with the analogy of religious movements in all ages, that the female sex should take a forward part, if not in direct and public acts of assistance, yet in the encouragement and exhortation which lead thereto. On the other hand, in estimating the number of the early converts, we must not forget that their ranks have been unduly swelled by the traditions of those whose piety or ambition sought priority in the faith for their ancestors or patrons. Weighing both considerations, we shall not greatly err, if we conclude that, in the first three or four years of the assumption by Mahomet of his prophetic office, the converts to his faith amounted to nearly forty souls.

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* Obeidallah was a cousin by his mother to Mahomet. He belonged to the Bani Dûdân, a collateral branch of the Coreish. Two of his brothers, Abdallah and Abu Ahmed, are also specified as converted "before the entry into Arcam's house." He was the brother of the famous Zeinab, married to Zeib, Mahomet's freedman, and afterwards divorced by him, that the Prophet himself might take her to wife. His mother was Omeima, daughter of Abd al Muttalib.

The whole family of the Bani Dûdân were very favourable to Islam, for it is related of them at the Hegira, they all emigrated to Medîna, men, women and children, locking up their houses. (*Wâckidi*, p. 195½.) It is remarkable that this tribe were *confederates* of Harb and Abu Sofiân, the opponents of Mahomet:—the religious influence thus frequently over-riding and baffling the political combinations of Mecca.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 194½. He challenged his father at Badr to single combat. His sister Hind (wife of Abu Sofiân) retorted in satirical verses, taunting him with his squint, and with the barbarity of offering to fight with his father. He was an ill-favored man, with projecting teeth. He twice fled to Abyssinia with the Moslem emigrants, and his wife Shala there bore him a son whom he called Muhammad.

‡ He was of the Bani Makhzum. Besides the above, it will be as well to enumerate the remaining names given by Wâckidi as converts before the entry into Arcam's house:—"*Khalid ibn Sâîd* and his brother *Amr*: they emigrated to Abyssinia, the former with his wife Hamaniya. (*Tabari*, p. 113.) Sprenger (p. 172) makes Khâlid the fifth convert; but there is so great a tendency in each party and family to run up vain gloriously its own representatives as the earliest believers, that little dependance can be placed on such assertions of priority. *Hatib ibn Amr* (of the Bani Amr ibn Lowey) was a convert of the same period. (*Wâckidi*, p. 260.) Two others descended from stocks allied to the Coreish, *Amr ibn Abasa*, and *Abu Dzarr Ghifâri*, are also said to have been converted at this period, but to have left Mahomet and returned to their tribes. They rejoined Mahomet after the retreat of the Meccans from the siege of Medîna. The accounts, however, are so vague, that we doubt their reality. They were probably imagined or fabricated by some descendants who wished to assume for their family a priority in the faith.

§ The following are mentioned by Hishâmi:—*Fatima*, wife of Sâîd, already noticed in the text: *Asmâ* and *Ayesha*, daughters of Abu Bakr; the latter, however, if actually born, could have been only an infant at this period. *Asma*, wife of Ayâsh ibn Rabia; *Asma*, wife of Jafar, Mahomet's cousin; *Fâtima*, wife of Hâtib, mentioned in the preceding note; *Fokeiha*, wife of Hattâb, his brother: *Ramlah*, wife of Muttalib ibn Azhar; *Amina*, wife of Khâlid, in the preceding note (p. 68.) Some of these, indeed, (as Ayesha) belong to later dates. But it is probable that the list is incomplete. Arab ideas of feminine worth lead the biographers chiefly to mention the women only in connexion with their more famous husbands or fathers.

By what degrees, influenced by what motives or arguments, and at what precise periods, these individuals, one by one, gave in their adhesion to the claims of Mahomet, we can scarcely determine, farther than in the general outline already before the reader. It is usual among traditionists, to assign to the prophet three years of secret preaching and private solicitation, after which an open call was published to the Coreish at large; but we hardly find grounds for this theory, when we bring it to the sure test of the Coran. It is probable that the preparatory term of doubt and enquiry (which we have in a previous paper endeavoured to trace,) has been confounded by them with the actual assumption of prophetic office. An interval of pious musing, and probably of expostulation with others, preceded the fortieth year of Mahomet's life. It was about that year, we conceive, that the resolution to "recite" in God's name—in other words, *the conviction of inspiration*, was fully adopted. For some succeeding period, his efforts would be naturally directed to individual persuasion and personal entreaty; but we cannot believe that the prophetic claim once assumed, was ever held *a secret* not to be divulged to the people of Mecca. It was at this time the prophet received (as he imagined) the command to preach:[*] and forthwith his appeal was made to the whole community of Mecca. Gradually his followers increased, and the faith of each (though little more than the reflection of *his own* conviction,) was accepted by Mahomet as a new and independent evidence of his mission, emanating from Him who alone can turn the heart. Success expanded before him the sphere of Islam ; and that which was primarily intended for Mecca and Arabia, soon embraced, in the ever-widening circle of its call, the human race.

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[*] That is, Sura LXXIV. The tradition that the passage, Sura XXVI., v. 213, was the first call to preach, (*Wâckidi*, pp. 13 and 88; *Tabari*, p. 114) appears entirely erroneous. That verse is not only contained in a late Sura, but itself bears evidence of persecution, and of believers already numerous. It was probably revealed while the prophet with his relatives was shut up in the "Sheb," or quarter of Abu Tâlib, and his preaching necessarily confined to them. So the stories of his taking his stand upon Mount Safa, and after summoning his relatives, family by family, and addressing to them the divine message; of the contemptuous reply of Abu Lahab; of the miraculous dinner at which Mahomet propounded his claim to his relatives, and Ali alone stood forth as his champion and "Vizier," &c.; are all to our apprehension apocryphal, and owe their origin to the above, or other passages in the Coran, which it was desired to illustrate, or to Alijite prepossessions. See some of these accounts in Tabari, pp. 115—118. At the miraculous dinner, food sufficient only for one, served to their content for a company of forty.

A new phase, however, now appeared. The hostility of the Meccans was aroused, and believers were subjected to persecution and indignity. The positive element of opposition was simply an hereditary attachment to the established system of idolatry. There was no antagonism of a privileged caste, or a priesthood supported by the temple ; no "craftsmen of Diana" deriving their livelihood from the shrine. But there was the universal and deep-seated affection for practices associated from infancy with the life of the Meccan, and the pride of a system which placed his city at the head of Arabia. These advantages he would not lightly abandon.

Whether the idolatry of Mecca would not have crumbled without an effort before such preaching as Mahomet's, *sustained by reasonable evidence*, may be matter for question. That which now imparted to it strength and obstinacy, was the equally weak position of its antagonist. Amidst the declamation and rhetoric of the Arabian prophet, there was absolutely no proof, (excepting his own convictions,) ever advanced in support of the divine commission. Idolatry might be wrong, but what guarantee had the idolater that Islam was not equally fallacious? This was the sincere, and long the invincible, objection of the Meccans ; and, though, no doubt, mingled with hatred and jealousy, and degenerating often into intolerance and spite, it was the real spring of their opposition.

Persecution, though it may sometimes have deterred the timid from joining his ranks, was of unquestionable service to Mahomet. It eventually furnished a plausible excuse for casting aside the garb of toleration, for opposing force to force against those who "obstructed the ways of the Lord ;" and at last, for the compulsory conversion of unbelievers. Even before the Hegira, it forced the adherents of the prophet, in self-defence, into a closer union, and made them stand forth with a bolder aim and more resolute front. The severity and injustice of the Meccans, over-shooting the mark, aroused personal and family sympathies ; unbelievers sought to avert or to mitigate the sufferings of the Moslems, and in so doing were sometimes even gained over to their ranks.*

It was not, however, till three or four years of his ministry had elapsed, that any general opposition was organized against Mahomet. Even after he had begun publicly to preach, and his, followers had multiplied, the Coreish did not gainsay his doctrine. They would only point at him as he passed, and say :—*There goeth the man of the children of Abd al Muttalib, to speak unto the people of the Heavens.* But, adds tradition, when the prophet began to abuse their idols, and to assert the perdition of their ancestors, who had died in unbelief, then they were displeased, and began to treat him with hostility and contempt.†

Hostility once excited, soon showed itself in acts of violence. Sáad having retired for prayer with a group of believers to one of the glens near Mecca, a party of his neighbours passed unexpectedly by, when a sharp contention arose between them, followed by blows ; Sáad struck one of his opponents with a camel goad ; and this, they say, was "the first blood shed in Islam"‡

It was probably about this time, the fourth year of his mission, (A. D. 613), that in order to prosecute his endeavours peaceably and without interruption, Mahomet took possession of the house of Arcam, (one of the converts noticed above,) a short distance to the south of his own, upon the gentle rise of Safâ. It was in a frequented position, fronting the Kaaba to the east ; and all the pilgrims, in the prescribed walk between the two eminences, must needs pass often before it.§ Thither were conducted all who showed any leaning towards the doctrine of Mahomet. Thus of one and another of the believers, it is recorded that "he was converted after the entry into the "house of Arcam, and the preaching there,"—or, that "he "was brought to Mahomet in the house of Arcam, and the pro"phet recited the Coran unto him, and expounded the doctrines "of Islam, and he was converted and embraced the faith." So famous was it as the birth-place of conversion, that it was afterwards styled *the house of Islam.* *

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* The instance of Hamza is one in point, who was led to embrace Islam through indignation at the manner in which Abu Jahl abused Mahomet.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 38 ; *Hishâmi*, p. 69 ; *Tabari*, p. 120.

‡ *Hishâmi*. p, 70. *Tabari*, p. 114. The story is not given by Wâckidi, and is open to some suspicion. Sâad is famous as "the first who shot an arrow" in the Mussulman wars, (*Wâckidi*, p. 98½-205½.) His friends, desirous to show that he was the first to *shed blood*, too, for Islam, may have supposed, magnified, or invented this tale.

§ The house possesses so peculiar an interest in the earliest annals of Islam, that we shall note the particulars given by Wâckidi regarding it : page 226—

وكانت دار بمكه علي الصفا وهي لدار التي كان النبي فيها
في اول الاسلام وفيها دعا الناس الى الاسلام و اسلم فيها قوم كثير*

"His (Arcam's) house in Meca was on Safâ, the same which the prophet occupied in the beginning of Islam ; and in it he invited the people to Islam ; and therein believed a great multitude.

Four sons of Abul Bokeir, a confederate of the family of Khattâb, were the first to believe, and "*swear allegiance to Mahomet* in this house.† Though Omar, the son of Khattâb,

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In after days, Arcam devoted it to the Lord in a deed, which Wâckidi saw, and of which the following extract contains a copy :—

ودعيت دارالارقم دار الاسلام وتصدق بها الارقم
علي ولده فقرات نسخه صدقه الارقم بدارة بسم الله
الرحمن الوحيم هذا ما قضي الارقم في ربعه ما حاز
الصفا انها محرمه بمكانها من الحرم لا تباع ولا تورث *

"And the house of Arcam was called *the house of Islam*, and Arcam devoted it (to God) under the trust of his children; and I read the document of consecration. *In the name of the Lord, the Compassionate, the Merciful :— this is what Arcam hath determined regarding the house which bordereth upon Safâ, that it is devoted, as a part of the sacred place. It shall not be sold, neither shall it be inherited.* Witnessed by Hishâm ibn al As and his freedman."

The descendants of Arcam continued to possess the house, either occupying it themselves, or taking rent for it, until the Caliphate of Abu Jáfar. When Mohammad Hasan's grandson rebelled in Medîna, Abdallah, the grandson of Arcam sided with him, and Abu Jáfar caused him to be put in prison and in irons. Then the Caliph sent a message to Abdallah, now above eighty years of age, promising him a full pardon if he would sell to him the house of Arcam. He objected that it was devoted property :—but at last, partly through intimidation, partly tempted by the large price, he sold his share in it for 17,000 dinars, and his relatives did likewise. Thus it became the property of the Caliph. Then Mahdî gave it to Kheizaran (the slave girl, the mother of Mûsâ and Hârûn,) who enlarged it, and it was called after her name.

There is nothing to show clearly on what footing Mahomet occupied this building;—whether continuously with his family, or only as a place of retreat, where, sheltered from the observation and annoyances of the Meccans, he could pursue his teaching unmolested. From several incidental notices of converts remaining there concealed during the day, and slipping away in the evening, the latter appears to be the more probable view.

* Dar ul Islam : دار الاسلام

† Abul Bokeir was descended from Kinâna by an off-shoot more ancient than the Coreish. This family is included among the Dûdân branch, which emigrated *en masse* to Medina at the Hegira. (*Wâckidi*, pp. 196-256½.)

The remarkable expression in the text is the same as for doing homage or swear-was not yet converted, the leaven of the new doctrine was doubtless spreading rapidly among his connexions.

The story of *Musáb* ibn Omeir, a great grandson of Hâshim, will illustrate some of the obstacles to the progress of Islam. His wife was a sister of Obeidalla, son of Jahsh;* and, probably, through the influence of her family, he was induced to visit the house of Arcam, where he listened to Mahomet and embraced his doctrine. But he feared publicly to confess the change; for his tribe, and his mother, who doated upon him, and through whose fond attention he was noted as the most handsomely dressed youth in Mecca, were inveterately opposed to Mahomet. His conversion being at last noised abroad, his family seized and kept him in durance: but he effected an escape, and proceeded to Abyssinia with the first Moslem emigrants. When he returned from thence, he was so changed and miserable in appearance, that his mother had not the heart to abuse him. At a later period, having been deputed by Mahomet to teach the enquirers at Medîna, he revisited Mecca in company with some of them. His mother being told of his arrival, sent the message:—"Ah, disobedient son! dost thou "enter a city in which thy mother dwelleth, and not first visit "her?" "Nay, verily," replied he, "I shall never visit the house "of any one before the prophet of God." So after he had greeted Mahomet, he went to his mother, who accosted him: "Well! I suppose thou art still a renegade." "I follow the "faith of the prophet of the Lord, Islam." "Art thou then "well satisfied with the way thou hast fared in the land of "Abyssinia, and now again at Yathreb?" Seeing that she meditated his imprisonment, he exclaimed, "What! wilt thou "endeavour to *force* me from my religion? If thou seekest "to confine me, I will assuredly slay the first person that layeth "hands upon me." His mother said, "then go about your "business!" and she began to weep. And Musáb was moved and said:—"Oh, my mother! I give thee affectionate counsel. "Testify that there is no god but the Lord, and that Maho"met is his servant and messenger." And she replied: "By

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ing fealty to a leader or chief. Ackil and his three brothers were converted in the house of Arcam, and they were the first to swear allegiance to Mahomet therein;"— وهو اول من بايع رسول الله فيها It was probably a general declaration of faith and submission to his teaching; but possibly the mere application of a later phrase to a period when there was nothing yet of the kind.

* Before noticed as the convert who embraced Christianity in Abyssinia.

"the sparkling stars,* I shall never make a fool of myself "by entering into thy religion. I leave thee and thy concerns "alone, and steadfastly cleave unto mine own faith." †

There were social causes on the other hand to aid the spread of the new doctrine. Anticipating a year or two, we may illustrate these by the conversion of Tulieb, a cousin, by his mother, of Mahomet.‡ This lad having been gained over in the house of Arcam, went to his mother and told her that he now believed in the Lord and followed the prophet. She replied that he did very right in assisting his maternal cousin; "And, by the Lord!" she added, "if I had strength to do that "which men can, I would myself defend and protect him." "But, my mother! what hindereth thee from believing and "following him? And truly thy brother Hamza hath believed." She replied, "I wait to see what my sisters do: I shall verily "be like unto them." "But, I beseech thee, mother, by the "Lord! wilt thou not go unto him and salute him, and testify "thy faith?" And she did so; and thenceforward she would assist the cause of Mahomet by her speech, and by stirring up her sons to aid him and to fulfil his commands §

Shortly after Mahomet began to occupy the house of Arcam, several slaves allied themselves to him. Of these, *Yasâr* and *Jabr* are mentioned by the commentators on the Coran, as the parties accused by the Coreish of instructing the prophet. The latter was the Christian servant of a family from Hadhramaut, and the prophet is said to have sat much at his cell. || The former, better known under the name of Abu Fokeiha, ¶ was subjected to great persecution, but probably

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* والثراقب Compare Sura LXXXVI. 3, where the same oath will be found.

والسماء والطارق وما ادراک ما الطارق النجم الثاقب

† *Wâckidi*, p. 201 *et seq.* Musâb was killed at Ohod, where he displayed a valour and disregard of suffering almost incredible.

‡ His mother was Orwa, daughter of Abd al Muttalib. (*Wâckidi*, p. 202½).

§ Tuleib was killed in the battle of Ajnadein, A. H. 13, aged thirty-five. At the period of his conversion, say in the sixth or seventh year of Mahomet's mission, he would thus be about sixteen years of age. He went to Abyssinia in the second emigration, but nothing notable is related of him in after life.

|| *Hishâmi*, p. 125; *Sprenger*, p. 162. He must have died before the emigration to Medina, as we do not hear anything farther of him. The imputation of *learning* from Jabr is probably of a later date than the events we have arrived at; for at this period there was scarcely any mention of the Sacred Scriptures in the Coran.

¶ Dr. Sprenger seems to have overlooked this, when he states that his name does not appear among the followers of Mahomet. He is frequently mentioned as one of the converts who suffered most severely in the early persecutions. (See *Wâckidi*, p. 227.) We do not find him noticed in the later history. So that he likely died at Mecca during this period.

died some time before the Hegira. His daughter Fokeiha was married to a convert named Hattâb, whom we find, with others of his family, among the subsequent emigrants to Abyssinia.[*]

A more important convert, styled by Mahomed "*the first fruits of Greece*," was *Suheib*, son of Sinân. His home was at Mousal, or some neighbouring Mesopotamian village, and his father or uncle had been the Persian governor of Obolla. A Grecian band made an incursion into Mesopotamia, and carried him off, yet a boy, to Syria, perhaps to Constantinople. Bought afterwards by a party of Kalbites, he was sold at Mecca to Abdalla ibn Jodáân, who freed and took him under his protection. A fair and very ruddy complexion marked his northern birth, and broken Arabic betrayed a Grecian education. By traffic he acquired some wealth at Mecca; but having embraced Islam, and being left by the death of Abdalla without any patron, he suffered much at the hands of the unbelieving Coreish. It is probable that Mahomet gained some knowledge of Christianity from him, and he may be the same to whom the Meccans at a later period referred as the source of his Scriptural information;—*and. indeed, we know that they say*, VERILY A CERTAIN MAN TEACHETH HIM : *but the tongue of him whom they intend is foreign, whereas this Revelation is in the tongue of pure Arabic.*[†] At the general emigration to Medîna, the people of Mecca endeavoured to prevent his departure; but he bargained to relinquish the whole of his property, if they would let him go free, and Mahomet, when he heard of it, exclaimed, *Suheib, verily, hath made a profitable bargain.*[‡]

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[*] Hattâb, (*See* above page 12.,) Hâtib and Mumir are mentioned by Hishâmi (whom Sprenger follows,) as sons of Hârith, of the Bani Jumh. Wâckidi gives this genealogy to Mumir, (p. 259½) but makes Hâtib to be the son of Amr, of an entirely different tribe, the Bani Amir ibn Lowey. (p. 260.)

[†] *Sura* XVI., 103, which is one of the latest Meccan Suras. The same imputation will be found in Suras of a somewhat earlier date; as Sura XLIV., 4; XXV., 4.

The family of Suheib held that he fled from Constantinople to Mecca, after reaching years of maturity, and that he voluntarily placed himself under the guardianship of Abdallah. (*Wâckidi*, p. 222.) Dr. Sprenger concludes that they held he was of *Grecian parentage;* but this does not appear from the authority quoted.

The description of Suheib is given in considerable detail. He was a little below middle stature, and had much hair. (*Idem*, p. 222½.)

[‡] (*Wâckidi, Ibid.*) When he was about to emigrate, the Meccans said unto him, *Thou camest hither in need and penury; but thy wealth hath increased with us until thou hast reached thy present prosperity; and now thou art departing, not thyself only, but with all thy property; by the Lord, that shall not be!* And he said

Another freed slave, *Ammar*, used to resort to the house of Arcam, and simultaneously with Suheib, embraced Islam. His father Yâsir, a stranger from Yemen, his mother *Sommeya*, and his brother Abdallah, were also believers.*

The jealousy and enmity of the Coreish, were aggravated by the continued success of the new sect, which now numbered

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If I relinquish my property, will ye leave me free to depart? And they agreed thereto : so he parted with all his goods : and when that was told unto Mahomet, he said, " VERILY SUHEIB HATH TRAFFICKED " TO PROFIT." Another version states that he was pursued by the Meccans, when he turned round on his camel, and swore, that if they persisted he would shoot every arrow in his quiver at them, and then take to his sword. And they knowing him to be one of the best archers in Mecca, left him and returned.

Suheib had some humour. He reached Medina in the season of fresh dates, and being weary and hungry, he fell upon them. But as he suffered from Opthalmia in one of his eyes, the prophet asked why he ate dates (they being injurious to that disease) : and he replied, *Verily I am eating them only from the side of the eye that is well:* and the prophet smiled thereat. Suheib then asked Abu Bakr, why they had left him at Mecca to be imprisoned, &c.—and that he had been forced to buy his life with his wealth ; Mahomet, in reply, is represented as making use of the saying in the text ; whereupon was revealed Sura II. 207 :—*And of men there is one, who buyeth* his life, *through the desire of those things that be pleasing unto God, &c.*, (*Wâckidi*, p. 223) He died A. H. 33, aged seventy : and was buried at Backi, the cemetery of Medina.

* Yâsir belonged to a tribe in Yemen of the Madhij or Cahlân stock. He with two brothers visited Mecca to seek out their maternal relatives ; and he remained behind with his patrom Abu Hodzeifa, who gave him in marriage to his slave girl Sommeya. She bore to him Ammâr, freed by Abu Hodzeifa, and Abdallah.

After Yâsir, Sommeya married a Greek slave, Azrack, belonging to a man of Tâif, and to him she bore Salma. It is not easy to explain this, for at the time referred to in the text (*i. e.*, 614 or 615 A. D.) Yâsir was alive, and is mentioned as having with his wife joined Mahomet and suffered severe persecution. The second marriage of Sommeya, and the birth of Salma were consequently after this period. But Ammâr, her son by Yâsir, was at least *one* year (perhaps four) older than Mahomet, or about forty-six years of age ; and his mother (who had moreover borne to Yâsir a son, Horeith, *elder* than Ammâr, (*Wâckidi*, p. 227.) must therefore have been near sixty years of age. Yet we are to believe that she married, and bore a son after that age.

Wâckidi has a tradition that Sommeya suffered martyrdom at the hands of Abu Jahl :—

فلما كان العسي جا ابو جهل يشتم سميه وير فث ثم طعنها
فقتلها فهي اول شهيد استشهد في الاسلام *

"*And* (after a day of persecution,) *when it was evening, Abu Jahl came and abused Sommeya, and used filthy language towards her, and stabbed* (or reviled?) *her, and killed her; and she was the first martyr in Islam, except Bilâl, who counted not his life dear unto him in the service of the Lord ; so that they tied a rope about his neck and made the children run backwards and forwards, pulling him between the two hills of Mecca* (Abu Cobeis and Ahmar. *marg-gloss*) *and Bilâl kept saying,* ONE, ONE! (*i. e.*, there is only one God) (*Wâckidi*, p. 224.)

The story of this martyrdom appears to us apocryphal :—I. This is the only place we find it mentioned in the early biographers : whereas had it really occurred, it would have been trumped forth in innumerable traditions and versions.

more than fifty followers. The brunt of their wrath fell upon the converted slaves, and on the strangers and poor believers who had no patron or protector. These were seized and imprisoned; or they were cast, in the glare of the mid-day sun, upon the scorching sand and gravel of the Meccan valley;* the torment being enhanced by unsufferable thirst, until the wretched sufferers hardly knew what they said.† If under the torture they reviled Mahomet and acknowledged the idols of Mecca, they were refreshed by bags of water upon the spot, and taken to their homes. Bilâl is recorded alone to have escaped the shame of recantation; in the depth of his suffering, his persecutors could force from him but one expression,—AHAD! AHAD!

There is certainly no danger of the perils and losses of the early Moslems being under-estimated or insufficiently noticed by tradition. II. The tendency of exaggerating persecution may have led the descendants of the family to attribute Sommeya's death, which happened probably before the Hegira, to Abu Jahl's ill-treatment, with which it had probably little or nothing to do. (See *Cannon II. B. in former Article.*) The manner in which the story subsequently expanded, will be seen by a reference to Sale's note on the Coran, XVI., 106. The double signification of the word طعن (abuse, and stabbing,) may have given its origin to the *story*. III. The desire to heap contumely on Abu Jahl, would lead to the same result. (*Cannon II. G.*) IV. Bilâl, in the above extract, is also noticed as a virtual martyr, though he long survived these persecutions; which is not in favor of the exact and literal interpretation of the passage. V. The chronological difficulty still remains. Repeated traditions speak of Yâsir, Sommeya and Ammâr, (father, mother, and son,) being all tormented together, and so seen by Mahomet as he passed by: (*Wâckidi*, p. 227½) but they would not be so mentioned unless Yâsir were still married to Sommeya. Yet "*after* Yâsir," (and apparently after his death,) she married Azrack. How, then, are we to understand that she died under persecution? It may be suggested that her marriage with Azrack may have been an *interlude* in her married life with Yâsir, to whom she again returned as wife, but this is not the natural meaning of the expressions used:—or, that her marriage to Azrack and martyrdom may have occurred at a later period. Yet this could hardly have been, as she bore him a son, and must have survived the period of hot persecution. On the whole, the evidence for the martyrdom is utterly insufficient. Azrack belonged to Tâif, and was one of the slaves who at the siege of that city (some fifteen years later,) fled over to Mahomet's camp. It is natural to conclude that Sommeya, after Yâsir's death, married Azrack, and accompanied him to Tâif.

Some accounts represent Ammâr as having emigrated to Abyssinia, but others state this as doubtful. He was killed in the battle of Siffin, A. H. 37, aged ninety-one or ninety-four. He was at one period appointed by Omar Governor of Cufa.

* M. Caussin de Perceval in here rendering the two Arabic words *Ramdaha* and *Batha* as the names of places, has made a curious mistake, rare in an Orientalist of his attainments. The words signify "gravel," and "valley."

† It is added, that they used to encase them in coats of mail. The torture that would thus be inflicted by the heated metal can be understood only by those who know the power of a tropical sun beating upon the arid sand and rocks. There is, however, a constant tendency to magnify these sufferings, *and we have no check.* (See *Cannon II. B. in former Article.*)

"One, one, (God alone!") On such an occasion Abu Bakr passed by, and secured his liberty of conscience by purchasing his freedom.* Some of the others retained the scars of the sores and wounds thus inflicted to the end of their lives. Khobâb and Ammâr used to exhibit with pride and exultation the marks of their suffering and constancy to another generation, in which glory and success had well nigh effaced the memory of persecution.†

With those who under these trying circumstances renounced their faith, Mahomet exhibited much commiseration. The following anecdote will show that he even encouraged them to dissimulate that they might escape the torment. The prophet happening to pass by Ammâr, as he sobbed and wiped his eyes, enquired of him what was the matter: "Evil; Oh prophet! " They would not let me go until I had abused thee, and spoken " well of their gods." *But how dost thou find thy heart?* "Secure and steadfast in the faith." *Then,* replied Mahomet, *if they repeat their cruelty, repeat thou also thy words.* A special exception for such unwilling deniers of Islam was even provided in the Coran.‡

Mahomet himself was safe under the shadow of the respected and now venerable Abu Tâlib, who, though unconvinced by the claims of the prophet, scrupulously fulfilled those of the nephew, and withstood resolutely every approach of the Coreish to detach him from his guardianship.

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* Abu Bakr paid for him seven (according to others *five*) *owkeas.* When it was told to Mahomet, he said, "Wilt thou give me a share in him?" To which Abu Bakr replied, that he had already released him. (*Wâckidi,* p. 224.) Hishâmi (p. 89) gives further particulars:—Waraca used to pass by while Bilâl was being tormented, and said that he would buy him. At last Abu Bakr, whose house was in the same quarter, said to his master:—*Dost thou not fear God that thou treatest this poor creature so?* "Nay," replied his master, "it is thou that hast perverted him: it is for thee to deliver him from this plight." So Abu Bakr bargained to give for him another black slave, much stronger than Bilâl.

Abu Bakr bought, and freed besides, six male and female slaves converts to Islam. His father, seeing that they were all poor weak creatures, told him that he had much better redeem able bodied men who would be fit to help his cause: but Abu Bakr replied that he had done as God had minded him to do.

† Besides these two, the names of five others are given amongst those who suffered severe persecution of this nature: viz. Suheib, Amr ibn Foheira, Abu Fokeiha, and the father and mother of Ammâr. For the vain-glorious boasting of Ammâr, see *Wâckidi,* p. 227½; and of Khobâb, who displayed his scars before Omar, when Caliph, *idem,* p. 210½.

‡ The story of Ammâr, is given from various sources by Wâckidi, (p. 227½). See Sura XVI., 106, *Whoever denieth God after that he hath believed,* (EXCEPTING HIM WHO IS FORCIBLY COMPELLED THERETO, HIS HEART REMAINING STEADFAST IN THE FAITH,) *on such resteth the wrath of God.* See also Sura XXXIX., 53, where renegades from Islam ("*those who have transgressed against their own souls,*") are exhorted not to despair of the mercy of God.

Abu Bakr, too, and those who could claim affinity with the powerful families of Mecca, though exposed perhaps to contumely and reproach, were generally secure from personal injury. The chivalry which makes common cause among the members and connections of an Arab family, and arouses the fiery impetuosity of all against the injures of one, prevented, the enemies of Islam from open and violent persecution.* Such immunity, however, depended in part on the good will of the convert's family and friends; it would hardly exist where his whole tribe were inimical to the new religion. Thus, when the Bani Makhzûm were minded to chastise some of their number and among the rest Walîd, for becoming Moslems, they repaired to his brother Hishâm, a violent opposer of the prophet, and demanded his permission; this he readily gave, but added, *beware of killing him, for if thou dost, I shall verily slay in his stead the chiefest among you.*†

To escape these indignities, and the fear of perversion, Mahomet now recommended such of his followers as were without protection, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. *Yonder*, pointing to the West, *lieth a country wherein no one is wronged; a land of righteousness. Depart thither, and remain until it pleaseth the Lord to open your way before you.* Abyssinia was well known to the Meccans as a market for the goods of Arabia; and the Court of the *Najâshy* (or king,) was the ordinary destination of one of their annual caravans.‡ In the month of Rajab, the fifth year of Mahomet's prophetic office, § eleven men, some mounted, some on foot, and four of them accompanied by their wives, set out for the port of Shueiba, ‖ where, finding two vessels about to set sail, they embarked in haste, and were conveyed to Abyssinia for half a dinar a-piece. The Meccans are said to have pursued them, but they had already left the port. Among the emigrants was Othmân, (son of Affân) followed by his wife Rockeya, the prophet's daughter; and Abd al

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* See this state of society described in the paper on the *Forefathers of Mahomet*, p. 2.

† "*Hishâmi*, p. 91. Walîd and Hishâm were sons of the famous Walîd ibn al Moghîra, already mentioned as one of the chief men of Mecca, and a violent opponent of Mahomet.

‡ "Then Mahomet gave commandment to them to go forth to the land of Abyssinia. Now there was there a just king, Al Najâshy. It was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandize, because they found therein abundance of food, protection, and good traffic." (*Tabari*, p. 127.)

§ *November*, 615 A. D., by the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval.

‖ شعيبة the ancient port of Mecca, not far from Jiddah.

Rahmân, both, as merchantmen, already perhaps acquainted with the country. The youths, Zobeir and Musâb, were also of the number. The party was headed by Othmân, son of Matzûn, as its leader.* They met with a kind reception from the Najâshy and his people. The exile was passed in peace and in comfort.

This is termed the *first* "Hegira," or flight to Abyssinia, as distinguished from the later and more extensive emigration thither. On this occasion the emigrants were few, but the part they acted was of deep importance to Islâm. It convinced the Meccans of the sincerity and resolution of the converts, and proved their readiness to undergo any loss and any hardship, rather than abjure the faith of Mahomet. A bright example of self-denial was exhibited to the believers generally, who were led to regard peril and exile in "the cause of God," as a glorious privilege and distinction. It suggested that the hostile attitude of their fellow citizens, and the purity of their own faith, might secure for them, within the limits of Arabia, a sympathy and hospitality as cordial as the Abyssinian; and thus struck the type of a greater "Hegira," the emigration to Medina. Finally, it turned the attention of Mahomet more closely and more favourably to the Christian religion. If an Arab asylum had not at last offered itself at Medina, the prophet himself might have emigrated to Abyssinia, and Mahometanism might have dwindled, like Gnosticism or Montanism, into one of the ephemeral heresies of Christianity.

To complete our review of this period, it is needful that we should examine the portions of the Coran given forth in it, for their purport, and even their style, will throw an important light upon the inner, as well as the external, struggles of the prophet.

To the two or three years intervening between the commission to preach, and the first emigration to Abyssinia, may be assigned about twenty of the Suras as they now stand. Even in this short time, a marked change may be traced both in the sentiments and the composition.†

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* See *Wâckidi*, p. 38½ :*Tâbari.* p. 127; *Hishâmi*, p. 91 *Sprenger*, p. 182; *and Caussin de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 388.

† The Suras of this period consist of about twenty. The supposed order of the preceding twenty-two Suras has been given in a previous article. The following appears, to be the chronological sequence of those in the present stage;—the 23rd in order, LXXXVII.; 24, XCVII.; 25, LXXXVIII,; 26, LXXX.; 27, LXXXI.; 28, LXXXIV.; 29. LXXXVI. 30, CX.: 31, LXXXV.; 32, LXXXIII., 33, LXXVIII.; 34, LXXVII.; 35, LXXVI.; 36, LXXV.; 37, LXX.; 38, CIX.; 39, CVII.; 40, LV.; 41, LVI.

At first, like a Himalayan stream, the current dashes headlong—pure, wild, impetuous. Such are the fragments described in a previous article. Advancing, the style becomes calmer and more uniform ; yet ever and anon the tumultuous rhapsody, like an unexpected cataract, interposes thrilling words of ardent conviction and fervid aspiration.* Advancing still, though the dancing stream sometimes sparkles, and the foam deceives the eye, one may trace a rapid decline in the vivid energy of natural inspiration, and even the mingling with it of grosser elements. There is yet, indeed, a wide difference from the turbid, tame, and sluggish course of later days ; but the tendency towards it cannot be mistaken. The decay of life is now supplied by artificial expedient. Elaborate periods, and the measured cadence of rhyming prose, convey too often unmeaning truisms, or silly fiction. Though there still occur powerful reasonings against idolatry, and the burning words of a living faith, yet the chief substance of the Coran begins to be composed of legends expanded by the prophet's imagination ; of pictures of heaven and hell, the resurrection and the judgment day ; and of dramatic scenes in which the righteous and the damned, angles, genii, and infernal spirits, converse in language framed adroitly as argument in the cause of Mahomet.

The Suras gradually extend in length. In the preceding stage a whole Sura seldom exceeds the quarter of a page of Flügel's beautiful quarto edition ; in the present period it occupies one, and sometimes two pages.†

The theory of inspiration becomes more fully developed. The Almighty, from whom Revelation alone proceeds, is the sole authority for its collection, recitation and true meaning.

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* Throughout this period we find the same wild oaths constantly recurring as in the earlier Suras. See Suras LXXXI., LXXXIV., LXXXVI., LXXXV., LXXVII., LXXV., LXX., 40, LVI., 47. In the 86th Sura, the oath used by Musâb's mother, occurs "by the sparkling star!"

† It is intersting to watch the gradual lengthening of the Suras. Flügel's edition forms an excellent standard for doing so. The number of *verses*, from their varying length, is not an exact test, but that of the lines and pages of the printed volume is. The twenty-two Suras first revealed contain an average of only five *lines* each ; the next twenty Suras, (those referred to in the present Article,) sixteen *lines* ;—some of them being composed of nearly 2 pages, (each page having twenty-two lines.) From this period to the Hegira the average length of fifty Suras is 3 pages and nine lines ; some being seven and eight, and one nearly 12 pages. The average length of the twenty-one Medina Suras is 5 *pages*, the longest is the second, of 22½ pages,—the next the third, fourth and fifth, 14½, 13½ and 11 pages respectively.

Up to nearly the time of the prophet's emigration to Medîna, the Suras were produced generally whole at one time as we now find them. Later it became Mahomet's practice to throw together, according to their subject-matter, verses given forth at various time,—which is one reason why the later Suras are of such great length. (See page 5 of *Original Sources for Biography of Mahomet.*)

On these points Mahomet must wait for heavenly direction; he must not be hasty in repeating the Divine words, for "*the Coran is revealed by a gradual revelation*," * and it is the prerogative of the Lord to prescribe what shall be remembered and what forgotten. † How much soever the prophet may have sincerely believed, or persuaded himself to believe, that these functions were executed by the Deity, the doctrine offered an irresistible temptation to suit the substance of the Coran to the varying necessities of the hour, and eventually led to the open assertion (which so damaged his cause in the eyes of unbelievers,) that where two passages are irreconcileably opposed in their meaning, the later *abrogates* the earlier.

Notwithstanding this apparent fallibility, we begin to find a disposition to claim for the Coran a superstitious veneration, by ascribing to it not Divine inspiration only, but a heavenly original. *Truly, it is the glorious Coran,* IN THE PRESERVED TABLET. ‡

"It is an admonition in revered pages;
Exalted, pure;
Written by scribes honorable and just."§
It was brought down from Heaven on the
"NIGHT OF POWER, a night which excelleth a thousand months,
Whereon the Angles and THE SPIRIT descend by the command of their
[Lord, upon every errand;
It is Peace until the breaking of the Morn."‖

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* انا نحن نزلنا علیک القران تنزیلا *Verily, We* (the Lord) *send down the Coran by degrees unto thee;* the Oordoo translation of Abd ul Câdir has سہج سہج "slowly and gently."

† We shall cause thee to rehearse (the Revelation,) and thou shalt not forget excepting that which the Lord shall please; for He knoweth that which is public and that which is concealed; and We shall facilitate unto thee that which is easy." (*Sura* LXXXVII., 6, 7.)

In another passage Mahomet is thus addressed by the Deity:—"And move not thy tongue therein (in repeating the Coran) that thou shouldest be hasty therewith. Verily upon Us devolveth the collection thereof, and the recitation thereof, and when We shall have recited it unto thee, then follow the recitation thereof. Farther, upon Us devolveth the explanation thereof." (*Sura* LXXV., 17—19.)

‡ *Sura* LXXXV., 21. Meaning, according to Sale's paraphrastic translation,—"*the original whereof is written in a table kept in Heaven.*"

§ "Being transcribed from the preserved table, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the Angles.'' Zamakshari as quoted by Sale. The *scribes* apparently mean the Angels.

‖ *Sura* XCVII. This is the famous *Laïlat al Cadr*, of which so much has been made in after days. It probably referred to some special night on which Mahomet conceived that the truth broke full and clear upon his mind; hence the "Night of Power."

The Sura is a fragment of five verses only, and abruptly opens with the words, "we have caused it to descend on the night of Al Cadr." It may either signify with Sale and the commentators "the Coran," or more probably a clear sense of Divine Truth.

It is not clear what ideas Mahomet at the first attached to "the spirit" here noticed.* They were perhaps indefinite. It was a phrase he had heard used, but with different meanings, by the Jews and Christians. That it was the "Holy Ghost" (however interpreted) Mahomet intended by the term, is evident from the repeated use, though at a later date, of the expression "*God strengthened Him* (Jesus) *by the Holy Spirit.*"† But eventually there can be no doubt that the "Holy Spirit" of Mahomet came to signify the Angel Gabriel. He had learned, and he believed, that Jesus was "born of the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Ghost;" and either knowingly rejecting the divinity of that blessed person, or imperfectly informed as to His nature, he confounded Gabriel announcing the conception, with the Holy Spirit that overshadowed Mary. The two expressions became, in the phraseology of the Coran, synonymous.

And Gabriel, the "Spirit," was the Messenger who communicated to Mahomet the words of God, and sometimes appeared to him in a material form. The *traditional* account of the vision of Gabriel at the commencement of his inspiration, has already been noticed. It is perhaps to this apparition the prophet alludes in an early Sura of the present period:—

> —And I swear by the Star that is retrograde;
> By that which goeth forward, and that which disappeareth;
> By the Night when it closeth in,
> By the Morn when it breaketh!
> (I swear) that this verily is the word of an honoured Messenger;
> Powerful; and with the Lord of the Throne, of great dignity:
> Obeyed there and faithful.
> And your Companion is not mad;
> Truly he hath seen him in the clear Horizon:
> And he entertaineth no suspicions regarding the Unseen;
> Neither is this the word of a rejected ‡ Devil.
> Whither then are ye going?
> Verily this is no other than an admonition to all creatures,
> To him amongst you that willeth to walk uprightly:
> But ye shall not will, unless the Lord willeth;—The Lord of Creation!
>
> SURA LXXXI.

The concluding verses show that Mahomet already contemplated his mission as embracing the whole world. The vivid conviction of its heavenly origin contrasted strangely with the apathy and unbelief around him; and hence is springing up a belief in the Divine decree of election and reprobation, which alone could account for these spiritual phenomena,* yet in the very strength of the asseveration that he was not deceived, and that his inspiration was not that of a "rejected devil," do we not trace the symptoms of a lurking suspicion that all might possibly not be right?

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* The only two other places in which "the Spirit" is mentioned in the revelations of *this period*, are Suras, LXXVIII., 37; and LXX, 5; in which it is alluded to in connection with the Angels as present at the day of Judgment.

† See *Sura* II., 87, 254—واتينا عيسى ابن مريم البينات وايدناه بروح القدس the expression is the same in both passages. So Sura LVIII., 22. He hath strengthened them (believers) with His Spirit. وايدهم بروح منه In later periods of the Coran the same *verb* is used with reference to supernatural help, as by angels in battle, *Sura* IX., 42; VII., 65; III., 13; VIII., 25.

‡ Literally *driven away*, and thereof unable ever to hear the secrets of Heaven.

The teaching of the Coran is, up to this stage, very simple. Belief in the Unity of God, and in Mahomet as His messenger, in the resurrection of the dead, and retribution of good and evil,† are perhaps the sole doctrines insisted upon. The only duties, prayer‡ and charity, honesty in weights and measures,§ truthfulness in testimony, chastity,‖ and the faithful observance of covenants.

It is doubtful whether, at this period, Mahomet inculcated the rites of the Meccan system as divine. The absence of allusion to them inclines to the opinion that they formed at least no part of his positive teaching. There was at any rate a clear and conclusive renunciation of idolatry:—

SURA CIX.—SAY, Oh, ye unbelievers!
I worship not that which ye worship;
And ye do not worship that which I worship,
I will never worship that which ye worship;
Neither will ye worship that which I worship.
To you be your Religion; to me my Religion.

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* We find the doctrine of predestination appearing in almost the same words in another Sura of this period.—(*LXXVI.*, 29.) *Verily this is a Warning. And whoso willeth taketh the way unto his Lord; and ye shall not will unless God willeth, for God is knowing and wise. He causeth such as He willeth to enter into His Mercy, but as for the Unjust, He hath prepared for them a grievous punishment*, (v. 29 to end.)

† *Sura LXX.*, 26.

‡ *LXXVI.*, 7, 25; *LXX.* 23—33. The *times* of prayer are as yet only mentioned generally, as Morning, Evening and Night.

§ *Sura LXXXIII.*, 1—5; *LV.*, 8. The former opens with a fine philippic against those who defraud in weights and measures:—"*What! do they think that they shall not be raised! On the great day! The day on which mankind shall stand before the Lord of all creatures?*"

‖ *Sura LXX.*, 29—32. It is to be specially noted that at this early period, Mahomet, according to the custom of the country, admitted slave girls to be *lawful* concubines, besides ordinary wives; and they are specified by the same phrase afterwards used at Medîna, *viz.*, *that which your right hands possess*, signifying female slaves obtained by purchase or conquest. This was at a time when he himself lived chastely with a single wife of advanced age. Though the license was *subsequently* used for his own indulgence, and as holding out an inducement to his followers to fight, in the hope of capturing females, (who would then be lawful concubines as "that which their right hand possessed), yet these do not appear to have been the original motives for the rule. It was, in fact, one of the earliest compromises, by which he fitted his system to the usages and wants of those about him.

This Sura is said to have been revealed when the aged Walîd pressed Mahomet to the compromise, that his God should be worshipped in conjunction with their deities, or alternately every year.[*] Whatever the occasion, it breathes a spirit of uncompromising hostility to the practice of idolatry.

The vivid pictures of heaven and hell, placed, to increase their effect, in close juxtaposition, are now painted in colours of material joy and torment; which, though to us absurd and childish—were well calculated to strike a deep impression upon the simple Arab mind. Rest and passive enjoyment: gardens verdant with murmuring rivulets, wherein the believer clothed in green silk, brocades, and silver ornaments, reposes beneath the wide spreading shade, upon couches with cushions and carpets; and drinks the sweet-waters of the fountain, or quaffs aromatic wine (such as the Arabian loved, and before Islam indulged in) placed in goblets before him, or handed round in silver cups resplendent as glass, by beautiful youths; while clusters of fruit hang close and invite the hand to gather them; such is the oft repeated, and glowing scene, framed to captivate the inhabitant of the thristy and sterile Mecca.[†]

And another element is soon added to complete the Paradise of the pleasure-loving Arab:—

> **Verily for the Pious is a blissful abode;**
> Gardens and Vineyards,
> **And Damsels with swelling bosoms, of an equal age;**
> And a full cup.[‡]

* * * * * *

In the customary picture of a shady garden "with fruits and "meats, and beakers of wine that causeth not the head to ache "neither disturbeth the reason," we have these damsels of Paradise introduced as "*lovely, large-eyed girls,*[§] *resembling pearls hidden in their shells, a reward for that which the faithful have wrought.* * * * * *Verily, we have created them of a rare creation; we have made them virgins, fascinating, of an equal age.*"

The following extract will illustrate the artifical style and unworthy materialism, into which this fire of early inspiration was now degenerating. It is taken from a psalm with a fixed alternating versicle throughout, quaintly addressed in the dual number to men and genii ; and to suit the rhyme the objects are all (excepting the damsels) introduced in pairs.

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[*] *Hishâmi*, p. 79; *Tabari*, p. 139.

[†] These descriptions are literally copied from the Coran. (*Cnf. Suras* LXXXVIII., 8; LXXXIII., 22; LXXVII 41; LXXVI., 12.) The wine is in one passage spoken of as sealed with musk, and spiced with ginger.

[‡] *Sura* LXXVIII., 30.

[§] *Hûries Sura* LII., 20; LVI., 24. This is the earliest mention of the Houries, or black-eyed girls of Paradise, so famous in the Mahometan system, and by which perhaps, more than anything else, Mahometanism is known among other nations. They were not thought of, at least not ***introduced into the revelation***, till four or five years after Mahomet had assumed the office of prophet.

* * * *

* * * This is Hell, which the wicked deny;
They shall pass to and fro between the same and Scalding Water;
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
But to him that dreadeth the appearing of his Lord, shall be two Gardens;
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
Planted with Shady trees,
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
In each of them shall two fountains flow,
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
And in each shall there be of every fruit two kinds,
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
They shall repose on brocade-lined Carpets, the fruits of the two gardens hanging close,
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
In them shall be modest girls, refraining their looks, whom before them no man shall have
[deflowered, neither any genius.
Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?
Like as if they were rubies or pearls [*]

It is very remarkable that the notices in the Coran of this voluptuous Paradise are *almost entirely confined* to a time when, whatever the tendency of his desires, Mahomet was living, chaste and temperate, with a single wife of three-score years of age.[†] Gibbon characteristically observes that "Mahomet "has not specified the male companions of the female elect,

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[*] *Sura* LV., 43, &c. The above is the reward of the *highest* class of believers. Another set of gardens and females is immediately after described for the *commoner* class of the faithful ;—"And besides these, there shall be two other gardens * * Of a dark green. * * in each two fountains of welling water. * * in each fruits with the palm and the pomegranate. * * In them shall be damsels amiable and lovely. * * Large-eyed Hûries, kept within pavillions. * * Whom no man shall have deflowered before them, nor any genius." Between each verse the fixed versicle *which then*, &c., recurs.

So at a somewhat later date ;—"And close unto the believers shall be modest females refraining their looks, like ostrich eggs delicately covered." (*Sura* XXXVII., 49.) In another passage of the same period the faithful are said to be "*married*" to these "fair large-eyed girls." (*Sura* XLIV., 53. See also *Sura* XXXVIII., 53.

In four other places of a still later date, and probably after Khadîja's death, the *wives* of believers (their *proper* wives of this world apparently) are spoken of as entering into paradise with their husbands. Mahomet may have deemed it possible that the earthly wives might still remain united to their husbands in Paradise, in spite of their new black-eyed rivals. (*Suras* XXXVI., 55 ; XLIII., 68 ; XIII., 25 ; XL., 9.)

[†] It is very noteworthy that in the Medina Suras, that is, in all the voluminous revelations of the ten years following the Hegira, women are only twice referred to as constituting one of the delights of Paradise ; and on both occasions in these simple words ;—*and to them* (believers.) *there shall be therein pure wives (Sura* II., 25 : IV 55.*)* Was it that the soul of Mahomet had at that period no longings after what he had then the full enjoyment of? Or that a closer contact with Jewish principles and morality, covered with a merited confusion the sensual picture of his Paradise drawn at Mecca?

"lest he should either alarm the jealousy of the former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage." The remark, made in raillery, is pregnant with reason, and aims a fatal blow at the Paradise of Islam. Faithful women will renew their youth in heaven; and their good works merit an equal and analogous reward. But Mahomet shrank from the legitimate conclusion.

The Hell of Mahomet is no less material and gross than his Heaven. The drink of the damned is boiling water and filthy corruption; on being cast into the pit, they hear it bray wildly like an ass: hell boileth over, it almost bursteth with fury: the smoke, rising in three columns, affordeth neither shade nor protection, but casteth forth great sparks like castles, or as it were yellow camels." *

* * * *

And the companions of the Left Hand, how miserable they!
In scorching Blasts, and scalding Water,
And the shade of Smoke
That is not cold nor is it grateful,
Verily before that, they lived in Pleasure,
And they were bent upon great Wickedness!
And they used to say,
What! after we have died and become dust and bones, shall we be raised?
Or our Fathers that preceded use?
Say, yea, verily, the Former and the Latter,
Shall be gathered at the time of the appointed Day.
Then shall you, oh! ye that err and reject the Truth;
Eat assuredly of the Tree of *Zackkûm*,
Filling your bellies therewith
And drinking thereupon boiling water,
As a thirsty Camel drinketh.
This shall be your entertainment on the Day of Reckoning!
SURA LVI., 42—58.

A nearer vengeance in this life begins to loom darkly forth, but mingled mysteriously with the threats of the Judgment-day and Hell, thus:—

* * * *

* * The day of separation!
And what shall make thee know what the *Day of Separation* meaneth?
Woe on that day unto the Deniers of the Truth!
What! Have we not destroyed the former nations?
Wherefore we shall cause the latter to follow them.
Thus shall we deal with the wicked People!
Woe on that day unto the Deniers of the Truth.†
* * * Verily, we warn you of a punishment close at hand,
The day whereon a man shall see that which his hands have wrought,
And the unbelievers shall say, *Oh! would that I were dust!* ‡
* * * What! are ye secure that he who dwelleth in the Heavens will not cause the earth to swallow you up, and it shall quake!
Or that he will not send upon you an overwhelming Blast, and then ye shall know of what nature is my Warning!
And verily the Nations that preceded these denied the Truth, and how awful was my Vengeance.

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* See *Suras* LXXXVIII., 1; LXXVIII., 23; LXXVII., 30; LXVII., 6

† *Sura* LXXVII., 13, 19.

‡ *Sura* LXXVIII., 39.

§ *Sura* LXVII., 16.

But the men of Mecca scoffed at these threats, and defied the preacher to bring them into execution.

> * * * And they say, *When shall this promised Vengeance be, if he speak the Truth?*
> SAY, Nay, verily, the knowledge thereof is with God alone; as for me I am but a plain Warner.
> But when they see it, the countenance of those who disbelieved shall fall;
> And it shall be said, *This is that which ye have been calling for.*
> SAY, What think ye, whether the Lord destroy me and those that be with me or have *mercy* upon us, Who shall deliver the Unbelievers from a dreadful Punishment?[*]

We begin also to find in the Coran the arguments used by the Meccans against the prophet, and the mode in which they were replied to. The progress of incredulity may thus be followed, and the very expressions used by either party traced.

The resurrection of the body was derided by his fellow citizens as an idle imagination; and when the prophet sought to illustrate it by the analogies of nature, and the power of God in creation, he was scouted as a sorcerer or magician, who would produce from dust and dead men's bones a living body.

The Coran was denounced at one time as a bare-faced imposture, as *Fables of the Ancients*[†] trumped up to suit the occasion, and borrowed from the foreigners at Mecca; at others, as the effusion of a phrenzied poet,[‡] or the absurdity of an insane fool.

Jeers and jests were the ordinary weapons by which the believers were assailed:—

> Verily, the sinners laugh the Faithful to scorn;
> When they pass by them, they wink at one another:
> And when they turn aside unto their own people, they turn aside jesting scurrilously;
> And when they see them, they say, *Verily,* THESE *are the erring ones.*
> But they are not sent to be keepers over them.
> Wherefore one day the Faithful shall laugh the Unbelievers to scorn,
> Lying upon couches, they shall behold them (in hell!)[§]

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[*] *Idem.*, 25.

[†] *Sura* LXXXIII., 13 اساطير الاولين Sprenger has an ingenious and possible theory that *Asâtîr* is a corruption of *Historiae.*

[‡] Mahomet disliked nothing so much as being called a poet, and rejected the equivocal honor of the appellation. He probably felt it his weakest point; conscious of the labour he bestowed on the versification and cadence of his revelations, which he would have the world believe, and perhaps persuaded himself to believe, were the results and the marks of divine inspiration.

He affected even at Medina not to distinguish poetry from prose, and would transpose the words of two verses the Mussulmans sang as they laboured at the building of their mosque:—The lines were

اللهم لا عيش الا عيش الاخره
اللهم ارحم الانصار والمهاجره

the termination *illâ aish al âkhira,* rhyming with *al ansâr wâl muhâjira.* Mahomet would insist on repeating the last line transposed *al muhâjira w'al ansâr,* or *al ansâr w'al muhâjren* (thus destroying the rhyme.) *Hishâmi,* p. 173.

[§] *Sura* LXXXIII., 29—34.

Amid the derision and the plots of the Meccans, patience is inculcated on the prophet from on high: his followers are exhorted to steadfastness and resignation, and are in one passage reminded of the constancy of the Christian martyrs in Najrân.*

There is at this period hardly any allusion to Jewish and Christian Scripture or legend, and but little to the legends of Arabia.† The Coran did not yet rest its claim upon the evidence of previous Revelation, or the close correspondence thereof with its own contents.

The peculiar phraseology of the new faith was already becoming fixed. The dispensation of Mahomet was distinguished as "*Islam*," the surrender of the soul to God; his followers as '*believers*,' and as '*Musselmâns*,' (those who surrender themselves; ‡) or *Mushrikîn*, *i. e.*, those who *associate*, companions, or sharers with the Deity; and his opponents as '*Kâfirs*,' that is, *rejecters* of the Divine message. 'Faith,' 'Repentance,' 'Heaven,' 'Hell,' 'Prayer,' 'Almsgiving,' and many other terms of the religion, soon acquired their stereotyped meaning. The naturalization in Arabia of Judaism and Christianity, (but chiefly of the former,) provided a ready fund of theological *expressions*, which, if not current, were at least widely known, in a sense approaching that which Mahomet attached to them.*

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* *Sura* LXXXV. ;—

By the Heavens with their Zodiacal Signs;
By the threatened Day!
By the Witness and the Witnessed,
Damned be the *Diggers of the Pits* filled with burning Fuel, when they sat around the same.
And they were witnesses of that which they did unto the Believers.
And they tormented them no otherwise than because they believed in God the Mighty and the Glorious.
Verily they who ersecute the Believpers, male and female, and repent them not,
For them the torment of Hell is prepared, and a burning anguish, &c.

The "diggers of the pits" were the Jewish persecutors of Yemen, Dzu Nowâs and his followers, who invaded Najrân with a large army, and having treacherously gained possession of the place, dug trenches filled with combustible materials, into which such as would not embrace Judaism were cast headlong. The persecutors are styled the contrivers or diggers of the pits or trenches. (*See* page 16 of the paper on the "*Anti-Mahometan History of Arabia.*"

† See *Suras* LXXXV., 18; LXXXVII., 18; LXXIII, 14. These passages contain only the most passing references to Abraham, Moses and Pharaoh.

‡ Thus in Sura LXXXV., 10, we have مومنين and مومنات for male and female believers, مسلمين 'Moslems,' occurs frequently, and مسلمات 'female Moslems' in Sura LXVI., 5.

We have purposely confined our remarks to the portion of the Coran produced by Mahomet during the period under review, *i. e.*, the first five years of his Mission. It is thus that the enquirer is best able to trace the development of the religious system, and to observe what bearing the external circumstances of the Arabian Prophet may have had upon the peculiarities of his creed.

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* See remarks on the prevalence of Jewish legends and expressions, in *The Aborigines of Arabia*, p. 15, and *Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia*, p. 58. We cannot calculate the advantage which Mahomet thus possessed in having the tacit acquiescence of the Meccans in the truth of former Revelations, and in being able to appropriate the treasury of apt and ready terms already current, as expressive of the spiritual ideas he wished to attach to them, or at least containing the germ capable of easy development.

Thus the phrase, "the merciful, the compassionate" affixed by Mahomet to the name of God, though known, was not in use among the Meccans, as we see by the treaty of Hodeibia. In dictating to the scribes the terms of this truce, Mahomet commenced, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," the Meccans interrupted him, saying:—"Nay, as for God, we acknowlege him, but as for the Compassionate and Merciful, we acknowledge him not;" then, said the Prophet;—"Write, in thy name, Oh God!" قال [محمد] اكتبوا بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قالوا اما الله فنعرفه واما الرحمن الرحيم فلا نعرفه. (*Wâckidi*, p. 119½ *Hishâmi*, p. 326.)

Gerger has examined ingenuously and carefully the Mahometan terms borrowed from Islam in his, *Was not Mohammed aus dem Judenthune aufgenommen.*

There is much truth in the following passage:—

"The relation of Mahometanism to the existing Heathenism, Judaism and Christianity, gave also the language (Arabic) an entirely new hue. Hence we find here, as an immediate result, an entirely new circle of religious ideas and expressions, which, however, gradually passed into civil life, and here also partly produced new modes of expression or antiquated older ones, and gave them a new sense. As مشركون تقي وقي كافرين كفر foreign idioms as جادل في سبيل الله, افسد فى العرض."—*Havernick's Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 116; Vol. 28, of *Clark's Foreign Theolog. Library*.

LORD METCALFE.

BY REV. THOMAS SMITH, D. D.

The Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe, late Governor-General of India, Governor of Jamaica, and Governor-General of Canada; from unpublished Letters and Journals preserved by himself, his family, and his friends. By John William Kaye, author of the History of the War in Affghanistan, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1854.

THE prolific pen of Mr. Kaye has laid the public under a deep obligation, by the production of the biography of an illustrious man, who bore a distinguished part in important transactions in both hemispheres. And we may state our candid opinion at the outset, that the author of the two volumes before us has worthily executed an important task. We suspect that Mr. Kaye does not generally get due credit for the very great amount of labour and research that he bestows on the production of his books; and this simply by reason of the rapidity with which they follow each other. The advertisements in the newspapers announce the fact, that Mr. Kaye is engaged in the preparation of a work on a given subject. Forthwith, the work appears in two goodly volumes, and another is announced as in hand, and preparing for publication. All who do not read the books, take for granted that works composed so rapidly are necessarily flimsy; while of those who do read them, a large proportion are utterly incapable of judging of the amount of labour that has been employed in verifying statements by the collation of authorities, and in working up an almost infinite number of facts, of every possible degree of importance, into a narrative or treatise in which due subordination of the parts to the whole is successfully aimed at. Thus these readers take up the cry of the non-readers, and represent Mr. Kaye's works as very readable, and, upon the whole, rather amusing; little imagining the amount of toil that has been expended in their production. There is something also in Mr. Kaye's style that tends to perpetuate this mistaken idea. He writes with such apparent ease, and states his facts with so little of the pretension of research, that his readers are apt to be beguiled into the idea that his matter has come to him spontaneously, that what is so easy and pleasant for them to read, was equally easy and pleasant for him to write;—which is about as great a mistake as were that of the epicure who should imagine that the pleasures of the cook in preparing the savoury viands, are as intense as are his own in devouring them. In opposition to this opinion, we must state our conviction, that there is probably no writer of the day, who bestows more labor upon each of his works, than does the author of that now before us; and that great injustice is done to him by those who imagine that he writes with little care, because he writes with great rapidity. To us it appears evident, that those who thus judge, under-estimate the power of a man of genius and extensive information, to concentrate his labour, by throwing none of it away—to bring to bear upon the matter in hand the knowledge that has been stored up in his mind, and the reflexions that have been incorporated into its very substance, without any intention of their ever being made use of for the purpose to which they are actually applied.

These remarks are suggested by the work before us; yet they are not so applicable to it as to some other works of the same author. His *History of the War in Affghanistan* is entitled to rank as a classic, and will, unless we greatly mistake, be more thought of fifty years hence than it is now.

Our own Palatial City has the honor of having given birth to Charles Metcalfe. The house in which he was born was afterwards styled the "Lecture House," though Mr. Kaye, who ought not to be ignorant of Calcutta topography, has been unable to discover where it stood, or why it was so called. After what we have just said of Mr. Kaye's diligence in research, it may seem like presumption to hazard a conjecture on the subject; but we cannot help suspecting, that the Lecture Room was in Writers' Buildings. We presume that, at the time when the letter quoted by Mr. Kaye was written, Charles Metcalfe was a student in the College of Fort William. Now we know that, pending Lord Wellesley's reference to the Court of Directors as to his magnificent project for a building at Garden Reach, the business of the College was carried on in the Writers' Buildings. In that range there must have been at least one house set apart for the delivery of Lectures, and in this house it seems to us probable that Charles Metcalfe was offered apartments. This seems to us to be at least a plausible hypothesis, and we leave it for discussion to our Calcutta antiquaries—for in respect of Calcutta localities, even half-a-century suffices to bring a question within the province of the antiquary.

Be this as it may, Charles Metcalfe, the second son of a Major in the Bengal Army, made his first appearance on this terrestrial stage, on the 30th day of January 1785, being the 136th anniversary of the day on which England's "Royal Martyr" enacted the last scene of the life-drama, being moreover thirty days after the first issue of the *Times* newspaper, and nine days before the departure of Warren Hastings from the shores of India. Major Metcalfe retired from the service shortly after the birth of Charles, and in due time became a Director of the Honorable East India Company, an M. P. and a Baronet. Of Charles's babyhood and early boyhood no records are forthcoming; nor is this very greatly to be deplored. Of course he suffered the usual training and testing of the nervous system, by being subjected to the daily and hourly threats of a visit from a certain "old man," who so long wielded a sceptre not the less potent, because of its being imaginary, over the subject nurseries of England in the "good old times." His "first school" was at Bromley, in Middlesex, which, at the beginning of 1796, he quitted to become an Etonian. But he does not seem to have very fully caught the spirit of that noble institution. In the school-room he was respectable, or perhaps somewhat more, but in the grounds and on the river he was decidedly "slow." His energies might perhaps have been better expended on the sports of the play-ground, than on a battle which he waged (and won) with the authorities respecting a point of school-discipline. However, his journal, which he began to keep at Eton, indicates that he was a boy of great vigor, and that even then he had a good deal of the "pluck" which he afterwards exhibited in many an important crisis. We fully agree with both parts of the following comment by his biographer, on the young Etonian's career. The rule is, doubtless, as he states it; but Metcalfe does seem to have been an exception.

> In after days, Charles Metcalfe used to say, that nearly all the literary knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his life, had been gained as a boy at Eton—he had never been able to read much at a later period of his career. How great was his application then, how varied his pursuits, may be gathered from these extracts. Great men are not to be tried by ordinary rules; they make rules for themselves. I would rather think of a fine open-spirited boy, boating, swimming, playing, ever getting into mischief at school, and in the holidays spending half his time on the back of a pony; and I should, as a rule, believe, that in such training there were more hopeful assurance of turning him, in due time, into a useful servant of the State, than in the discipline of such continued book-work as is recorded in Charles Metcalfe's Journal, but it was fortunate, in this instance, that the bent of the boy's inclination was rather towards intellectual than muscular exercise—that he spent his leisure hours with Ariosto and Chatterton, with Gibbon and Voltaire, rather than with the boats' crews and the Eton Elevens. If he had been Captain of the boats, and beaten Harrow and Winchester off his own bat, he could not have grown into a manlier statesman. But if he had not acquired a love of literature, and some knowledge of books at school, he would never have acquired them at all; and though he might still have distinguished himself greatly on the theatre of the world, it is hard to say how much might have been wanting from the completeness of the character, which it is the business and the privilege of the biographer to illustrate in these pages.

This is all very well, and we quite agree with Metcalfe and his biographer in thinking that it was well that he read and studied *so much* at Eton; but we cannot go along with them in their regrets, that he did not study *more*, or that his studies were cut short when he had reached his fifteenth year. He might, indeed, have gained more extensive information on literary subjects, had he been allowed to remain a couple of years more at school. But while he might, or might not, have enlarged his information, he would almost certainly have enlarged his dogmatism; and we do not think it at all likely that he would have been a wiser man or a better Governor than he actually turned out. There are matters in regard to which no general rule can possibly be laid down—and while young Metcalfe's education might be far from theoretical perfection, it is difficult to say, looking back from the standpoint of the culmination of his career, whether any other would have been much better *for him*. At the end of March 1800, Metcalfe quitted Eton, and in the middle of June he sailed for India. But in the interval he had time to form an attachment, which seems to have influenced his future life to a considerable extent. Probably it had been well that it had been ripened into matrimony; but it was the old story of the course of true love, a river whose channel seems to be as rocky as that of the Thessalian Peneus. As it was, the influence of this boyish attachment was doubtless, favorable. "Next to religion," says a book that at the moment of the present writing happens to be open on our table, "there is no charm so powerful to soothe the sorrows of exile, and to keep inviolate virtuous principles, as carrying within the heart the talisman of a pure and reciprocal love." Doubtless, there is much that is ridiculous in the idea of love at the tender age of fifteen, but there is much that is serious also.

On the first day of January 1801, which his biographer, with questionable accuracy, calls the first day of the present century, the future Governor-General entered the river Hooghly, and on the third, he made his entrance into the Palatial City. He landed with a resolution to devote himself with full power to study, which resolution, says his biographer, "went the way of young Civilians' resolutions in general." The gaieties of Calcutta Society were more attractive than the Odes of Hafiz, or the profundities of the *Bhagavata Gita*. But his journal testifies, that his studies, though fitful and irregular, were intense, and in due time he acquired a competent knowledge of the languages of the East. On the 4th day of May he was admitted into the College of Fort William, being the first student admitted into that institution. Throughout his year of griffinhood he was, or fancied himself to be, supremely unhappy, and submitted a formal request to his father, to be permitted to resign the service. But

> There's a Providence that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will ;—

And in this case the Providence acted through the channel of the old Major and his lady-wife. The letters of his mother are sensible and to the point. She was a " strong-minded woman ; " and when her son sent forth his sentimental sighings, she said that they came from his stomach and not from his heart. " You " will laugh at my sending you out a box of pills by Miss S——, " but I think you are bilious, and they will be a great service. " And Mrs. Metcalfe was right in the main. What her son required was simply to have the nonsense laughed out of him. Had his parents consented to his wish, and permitted him to return to England, he would, probably, have been the first to regret it, and long before he could have reached England, he would have been as anxious to return to India as he now was to quit it ; or, if the thoughts of Miss D——had sufficed to keep up his resolution during the whole period of his voyage, at all events, six months of idleness in England would certainly have cured him of his Indo-phobia. Instead of quitting India to be an idle and a useless man, as would infallibly have been the case had he got his own will, he left Calcutta in January 1802, to enter upon a career of usefulness and activity, which led him on eventually to the highest offices in the State. He was appointed Assistant to the Resident at the Court of Scindia, and set out to join his appointment. His principal was Colonel Collins, an old friend of his father, who was probably willing to requite the kindness which he had received from the Major, by doing all that lay in his power for the advantage of young Charles. But his ideas of kindness were peculiar—a clever, ruff old Indian, who regarded all young men as puppies, and felt it an incumbent duty to dock their ears. Mr. Kaye's comment upon the whole matter is in the spirit of the Baconian,

> That "Jack Collins" and Charles Metcalfe had their differences, and could not agree to differ amicably and philosophically, is clear. The story is a very old one ; within every man's experience ; intelligible ; without mystery. Colonel Collins was cold, imperious and overbearing. He was known by the name of " King Collins ; " and he had little toleration for those who did not recognise his sovereignty. He looked upon Charles Metcalfe as a vassal and as a boy. He stood upon his position, and he stood upon his age. He exacted a deference which the youth was slow to concede ; he claimed a superiority which was not willingly acknowledged. The boy thought the man arrogant and domineering. The man thought the boy forward and presumptuous. It is probable that both

were right. It is almost a condition of early talent to be vain and self-sufficient. It does not much matter. The vanity and self-sufficiency are soon rubbed off.

Quite true. But how? Generally by the very processes to which old Jack subjected young Charles. "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth;" and we have not any doubt that Metcalfe was all the better for having "his nose held to the grinding-stone." However, he resigned his appointment, and on the 10th September 1802, he arrived in Calcutta. Three weeks later he was appointed an Assistant in the office of the Chief-Secretary to Government: and here his official life properly began, for now he had made up his mind to abide by his calling, and gradually did he enter with more alacrity on the discharge of his duties, and more and more did he concentrate his studies to the point of preparing himself for the reponsibilities of an Indian official. So far as appears from his letters and journals, he seems to have now stood aloof, to a great extent, from the gaieties and dissipations of Calcutta Society, to have plodded contentedly at his official work, and to have spent a large portion of his leisure time in historical studies. Altogether, Charles Metcalfe is now a promising young man, having got rid of most of the nonsense which made him fancy himself so unhappy during the first months of his sojourn in the orient. Yes—a promising lad enough—much given to theorize, and to fill his common-place book with rather dry dissertations on rather dry subjects, but still a youth with a warm heart and a strong head. But, perhaps, the turning-point of his life, the great crisis of his career, dates from a visit of his elder brother Theophilus, who took a run from China, and dropped in up on him quite unexpectedly. Theophilus was a fine light-hearted fellow, who took things as they came, and had not a particle of that *nonsense* in his composition, which at one time had formed so large an element in that of Charles, and of which he had not got completely rid even yet. It was a great matter for Charles to be now brought into contact with this brother. And then, in April 1803, he was placed in a position that brought him into immediate contact with a great man and with great measures. He was then appointed an Assistant in the office of the Governor-General, and was employed, as however humble a wheel, in the great machine of diplomacy and war. The following picture is so well sketched, that although it may be more appropriately ticketed "a scene in the life of Lord Wellesley" than in that of Charles Metcalfe, we cannot resist the temptation to give it a place in our gallery.

* * * * At present it is enough to say, that the complication of affairs threatening, as it did, to involve the British power in the greatest war in which it

had ever been engaged in India, threw a large amount of work into the Governor-General's office, and taxed all the energies of his assistants. Lake and Wellesley were in the field, waiting the opportunity to strike. It was certain that no statesmanship, that no diplomacy, could avert the inevitable collision. Whatever may have been the wishes of the Governor-General, I am afraid it cannot be said, that the boys in his office were very desirous to arrest the war. They were deeply interested in the progress of events, and their sympathies were not with the peacemakers. So it happened, that when intelligence reached Calcutta, that the anticipated rupture had actually taken place, and that Colonel Collins had quitted Scindia's Court, Metcalfe and his associates were thrown into a state of excitement, in which there was no great intermixture of pain. It was, indeed, a memorable day. There are men still living, who, after the lapse of half a century, remember all the circumstances of that evening as vividly as though they had occurred in the present reign. For some days, the "glorious little man" as his disciples affectionately called Lord Wellesley, had been pacing one of the halls of Government House, girding himself up for the approaching crisis; and now he was prepared to meet it. Aided by Edmonstone, the Political Secretary, whose knowledge was as ready as it was extensive, he now dictated instructions to Colonel Collins, now to General Lake, now to Arthur Wellesley, now to John Malcolm, and now to Close and Krikpatrick, the Residents at the Courts of the Peishwa and the Nizam. All day long these weighty despatches grew beneath the hands of the young scribes. The brief twilight of the Indian evening passed, and left the work only half done. But still by the bright lamp-light the young writers resolutely plied their pens, as hour after hour the Governor-General continued to dictate the despatches, upon which the fate of principalities depended. Words of encouragement little needed, came freely from him, as he directed this great work, and still, as Adam, Bayley, Jenkins, Metcalfe, Cole, Monckton, and others wrote and wrote these weighty despatches, upon which the events of the great war were to turn, he told them ever and anon, that their work would soon be done, and that there was a table spread for them in the banquet-room, at which they might presently drink success to the campaign. Though it was now the exhausting month of August, and rest and food were denied to them throughout many long hours, there was not one of them who flagged at his desk. Sustained by their youthful enthusiasm, they continued at their work till past midnight; then weary, hungry and athirst, they were conducted to the table which had been spread sumptuously for their entertainment. It was a festival not soon to be forgotten. A special message from Lord Wellesley instructed them to give full vent to their hilarity—to use his cellar as though it were their own, and not to think that they were bound to be quiet because they were in Government House. So they drank success to the campaign in good earnest; toasted the glorious Wellesley and his glorious brother; toasted General Lake and Colonel Stevenson, toasted the British Soldier and Jack Sepoy; and finally toasted one another. And the Governor-General did not complain that next day his "office" was not very efficient.

Who, on reading this extract, does not feel the wish rise within him, that he were "a glorious little man" too? Gentle reader, and why not? You and we may, or we may not, be or become Governor-General of India. But that's "neither here nor there." It may be ours and yours none the less to shed a genial influence around us, to make our associates feel that it is pleasant to be with us, to make our subordinates feel that it is pleasant to serve us—to kindle or cherish the glow of enthusiasm in some young breasts, and stir them up to fight all the more manfully the great life-battle—and he who does all this, is a glorious little man, aye, a gloriously great man, whether he wield the sceptre of subject realms, or preside at the humble family board. It might have been all the better, had the toasting been more restricted, and the "office" had been ready to begin work next morning; but this was the fault, not so much of the glorious little man, as it was of the times in which he lived. It is the discovery of more modern days that man may be merry without being unwise: and a discovery it is, worthy to take its place with the rail-road, the electric telegraph, the stereoscope and the lucifer-match,—even the discovery, that the effusion of an inordinate quantity of champagne is not essential to the success of a campaign, and that good humour and even merriment may be maintained without the stimulus of "universal punch."

The period of Metcalfe's employment in the office of the Governor-General, was signalized by his production of a memorandum, or minute, as such documents are called in India, on a proposal to station a subsidiary force in the territory of Scindia. This document is given entire by Mr. Kaye, and is a very favorable specimen of the composition of a young statesman. It received the hearty commendation of Lord Wellesley, and as the first taste of blood is said to have weaned the tame tiger from all liking to the slops on which he had been previously sustained, so this commendation of the Marquis, seems to have effectually revolutionized young Metcalfe's tastes, who, instead of longing any more for the dull respectability of a desk in Downing-street, now devoted his whole energies to the service in which he was destined to attain so great distinction. Shortly after, he properly began his career, being attached as a Political Assistant to the staff of General Lake. Those were the days when traveling in India was somewhat more exciting than it is generally in these days, when an attack of dacoits on a European traveller, though not altogether a matter of the past, is so rare, as to be the exception rather than the general rule. As our young "political" was wending his way to join the army of Lord Lake, meditating deeds of lofty chivalry, or haply wishing that the bearers would not grunt quite so loud, or jolt quite so much, his palanquin was suddenly stopped by a band of armed robbers. The bearers and attendants, abounding more in discretion than in the other element of valour, and arguing, doubtless, that if there be advantage to him who "fights and runs away" over him who "fights till he is slain," the balance is *à fortiori* in his favour, who runs away without fighting at all—dropped the palanquin and retreated to a safe distance. The odds were altogether overpowering, but the young Etonian would not yield without a struggle. He seized a club from the hands of one of his assailants, and for a little time maintained the unequal contest. But his club-hand was soon rendered powerless by a stroke from a tulwar, which cut off the ends of two of his fingers. Resistance had been vain all along; it was now impossible. It was all that could be hoped for, that he might be allowed to escape and leave his assailants to rifle his palanquin at their leisure. He escaped accordingly into the jungle, and soon sank exhausted on the bank of a river. After a while he was able to crawl back and see how the land lay. The dacoits had not yet completed their work of spoliation, but ere long it was finished, the discreet bearers returned to their duty, and Metcalfe was "carried on to Cawnpore, where, under the care of his aunt, Mrs. Richardson, he soon recovered from his wounds, and proceeded onwards to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief."

His position in Lake's camp was at first an unpleasant one. He was of course treated with respect by those in authority, and with no absolute incivility by the officers with whom he associated; but it was evident enough that they regarded him as an interloper. Has was styled the "clerk," and was obliged to "hold his manhood cheap while any spoke" that had taken part in the stirring scenes that had ben enacted before he joined the camp. It would not have been very wonderful, if in the sprit of those times, these taunts and assumptions had incited Metcalfe to vindicate his character for "pluck," by challenging one of his rivals. But perhaps the young Etonian may have remembered the episode of Pulfio and Varenus, elegantly introduced into Cæsar's Commentaries:—"Erant in eâ " legione fortissimi viri centuriones, qui jam primis ordinibus ap" propinquarent, T. Pulfio et L. Varenus. Hi perpetuas con" troversias inter se habebant, quinam anteferretur, omnibusque " annis de loco summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex iis " Pulfio, cum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, 'Quid dubi" tas,' inquit, 'Varene? Aut quem locum probandæ virtutis " tuæ spectas? hic, hic dies de nostris controversiis judicabit.' " Hæc cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quæque pars " hostium confertissima visa est, in eam irrumpit." Be this as it may, our young political adopted a similar method of vindicating his character, and establishing his reputation in the British camp. The fortress of Deeg, about forty-five miles distant from Agra, was to be reduced ; after six days' battering, a breach was effected, and a storming party was told off to enter. This party Metcalfe volunteered to accompany; he received permission, and was one of the first to enter the breach. The effect of this upon his warm-hearted associates needs not be told. From that day he was the admired of all admirers, from the old hero Lord Lake, who used to call him his "little stormer," down to the unbearded ensign, who, if such slang was current in those days, would of course pronounce the very definite opinion, that "Metcalfe was a *brick*, and no mistake."

Our author expends a considerable amount of ingenuity in vindication of this escapade of the young civilian, on the ground that he was very young, and that some such demonstration as this was necessary, in order to increase his influence, and so to enable him to discharge his important functions with advantage. We would treat the matter differently. The thing was wrong, simply. But the fault was not Mr. Metcalfe's, but Lord Lake's. Lord Hardinge understood a soldier's duty better, when he ordered "little Arthur" to the rear, although Arthur held no responsible office such as that which Metcalfe held, and which should have prevented Lord Lake's permitting him to expose himself to unnecessary danger. However, as the thing turned out, no evil befel, but much good. In his more appropriate sphere, Metcalfe rendered excellent service, and acquitted himself in a position that would seem, but for the result, to have been far beyond his powers, to admiration. We cannot afford to enter into the details, nor would they be of much interest, if compressed into a brief space. Suffice it to say that, at the urgent solicitation of Sir John Malcolm, he remained with the army till the close of the war, and rendered excellent service in his own department. Meantime, the "glorious little man" had taken his departure from the shores of India, and on his arival in England, had gladdened the heart of Sir Thomas Metcalfe, by a glowing account of the talents and prospects of his son. We doubt not that there was joy in Portland Place that night, and that the father and the mother, though neither of them disposed to the melting mood, shed tears of joy as their hearts overflowed with thoughts of their absent boy.

It is not within our province to discuss the politics of Lord Cornwallis during his brief administration. Had these been far more to the taste of young Metcalfe than they were, he would have been disposed to contrast them with those of his former master, to the disparagement of his successor; as it was, it is evident, that he thought that India had suffered grievously, in exchanging Lord Wellesley for Lord Cornwallis. "It will be melancholy," says he, in a confidential letter to his friend, Mr. Sherer, "to see the work of our brave armies undone, and "left to be done over again. I hope for the best from Lord "C.'s administration; but I am, I confess, without confidence. "It is surely unwise to fetter the hands of the Commander-in-"Chief, and to stop all operations until his own arrival. We "shall have Holkar near us in a few days. I wish you would send "us money." But money was just the thing that Sherer could not send: and it was the want of this indispensable "sinew of war," more than the pacific intention of our rulers, (though they were doubtless peacefully disposed) that led at last to the arrangement of a treaty of peace with Holkar. On the 7th of January 1806, Metcalfe was sent to the camp of Holkar, a visit of ceremony on the part of some English gentleman being desired by the old Mahratta, in order to give assurance to his army that the peace was really *un fait accompli*, and not one of those *ruses* that he was in the habit of practising. He was received with unbounded joy and rapture in the old tiger's den. His sketch of the visit is worth framing.

> *Ek-chushm-oo-doula's* [the one-eyed] appearance is very grave, his countenance expressive, his manners and conversation easy. He had not at all the appearance of the courage that we know him to have. The same countenance, however, which was strongly expressive of joy, when I saw him, would look very black under the influence of rage, or any dark passions. A little lap-dog was on his musnud, a strange playfellow for Holkar. The jewels on his neck were invaluably rich. With these exceptions, there was nothing extraordinary in his durbar, which was just as might have been expected under the circumstances of his situation.

This was the last scene of the war-drama. Mr. Kaye gives pointedly the conclusion that we have hinted at above, as to the cause of the dropping of the curtain. "Men spoke and "wrote in those days eagerly and emphatically, according to "the light that was in them: and it is not for us, after the lapse "of half-a-century, to cendemn them for that one-sidedness, "which is apparent in all their arguments. The Lake party "were right at Muttra and Delhi. The Barlow party were "right at Calcutta. The views of both parties were tinged by "local and incidental circumstances. If Barlow had com-"manded the army, he would probably have been as eager "for the prosecution of the war, as Lake, if he had been at "the head of the administration, and immediately responsible "to the Home Government, would have been for its cessation.

"And I do not doubt that Charles Metcalfe, if he had been "Accountant-General, would have written just such letters as "flowed from the pen of Henry St. George Tucker."

Without any particular leaning to Cobdenism, we confess that we would rather take a brief from Barlow and Tucker than from Lake and Metcalfe. Apart from higher considerations, we have really had no occasion to destroy our enemies in India by a summary process; if left alone, they always destroy themselves. But we believe that peace was in 1806 a necessity. Without money the war could not be carried on, and money there was none. It was not a question of giving or withholding what was. It was the necessity of not giving what could in no way be procured.

Metcalfe's occupation as a diplomatist was now at an end. The "office" of the Governor-General had been abolished; and his orders were, that he should remain with Lord Lake, till his services were no longer required, and that he should then return to the Presidency, in order that when opportunity should offer, he might be employed in some other branch of the public service. He did not much like this prospect, and resolved to "proceed leisurely." He arrived, however, in Calcutta, about the end of the month of July, and was doubtless received with joy by those who knew him, though most of his friends of the "office," and the "Howe-boys," were now scattered over the country. But while the affectionate heart that was in the youth felt the blank, yet he was now too much a man of mark to be solitary in a city, which has ever been rather famous for a lionizing tendency. Nor had he long to wait in idleness. In the course of three weeks he received an appointment as first Assistant to the Resident at Delhi. His principal was Mr. Seton, one of our Indian worthies, whom one could have liked to know. He had made a most earnest application to have Metcalfe appointed as his Assistant, and the terms in which he made the application are as creditable to Metcalfe, as any of the many panegyrics, that were pronounced upon him in the course of a long and distinguished life.

"Although my personal knowledge of Mr. Metcalfe," he wrote to Col. Malcolm; "is but slight, it is sufficient to con- "vince me of the truth of what you say respecting him. We "met but *once*. But it was SUCH an ONCE! So interesting a "meeting! I already know a great deal of his character from "having seen many of his private letters, and from having "been in the habit of familiar intercourse with many of his "friends. As a young man of most uncommon abilities and ac- "quirements, not to have known him would have argued "myself unknown! When, therefore, we meet, I could not "meet him as a stranger. Ever since, I have been one of his "many enthusiastic admirers. In the arrangements to be "formed for conducting the public business at Delhi, the claims "of such a candidate cannot be overlooked."

Under such a superior there was no danger of Metcalfe's suffering as he did under King Collins; but he felt it painful to be deferred to so much as he was, by a man of Mr. Seton's position and abilities. We think it was Robert Hall that described some man as offering a constant apology to all mankind, for presuming to occupy the same earth which they inhabited; and Mr. Seton seems to have been affected with some portion of this excessive humility, which is perhaps scarcely less painful when exhibited towards an ingenuous young man by his superior in age and position, than is the presumptuous insolence of a man of the opposite character, when dressed in a little brief authority. But withal, Seton was a man of noble mind, and personally there was nothing but mutual esteem and affection between him and his first Assistant. Officially, however, it was scarcely so. The same deference which, exhibited towards himself, Metcalfe felt to be painful, he could only condemn as at once undignified and dangerous, when manifested towards the puppet Emperor, and his haughty family. Metcalfe would have established matters on their true foundation, by resisting every attempt of the royal family to be or to seem aught else than they were; Seton thought it better to give way in small matters, that he might interpose with the better effect in great ones. That the Assistant knew human nature better than the principal, will scarcely be doubted.

In the same letter in which Metcalfe communicates to Sherer his views on this point, he makes an announcement for which we were not prepared,—that he was dreadfully and hopelessly in debt. "My finances," says he, "are quite ruined, exhausted "beyond hope of any reasonable repair: you know that I am "very prudent: prudence is a prominent feature in my character: yet ever since I came to the Imperial station, I have gradually been losing the ground which I had gained in the "world, and at length I find myself considerably lower than the "neutral situation of having nothing; and without some unlooked-for and surprising declaration of the fates in my "power [favour?] I see nothing but debt, debt, debt, debt after "debt, before me." Debt was indeed the normal condition of young civilians in those days, who used to talk of the time they had taken to "double the Cape," *i. e.*, to get beyond a lakh of

Rupees in the voyage of indebtedness. But we had supposed that Metcalfe had been an exception to the rule. It appears, however, that it was otherwise, and that this was the second time that he had fallen into this condition. But on both occasions he resolutely set himself to the task of extrication, and on both occasions he nobly succeeded without external aid. And this was the last time that he ever fell into debt.

Metcalfe's situation was not at all to his mind. In addition to his dissent from the principles of Mr. Seton's procedure towards the royal family, which, however, never interfered with their personal affection and mutual esteem, he was liable to be distracted from the political line, of which he had made a decided election, to the Revenue and Judicial, to which, both from taste and principle, he had a strong dislike. But this state of things did not long continue. In June 1808, he was appointed by Lord Minto to one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most congenial offices in the whole service. At that time it was deemed necessary, as it has so often been deemed since, to "make all snug" on our Northern and Western Frontiers, so as to be prepared for the expected storm of a French invasion. With this view Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Cabul, and Charles Metcalfe to Lahore. The selection of a man of 23 years of age for a Mission of such mighty importance, and the entrusting him with so large discretionary powers was one of those great experiments on which few men like to pass a judgment, until light is cast upon them by the event. In March 1800, Metcalfe was waging the great "tea controversy" with his tutor at Eton; and recording in his journal, that but for their last despairing struggles, they should have failed. In June of the same year he was "sighing like a furnace" through love of Miss D——. In June 1801, he was entreating for permission to leave India for ever, and be appointed to the humblest situation in a Government office in England. But, lo! in 1803, he is charged with most important functions as the Representative of the Governor-General with the army, and now, in 1808, he is sent to cope with the old lion of the Punjab;—(he was not very old then, but we can never fancy him but as an old fellow). We do not remember, whether the author of Coningsby includes Metcalfe amongst the list of men who have signalized their early years by great exploits; but a more remarkable example could scarcely be furnished by universal history. To the enthusiasm of youth he united a wonderful amount of that sagacity which is generally regarded as the fruit of long experience, and the two rendered him a worthy representative of the English nation, at the court of a man, who, with all his faults, and they were legion could estimate these qualities. How much the *entente cordiale* that subsisted so long between the English and Runjit Sing, was due to the impression made upon him by this mission, it is of course impossible to determine; but it is not difficult to perceive, that an Envoy of a different character might have produced a different result, and have altered the whole history of the Punjab during the last half century. By a union of firmness and conciliation, by carefully distinguishing between the spontaneous promptings of the noble savage's own mind, and what was instilled into it by his interested courtiers, by maintaining his own dignity, and paying all proper respect to him to whom he was sent, he gradually overcame suspicion and prejudice, and succeeded in impressing Runjit with the conviction, that it was for his interest to maintain friendly terms with the Company's government. It is impossible for us to enter into the detail of the marchings and counter-marchings that Metcalfe was obliged to endure, following in the wake of this most erratic genius, nor yet into the alternations of hope and fear excited by his vacillations. The results of the mission are recorded in history, and have been more than once referred to in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. Suffice it to state here, that after delays and evasions innumerable, on the part of Runjit, after a display of most admirable temper, and firmness, and wisdom on the part of Metcalfe, the conquests of Runjit on this side the Sutlej were given up to those from whom they had been wrested, and that a treaty of general amity was concluded on the 25th of April 1809, and signed at Umritsir by Runjit himself, and by C. T. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government. It is to us very pleasing to find, in the midst of a long chapter filled with details of chicanery on the one side, and uncompromising severity on the other, such a paragraph as the following, indicating that the harassing distractions of diplomacy had not stilled the beatings of the warm human heart in Metcalfe's breast.

> In the middle of November he had received the distressing intelligence of the death of his aunt Richardson, to whom he was deeply attached. Some letters written by him at this time, to his afflicted uncle, and to his "dear, and now, alas! only aunt," Mrs. Monson, express the strength of his grief. He was eager at first to know whether his "dear, dear aunt, in her illness, ever thought of him." "With her mind," he added, "occupied by thoughts of her children and her beloved sisters, I cannot expect that she did." But all thoughts of his own sorrows passed away as he dwelt on the sufferings of the husband and sister, and prayed that they might be comforted and sustained by Him, who alone has power to wipe away all tears from our eyes. "May the giver of all things," he wrote to

his uncle, "give you patience and fortitude to support you under the heavy pressure! And now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly, my hope is even in Thee. In the midst of life we are in death, of whom may we seek succour, but of Thee, Oh Lord! Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord for they rest from their labours."

The Lion of the Punjab having at last shaken paws with his metaphorical brother of Britain, the negotiator left Umritsir on the 2nd of May, and on the 6th of June reached his old quarters at Delhi. His conduct was declared by the highest authority in the country to have "established a peculiar claim to public applause, respect and esteem. This highest authority desired to see the man who had so successfully conducted so difficult and delicate an enterprise, and instructed him to apply formally for leave of absence, but to start for Calcutta as soon as he could conveniently do so, without waiting for the official answer to his application. On the 8th of July, therefore, he reached Calcutta, where he was enabled to forget all the anxieties and turmoils of the last eventful months, in the society of his brother, who had come round from China, with his wife and little child. But he did not long enjoy this soothing society. Lord Minto, considering that the state of the army in the Madras Presidency required his presence there, resolved to leave Calcutta, and believing that there was no man who could render him so valuable service as Metcalfe, he had him appointed "Deputy Secretary to the Right Honourable the Governor-General during his Lordship's absence from the Presidency." Beyond a pleasant trip, and the advantage of enlarging his circle of acquaintances, no results seem to have flowed from this appointment. While at Madras, his heart was saddened by the tidings of the death of his sister-in-law, to whom he was greatly attached. Theophilus Metcalfe, during his first visit to Calcutta, had married Miss Russell, a niece of Sir Henry Russell, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. In the beginning of 1809, they came round to Calcutta for the benefit of her health, and Charles had all the best feelings of his heart called forth by a few week's intercourse with his sister-in-law, whom he describes as "really one of the most sensible, the most amiable, and the most virtuous of women." In the beginning of January he heard that she was dead, and that the widowed husband, and the motherless little girl, were about to proceed to England. As Lord Minto did not leave Madras till May, and as Metcalfe in February spoke of his brother's being about to sail immediately for England, we presume that the brothers did not meet.

Before his return to Calcutta, Metcalfe had been appointed to act as Resident at the Court of Scindia; the same Residency in which he had begun his political career as the subordinate of Jack Collins. In this office he continued for eight or nine months, after which he was transferred to the Residency of Delhi, on the appointment of Mr. Seton to the Government of Prince of Wales' Island. Lord Minto's letter, offering him this appointment, gives so pleasing a view of the manners and kindly feelings of that nobleman, that we cannot resist the temptation of transferring it to our pages.

LORD MINTO TO MR. METCALFE.

Calcutta, Feb. 20, 1811.

MY DEAR SIR,—You may possibly have already heard, though it is yet in the Secret Department, that an offer has been made to Mr. Seton of the Government of Prince of Wales' Island; and although it might be thought that he would consider his present situation the more eligible of the two, I have some reasons for supposing that he will be inclined to accept the proposal. In that event, I shall with (or without) your consent, name you to the Residency of Delhi. I know your martial genius and your love of camps; but besides that inclination must yield to duty, this change will appear to fall in not inopportunely with some information and some sentiments conveyed in your letter to me, of the 3rd instant. If you ask my reasons for so extraordinary a choice, I can only say that, notwithstanding your entire ignorance of every thing connected with the business of Delhi,—a city which, I believe, you never saw; and with Cis and Trans-Sutlejean affairs, of which you can have only read; and, notwithstanding your equal deficiency in all other more general qualifications, I cannot find a better in the list of the Company's servants; and hope, therefore, for your indulgence on the occasion.

"So Charles Metcalfe, (says Mr. Kaye), now at the age of 'twenty-six, found himself the incumbent of an appointment 'coveted by the oldest officers of both services—an appoint- "ment which, in respect of its importance, its responsibility, "and its distinction, was not exceeded by any other in India, below the seats at the Council-board of Government," And never had Lord Minto reason to repent the choice that he had made. In all his relations with the "Royal Family," with the people, with his subordinates, and with all with whom he came into contact, officially or personally, he gained golden opinions. There was, in fact, something in the man that could not well be described, but which compelled every one to like him—the term is far too feeble—to love him with intense affection. When the large loving soul of the man lighted up his rather homely features, he exercised an attractive influence over men which we have often heard described as partaking of the nature of fascination. It was a privilege to know Charles Metcalfe in those old Delhi days. No one ever charged him with any portion of the *hauteur* or presumption that is often supposed to be characteristic of the service to which he belonged, and which might have been excusable in the case of so young a man elevated to so high a position. There was a geniality and a humanity in his heart which kept him free from all taint of such a vice.—"Why is it," said Dr. Doddridge to his little daughter, "that every body loves you so much?" "I do not know," said the puzzled maiden, "unless it be, because I love every body so much;" and so it was with Metcalfe. Mr. Kaye suspects that Metcalfe was not particularly happy at this time, and quotes a number of letters which he wrote to his aunt, descriptive of the tedium of a life of exile, and the inadequacy of riches to compensate for the separation from relatives and friends. Now we do not, in the least, doubt, that when Metcalfe wrote these letters, he was perfectly sincere in expressing the feelings of his heart, as they were at the time of his writing. But we suspect that these feelings were called forth by the very act of writing to his aunt. His life was one of ceaseless activity, when he had no leisure to be either melancholy or unhappy. It was only when, at rare intervals, he snatched a few minutes to write a "home letter," that a shade of melancholy stole over him, as he pictured, in his fancy, the avocations of the loved ones far away. So energetic a life as his could not be an unhappy one, and even that kind of melancholy which occasionally stole over him, was as different as possible from unhappiness. We are neither poetical nor sentimental, but although we may not be able quite to understand what the sentimental poets mean, when they talk of the "luxury of grief," we yet know that home feelings and home affections, and even home longings which there is little hope of being able to gratify, do not render the right-minded exile unhappy in any proper sense of the term. Metcalfe himself describes the whole thing in a single sentence:—"Writing to any of you always makes me sad." But as there were no Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers in those days, he could have but rare opportunities of writing to "any of you." Thus the sadness was but a very small item in the congeries of thoughts and feelings that composed his inner life; and when it did come, it was of another complexion altogether than unhappiness. No doubt, Metcalfe at Delhi did not sleep upon a bed of roses. He had to maintain a constant struggle with "Kings, Vakeels, Sikhs, Patans, and old women," and to these harassments was added a most uncompromising "wigging" from the Court of Directors. The occasion was this: He found the Residency in a poor state of equipment. It was necessary to re-furnish it entirely, and with the spirit of the times, with which his own liberal ideas were quite in harmony he expended a large sum for this purpose. The furniture was public property, and he indented for it on the public treasury. The accounts were passed in Calcutta, and Metcalfe was enjoying what little repose his harassing occupations allowed him on the couches and ottomans of the Residency. But he was not long permitted to be "stretched on the rack of a too easy chair."

The following missive would have disturbed the repose of a more somnolent person than the Resident of Delhi; it might have awakened any one of the seven sleepers, and made even the "fat boy" of Pickwickian celebrity rub his eyes and look around him :—

> We consider the whole disbursement to have been incurred under circumstances so directly in opposition to the regulations of which Mr. Metcalf could not have been ignorant, and in a spirit of such profuse extravagance, that we cannot possibly sanction any part of them [it ?] without holding out to our servants in general, an example of the most dangerous tendency, as it amounts to no less than an assumed right to disburse the property of the Company at the discretion of individuals, divested of al wholesome control. We shall, accordingly, consider the whole of this disbursement as having been made unwarrantably, and under the personal responsibility of the Resident, and so accordingly direct, that he be peremptorily required to pay into your treasury the whole amount of the said sum of Rs. 48,119 6-5, and that the property purchased thus irregularly, be considered as belonging to the Resident, and not as constituting any part of the Company's dead stock.

Lord Moira, while he communicated this letter to the Resident, resolved to suspend the execution of the order, in the hope that the Court would take a more favourable view of the matter on re-consideration; and at the same time John Adam wrote privately to Metcalfe, "that the Government intend-"ed to resist the encroaching spirit of the Court of Directors." It was quite as much the affair of the Government as it was of Mr. Metcalfe, for his accounts had been passed in Calcutta, and the disbursement formally sanctioned. We cannot quite make out from the narrative, whether the refund was ultimately insisted on; but it was not of much moment to Metcalfe whether it was or not. With the salary and allowances that he now had, he could afford to pay 48,119 Rupees; and even the additional 6 annas and 5 pie would not have made him bankrupt; and whenever he could afford a sum for any good purpose, he never grudged it. But he bitterly felt the censure pronounced upon him by his honorable masters. It is probable, however, that this affair had, upon the whole, a good influence upon him. It touched him in the very point where he was most assailable,—his desire of reputation, or love of approbation. It is a great matter when a young man is brought to the determination to do simply what is right, without reference to the opinion that may be formed of his doings by any man, or by all men. Thrice happy is the man who can say in downright God's truth,

> I've learned to prize the silent lightning deed,
> And not the clattering thunder at its heels,
> Which men call fame.

Rather valuable learning this—worth more than Rs. 48,119-6-5—and learning that is seldom acquired, save in the school of disappointment. "In whatever spirit," he wrote to Lord Minto, "my conduct may be judged—whatever return " my services may receive, I shall continue, as long as I serve " the Company, to serve with unabated zeal and entire devo- " tion: unfounded censure cannot depress me, neither shall it " diminish my faithful exertions. Highly as I prize the ap- " probation of the Honorable the Court of Directors, if I have " the misfortune not to obtain it, the approbation of my own " conscience will support me; and I shall not sink under cen- " sure, however severe, when I feel that it is not merited, and " see that it arises from error." And this promise he faithfully kept. At this very time, we find him propounding a most important document on the subject of the land-settlement, in which he proposed the system of village settlement, which was subsequently adopted in the North-West Provinces; and also taking the bold step, for those times, of advocating the admission of independent Europeans into the Company's territories. To us it cannot but seem a strange thing, that sensible men should have so long opposed this measure. But so it is with all great discoveries. Men think them impossible before they are made, and then they wonder that they were not made sooner.

We can, in an article like the present, give no idea of the multifarious duties that at this time occupied the attention of the Resident of Delhi. At a most critical period in the history of our Empire in the East, with a new Governor-General upon the viceregal throne; with a council openly in disagreement with their chief, not merely upon matters of detail, but on the great principle on which our administration was to be conducted in respect of our relations with the neighbouring states; with these states along our whole frontier straining like greyhounds in the slips; with an exhausted treasury and an inefficient army; Lord Moira required the aid and the counsel of men who, like the children of Issachar of old, "had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." Amongst these men was Charles Metcalfe, who in official and semi-official papers discussed with great sagacity all kinds of questions, political, financial and military. His counsel was acceptable to Lord Moira, who knew how to appreciate powers like those of Metcalfe. His sentiments were generally in accordance with those of the Governor-General; but he did not adopt them because they were so. In fact, they were unchanged throughout the "vigorous" administrations of "the glorious little man," and of Lord Hastings, and the mild and conciliatory governments of Cornwallis and Minto.

> "Unpractised he to fawn or seek for power,
> By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour."

Thus prepared to like each other, by mutual esteem, and by a general coincidence of sentiments, the Governor-General and the Delhi Resident met each other at Moradabad, at the end of November 1814.

There were many important questions to be put to the Delhi Resident —much information to be sought, which only he could satisfactorily afford;—what effect our recent disasters [in the Nepalese war] had upon the people of the Delhi territory and the adjacent country, and on the minds of the dependent chiefs and independent princes of Hindostan—what would be their influence on the mind of Runjit Singh—what steps should be taken to counteract their influence—what course of conduct ought to be pursued towards Bhurtpore—whether, and under what circumstances, the Governor-General should have a personal interview with the King of Delhi—whether the power of granting native titles should be left in the hands of the imperial puppet, or assumed by the British Government—whether an agent from Shah Soojah, the fugtive King of Cabul, should be received in the vice-regal camp—and lastly, what was the general political and military condition of the Upper Provinces of India, with reference to the defence of our frontier, and the expediency of consolidating our power in the interior of India. For the solution of all these questions, the Governor-General and his ministers looked eagerly to Metcalfe's arrival in camp.

The great principle of Metcalfe's advice was, in one word, *decision.* He instinctively saw the evil at all times, and in those times more especially, of attempting any thing by means which might risk the possibility of failure, when every instance of failure must serve to increase the number of our enemies. He therefore urged the employment of all the forces that could by any means be collected, for striking such a blow as would enable us to dictate terms to the Goorkhas of Nepal. Any thing short of this he regarded as only exposing ourselves to disaster, which might issue in destruction. It is a singular fact—but a fact not the less—that England has always underrated her enemies; that she has scarcely ever been engaged in a war in which she did not endanger all by a feeble beginning, and refuse to put forth her powers, until she found herself on the brink of ruin. That we, of the present generation, are worthy sons of those who have gone before us, let Chillianwalla and the Crimea testify.

One result of this meeting was a confirmation of a desire that had previously been formed in the mind of the Governor-General, to have Metcalfe transferred to the Presidency. This was difficult to arrange, and we need not enter into the details, which were highly honorable to all concerned. The transfer did not take place at this period, and Metcalfe continued to labor at Delhi with his accustomed energy. At the close of the year 1815, Metcalfe was enlivened by another visit of his elder brother; who was now Sir Theophilus, their father having died in the previous year. To a man of Metcalfe's feelings, the loss of his father,—and that of his mother two years after, were a great blow. His ideas of success were all resolvable into the one of making a sufficient fortune, to enable him to retire and cheer the declining years of his father and mother. This one idea is re-produced again and again in his private correspondence; and we all know what a shock is given to the whole mental system, when it is thus violently driven from the line on which it had been steadily moving. Well was it for Metcalfe, that he had his hands full of employment that occupied his whole time, and more than employed all his energies. Not only were his strictly official duties of the most engrossing kind, but he was so mixed up with public affairs, that he seems to have been a sort of general referee in public affairs. Thus we find Sir David Ochterlony and Sir Jasper Nicolls reporting to him the success of their operations, the latter "congratulating" him on the success of our arms against the Goorkhas. He had also a vast amount of private correspondence: and his high official position did not set him above the numerous applications that are addressed to almost all men in India, for the execution of commissions of all kinds, from the procuring of a valuable oriental manuscript for a great European library, down to the purchase of a Kashmir scarf or a pair of bracelets for an Ensign's bride.

The Nepalese war being now at an end, the Government were at leisure to enter, with less distraction, on the great "Central India question." We have seen that Metcalfe entertained very decided views as to the line of policy to be pursued towards the native states; and these views he now embodied in a most important document, which he presented to the Governor-General, and which, coinciding in its principles with Lord Moira's own sentiments, became his main directory for the application of these principles. It was a game on which the existence of our Indian Empire was staked, a game in which a false move might be fatal. The pieces on the board were not kings merely, but contending dynasties—those that counted up their pedigree to the days of the Mahabharat, and those whose grandfathers had been cowherds and policemen ;—knights of orders unknown to our Heralds' College, but not the less founded upon wild notions of chivalry ;—not bishops and priests merely, but the three great faiths that divide the larger portion of the human race ;—castles and forts that had been deemed impregnable for centuries ;—and a host of minor interests that were individually of compratively little moment, but which tended indefinitely to complicate the game. The policy that Metcalfe advocated, and that Lord Moira adopted, was of the "war-with-a-vengeance" type, a line of policy that is never good in the abstract, but one which, in certain circumstances, may be the least evil of possible lines. Such circumstances, we believe, existed in 1816. A great war was the essential condition of the existence of the British power in India ; and the only question was, whether we should conduct that war energetically and win, or conduct it so as to ensure our own destruction, and then leave our multitudinous and multifarious enemies to destroy one another. Against the decided line of policy there was an argument that with the home authorities out-weighed all that could be urged in its favor. This was the financial argument. But this was at last obliged to give way to the force of circumstances. The cloud gradually became blacker, and at last the hurly-burly began. "On the morning of the 16th of October "1817, the Governor-General took the field. Of the events "which then ensued, great events following each other in "rapid succession, until the war with the Pindaris had grown "into a new war with the Mahrattas, it is not the province of "Charles Metcalfe's biographer to write in detail." Still less is it the part of the reviewer of his biography to enter upon such details. Though Metcalfe had nothing to do with the fighting, he had much to do with the diplomacy of the war. To detach one powerful chief from the confederacy of our enemies, to persuade another that it was for his interest to take part with that power which must eventually be paramount in Asia,—all this was not so brilliant service as the storming of a fort, or the leading of a forlorn hope ; but it was not less necessary to the success of the operations. And such were the duties that devolved on Mr. Metcalfe ; and he performed them well. It has probably never been generally known, till now, how important was the part he acted in the subjugation and pacification of Central India, and how much we, and the country, are indebted to him for the establishment of that power which is committed to us in this land. This is one of the great uses of biography, as distinguished from history; and we may notice in passing, that Mr. Kaye is conferring a great obligation on all those who desire accurate knowledge respecting the history of British India, by composing a series of works that will constitute, what we may call, a biographical history of our Eastern Empire.

At last the sword was sheathed "for lack of argument," our enemies were destroyed, or converted into friends,—that term being used, of course, in a conventional sense, which those who know the history of oriental principalities can understand. Some of their princes were our prisoners, others had exchanged the tone of proud defiance for that of lowliest supplication. India was revolutionized. From that date the British power was established beyond any reasonable doubt. The question sometimes arose till then, whether it could be maintained or no. The question since then has only been, how it could be best and most easily maintained.

And now, for a time at least, Metcalfe's connexion with Central India was to cease. On the 10th of July 1807, he had written to his friend Sherer; "For myself, I never, I assure you, can "lose sight of the object to which you guide my thoughts; I "mean Adam's office [the Political Secretaryship.] I despair "indeed of ever gaining it, but I do not the less desire it. It "is the only situation in India that I think of. I would make "any exertions to obtain it if I expected success. But I fear "I fear, I fear, that I have no chance." And now on the 9th of October 1818, the same John Adam himself wrote to him, at the request of Lord Hastings, to inform him that the Private Secretaryship was about to be vacated by Mr. Ricketts, who was about to proceed to England, and the Political Secretaryship by Mr. Adam himself, on his elevation to a seat in Council, and that Lord Hastings desired to "double up" the offices and confer them both on Mr. Metcalfe. On the 23rd of the same month he intimated his acquiescence in the arrangement. The pain of leaving a place where he had enjoyed much happiness, and attained much distinction, and—what is of far more consequence than all,—had done much good, was softened by the knowledge that he was to be succeeded, at least in a department of his office, by Sir David Ochterlony. This fine old soldier had been removed from the Residency by Sir George Barlow, when Mr. Seton was appointed to the office. And although "such an explanation of the circumstances "had been offered to him, as to convince him that he had not "forfeited the high opinion of Government," yet the iron had entered deeply into his soul. He had achieved high distinction as a soldier in the interval; but he had never ceased to long for an opportunity of retrieving the character which he supposed that he had lost. There seems to us something very touching in the following extract of a letter that he wrote to Metcalfe in January 1818.

"In twelve days I shall complete my sixtieth year; and in that long period have never but once had just ground to "complain of ill-fortune or ill-usage; but that once, though it has led me to unexpected fame and honor, has, for nearly twelve years, preyed upon my spirits, and all I have since "gained, appears no recompense for a removal which stamped "me, with those who knew me best and loved me most, as ignorant and incompetent, and with the world in general, as venal 'and culpable. A feeling which I cannot describe, but which is 'quite distinct from the love of ease and the advantages of a "Residency, makes me wish for that situation. I would not "care where; the name alone seems as if it would wash out a stain." Enviable must have been Metcalfe's feelings when, towards the end of the year, at the beginning of which this letter was written, he was the first to communicate to his old friend the joyful tidings that he was to be his own successor in that very Residency from which he had been removed.

So Metcalfe was inducted as Private Secretary, and, a few days later, as Political Secretary. We have seen how, from the commencement of his career, he had set up this as the great aim of his life; and now he had hit the target in the white. But it was the old story—

Man never *is*, but always *to be* blessed.

The office, which, in a time of difficulty would have called forth all his faculties, required little now but hard fagging, official routine. Nor did he find that he occupied a situation of so much independence as he had held at Delhi. He was *the one* man there, at Calcutta he was one of several. We cannot wonder then, to find that he eagerly caught at a proposal made to him by Sir John Malcolm, to the effect that he should endeavour to get himself appointed to succeed Malcolm himself in Central India, with the view of carrying out his favourite plan of so uniting and regulating the several states, as to form them into a separate Presidency, or at least a Lieutenant-Governorship. The flame kindled by Malcolm's letter, acting upon the tinder of his own taste for grand schemes, and his felt, though scarcely acknowledged, discontent with his present situation, was fanned by the receipt of a letter from Mr. Marjoribanks, tendering his resignation of the office of Political Agent in the Nerbudda territories. Here was the very scheme which Malcolm had suggested, beginning to develop itself spontaneously. If Metcalfe could be appointed to succeed both Malcolm and Marjoribanks, a beginning were already made of that system of consolidation which was to issue in the union of all the Residencies and Agencies into a single political charge. It was a grand scheme, worthy of its originator, and though not then, it has since been, to a considerable extent, realized. The Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces is just such an office as Malcolm contemplated, although the limits of the jurisdiction may not be quite the same. We lately heard it asserted, that the three men in all the world who had most influence for good or for evil, were the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of France, and the Governor of the North-West Provinces. And, indeed, it were difficult to over-state the importance of the office. Regarding the measure, Metcalfe asked the advice of John Adam, who cordially approved of it, and adviced that a definite proposition should be laid before the Governor-General at the proper time. A scheme, originating with Malcolm, taken up with enthusiasm by Metcalfe, and cordially approved by Adam, could scarcely fail of acceptance with Lord Hastings ; and although it was a delicate matter to break it to him, as it involved the setting aside of arrangements that he had effected with considerable difficulty, and as it might seem to betoken a want of appreciation on Metcalfe's part of the honors that had been conferred on him by the Governor-General, yet it was favorably received. He seems at once to have gone into the proposal, and it was expected that it was about to be carried out. But it was not to be at this time. Instead of this, Metcalfe was appointed to the Residency of Hyderabad, and towards the close of the year all was ready for his handing over his Secretaryship to Mr. Swinton, and proceeding to the capital of the Deccan. Accordingly, on the 10th of November, he left Calcutta, and in due time arrived at Hyderabad. On the 25th he was presented to the Nizam, and from that time he was immersed in the troubled sea of political and moral profligacy that inundated the court and capital of the Deccan. Upon political matters we can do little more than touch ; of the moral state of things, we may form some idea from the manner in which Metcalfe spent his first Sabbath in Hyderabad.

On Sunday, the 26th, went to Church. Afterwards returned the visit

> of the Commanding Officer, Colonel Boles, who, with the staff, had called on me on the 23rd. Was received in the cantonments with salutes, and had a guard of the Grenadier Company of the 30th N. I. drawn up for me at the Commanding Officer's. I had heard much of the overdoing of those matters at Hyderabad; and was, therefore, prepared for all the honors I received. The Sermon at Church was about Aurungzebe, Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Fox, to the text of "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."
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> On the 26th November paid my first visit to the minister Mooneer-ool-Moolk, and dined with him. He has a splendid house, fitted up at great cost, and with some taste. He gave us an excellent dinner, and conducted his entertainment in very good style. I am not in favor of dining with people who cannot or will not dine with us: and only went on this occasion, because I did not choose to make difficulties regarding what had been customary under my predecessors; especially as I had not received charge of the Residency, and was in a manner under the guidance of Mr. Russell, who accompanied me, as did also all the gentleman of the Residency, including his party and mine.
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> Rajah Chundoo-Lall joined us after dinner, and we got home about half-past ten, having been entertained with a *nauch*. Mooneer-ool-Moolk's manners are good. Two of his sons are fine boys. Chundoo-Lall's manners are also good.

This extract excites painful feelings in our mind. But we are not without hopes that the date of the visit to Mooneer-ool-Moolk was the 27th, and not the 26th, not Sunday, but Monday. The passage was written on the 28th, and if the second paragraph do not refer to the 27th, there is no record of that day's proceedings. Moreover, the second paragraph is introduced in such a way, as if it were meant to refer to a different day from that to which the first paragraph refers. It would be, we confess, a considerable satisfaction to us, if this conjecture could be verified.

Of course Metcalfe was immediately at work. Great reforms had been attempted by his predecessor, Mr. Henry Russell; but as yet the Nizam's country was in a dreadful state of misgovernment. It was the Resident's part to endeavour to put a stop to the disgraceful state of things, and yet the Resident had no authority to interfere directly with affairs of internal administration. "That during the period of Metcalfe's Resi-
"dence in the Deccan, the inhabitants of the Hyderabad pro-
"vinces were rescued from much oppression—that the rights of
"the agriculturists were more clearly defined—that extortion
"was checked—and justice rendered something better than a
"mockery—is not to be denied. He did not labour in vain.
"His best reward was in the increased happiness of the people,
"but the commendations of the Government, ever so dear to
"him, were not withheld. It was said afterwards, when there
"was an object in the distortion of the truth, that Metcalfe had
"been guilty of improper interference in the internal affairs of
"the Nizam's Government. But the system was not his system.

"He found it in operation. He only gave it greater and more "beneficial effect."

In our review of the life of Mr. Tucker, we alluded to the transactions of the Nizam's Government with the house of William Palmer and Co., which ultimately led to a collision between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. This house had managed to get the Nizam and his Government entirely under their power. They had advanced enormous sums of money to the Government at 25 per cent. interest, and had received assignments of lands, yielding revenue to the extent of thirty lakhs a year. Partly because the original transaction had been sanctioned by the Resident of the day, and partly because one of the partners of the house was connected by marriage with the family of Lord Hastings, the arrangement was generally understood by the people of the Deccan to be one with which the British Government had directly to do. This does not appear to have been the case; but there seems no reason to doubt, that the "house" intentionally fostered the idea, and that they employed it for their own advantage. "The house, indeed, had become so identified "in men's minds with the British Government, that even in re- "mote districts, where the cabals of the capital were but little "known, it was said that the revenue, which they paid on ac- "count of the lands assigned to William Palmer and Co., was "paid into the British treasury. Gradually, indeed, there had "grown up in the Deccan a power greater than the Nizam— "greater than the British Resident—greater than the Governor- "General of India. It was the belief of the minister, that so long "as he had the house on his side, the support of the Resident was "of comparatively slight importance. To secure this, large sums "of money, in the shape of annual allowances, were paid to "members of the firm, or their near relations. Even the sons "of Mr. William Palmer, boys at school in England, grew "under this mighty system of corruption, into stipendiaries of "the Nizam. If the stipends were not paid, they were carried "to account in the books of the firm at an interest of 25 "per cent.; and thus increased the ever-increasing em- "barrassments of the Nizam, and rendered difficult the regenera- "tion of the country."

Such was the state of things when Metcalfe joined the Residency. He was more than well disposed towards the members of the house of W. Palmer and Co. The head of the firm was the brother of one of his dearest friends; Sir William Rumbold was nearly related to the Governor-General, and had been Metcalfe's guest at Delhi, where he had nursed him in sickness with the kindness of a brother and the tenderness of a sister; and Dr. Lambe was an old friend. It was not, therefore, from any prejudice against the house, but from an overpowering sense of duty, that Metcalfe felt himself bound to do what could be done, to check the monstrous evil, and to rescue the Nizam from the hands of his extortionate creditors. The method which Metcalfe proposed for the accomplishment of this end, was, that the Government should open a 6 per cent. loan in Calcutta, and that they should pay off the Nizam's debt. He consented to the introduction of a clause into his letter, recommending that Palmer's people should get an additional gratuity of six lakhs, in consideration of the loss which they would sustain, by having so large a sum of money thrown upon their hands before they could possibly make arrangements for re-investing it; and although Mr. Kaye says, that he subsequently reproached himself for this good-nature, we think it was not more than fair. But it was of little consequence one way or other. Sir William Rumbold had influence enough to stir up opposition to the scheme in the most influential quarter, and moreover to embroil Metcalfe with the Governor-General. His remonstrance to Lord Hastings is a fine specimen of manly and dignified composition. He felt that he was wronged—by one from whom he had a right to expect better treatment—in a particular which not only affected him personally, but tended to degrade his important office, during his tenure of it, and in all time coming, into a nulllity. Metcalfe was not the man to hold his tongue under such treatment; and the letter which he wrote to Lord Hastings, must have shewn that nobleman that he could not trample with impunity on the honor of a high-spirited English gentleman, and a faithful and energetic public servant. We believe it was the first and the last time that he ever attempted to do so. The dissension rose to the greatest height, and it was only at the close of Lord Hasting's Administration, that a reconciliation was effected. His departure took place on the first day of the year 1823, and but for the injudicious revival of the controversy in England, by his friends and those of the Palmers, the subject might have been allowed to rest for ever. As it was, these friends brought all the artillery of invective and insinuation to bear upon the conduct of Metcalfe, and only succeeded in establishing, all the more firmly, his character for inflexible integrity and manly determination, not to be turned aside by any influences from the path of duty.

We have now touched on the salient points of Metcalfe's career throughout twenty-two years of his Indian life; and we doubt not that many who honor us by the perusal of our article, will wonder that it hitherto contains no record of his sicknesses and leaves of absence on sick-certificate. We know that there are many amongst our dear friends "at home," who conceive of Indian life as mainly composed of the two ingredients of getting ill and getting well. But their ideas are formed altogether on too limited an induction. That there are individuals, belonging to the class designated in India as "John Company's bad bargains," who spend their lives in receiving visits of the doctor, and in paying visits to the hill sanataria, with occasional intervals of dull heartless work in the cutcherry or on parade, is doubtless true; but the normal condition of Indian residents is work, energetic, vigorous work, quite as hard as is endured by Europeans in any zone, from the equator to the polar circles. The fact seems to be, that we write home month after month without saying any thing about our health; then we write that we are in the Doctor's hands;—and the latter announcement makes ten times more impression on our anxious friends than the previous want of any announcement; and the conclusion is jumped at, all too hastily, that we have been ill for a long time, but have said nothing about it, until it became impossible to conceal it. This is a mistake, we repeat, for it is of importance to dissipate such a mistaken idea. At all events, Metcalfe was more than twenty years in the country before he was visited by any disease that laid him aside from active labor: and no wonder though, at this time, his health broke down. To a man of his constitution, the controversy with Lord Hastings must have been a sore trial. It was a violent shock to all his previous habits and ideas. And while in the midst of this period of anxiety and depression, he received tidings of the death of his elder brother. We have seen already how sincerely he was attached to this brother, and how good an influence the elder had exercised over the younger. They had both looked forward with earnest longing to the time when they should both be able to retire from their respective services, and settle down in England, to enjoy all the delights of tasteful leisure, and especially to rejoice in each other's society. But it was otherwise ordained. Sir Theophilus had gone to England on sick-certificate, with the expectation of soon returning to China: but his malady was too deep-seated for even his native air to remove, and in the month of August he died. This was the last ingredient of bitterness infused into Charles

Metcalfe's cup, and as letter after letter arrived, with the address, "*Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart,*" he thought with bitterness of heart, that the title was all too dearly bought, since it had come to him through the premature death of a brother, to whom he owed so much. His health failed under the multiplied distress. And this advantage the weak seem to have over the strong, that the illnesses of the latter, when they do come, are generally more severe and intractable. A great authority has said, that a great nation cannot engage in a little war; and we may say that a strong man seldom has little ailments. There is something very touching in such expressions as we find in some of Metcalfe's letters of this period, coming from a man to whom sickness is a strange feeling,—a man moreover cut off from the grand alleviation of sickness, the soothing care of a gentle wife. Here we might quote, with more truth than originality, a quotation that can bear repetition without danger of becoming hackneyed,

Oh woman ! in our hours of ease, &c.

But the subject is a serious one. We are no Stoics, to deem that sickness and pain are in any circumstances no evils ; but their evil is abundantly enhanced when they befal the bachelor in a remote station. One day Metcalfe was worse, next he was no better, and the third he was not getting on so well as he would have liked. The tidings of his illness reached Calcutta, and not only his personal friends were disquieted by the fear lest one whom they loved so well might be taken away from them ; but those in the highest places in the State began to bethink themselves that Metcalfe was not a man who could well be spared. The suggestions of his personal friends, as to an attempt to do something for his relief, met with a ready response on the part of the highest authorities. Mr. Henry Wood, C. S., and Major Sneyd, made a proposal to Mr. Fendall, and Mr. Fendall to Lord Amherst, and Lord Amherst cheerfully consented to it. Mr. Swinton was desired to write to Sir Charles Metcalfe, that the Government yacht should be sent to Masulipatam with a medical man to attend on Sir Charles. Commodore Hayes was instructed to get the *Nereide* ready for sea without delay, and Col. Casement, the Military Secretary, was directed to apply to the Medical Board to select a competent Medical Officer to proceed in the yacht to Masulipatam, and thence to Hyderabad. And here we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of transferring to our pages one of those admirable little sketches, with which Mr. Kaye constantly enlivens his works—a sketch which no one who has ever come in contact with Simon Nicolson, professionally or personally, will deem over-colored.

> The selection, however, was not primarily made by the Board. At that time, and for many years afterwards, the highest Medical authority in India was Dr. [Mr.] Simon Nicolson. He was a gentleman of great professional experience, extensive scientific acquirements, a mind well stocked with general literature, and of such kindliness of heart, and sincerity of manner, that sickness lost half its terrors when he stood by the bed-side. There was a healing power in his very presence—in the blended wisdom and gentleness of his speaking face,—and the first word of assurance that he uttered. People came from remote places to consult him; and when they could not make their way to the Presidency, they sought his advice, through the medium of friends, from a distance. His practice was only limited by the impossibilty of performing more than a certain amount of work within a certain space of time. At all hours of the day, and at all hours of the night, his horses were in harness, and his coachman was on the box. There was a carriage always waiting at his door, ready to replace another in the day-time, as the exhausting climate incapacitated man and beast from further service; or to whirl him away in obedience to some nocturnal summons. But for all this he never grew rich. The penniless subaltern had his unremitting care as freely as the wealthiest Member of Council.

How many there are who can testify to the faithfulness of this portraiture. The present reviewer will not soon forget the effect upon himself of "the first word of assurance that he uttered." He had been told that there was no hope of his ever being able to live, much less to work, in India. He had therefore no prospect before him but of a short life of uselessness and dependence, and an early death, leaving an unprovided family, when Mr. Nicolson was called in to give the final verdict. His questions were few, but to the point. His "first (and last) word of assurance" is deeply written in our memory:—"You must not go home." And we did not go home; and many a day of cheerful work have we gone through since then. And many is the eye that gazes with respect and fondness on "old Nicolson," when his wasted but still stalwart figure is seen in his verandah; and many is the heart that blesses him, as the thought recurs of scenes like that, where the sentence of life or death was read on those grave thoughtful features, before it was uttered by his lips. We cannot now say more; but we could not have said less without doing violence to feelings that we share with multitudes of the grateful patients of Simon Nicolson.

"Old Nicolson," as he was called even in those days, after the fashion of our hearty Anglo-Indian vocabulary, had no difficulty in selecting for this important mission, Ranald Martin, who was destined ere long to achieve a name only second to Nicolson's own, and who had the melancholy satisfaction, two and twenty years after this, of doing all that human skill and kindness could do, to alleviate the final sufferings of him to whom he was now sent to minister. On the 7th of November, the yacht was despatched. The tidings of its arrival at Masulipatam reached Metcalfe at Boloram, whence he immediately set out for Hyderabad to meet Mr. Martin. He was able to render his patient immediate service; but still it was deemed advisable that Metcalfe should proceed to Calcutta, both for the sake of rest, and for the purpose of obtaining the personal attendance of "old Nicolson." He accordingly came up in the *Nereide*, landed in Calcutta on the 21st of December; by the end of January, he was on the high road to recovery, and before the end of February, Nicolson and Martin had the satisfaction to report him "dismissed cured."

Thus began the year 1824. Throughout its course, we find him fagging unweariedly;—work, work, morning, noon, and often far into the night, but cheered by the reflexion that his labour was not in vain, and enlivened by correspondence with a few congenial friends. At this time we find him first alluding to rumours as to his being destined to fill an expected vacancy in Council; but he regarded the prospect without exultation. It presented itself to him in the light of a breaking up of his habits, a violent intermeddling with his half-executed projects of reform, and a disruption of those ties which united him to many attached subordinates and friends. The removal from Hyderabad was soon to take place, but not to Calcutta. On the 16th of April 1825, Lord Amherst wrote to him that it was considered good, that he should resume the office of Resident of Delhi. He felt it a great grievance to be removed from Hyderabad, but there was no place in India to which he would not have been removed with greater regret than to Delhi. His biographer's account of his feelings in the prospect of leaving Hyderabad, is quite pathetic.

> Never had more unwelcome honors been conferred on public servant than those which now descended upon Sir Charles Metcalfe. In spite of all the vexations and annoyances which beset his position, the Hyderabad Residency had become very dear to him. More than twenty years before, he had recorded a resolution not to form any more romantic attachments; but he had been forming them ever since. Indeed, it may be said of him, that he fell in friendship as other men fall in love. There was at once an ardor and a tenderness in his affection, little removed from the degree in which these qualities evince themselves in our attachments to the other sex. He had gathered round him at Hyderabad a beloved circle of friends, to be broken from time to time by the necessities of the public service, but always to re-unite again. And although some of these friends might accompany him to Delhi, it was certain that the old Hyderabad party could never again assemble in its pleasant integrity. It was with extreme depres-

sion of spirits, therefore, that he now made his preparations for the coming change.

To many readers this will seem mere sentimentalism, with which they will congratulate themselves that they cannot at all sympathize. The worse for them. At the end of August, Sir Charles reached Calcutta, and declining the kindly proffered hospitality of Lord Amherst, he took up his quarters with "an old friend, Major Lockett, of the College of Fort William."

We have said that there was no place in India, for which Metcalfe would less unwillingly have exchanged Hyderabad than Delhi. But this statement refers merely to the *place*. The *office* lost all its value in his eyes, from the consideration, that he was to supersede his old friend Sir David Ochterlony. This noble old hero had again failed to secure the approbation of Government, and his removal had been resolved upon. Metcalfe knew that this was determined, whether he should accept the office or no; but it was with poignant sorrow, that he proceeded to take possession of the place from which his old friend was to be ousted. The old man seems to have been pleased at the thought of not being superseded by an unworthy successor, and to have been more than pleased at the thought of settling down in a house that he had bought at Delhi, and spending the remnant of his days in the society of Metcalfe. But this expectation was not destined to be realized. On the 4th of July, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friend, and on the 15th he died. On the 26th of September, a meeting was held in Calcutta, for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to his memory. Sir Charles Metcalfe presided, and he was not deterred by the consideration that his old friend had died under the cloud of Government disapprobation and virtual censure, from expressing the feelings of his full heart towards a brave soldier, a warm friend, and a noble man.

On the 21st of October, Metcalfe arrived at Delhi. The first matter of public moment that claimed his notice, was the state of our relations towards the Bhurtpore Rajah. The throne was now occupied by Doorjun Saul, who had usurped it on the death of his elder brother, though that brother had left a son, who had been acknowledged by our Government as the rightful heir. On hearing of the usurpation, Sir David Ochterlony had prepared instantly to march upon Bhurtpore with what force he had at his disposal. This measure was censured by the Government as precipitate and unwise. While Sir Charles Metcalfe was in Calcutta, he was asked to state freely his opinion as to the course of conduct to be adopted towards the usurper, and although he had every reason to believe that his advice would not be acceptable to the Government, he had given it decidedly in favor of "vigorous" measures. Whether convinced by the progress of events, or by the reasonings of Metcalfe, the Government agreed to the course of policy recommended; and Metcalfe proceeded to Delhi, empowered to effect the restoration of the boy Bulwunt Singh, by persuasion, if possible, otherwise by force. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, was instructed to "hold in readiness a force adequate to the "prompt reduction of the principal fortresses in the Bhurt-"pore country, and for carrying on military operations in that "quarter, on the requisition of the Resident, Sir Charles Met-"calfe." The requisition was soon made, as it was at once manifest that the end in view could not be effected by negotiation. On the 6th of November, Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe met; the latter directed the advance of the army, and prepared to accompany it to the walls of Bhurtpore. On the 18th of January 1826, the British flag was planted on the Bhurtpore citadel, and the *prestige* of the British arms, which had been tarnished by failure before the same citadel, twenty years before, was re-established.

After his return to Delhi, he was fully occupied with judicial and revenual affairs, and his warm heart was grieved by the loss of two of his dearest friends. But new excitement was before him. On the 11th April 1826, he had been nominated Provisional Member of Council, and on the retirement of Mr. Harrington in the autumn of 1827, he set out for Calcutta to take possession of the vacant seat. To say that he worthily occupied it were superfluous. He toiled like a galley-slave; day by day and night by night he was at his desk; quire after quire of paper was written on all manner of important subjects; and his hospitality, which he considered a duty, was princely. Various ways did he try for overtaking the full amount of work and of hospitality that he regarded as devolving upon him by right of his office; but he could not by any means satisfy himself on either point. He seems at last to have adopted, with respect to the former, the method that most men find to be the best, or rather the only practicable method, (however it may contravene the sage advices that are lavished upon us all in our youth, setting forth the manifold advantages of regularity, and having our time regularly portioned out to particular employments)—the method of taking work at the broad side, doing —and doing with his might—what his hands found to do. For the other part of his supposed duty he fell on the expedient of issuing a standing invitation for a ball on the third Monday of every month. The moon seems to have shown a decided approbation of this arrangement, and to have waived in favor of it her proverbial character of changeableness; for Metcalfe informs us that the third Monday in each month is always a moon-light night!

There was not much favor to be got by his exertions in the Council at this period. He adopted the *role* of a financial reformer, and brought upon himself the usual consequences. "I am regarded (he says) as a relentless hewer and hacker of "expenditure, and am sensible of black and sour looks in con-"sequence. Still I am well and happy. I feel that I stand "alone; but I also feel that I know the path of duty, and "am endeavouring to pursue it. Our expenditure exceeds our "income by more than a crore of Rupees. The Government "which allows this to go on in time of peace deserves any pun-"ishment. The Government of which I am a part shall not "allow it. The cause gives me irresistible power, and I will "force others to do their duty."

On the 6th of April 1828, Sir Charles Metcalfe thus wrote respecting Lord William Bentinck:

> I look to the new Governor-General's coming with some curiosity, but without any sanguine expectations. If I find that he has a heart for the public welfare, I will follow him and support him with all my soul; if not, I will continue to perform my own duty, with or without success, as at present, and stand alone as I now do.

Lord William Bentinck *had* a heart for the public welfare, and ere long Sir Charles Metcalfe found it out, and gave in his allegiance to his new chief, not perhaps so enthusiastically as he had done eight and twenty years ago to the glorious little man, but not less heartily and sincerely. On the 4th of July, Lord William took the oaths as Governor-General, and on the 22nd of the same month Sir Charles wrote thus:—

> I like the little that I have seen of our new Governor-General very much;—he is a straight-forward, honest, upright, benevolent, sensible man, who will, I trust, have the interest of the State at heart. At least he seems disposed to enquire and think for himself, and to avoid falling under any one's influence.

But with all personal respect for the Governor-General Metcalfe and he did not at first get on well together. "He "and I, (said he on the 2nd of December) do not approximate, "which is rather surprising to me, for many of our sentiments "are in common with both of us." Metcalfe suspected that his Lordship had been prejudiced against him by some of his old antagonists in the Palmer controversy. And this is not impos sible; for while those who have suffered wrong can forgive and forget, those who have inflicted the wrong can seldom do either. It is therefore not impossible that some of those who had attempted to blacken Metcalfe's character before, may have insinuated vague suspicions into the mind of his Lordship before he left England. But certainly there must have been very gross misrepresentation employed, if the conduct of the late Resident of Hyderabad were exhibited in a light that could have led Lord William Bentinck to view him with coldness, and turn away from him with dislike. Perhaps, after all, there was nothing of the sort. The Governor-General was an Englishman, and when we have said that, we have said enough to account for any degree of coldness and reserve in his bearing towards a stranger. Metcalfe had been so long out of England, had been so young when he left it, and had been so long accustomed to the comparative *empressement* of Anglo-Indian manners, that he did not make allowance for the difference of climate. At all events, the stiffness soon wore off, and for many years Lord William and Sir Charles maintained a cordial friendship, founded upon mutual esteem and frank confidence, friendship which only death was able to interrupt. It was only necessary that they should understand one another in order that they might "approximate." Their end as administrators of India was one, the good of the masters whom they served, through the good of the millions subjected to their control.

On the 11th of November, Mr. Butterworth Bayley retired from the service, and Lord William being then in the North-West, Sir Charles Metcalfe became Deputy-Governor and President of the Council. In 1830, Sir John Malcolm retired from the Governorship of Bombay, and it was rumoured in Calcutta, that Metcalfe was to be his successor. Next year Mr. Lushington resigned the Governorship of Madras; and an effort was made to secure the succession for Metcalfe. But the appointment was given to Sir Frederick Adam, ostensibly on the ground that Metcalfe's services could not be dispensed with in Bengal. At the close of 1831, it was agreed that his term of office, which would expire in August 1832, should be extended for an additional period of two years. Thus for seven years he laboured on—a hard-working, deep-thinking, far-seeing, member of the Supreme Council of India. His views might not always be sound, but they were always honest. If they were sometimes behind the present age, we must remember that the last twenty years have been years of unexampled progress, and that his notions on public questions were as much ahead of those of his contemporaries, as they must be behind those of statesmen in our day. We have had good and faithful Members of Council since then,—as Robertson, and Ross, and Millet, and Lewis, and Lowe, but no one of them has exceeded Metcalfe in zeal, laboriousness and integrity ; nor is it any disparagement to them to say that no one has equalled him in genius and far-seeing sagacity.

The new Charter of 1833 was now passed. It provided for the establishment of a new Presidency at Agra; but this part of it was soon after virtually repealed, and the result was only the establishment of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces. On the 20th November 1833, Sir Charles Metcalfe was unanimously appointed to this office, and the appointment was sanctioned by the Crown. A month afterwards he was nominated Provisional Governor-General of India, in the event of the death or resignation of Lord William Bentinck. The old Charter expired on the 30th of April 1834; But Lord William Bentinck was then at Ootacamund. A practical difficulty, therefore, arose, as to the inauguration of the new Council. It was an amusing dilemma, which, if we understand it aright, may be thus stated. There could not be a Council formed until a Council was formed !—or thus,—if the Council were not a Council before it became a Council, it could not be a Council after it became a Council. Lord William however cut the Gordian knot, by a proceeding confessedly illegal but which was legalised by an act of indemnity. After a good deal of vexation as to the Agra appointment, in consequence of the curtailment of the powers attached to the office, Metcalfe took the oaths on the 14th of November, the day of Lord William Bentinck's return to Calcutta, and assumed charge of the Government of Agra. The seat of Government was temporarily fixed at Allahabad. The approaching departure of Metcalfe from Calcutta, caused a melancholy sensation among all ranks and conditions of men. We are generally regarded as a somewhat apathetic community ; but events like those of that November shew that we have hearts in our breasts, if they can only be reached. A dinner by the "Society" of the Bengal Club ; a dinner by the "Community" in the Town Hall ; a grand fancy ball by the gay ; and public addresses by the Europeans, the East Indians and the Natives, where but the external demonstrations of feelings of as real esteem and affection as ever were entertained by all classes of citizens towards a public man. Nor were the Missionaries behind to express their grateful acknowledgment of the countenance and support that he had so liberally afforded them in their efforts to diffuse among the natives of India, the benefits of moral and religious instruction. No less gratifying than those tributes was a letter of congratulation which he received from the "glorious little man" under whose auspices he had commenced his official career, and to whose training he rejoiced to ascribe the success that had marked it. He set out for Allahabad in the middle of December, and reached it, we suppose, about the end of the month. But he had scarcely time to look around him when he received intelligence which required his immediate return to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, although he had returned from the Neilgherries in greatly improved health, "broke down" again as soon as he got the harness again on his back. Sir Charles hastened down to Calcutta, and on the 20th of March 1834 he bade farewell to his friend, and took possession of the highest office,—really, though not formally, the Governor-Generalship of India is such—that can be held by a subject of the British Crown. We are afraid that we have very imperfectly succeeded in conveying to our readers the strong conviction that has been produced in our own mind by the perusal of the work before us, how richly this lofty dignity was deserved. Metcalfe was a great man, great by nature, greater by the steady direction of his natural powers to great objects, great especially in high principle and undeviating integrity. We believe there was not a man in India who did not rejoice at his elevation, and wish that it might be permanent:—and permanent it ought to have been. The Court of Directors, and that portion of the people of England who knew or cared aught about the matter—not a very large portion it must be confessed,—were as one with the people of India in this sentiment. But the Ministers of the Crown would not consent. We have already adverted to this controversy in our notice of Mr. Tucker's Life, and shall not again enter upon it. We confess that we think a good deal may be said in favor of "the dictum of Mr. Canning," that in general, it is better to appoint an English statesman than an Indian officer to the Governor-Generalship. But admitting the applicability of the rule in ordinary cases, we must be permitted to say that Metcalfe's was an exceptional case, he was an exceptional man; and the circumstances of India—at the commencement of the operation of a new Charter—were exceptional too. Like other sojourners in this eastern land, we left our party-politics behind us when we quitted the shores of old England; but we confess that it would have given us some sort of satisfaction, had we been able to reflect that it was only a Whig Ministry that thus opposed the righteous claims of Metcalfe, supported as these claims were by the voice of the Court of Directors, and by the unanimous wish of the people of India. But it was not so. The Tories, having come into power before the appointment was made, equally with their predecessors refused to listen to Metcalfe's claims, and appointed Lord Heytesbury to the office. It was even with difficulty that Lord Ellenborough was prevailed upon to agree to the provisional appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to act in the event of another vacancy.

While Metcalfe occupied the vice-regal chair only until the Court and the Board could agree as to the person who was to displace him, it might not have surprised men much if he had gone through the routine work as steadily and quietly as possible, and refrained from measures of permanent importance. But this was not Metcalfe's spirit. If he had been to hold the office but for a single day, he would have done with his might what his hand that day found to do. Equally removed was he from the base spirit of embracing the opportunity, which his temporary elevation gave him, of pushing through measures in which he was personally interested, and which he had been disappointed in his attempts to carry while he sat at the Council Board. Before he heard of the appointment of Lord Heytesbury, and while he waited for that nobleman's arrival, he acted in all respects as if he had a long lease of the office, omitting nothing, hurrying nothing. We have more than once alluded to the munificent liberality of Sir Charles Metcalfe; and it is scarcely necessary to say that it shone out more brightly than ever when he was drawing the large allowances of Governor-General. One or two instances are given of this. The following may be taken as a specimen :—

> An application was made to him on behalf of an educational institution ; known as the "Parental Academic Institution," which, owing to its benevolent exertions, had involved itself in debt. Metcalfe at once enquired into the circumstances of the case ; ascertained the sum required (£500) to rescue the Institution from the obligations which depressed it, and sent a cheque for the entire amount.

This is not a strictly correct account of the transaction. The application was made to Sir Charles, as Governor-General, for Government aid. He told the deputation that waited on him that he could not, in accordance with the existing regulations, propose the application of public money for the object for which it was solicited. The deputation retired crest-fallen ; but what the Governor-General could not do Sir Charles Metcalfe did, and the cheque came as stated. This was no unusual habit with him. Several instances are given, in the work before us, of his granting from his own purse sums that were asked for from the purse of the State. In an earlier part of the same work the author imputes this habit to the impression that was made on his mind by the wigging that he got about the Delhi Residency furniture. He seems then to have resolved that, as he had then been accused of indenting on the public treasury for the means of ministering to his own comfort, he would rather err in future on the other side, and that, in every case of doubt, he would rather expend his own resources than those of the Government.

The great act by which the Governor-Generalship of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished, was that which established the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS in India. It is true, that during the whole period of Lord William Bentinck's administration, the press had been practically free. But the restrictions upon it were still on the statute book, and might have been put in force at any moment. The press was in the condition of "Uncle Tom" in the family of St. Clair, kindly treated, but a slave still, and liable to be handed over, on the death of its master, to the tender mercies of a Legree. It is, therefore, to Sir Charles Metcalfe that it owes its freedom; and as a humble member of the "fourth estate" in India, we heartily tender to his memory the tribute of our grateful acknowledgments. Happily, it is not necessary now to refute the sophisms by which it was often attempted in former days to be shewn, that the restriction of the press was only a restriction of evil; that it was always free to speak out what was good. The term *good* was of course used as a synonym for—*what was acceptable to the censors.* The freedom of the press is *right*, and it would be unworthy to argue the question on the ground of expediency: but now that it is not necessary to argue the question at all, we may be allowed to point with some satisfaction to the result. Our press may be deficient in literary merits. How could it be expected to compete in this respect with its mighty brother in London? But no restrictions could remedy this defect: and we venture to say that, in respect of all of which Government censure could take cognizance, the press of India will bear fair comparison with any press in the world. And the proof is, that during the twenty years that have elapsed since its liberation, it has never done any harm. It has been influential only for good, and for good it has been influential in numberless instances. We do not mean that it has always been right. It has frequently been wrong in its treatment of individual persons and of public measures. But when it has been wrong, it has been powerless, its influence being counteracted by the good sense of the community.

Our readers are, of course, aware that Lord Heytesbury never came to India. The Tory ministry were obliged to retire. The Whigs came into office in time to cancel his appointment—most unconstitutionally and unwisely as we think—and towards the end of the year (1835) it was announced that Lord Auckland was to take the place that had been destined for him. And now it became an agitating question to Metcalfe what he was to do. There was now no doubt that the Agra Government was to be shorn of its intended importance. It was not to be an independent Government, but a mere Lieutenant-Governorship, or Head-Commissionership. His friends at home were anxious that he should remain, and he himself had no desire to go. But the question was whether he would have a worthy field for his exertions, and whether it was worth the sacrifice of what he had looked forward to for thirty years as the aim of his career, a seat in Parliament. At this time he received the high honor of the Grand Cross of the Bath, an honor very seldom conferred on a Civilian. The solicitations of his friends in the Court, his appointment to the Provisional Governor-Generalship, and the favorable impression made upon him by the demeanour of Lord Auckland, at last prevailed, and he made up his mind to proceed to his North-Western Principality. Accordingly, having been invested with the Grand Cross with great pomp, and having arranged all matters with Lord Auckland, he proceeded up the river in the beginning of April. The period of his occupancy of the Agra Governorship was marked by no striking event. Yet it was a period that called forth the powers of his mind, and the affections of his heart. The appearance of the " Pali Plague " in 1836, created alarm throughout India, and called Metcalfe's attention to the necessity of sanitary measures. This is a subject beset with difficulties everywhere ; but these difficulties are abundantly enhanced in India. The habits of the people are averse to all inspection, and consequently to all improvement. The right of poisoning their neighbours with the effluva of their own tanks and drains is a sacred privilege, which whoso toucheth, does them an unforgivable injury. To apply the great principles of the laws of health to the habits of the people is a mighty problem, worthy of the exertions of any man. A few months ago, we had the pleasure of listening to an admirable lecture on this subject, delivered by Dr. Norman Chevers, Civil Surgeon of

Howrah, before an audience mainly composed of natives. As we observe that this gentleman has just been removed to a situation of more extensive influence, and we hope of greater leisure, we trust that he will carry out the subject. We have great faith in the process of "boring," having learned by long experience that little good is effected in this world, but by incessant repetition of truths and principles. But the Pali Plague was of short continuance. It was followed by a grievous famine, the effect of a season of unusual drought. It is needless to say that Metcalfe did all that could be done to alleviate the evil. But little could be done. It remained for our days to establish that great work, the great Ganges Canal, which promises to make such a visitation almost an impossibility.

But the Indian career of Charles Metcalfe was drawing to a close. There was an expectation of the Governorship of Madras being vacant, and he might well have expected that it should be conferred on him. But he was told that this could not be, as his liberation of the Indian Press has been unpalatable to the home authorities. Whether this were the case or not, we do not know. But Metcalfe believed it. He thought that he had forfeited the confidence of his employers. He asked point-blank of the Court of Directors whether it were so or not. After long waiting he got a short and not very explicit answer; and he formally tendered his resignation of his appointment, and expressed his intention of retiring from the service of the East India Company. On the 18th of December 1837, he left Agra; on the 31st he met Lord Auckland at Cawnpore, and on the first day of the new year he ceased to be Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. It were long to tell all the forms in which the admiration of the public clothed itself. Everywhere there was enthusiasm tempered with sadness. All classes strove to do honor to the retiring statesman. It must have been a strong trial to his constitution. But it was over at last. On the 15th of February 1838, the greatest man that ever adorned the list of Civil Servants of the East India Company left the shores of the land for which he had done so much, after an uninterrupted sojourn of more than thirty-eight years.

And here we leave him, not because his subsequent career is beyond our province. Metcalfe was Indian, and every part of his history is legitimate ground for a periodical restricted to subjects connected with India and the East. But we have already exceeded the ordinary limits of an article, and must deny ourselves the pleasure of saying more. Those who wish to know how he passed his life "at home";—the circumstances of his appointment to the Governorship of Jamaica, and the manner in which he discharged his duties there in trying and critical circumstances;—how he was obliged by the failure of his health to return to his native land;—how he was subsequently appointed to the Government of Canada,—next to India the most important dependency of the British Crown;—how he was raised to the peerage, at a time when earthly honors had lost all attraction for him, save in so far as they served to call forth pleasurable feelings of gratitude towards those by whom they were conferred—we must refer to Mr. Kaye's most interesting and valuable work. We conclude by extracting the following paragraph without note or comment. We only premise that the scene of the following history was Malshanger near Basingstoke.

On the 4th of September [1846,] Lord Metcalfe, for the first time, did not leave his sleeping apartment. The extreme debility of the sufferer forbade any exertion. There was little apparent change, except in a disinclination to take the nourishment offered to him. On the following morning, however, the change was very apparent. It was obvious that he was sinking fast. Unwilling to be removed to his bed, he sate for the greater part of the day in a chair, breathing with great difficulty. In the afternoon he sent for the members of his family, laid his hands upon their heads as they knelt beside him, and breathed the blessing which he could not utter. Soon afterwards he was conveyed to his bed. For the first time for years he seemed to be entirely free from pain. His mind was unclouded to the last. The serene expression of his countenance indicated that he was in perfect peace. The last sounds which reached him were the sweet strains of his sister's harp, rising in a hymn of praise to the great Father, into one of the many mansions of whose house he believed that he was about to enter. "How sweet those sounds are," he was heard to whisper, almost with his dying, breath. He sank very gently to rest. About eight o'clock on the evening of the 5th of September 1846, with a calm sweet smile on his long-tortured face, Charles Theophilus, first and last Lord Metcalfe, rendered up his soul to his Maker.

PROGRESS OF ISLAM, FROM THE FIFTH TO THE TENTH YEAR OF THE MISSION OF MAHOMET.

By Sir W. Muir.

1. *Sîrat Wâckidi.* Arabic MS.
2. *Sîrat Hishâmi.* Arabic MS.
3. *Sîrat Tababri.* Arabic MS.

IN the fifth year of the Mission of Mahomet, a small band of his followers emigrated, as we have seen, to Abyssinia, where they found a hospitable and secure retreat. But three months had not elapsed, when they again made their appearance in Mecca. Their return is linked with one of the strangest episodes in the life of the prophet. Hishâmi contents himself with saying, that they came back because tidings reached them of the conversion of the Coreish. Wâckidi and Tabari give another story, of which the following is a close outline.

The aim of Mahomet had been the regeneration of his people. Of this he had miserably fallen short. The conversion of forty or fifty souls ill compensated for the alienation of the whole community: while the violent opposition of the most respected and influential chiefs vexed his heart. The prospect was dark; to the human eye hopeless. Sad and dispirited, the Arabian prophet longed for a reconciliation, and cast about in his mind how it could be effected.

"On a certain day, the chief men of Mecca, assembled "in a group beside the Kaaba, discussed, as was their wont, the "affairs of the city, when Mahomet appeared, and seating him-"self by them in a friendly manner, began to recite in their "hearing the LIII. Sura. This chapter opens with a descrip-"tion of the first visit of Gabriel to Mahomet, and of a later "vision of that angel, in which certain heavenly mysteries were "revealed. It proceeds:—

And see ye not Lât and Ozza,
And Monât the third besides?

"When he had reached this verse, the devil suggested an "expression of the thoughts which, for many a day, had been "working in his soul, and put into his mouth* words of "reconciliation and compromise, the revelation of which he had "been longing for from God; † *viz*:—

These are the exalted females,
And verily their intercession is to be hoped for.‡

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* *Lit.*—"Cast upon his tongue,"—القي عالي لسا نه

† *Tabari*, p. 140 القي الشيطان علي لسبانه لماكان يحدث به نفسه و يتمني ان ياتي به قومه

These words, however, do not occur in the other tradition given by Tabari nor Wâckidi.

‡ تلك الغرانيق العلي و لن شفاعتهي لترتجي (*Wâckidi*, p. 139; *Ta-*

"The Coreish were no less surprised than delighted with "this acknowledgment of their deities; and as Mahomet wound "up the Sura with the closing words,—

Wherefore bow down before the Lord, and serve Him;—

"the whole assembly prostrated themselves with one accord "on the ground and worshipped. The single exception was "Walîd, the son of Mughîra, who, unable from the infirmities "of age to bow down, took up a handful of earth and worshipped, pressing it to his forehead.*

"And all the people were pleased at that which Mahomet "had spoken, and they said; *now we know that it is the Lord* "*alone who giveth life and taketh it away, who createth and sup-* "*porteth; but these our goddesses make intercession with Him for* "*us; and as thou hast conceded unto them a portion, we are content* "*to follow thee.* But their words disquieted Mahomet, and he "retired to his house. In the evening Gabriel visited him; and "the prophet recited the Sura unto him: and Gabriel said, "*what is this that thou hast done; thou hast repeated before the* "*people words that I never gave unto thee.* So Mahomet grieved "sore, and feared the Lord greatly, and he said, *I have spoken of* "*God that which He hath not said.* But the Lord comforted "His prophet, † and restored his confidence, and cancelled the "passage, and revealed the true reading thereof, (as it now stands,) *viz.*—

And See ye not Lât and Ozza,
And Manât the third beside?
What! shall there be male progeny unto you, and female unto him?
That were indeed an unjust partition!
They are nought but names, which ye and your Fathers have invented, &c.

"Now when the Coreish heard this, they spake among "themselves, saying, *Mahomet hath repented the favorable mention* "*he made of the rank of our goddesses with the Lord; he hath*

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bari, p. 140—142). The latter gives ترتضى throughout, the rendering of which would be "whose intercession is *pleasing* unto God." (Sprenger has in this instance quoted the MS. of Tabari incorrectly in his valuable *Notice of Tabari*, in the *Journal, Asiatic Society*, 1850, No. 11., page 129.) The unusual phrase الغرانيق signifies *delicate, swan-like.*

* The same is related of Abu Oheiha, *i. e.* (Sad, son of Al As, *Wâckidi*, p. 39.)

† Mahomet was consoled, tradition says, by the revelation of the verses fifty-three and fifty-four of Sura XXII., which signified that all former prophets had been subject to the same evil suggestions of the devil; but the Sura in which they stand appears to have been revealed at a somewhat later period.

The verses are as follows: *and we have not sent before thee any Apostle, nor any Prophet, but when he longed, Satan cast suggestions into his longing; but God shall cancel that which Satan suggesteth; then shall God establish his revelations; and God is knowing and wise;—that He may make that which Satan hath suggested a trial unto those whose hearts are diseased and hardened, &c.*

"*changed it, and brought other words in its stead.* And the two "verses were in the mouth of every one of the unbelievers, "and they increased their malice, and stirred them up to per- "secute the faithful with still greater severity."*

Pious Mussulmans, scandalized at the lapse of their prophet into an idolatrous concession, would reject the whole story.† But the authorities are too strong to be impugned It is hardly possible to conceive how, if not founded in fact, the tale could ever have been invented. Most stubborn of all, the fact remains, (and is admitted upon all hands,) that the first refugees did return about this time from Abyssinia, in consequence of the rumour that Mecca was converted; and the above narrative affords the only intelligible clue to the fact. But we need not adopt to the letter the exculpatory version of Mahometan tradition; nor seek in the interposition of Satan and Gabriel, an explanation of actions to be equally accounted for by the natural workings of the Prophet's mind.

It is obvious that the lapse was no sudden event :—no concession that dropped from the lips unexpectedly or unawares, and was immediately withdrawn. The hostility of his people had long pressed upon the spirit of Mahomet, and in his inward musings (it is admitted even by orthodox tradition,) he had meditated the very expressions which, it is alleged, the devil prompted him to utter. Nor can we believe that the concession lasted but for a day. The reconciliation must, to outward appearance, have been complete and consolidated, and continued for some days at least, to allow of the report going forth and reaching the exiles in a shape to inspire them with confidence. We are warranted, therefore, in assuming a far wider base and more extensive action for the event, than are admitted by ex-parte tradition.

The religion of Mahomet appears, up to this point, to have been a spiritual system, of which Faith, and Prayer, and the inculcation of virtue, form the prominent features. Though the Kaaba and some of its rites may have been looked upon as founded by the patriarch Abraham, yet the existing worship was, as a whole, rejected by reason of its idolatry and corruption.[*] But to this superstition, *with all its practices*, the people were obstinately wedded, and unless permission were given to join, more or less, the time-honoured institutions of Mecca with the true Faith, there was little hope of a general conversion. How far would the strong expediency of the case justify him to meet the prevailing system? How far was it the will of God to admit concession?

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* It has been explained in a note to the Article on the "*Sources for the Biography of Mahomet,*" (p. 56, Canon II. L.) that the whole story, as given above, has been omitted by Ibn Hishâm. But that it was contained in Ibn Ishâc's works (which Ibn Hishâm professes to follow,) is evident from its being quoted by Tabari *expressly from that author.* See Sprenger's Note in the *Calcutta Asiatic Journal,* where the original passages are quoted at length.

† This is admitted even by orthodox Mahometan writers. The author of the Biography *Mawâhib alladoniya,* shows, in opposition to the assertion that the story is heretical, that it rests on unexceptionable tradition, that the opposing authorities are groundless, being founded only on the *suspicion* that the facts are *unlikely.* Thus one objection is quoted, that had the lapse really occurred, great numbers of the Moslems must have became Apostates, which the author says is not just reasoning. The original passage may be consulted in Dr. Sprenger's note in the *Asiatic Journal* above referred to.

Was not the worship of the Kaaba, after all, a *Divine* institution? The temple was built at the command of God: the compassing of it symbolized the circling course of the heavenly bodies, and that again the obedience of all creation to the Deity. Love and devotion were nurtured by the kissing of the sacred corner-stone: the slaying of sacrifices, a pious rite in commemoration of Abraham's readiness to offer up his son, signified a like submission;[†] the pilgrimage to Arafat, the shaving of the head, &c., were all innocent, if not pious, in their tendency. But how shall he treat the images of the Kaaba, and the gross idolatry rendered to them? In their present mind the Coreish would never abandon these: but if (as they professed themselves ready,) they would acknowledge the one true God as the supreme Lord, and look to the images as symbolical only of his angels, what harm from their continuance? Incredible as the concession may appear, and utterly irreconcileable with his standpoint, Mahomet acceded to this arrangement, and consented to the idols as the representatives of heavenly beings, "whose intercession was to be hoped for" with the Deity. The hurried and garbled notices of tradition give no farther insight into the compromise, nor the mention of any safeguard that may have been stipulated by Mahomet against the abuses of idolatry: but it is certain that the arrangements, of whatever nature, gave perfect satisfaction to the chiefs and people, and produced a temporary union.

But Mahomet was not long in perceiving the inconsistency into which he had been betrayed. The people still worshipped not God, but the images. No reasoning upon his part, no concession upon theirs, could dissemble the galling fact, that the practice of idolatry continued as gross and rampant as ever.

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[*] We conclude this to have been the case, because in the portions of the Coran belonging to this period, the observances of the Kaaba are never referred to or inculcated, as they are frequently at a subsequent stage.

[†] Which of his sons Abraham prepared to sacrifice, is not specified in the Coran: and we are not at liberty to assume, with Mahometan Doctors, that their prophet *meant* Ishmael, nor even that he believe the place of sacrifice to have been the vicinity of Mecca. If, however, the current of ancient tradition already ran so, it is *possible* that Mahomet may have followed it, but without specification in the Coran, for fear of offending the Jews.

His only safety now lay in disowning the concession. The devil had deceived him. The words of compromise were no part of the divine system received from God by his heavenly messenger. The lapse was thus remedied: the heretical verses spoken under delusion were cancelled, and others revealed in their stead, denouncing idolatry with irreconcilable hate, and rejecting the very idea of female angels, such as Lât and Ozza. Henceforward the prophet wages mortal strife with images in every shape; his system gathers itself up into a pure and stern theism, and the Coran begins to breathe (though as yet only in the persons of Moses and Abraham,) intimations of an iconoclastic revenge.*

Ever after the intercession of idols is scouted as absurd; angels dare not to intercede with the Almighty, † how much less the idols, who

> * * * have no power over even the husk of a date stone ;
> Upon whom if ye call, they hear not your calling.
> And if they heard they would not answer you ;
> And in the Day of Judgment, they shall reject your deification of them ‡

The following passage, produced shortly after his lapse, shows how Mahomet refuted his adversaries, and adroitly turned against them there concession as to the Supreme Deity of God only :—

> And if thou askest them who created the Heavens and the Earth, they will surely answer GOD. § Say, what think ye then ? If the Lord be pleased to visit me with affliction, can those beings on whom ye call besides God,—what ! could *they* remove the visitation ? Or if He visit me with mercy, could *they* withhold His mercy ? Say, God sufficeth for me; on Him alone let those who put their trust, confide. ||

However short his fall, Mahomet retained a keen sense of its disgrace, and of the danger which lay in parleying with his adversaries :—

> And truly, they were near tempting thee aside from what we revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest fabricate regarding Us a different revelation ; and then they would have taken thee for their friend.

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* *See* Suras XXXVII., 92 ; XXI., 58 ; XX., 95.

† Sura LIII., 58., *et passim.*

‡ XXXV., 14 ; XLVI., 4.

§ *See* also Sura XLIII., 18 ; and other places in which the Meccans are represented as giving a similar reply.

|| Sura XXXIX., 38.

And if it had not been that we established thee, verily thou hadst nearly inclined unto them a little ;
Then verily we had caused thee to taste both of the punishment of Life, and the punishment of Death ;
Then thou shouldest not have found against Us any Helper.*

Ever and anon we meet with a divine caution to the prophet, to beware lest he should change the words of inspiration out of a desire to deal gently with his people, or be deceived by the pomp and numbers of the idolaters, into following after them from the straight and narrow path indicated for him by God.†

But though Mahomet may have completely reassured his own convictions, and restored the confidence of his adherents, there is little doubt that the concession to idolatry, followed by a recantation so sudden and entire, seriously weakened his position with the people at large. *They* would not readily credit his excuse, that the words of error were "cast by the devil into the mouth of Mahomet."‡ Supposing it to be so, what faith was to be placed in the revelations of a prophet liable to such influences? The Divine author of a true revelation knows beforehand all that he will at any subsequent period reveal; *His* agent would never be reduced to the petty shift of retracting as a mistake what had once been given forth as a message from heaven. Such aspersions were triumphantly advanced by the adversaries of the Coran, and Mahomet could oppose to them only the simple reiteration of his own assurance; thus,—

And when We chang one verse in the place of another,
[and God best knoweth that which He revealeth,
They say, *Verily thou art plainly a Fabricator;*
Nay; but the most of them understand not;
Say, The Holy Spirit hath brought it down from thy Lord, &c.§

We have seen that it was the tidings of the reconciliation with the Coreish that induced the little band of emigrants, after a residence of two months ‖ in Abyssinia, to set out for Mecca. As they approached the city, a party of travellers from thence communicated the information that Mahomet had withdrawn his concessions, and that the Coreish had resumed their oppressive conduct. They consulted what they should do, but soon resolved to go forward and visit their homes;—if things came to the worst, they could but again escape to Abyssinia So they entered Mecca, each under the protection of a relative or friend.*

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* Sura XVII., 74—76.

† *See* Suras LXVIII., 8; XVIII., 28; XIII., 40; XXXIX., 15.

‡ *See* Sura XXII., 53, quoted in a note a few pages back.

§ Sura XVI, 101.

‖ They emigrated in Rajab, in the fifth year of Mahomet's mission, and remained in Abyssinia, Shâbân and Ramdhân. The worshipping and reconciliation with the Coreish, happened in Ramdhân; and the emigrants returned to Mecca in the following month, Shawwâl, of the same year. (*Wâckidi*, p. 39½.)

The tidings brought by the emigrants of their kind reception by the Najâshy, following upon the late events, annoyed the Coreish, and the persecution became hotter than ever.† Wherefore Mahomet again recommended to his followers that they should take refuge in Abyssinia. The first party of the new expedition thither set out, probably, about the sixth year of the mission, and thereafter small bodies of converts, accompanied sometimes by their women and children, at intervals joined the exiles, until they reached (without calculating their little ones,) the number of 101. Of these eighty-three were men : and amongst the women, eleven were of Coreish descent, and seven belonged to other tribes. Thirty-three of the men, with eight women, (including Othmân and Rockeya, the daughter of Mahomet,) again returned to Mecca ; but most of them eventually emigrated to Medîna. The rest of the refugees remained in Abyssinia for several years, and rejoined Mahomet on his expedition to Kheibar, in the seventh year of the Hegira.‡

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* All but Abdallah ibn al Masûd, who is said to have had no patron or guardian, and to have again returned after a little to Abyssinia. (*Wâckidi*, p. 39½).

† *Wâckidi, ibidem.*

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 39½ ; *Hishâmi*, p. 92 ; *Tabari*, p. 129. Sprenger, though admitting that he thereby opposes all the early authorities, places the second emigration to Abyssinia later, *viz.*, after the withdrawal of Mahomet and his followers into the *Sheb*, or quarter of Abu Tâlib, that is in the seventh year of the mission. His reason is, that at the end of the sixth year there were not many more than fifty converts, whereas the second emigration to Abyssinia embraced as many as a hundred persons ; and that it is not probable the number of Moslems should have thus doubled in a few months.

But the number of emigrants to Abyssinia is given at 100, as *the aggregate of all who from first to last proceeded thither.* They did not all set out at once, but as is distinctly said, in parties one after another, and probably at considerable intervals. The fact, therefore, that the total number exceeded 100, is not in the least inconsistent with the position, that the first party was small, or that the whole of Mahomet's followers may not at the time have exceeded fifty.

Hishâmi, (p. 114,) has mixed up the return of the thirty-three emigrants belonging to the *second* Abyssinian expedition, with the return of the whole of the emigrants of the first expedition consequent upon the lapse of Mahomet.

Of those who returned from the second expedition we may enumerate besides Othmân, Abu Hodzeifa ; Abdallah ibn Jahsh ; Otba ; Zobeir ibn al Awwam ; Musáb ; Tuleib ; Abd al Rahmân. These all emigrated with Mahomet to Medîna. Several of the others were confined (as is alleged,) by their relatives, and thus prevented from joining Mahomet, till after the first battles. Abdallah ibn Soheil fled from the Coreish to Mahomet's army at the battle of Badr.

Sakrân was among those who returned from Abyssinia to Mecca, where he died. It was his widow Sanda, whom Mahomet first married after Khadija's death.

Othmân re-visited Mecca under the guardianship of Walîd, son of Mughîra, the great enemy of Islam.

Although Mahomet himself was not yet forced to quit his native city, he was nevertheless exposed to indignity and insult, and the threatening attitude of his adversaries occasioned apprehension and anxiety. If, indeed, it had not been for the influence and steadfast protection of Abu Tâlib, it is clear that the hostile intentions of the Coreish would have imperilled the liberty, perhaps the life, of Mahomet. A body of their elders,* repaired to the aged chief, and said :—*This Nephew of thine hath spoken opprobriously of our gods and our religion; and hath abused us as fools, and given out that our forefathers were all astray. Now, either avenge us thyself of our adversary; or (seeing that thou art in the same case with ourselves,) leave him to us that we may take our satisfaction.* But Abu Tâlib answered them softly and in courteous words; so they turned and went away. In process of time, as Mahomet would not change his proceedings, they went again to Abu Tâlib in great exasperation, and reminding him of their former demand, that he would restrain his nephew from his offensive conduct, added; —*and now, verily, we cannot have patience any longer with his abuse of us, our ancestors, and our gods; wherefore do thou either hold him back from us, or thyself take part with him, that the matter may be decided between us.* Thus they departed from him. And it appeared grievous to Abu Tâlib to break with his people, and be at enmity with them; neither did it please him to desert, and surrender, his nephew. Thus, being in straits, he sent for Mahomet, and having communicated the saying of the Coreish, proceeded earnestly ;—*wherefore, save thyself and me also; and cast not upon me a burden heavier than I can sustain.* Mahomet was startled and alarmed; and imagined that his uncle, finding himself unequal to the task, had resolved to abandon him. But his high resolve did not fail him even at this trying and critical moment. He replied firmly. *If they brought the Sun to my right hand, and the Moon to my left, to force me from my undertaking, verily, I would not desist until the Lord make manifest my cause, or I perish in the attempt.* But the thought of his kind protector's desertion overcame him; he burst into tears, and turned to depart. Then Abu Tâlib called out,—"Son of my brother! Come back." So he returned, and Abu Tâlib said: *Depart in peace, my nephew! and say whatsoever*

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* They consisted of Walîd ibn al Mughîra, Otba, and Sheyba, sons of Rabia, Abu Jahl, Abu Sofiân, As ibn Wâil, &c. Probably the most violent of the opponents of Islam have been singled out, without much discrimination or authority, by the biographers, for this office.

*thou desirest ; for, by the Lord ! I will not, in any wise, give thee up for ever.**

Wâckidi adds the further incident that Mahomet having that day disappeared, Abu Tâlib, apprehensive of foul play, made ready a band of Hâshimite youths, each armed with a dirk, and set out for the Kaaba. Meanwhile, he ascertained that Mahomet was safe in a house in Safa, and returned with his people home. On the morrow the aged Chief again made ready his party, and taking Mahomet with them, repaired to the Kaaba, where, standing before the assembly of the Coreish, he desired his young men to uncover that which they had by them ; and, lo ! in the hand of each was a sharp weapon. Then turning to the Coreish, he exclaimed, *By the Lord ! Had ye killed him, there had not remained alive a man amongst you.* YOU *should have perished, or* WE *had been annihilated.* The bold front of Abu Tâlib awed the Coreish, and repressed their insolence.†

Though the tendency of tradition is to magnify the insults of the unbelieving Meccans, yet apart from invective and abuse, we do not read of any personal injury or suffering sustained by Mahomet himself. A few of the inveterate enemies of Islam, (Abu Lahab among the number,) who lived close by his house, used spitefully to throw unclean and offensive things at the prophet, or upon his hearth, as he cooked his food. Once they flung into his house the entrails of a goat, which Mahomet putting upon a stick, carried to the door, and called aloud;—"Ye children of Abd Menâf! What sort of neighbourly conduct is this?" Then he cast it forth into the street.* Two or three centuries afterwards, a little closet, a few feet square, was still shown at the entrance of Khadîja's house, where, under the ledge of a projecting stone, the prophet crouched down when he retired for prayer, to shelter himself from the missiles of his neighbours.† There is a legend (but ill sustained,) of actual violence once offered to Mahomet in public. As he passed through the court of the Kaaba, he was suddenly surrounded by the Coreish, who "leaped upon him as one man," and seized his mantle. But Abu Bakr stood manfully by him and called out;—"Woe's me! Will ye slay a man who saith that *God is my Lord?*" So they departed from him.‡

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* We have chiefly here followed Hishâmi (p. 71) and Tabari (p. 124. But at p. 123, the latter makes the noble speech of Mahomet to be a reply to his uncle at a time when the latter had said to him before the Coreish,—" Verily thy people ask of thee a reasonable thing, that thou leave off to abuse their gods, and they will leave off to abuse thee and thy God." So Wâckidi, p. 38½.

There is some confusion as to the time when this scene occurred. There were probably several conferences ending in threats, and tradition has no doubt, amplified them. One of these is said to have occurred at Abu Tâlib's death-bed, several years later. The Coreish hearing that Abu Tâlib lay at the point of death, sent a deputation in order that some compact should be made to bind both parties after his decease ; and they proposed that they should retain their ancient Faith, without abuse or interference from Mahomet, in which case they would not molest him in his. Abu Tâlib called Mahomet, and communicated to him the reasonable request. Mahomet replied, " Nay, but there is one word, which if ye concede, you will thereby conquer Arabia, and reduce Ajam under subjection. " " Good !" said Abu Jahl, " not one such word, but ten. " Mahomet replied ;—" Then say,—*There is no God but the Lord,* and abandom that which ye worship beside him," And they clapped their hands in rage ;—" Dost thou desire, indeed, that we should turn our gods into one God ? That were a strange affair !" And they began to say one to the rest, " This fellow is obstinate and inpracticable. Ye will not get from him any concession that ye desire. Return, and let us walk after the faith of our forefathers, till God determine the matter betwixt us and him." So they arose and departed. (*Hishâmi,* p. 136.)

† *Hishâmi,* p. 135.

In the sixth year of his mission, the cause of Mahomet was strengthened by the accession of two powerful citizens. These were HAMZA and OMAR.

The prophet was one day seated on the rising ground of Safa. Abu Jahl, coming up, accosted him with a shower of taunts and reproaches; but Mahomet answered not a word. Both left the place, but a slave girl had observed the scene:§ It chanced that shortly after, Hamza returned that way from the chase, his bow hanging from his shoulder (for he was a hunter of renown:) and the maid related to him with indignation the gross abuse of Abu Jahl. Hamza was at once the uncle and foster-brother of Mahomet. His pride was offended, his rage kindled. He hurried on with rapid steps to the Kaaba, in the court of which was sitting Abu Jahl, with a company of the Coreish. Hamza rushed on him, saying;—*Ah! Hast thou been abusing him, and I follow his religion; there* (raising the bow and striking him violently therewith,) *return that if thou darest!* The kinsmen of Abu Jahl started up to his rescue, but he motioned them away, saying, "Let him alone; for, indeed, I did revile his nephew shamefully." The profession of Islam, suddenly asserted by Hamza, in the passion of the moment, was followed up by the deliberate pledging of his faith to Mahomet, and a steady adherence ever after to his religion.*

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* *Hishâmi*, p. 134; *Tabari*, p. 148; *Wâckidi*, p. 38. Besides Abu Lahab, are mentioned Ockba, son of Abu Maît; Al Hakam, son of Ab ul As; Adî the Thackifite; and Ibu al Asad, the Handalite, as living close by, and annoying the prophet.

† *Tabari*, p. 67.

‡ *Hishâmi*, p. 77; *Tabari*, p. 131. It is related that Abu Bakr had his beard pulled that day in the scuffle to defend Mahomet, and Omm Kolthûm saw him return with an injury on the crown of his head.

§ The servant of the chief Abdallah ibn Jodaân, repeatedly mentioned before.

The conversion of Omar happened on this wise, at the close of the sixth year of Mahomet's mission, (A.D. 615-6.)† He was notorious for his enmity to Islam, and the harshness and violence with which he treated its professors. His sister Fâtima and her husband Saîd (a son of the "enquirer" Zeid,) were both converts, but secretly, for fear of the Coreish. While he was threatening certain believers, one hinted to Omar that he had better begin at home, with his sister and her husband. His wrath was aroused, and he proceeded forthwith to their house. They were listening to Sura XX., which the slave Khobâb recited to them from a manuscript. The persecutor drew near, and overheard the low murmur of the reading. At the noise of his steps, Khobâb retired into a closet. *What sound was that I heard just now?* exclaimed Omar, entering, angrily. "There was nothing," they replied. *Nay*, said he, swearing fiercely, "*I hear that ye are renegades!* But what, Oh Omar!" interposed his brother-in-law, "may there not be truth in another religion than thine"? The question confirmed the suspicions of Omar, and being furiously exasperated, he sprang upon Saîd and kicked him. His sister flew to the rescue: in the struggle her face was wounded, and it began to bleed. In anger and distress she called out:—"Yes, we are converted; we believe in God and in His prophet; do unto us what thou pleasest." And when Omar saw her face covered with blood he was softened; and he asked to see the paper they had been reading. But his sister required that he should first cleanse himself; "for none," said she, "but the pure may touch it." So Omar arose and washed, and took the paper (for he could read;) and when he had decyphered a part thereof, he exclaimed,—*How excellent and how gracious is this discourse?* Then came forth Khobâb from his hiding place, and said, "Oh Omar, I trust that the Lord hath verily set thee apart for Himself, in answer to his prophet; it was but yesterday I heard him praying thus,—*Strengthen Islam, Oh God, by Ab ul Hakam* (Abu Jahl) *or by Omar!*" Then said Omar, "Lead me unto Mahomet, that I may make known unto him my conversion." And he was directed to the house of Arcam. So Omar knocked at the door, and Hamza and others looked through a crevice, and lo! it was Omar. But Mahomet bade them let him in, and rising to meet him, seized his skirt and the belt of his sword, saying, "Wilt thou not refrain from persecuting, until the Lord send some calamity upon thee"? And Omar replied;—"*Verily, I testify that thou art the prophet of God!*" And Mahomet was filled with joy, and called aloud, GREAT IS THE LORD![*]

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* *Hishâmi.* p. 78; *Tabari*, p. 135; *Wâckidi*, p. 179½. The latter mentions the facts very briefly, but adds the names of Adî, and Ibn al Asadi, to that of Abu Jahl, as having abused Mahomet. The conversion, he says, occurred after Mahomet's "entry into Arcam's house," in the sixth year of the Mission.

† It occurred in the month of Dzul Hajj, the last in the year. (*Wâckidi*, p. 232) It is there noted that the believers at that date amounted in all to forty men and ten women; or by other accounts to forty-five men and eleven women.

These conversions were a real triumph to Mahomet; Hamza and Omar both possessed, along with great bodily strength, an indomitable courage, and exercised much influence at Mecca.[†] The heroism of Hamza, in the cause of Islam, was so distinguished, that he earned for himself the title, familiar to the present day, of *the Lion of God.* Omar, when in an assembly, rose from his stature far above the people, as if he had been mounted. He was stout and fair, and somewhat ruddy. Impulsive and precipitate, his anger was easily aroused; and men feared him because of this uncertain and impetuous temper. At the period of his conversion he was but six-and-twenty;* yet so great and immediate was the influence of his accession upon the spread of Islam, that from this era is dated the commencement of its open and fearless profession at Mecca. The Moslems no longer concealed their worship within their own houses, but with conscious strength and a bold front of defiance, assembled in companies about the Kaaba, performed their rites of prayer, and compassed the Holy House.† Their courage rose: dread and uneasiness seized the Coreish.

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[*] *Allahu Akbar*, which exclamation is styled the *takbîr*, and is used on occasions of surprise, or the unexpected occurrence of any great event.

Hishâmi has *two* versions; one similar to that given in the text; only it is stated that Omar was *on his way to slay Mahomet*, when he was diverted by an intimation of his sister's conversion. But this incident has probably been only thrown in to add to the romantic colouring of the story. Besides its inherent improbability, it appears inconsistent with the immediately previous declaration in Hishâmi, that Omar was "softened" when he saw the believers preparing to emigrate to Abyssina, and said, "the Lord go with you." (*Hishâmi*, p. 103.)

The second version is entirely different. Here is Omar's own alleged account:—

"I was far from the faith, and a man given to strong drink:—wanting companions one night, I repaired to the spirit-dealer's shop, but I did not find him. Then I said, *I will go unto the Kaaba and compass it six or seven times*; and I found Mahomet praying there with his face towards Syria. Then I said, *what if I stay and hear what he is saying; I will get me near unto him and listen, then I will startle and frighten him.* So I went up towards the black stone, and hid myself behind the Kaaba-curtain, and walked along softly between it and the wall, while the prophet was praying and repeating the Coran, till I reached right before him;—there was nothing betwixt him and me, but the curtain. And when I heard the Coran, my heart softened thereat, and I wept and was converted; and when he had ended, I followed him on his way to his house, which was in the *Dâr al Wacktâ* (now in the possession of Muâvia;) and as I made up upon him, he heard my steps and recognized me, and thought that verily I had come to trouble him, until I unfolded the truth. Then he praised God and said;—*Verily, Oh Omar! God hath directed thee.* And he touched my garment and prayed for me, that I might continue steadfast." (*Hishâmi*; pp. 106 and 107).

This tradition is utterly inconsistent with the other; yet it contains details which have all the freshness and semblance of truth, and there is no *apparent* reason why it should have been fabricated. It is a strong example of the strange uncertainty of unsupported tradition.

The version in the text is evidently the correct one, and is given both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi, with some variations, which show that each had separate and independent authority for it. (*Hishâmi*, p. 103; *Wâckidi*, p. 231½.)

[†] For Hamza, *Hishâmi*, p. 78. For Omar, *Wâckidi*, p. 243.

The Coreish, indeed, had cause for alarm. They were disquieted by the hospitable reception and encouragement of the refugees at the Abyssinian Court. An embassy of two of their chief men, laden with costly presents, had made a fruitless attempt to obtain their surrender.‡ What if the Najâshy should support them with an armed force, and seek to establish

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* "He was born four years before the great (last?) battle of *Al Fijjâr*, and was converted in Dzul Hajj, six years after the mission, aged twenty-six. His son Abd-Allah was then only six years old." (*Wâckidi*, p. 232.)

† *Wâckidi*, p. 232; *Hishâmi*, pp. 105—108.

‡ An account of this embassy is given by Hishâmi, (pp. 96—100) also briefly by Tabari, (p. 136,) the former is related by the Dr. Sprenger in considerable detail, (p. 191.)

Omm Salma (the widow of one of the refugees, and afterwards married to Mahomet, states that the Coreish despatched Abdallah ibn Abi Rabia and Amr ibn al As, with rare presents (including stores of precious leather), for the Najâshy. They first gained over the courtiers; then they presented their gifts to the king, saying, that "certain fools amongst them had left their ancestral faith; they had not joined Christianity, but had set up a new religion of their own; they had, therefore, been deputed by the Coreish to fetch them back." The courtiers supported their prayer, but the king said he would enquire farther into the matter in the presence of the accused. Now the refugees had agreed that they would not garble their doctrine, but, come what might, say nothing more nor less than their prophet had taught them. So, on the morrow, they were summoned into the royal presence, where were also the Bishops with their books open before them. The king enquired the cause of their separation. Then Jâfar (Mahomet's uncle) answered, in the name of all, "that they used to worship images, eat the dead, commit lewdness, disregard family ties and the duties of neighbourhood and hospitality, until that Mahomet arose a prophet;" and he concluded by describing his system, and the persecutions which had forced them to Abyssinia. On the king asking him to repeat any of the prophet's teaching, he recited Sura *Maryam*, (ch. xix., containing the births of John and Jesus, notices of Abraham, Moses, &c.;) and the Najâshy wept until his beard became moist, and the Bishops wept so that their tears ran down upon their books, saying, "Verily, this Revelation and that of Moses proceed from one and the same source." And the Najâshy said to the refugees, "Depart in peace, for I will never give you up."

Next day, it is added, Amr endeavoured to entrap them into a declaration regarding Jesus that would be offensive to the king; but the latter fully concurred in their doctrine, that Jesus was nothing more than "a servant of God, and His Apostle; His Spirit and His word, placed in the womb of Mary, the immaculate Virgin." So the Meccan embassy departed in bad case.

The above story is no doubt intended to meet the passages that the Jews and Christians wept for joy on hearing the Coran, because of its correspondence with their own Scriptures. *See* Sura XVII., 108: XXVIII., 53. A similar tale has a Christian or reformed Faith at Mecca, as one of his predecessors had done in Yemen? Apart even from foreign aid, there was ground for apprehension at home. The Moslem body no longer consisted of oppressed and despised out-casts, struggling for a weak and miserable existence. It was rather a powerful faction, adding daily to its strength by the accession of influential citizens. It challenged an open hostility. The victory of either party involved the annihilation of the other.

Influenced by such fears, the Coreish sought to stay the progress of secession from their ranks, by utterly severing the party of Mahomet from social and friendly communication with themselves. On the other hand, Abu Tâlib was supported in his defence of Mahomet by all his brothers (excepting Abu Lahab,) and by the descendants generally of his grandfather Hâshim, whether converts to Islam or not.* The religious struggle now merged into a civil feud between the Hâshimites and the rest of the Coreish; and there were not wanting long-rooted political associations to add bitterness to the strife.

To secure their purpose, the Coreish entered into a confederacy against the Hâshimites,—*that they would not marry their*

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been invented for the Bishops of Najrân, and also of an embassy of Christians from Abyssinia, who visited Mahomet at Mecca. (*Hishâmi*, p. 124.) So that not much reliance can be placed on this part of the narrative.

Two other incidents are related of the Najâshy. One, that while the refugees were at his court, he was attacked by a claimant of the Throne. The refugees were so concerned for the result, that they sent Zobeir (then quite a youth) over the Nile on an inflated skin, to watch the battle, and when he returned with tidings that the Najâshy had discomfited his adversary, they rejoiced greatly.

The Abyssinians are said to have risen up against their king for the favor he showed to the Mussulman doctrine. So the Najâshy put into his pocket a scrap inscribed with the Mahometan creed, and when his people desired him to say, "that Jesus was the Son of God" he responded (putting his hand upon his pocket), "Jesus never went beyond *this*,"—apparently agreeing in what they said, but inwardly referring to the scrap! A childish story.

Mahomet is said to have regarded him as a convert, and to have accordingly prayed for him at his death. A light is also related to have issued from his tomb.

There is probably a basis of truth for the general outline given in this note, but it would be difficult to draw a probable line between the real and the fictitious parts of it. Had the leaning towards Mahometan doctrine been really so great in Abyssinia, as is here represented, we should have heard more of its inhabitants in the troublous times that followed Mahomet's decease.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 40; *Hishâmi*, p. 72. Abu Tâlib summoned the house of Hâshim to consult as to the defence of their kinsman Mahomet. All agree to stand by him, but Abu Lahab. Abu Tâlib was charmed with the noble spirit of his relative, and recited a Casîda (preserved by Ibn Ishâc), in praise of the family. The verses, however, conclude with an eulogy on Mahomet as the chief and most noble of the stock,—a sentiment which Abu Tâlib, not a convert to Islam, was not likely to have uttered. The Casîda is evidently spurious, at least in part.

women; nor give their own in marriage to them; would sell nothing to them nor buy aught from them;—that all dealings with them should cease. The ban was carefully committed to writing, and sealed with three seals. When all had bound themselves by it, the sheet was hung up in the Kaaba, and religious sanction thus given to its provisions.*

The Hâshimites were unable to withstand the violent tide of public opinion which thus set in against them; and apprehensive perhaps that it might be only the prelude of open attack, or of blows in the dark still more fatal, they retired into the secluded quarter of the city, known as the *Sheb* † of Abu Tâlib. It was formed by one of the defiles or indentations, where the projecting rocks of Abu Cobeis pressed upon the northern outskirts of Mecca. It was entered on the city side by a low gateway, through which a camel passed with difficulty. On all other sides it was detached by buildings and cliffs from the town.‡

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* *Wâckidi*, p. 39½, 40; *Tabari*, p. 137; *Hishâmi*, p. 108. Mansûr, son of Akrama, wrote the document; and the hand with which he wrote it (*at the prayer*, adds Hishâmi, *of Mahomet*) withered and dried up. Hishâmi states also that it was he who suspended the deed in the Kaaba. Wâckidi however gives another tradition, according to which it was never put in the Kaaba at all, but remained in the custody of Omm al Jalâs, an aunt or cousin of Abu Jahl.

† Sprenger (p. 194) holds that this movement was prior to, and independent of, the league of the Coreish (p. 189.) But both Hishâmi and Wâckidi distinctly connect the entry into Abu Tâlib's quarter, and the ban, as the effect with its cause. And this is indeed the only intelligible statement of the facts.

‡ شعپ *Sheb* signifies a *defile*, *glen*, ravine. Thus the converts from Medina made their assignation to meet Mahomet in a glen, *Sheb*, leading into the valley of Mina, and the next day the enraged Coreish repaired to the *Sheb* of the Medina pilgrims, or the valley in which they were encamped, (*Wâckidi*, p. 42½.) The valley of Ohod, out of which Talha saved Mahomet, is termed *Sheb*. (*Wâckidi*, p. 221; *Hishâmi*, p. 262; *Tabari*, p. 375) where the top or exit from the valley is called فم الشعپ "*mouth* of the Sheb." Amr and his companion in their expedition to assassinate Abu Sofiân, tied up their camels in one of the defiles (*Sheb*) near Mecca. (*Hishâmi*, p. 451; *Tabari*, p. 405.) So the end of a pass requiring to be guarded in the expedition of *Dzat al Rika* is called "*fam al Sheb*," (*Tabari*, p. 427.) Before Cussey brought the Coreish into Mecca, they are said to have inhabited "the heights and defiles (*Sheb*,) of the surrounding hills," *Tabari*, p. 29; *Cnf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 478.

The several quarters of Mecca skirting the foot of Abu Cobeis, are still distinguished by the name *Sheb*; thus we have the *Sheb Amir*, the *Sheb Maulad* (quarter in which Mahomet was born;) and the *Sheb Ali*. The latter was probably comprised in the *Sheb* of Abu Tâlib. (*Burkhardt's Arabia*, pp. 123, 128.) "On the East-side, towards the mountain, and partly on its declivity, stands the quarter called Shab Aly adjoining the Shab el Moled: here is shown the venerated place of Aly's nativity. Both these quarters called Shab (*i. e.*, rock,) are among the most ancient parts of the town, where the Koreysh formerly lived; they are even now inhabited principally by Sherîfs, and do not contain any shops. The houses are spacious and in an airy situation." (*Idem*, p. 124.)

It was into one of these quarters of the city, situated in a defile, having behind it the steep ascent of the hill, and so built as to be inaccessible on all sides, On the first night of the first month of the seventh year of the mission, the Hâshimites, including Mahomet and his family, retired into the quarter of Abu Tâlib, and with them followed also the descendants of Al Muttalib, the brother of Hâshim. Abu Lahab alone, instigated by his hatred of the prophet, went forth to the other party. Rigorously was the ban of separation put in force. The Hâshimites soon found that they were cut off from their supplies of corn and the necessaries of life. They were not strong enough to send forth a caravan of their own; if parties of foreign merchants passed through, the Coreish instigated them to withhold their commodities, except at a most exorbitant price;* the Coreish themselves would sell nothing to them; and a great scarcity necessarily ensued. No one ventured forth from the Sheb, except at the season of pilgrimage, when all enmities throughout Arabia were hushed, and Mahomet and his party were free to join securely in the ceremonies.† For two or three years, the attitude of both parties remained unaltered, and the failing stock of the Hâshimites, replenished only by surreptitious and occasional supplies, reduced them to want and distress. The citizens could hear the voices of the half-famished little ones crying within the Sheb. Many hearts were softened at the sight of such hardships, and regretted the hostilities which gave rise to them. Among these, and the relatives of the isolated families, were found some who ventured, in spite of the threats of the Coreish, from time to time, to introduce at night, by stealth, provisions into the quarter of Abu Tâlib. Hishâm ibn Amr used to conduct a camel laden with corn cautiously into the *Sheb*, and make over the burden to the

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except by a narrow entrance towards the city, that the Hâshimites retired. These particulars enable us to understand the account of Hakîm striking his camel to make it bend and enter the narrow defile, (فم الشعب) and the voices of the wailing children being heard from the parts of the city adjoining, but divided from the Sheb.

Weil has misapprehended the meaning of the term Sheb, and makes it a fortified castle *outside* Mecca. "Hielt es Abu Talib für gerathen, ibn mit einem Theile der Gläubigen aus Mekka zu entfernen, und in ein Wohlbefestigtes Schloss zu bringen." (*Mohammed*, p. 61.) So in his *Einleitung*, (p. 9.)

* This is from Sprenger, but he does not give his authority, p. 194.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 40. It is not clear whether this retirement was voluntary on the part of the Hâshimites, arising from their own alarm, or was directly forced upon them by the threats and menaces of the Coreish. Although they did not come forth from the *Sheb* into *the city*, they might still, we may conceive, issue from the quarter of Abu Tâlib, by clambering up the hill, and so getting out into the country: but they would be unable to procure *supplies* in this way.

hungry inmates.* Hakîm, a grandson of Khuweilid, was also in the habit, though sometimes exposed to peril in the attempt, of carrying supplies to his aunt Khadîja.†

Though the sympathies of many were called forth by the sufferings of the Hâshimites, the cause of Islam itself did not advance during the period of this weary seclusion, which had its full and expected effect in cutting off the mass of the people from the personal influence of Mahomet and of his converts. The efforts of the prophet must needs have been confined to the conversion of his own noble clan, who, though unbelievers in his mission, had resolved to defend his person; and to the strengthening of his previous converts in the faith. Accordingly, we find in the Coran at this period, directions from God to retire from the unbelievers, and confine his preaching to his near kinsmen, and to the faithful;—

* * * Verily they are a rebellious People;
Wherefore turn from them, and thou shalt not be blamed;
And admonish; for admonition profiteth, the Believers.‡

* * * *

Invoke with God, lest thou be of those consigned to torment;
And preach unto thy Relatives, those that be of nearer kin;
And conduct thyself gently unto the Believers that follow thee;
And if they disobey thee, say, *I am free from that which ye do.*
And put thy trust in Him that is glorious and merciful. §

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* Hishâm belonged to the Bani Lowey, but he was a uterine brother of Fazila, a Hâshimite:—"now this man used to go with a camel to the children of Hâshim and Muttalib, by night, and when he approached the entrance to their quarters (قم الشعب) he would let down the nose string of the camel from its head, and striking it on the side, would make it enter the *Sheb*; then he made over to them the corn wherewith it was laden." (*Hishâmi*, p 118.)

† "The Hâshimites remained in this position for two or three years, till they became helpless: Not an article reached them, but covertly and by stealth from such of the Coreish as were actuated by motives of propinquity. On one occasion, Abu Jahl met Hakîm, grandson of Khuweiled, and with him, a slave carrying wheat for his aunt Khadîja. Abu Jahl stopped him, and swearing at him, threatened that if he would not desist, he would disgrace him in Mecca. Abul Bokhtari came up and sought to quiet Abu Jahl, saying, that it was natural and right for Hakîm to take food for his aunt. Abn Jahl would not listen, but fell upon Hakîm, who, however, got the better of him, and forced him to retire kicked and wounded." (*Hishâmi*, p. 109.)

Stories tending to the abasement of Abu Jahl are related by the traditionists with such evident zest, that they are to be received by us with caution.

‡ Sura LI., 55.

§ Sura XXVI., 212. "Conduct thyself gently,"—literally, *lower thy wings*, واخفض جناحك The same expression is used in Sura XV., 88:—

Stretch not forth thine eyes unto the provision which we have given unto several of them, neither be covetous thereof:
But behave with gentleness (*lower thy wings*,) unto the Believers,
And say; Verily, I am a plain Preacher.

* * * * *

And publish that which thou art commanded, and withdraw from the Idolaters.
Verily, We shall suffice for thee against the scoffers, those that set up with God other gods? but they will shortly know;
But do thou praise thy Lord with thanksgiving, and be among the Worshippers:—
And serve thy Lord until that Death (or *the certainty*) overtake thee.

The exemplary bearing of Mahomet under these trying circumstances, and the spirit of clanship uniting all that shut themselves up with Abu Tâlib, no doubt secured to the prophet the general countenance of the Hâshimites, and may have helped to add followers from their ranks. But the period of confinement contributed probably no other result.

The pilgrimage alone afforded Mahomet a wider field That interval of universal security was turned to careful account, as well now as before the ban, in visiting and exhorting the various tribes that flocked to Mecca and the adjacent fairs. The prophet used thus to visit the assemblages at Okâtz, Mujanna, and Dzul Majâz, as well as the encampments at Mecca and Minâ. He warned them against idolatry; invited them to the worship and service of the One God; promised them not only paradise hereafter, but prosperity and domination upon earth, if they would believe.[*] But no one responded to his call. Abu Lahab would follow after him, saying, *Believe him not, he is a lying renegade!* [†] And the tribes replied to Mahomet in sore and taunting words;—*thine own kindred and people should know thee best; wherefore, then, do they not believe and follow thee?* So the prophet, repulsed and grieved, would look upwards, and thus make his complaint unto God:—*Oh Lord, if Thou willedst, it would not be thus!* [‡] But the prayer seemed to pass unheeded.

We propose in conclusion to notice the character of the Suras, about *twenty* in number, assignable to the period reviewed in this paper.[§]

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[*] *Hishâmi*, p. 139; *Wâckidi*, p. 41. *Tabari*, p, 155.

Wâckidi mentions Mahomet's frequenting the three fairs stated in the text, *every* year. There is some foreshadowing of the victories of Islam in his supposed address, which rather throws doubt upon his having made any promise of wordly domination at this time. This was the alleged drift of his preaching: "*Ye people! say*, THERE IS NO GOD BUT THE LORD. *Ye will be benefitted thereby. Ye will gain the rule of all Arabia, and of Ajam* (foreign lands,) *and when ye die ye will reign as kings in Paradise.*"

The Tribes whom he thus addressed are detailed both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi, and include the Bani Kalb, Kinda, Harb, Odzra, Khassafa, Sáasáh, Ghassâm, Hanîfa; from the last of which he is related to have received the worst rebuff of all.

There would be numerous Christians and Jews *at the fairs*, though they did not attend the Meccan pilgrimage.

[†] "And behind him there followed a squint-eyed man, fat, having flowing locks on both sides, and clothed in raiment of fine Aden stuff; and when Mahomet had finished his preaching. he would begin to address them, saying, that *this fellow's only object was to draw them away from their gods and Jinn, to his fancied revelations, wherefore follow him not, neither listen unto him.* And who should this be, but his uncle Abdâl Ozza, Abu Lahab." (*Hishâmi*, p, 140.)

[‡] *Wâckidi*, p. 41½.

[§] The Suras of this period are probably as follows. (The sequence of the first

The new and leading feature in these chapters is the close connection now springing up between Mahomet and the Jewish religion.

The Pentateuch is constantly mentioned as a Revelation from God to Moses. The object of the Coran is *to attest* the divine origin of it and of the succeeding Scriptures.[*] Those Scriptures contain clear evidence of the truth of the Coran, and of the Mission of Mahomet.[†] Jewish witnesses are appealed to in proof that the New Dispensation *is foretold* in the Old Testament, and that the Coran is in close conformity with the contents of their sacred books.

The confident reference which Mahomet makes to the testimony of the Jews and of their Scriptures, is very remarkable. Some of that people, we may not doubt, imperfectly instructed perhaps in their own books and traditions, encouraged Mahomet in the idea that he might be, or even positively affirmed that he was, *that Prophet whom the Lord their God should raise up unto them of their brethren.* His profound veneration for the Jewish Scriptures, to the implicit observance of which it was believed that he had pledged himself in the Coran, would lull the apprehension of the Israelites, and draw them kindly towards him. "If this man," they would say, "hold firmly "by the law and the Prophets, and seek fervently the gui"dance of the GOD of our fathers, he will not go astray. "Peradventure, the Lord willeth through him to lead the "heathen Arabs unto salvation. Nay! What if (we erring "in our interpretations,) this prove the very Messiah, sprung "from the seed of Abraham? In any wise let us wait, watch"ing the result; and meanwhile encourage him in the love of "the Word of GOD, and the seeking of His face in prayer."

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forty-one has been given in former papers.) 42, LXVII.; 43, LIII; 44, XXXII.; 45, XXXIX.; 46, LXXIII.; 47, LXXIX.; 48. LIV.; 49. XXXIV.; 50, XXXI.; 51, LXIX.; 52, LXVIII; 53, XLI; 54, LXXI.; 55, LII.; 56, L.; 57, XLV.; 58, XLIV.; 59, XXXVII.; 60, XXX.; 61, XXVI.; 62, XV.; 63, LI.

[*] See Suras XLVI., 12, 30.; XXXVII., 38; XXXII. 24; X., 37, 93.; VI., 93, *et passim*. The Coran is described as a book sent "to attest the *preceding Scriptures.*" So the Jews and Christians (severally and together, but more especially at this period, the former) are styled, "those to whom *the Scriptures* have been given," (كتاب, ذكر, علم, &c.) It was thus the whole preceding Scriptures, the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms, and subsequently the Gospel, which Mahomet continually described himself as sent to "attest," "confirm," "fulfil."

[†] Sura XXVI, 195. "The Coran is borne witness to in the former Scriptures," &c.

All rejoiced in the Jewish tendencies patent in his mind.[*] But some going farther, bore a direct and unequivocal testimony to his mission.[†] It could have been to nothing short of such witness that he referred, when he said ;—*they unto whom We have given the Scripture recognize the prophet, as they do their own children ;* [‡] and—

Verily this is a Revelation from the Lord of Creation ;
The Faithful Spirit hath descended with it
Upon thy heart, that thou mightest be a Warner,
In the tongue of simple Arabic.
And verily it is in the former Scriptures ;
Was it not a Sign unto them that the learned among the Children of Israel recognized it?
And if we had revealed it to a Foreigner,
And he had recited it unto them, they had not believed [§]

* * * *

SAY ; What think ye, if this Revelation be from GOD, and ye reject it, and a Witness from amongst the Children of Israel hath witnessed unto the like thereof, and hath believed, and *ye* turn away scornfully? Verily, God doth not direct the erring folk. [||]

Whether the "Witness," and other Jewish supporters of Mahomet were amongst his professed followers, perhaps the slave-adherents of Islam ; or were casual visitors at Mecca from Israelitish tribes ; or finally, resident Jews at Medina (with the inhabitants of which city the Prophet was on the point of establishing friendly relations,) we cannot do more than conjecture.

But whoever the Jewish friends of Mahomet may have been, it is evident, that amongst them were men possessing a knowledge—rude and imperfect, perhaps, but comprehensive—of the outlines of Jewish history and tradition ; and that these supplied the material for the Scriptural stories, which, distorted by rabbinical fable, and embellished or parodied by the prophet's fancy, begin to form a chief portion of the Coran. The mixture of truth and fiction, of graphic imagery and of childish inanity, the repetition over and again of the same tale in stereotyped expressions, and the elaborate, and too patent effort to strike an analogy between himself and the former prophets, by putting the speech of his own day into their lips and those of their pretended opposers, surprise, and at last fatigue the patient reader of the Coran.

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[*] "Those unto whom we have given the Book, *rejoice* for that which hath been revealed unto thee." *Sura* XIII., 39.)

[†] See Suras XXXIV, 6 ; X., 93 ; VI., 14 ; XXVIII., 53 ; XVII., 102,—108 ; XIII, 45.

[‡] Or "recognize the Coran." (*Sura* VI., 20.)

[§] Sura XXVI., 191—198.

[||] Sura XLVI., 10, "*unto the like thereof,*" that is, to its conformity with the Old Testament.

For those who have not studied the revelation of Mahomet, the following examples may be required to illustrate our meaning:

God created Adam of clay. The angels were commanded to fall down and worship him.* The devil, alleging his nobler formation of fire, refused, and so fell.† When sentenced, he threatened God that he would seduce His new-created subject; and, in tempting him to eat of the forbidden tree, he fulfilled his threat.‡ To the facts of Abel's history, is added the Jewish fiction, that God, by sending a raven to scratch the earth, indicated to Cain that the corpse should be buried under ground.§ But it would be a vain and unprofitable task to follow Mahomet through his labyrinth of truth, discrepancy, and fiction,—his tales of Abraham, who brake the idols of his people, and miraculously escaped the fire into which the Tyrant cast him:‖

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* Compare Ps. xcvii. 7. Hebrews i. 6. "When he bringeth the first-born into the world he saith, and let all the angels of God worship him."

† "His Ministers a flaming fire." (*Ps. civ.* 4., *Heb. i.* 7.)

‡ Sura II., 11—26, XX., 113; XXXVIII., 70. The first of these passages may be quoted as a fair specimen of the Scripture—legendary style.

And verily We created you, then fashioned you, then We said unto the Angels, *Fall down and*
[*worship Adam;* and they worshipped all, excepting Eblis, who was not of the worshippers;—
He said, *What hindereth thee that thou worshippest not when I command thee?* He answered,
[*I am better than he, Thou createdst me of Fire, and Thou createdst him of clay;*
He said, *Get thee down from Heaven; it shall not be given thee to behave arrogantly therein;*
[*Get the hence, verily, thou, shalt be amongst the Despicable.*
He said, *Respite me unto the Day when* (all) *shall be raised.*
He said, *Verily, thou art of the number respited*
He said, *Now, for that Thou hast caused me to fall, I will lie in wait for them in the straight*
Then I will fall upon them from before and from behind, and from their right hand and
[*from their left, and Thou shalt not find the most part of them thankful.*
He said, *Depart from hence, despised and driven off: for those of them that shall follow thee,*
[*—verily, I will fill hell with you together!*
And thou, Adam, dwell thou and thy Wife in Paradise, and eat from whatever quarter ye
[*will, but approach not this Tree, lest ye become of the number of the Transgressors!*
And the Devil tempted them both that he might discover that which was hidden from them of their
[Nakedness;
And he said, *Your Lord hath only forbidden you this Tree, lest ye should become Angels, or*
[*become Immortal.*
And he swore unto them, *Verily, I am unto you one that counselleth good.*
And he misled them by ambitious Desire; and when they had tasted of the tree, their Naked-
[ness appeared unto them, and they began to sew together upon themselves the leaves of
[Paradise.
And their Lord called unto them, *What! did I not forbid you this Tree, and say unto you*
[*that Satan was your manifest Enemy?*
They said, *Oh, our Lord! We have injured our own souls, and if Thou forgivest us not,*
[*and art not merciful unto us, we shall be numbered amongst the Damned.*
He said, *Get ye down, the one of you an Enemy to the other; and there shall be unto you on*
[*the Earth an habitation and a provision for a season:*
He said, *Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken*
[*forth.*

The expression penultimate verse seems to be taken from Genesis iii. 15. "And I will put enmity," &c.

§ Sura V., 33. Cuf Geigers *Was hat Mahommed aus Judenthume*, p. 103, where he quotes R. Elieser, Kap. 21, for the Jewish tradition to the same effect. But in Jewish tradition the raven shows the mode of burial to *Adam*, in the Coran to *Cain*, the murderer.

‖ Sura XXI., 52, &c. *See* the quotations from the Jewish Commentator Rabbah, of similar legends, in Geiger, (p. 124.)

of the angel's visit, when "Sarah laughed" at the promise of a son, and the Patriarch vainly pleading for Sodom, was told that though Lot would be saved, his wife was predestined to destruction;[*] of Abraham's sacrifice of his son being ransomed by "a noble victim;"[†] of Joseph, in envy of whose beauty the Egyptian ladies cut their hands with knives;[‡] of Jacob, who when the garment of Joseph was cast over him by the messengers from Egypt, recovered his long-lost sight;[§] of Mount Sinai held over the terrified Israelites to force their acceptance of the law; of the seventy, who, when upon the same mount struck dead, were quickened to life again;[‖] of David, whom the mountains joined in singing the praises of God; and of Solomon, for whose gigantic works the genii were forced to labour at his bidding; of the genii, who brought the throne of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon in "the twinkling of an eye," and of the lap-wing that flew to her with the royal summons;[¶] of the Jews who broke the Sabbath and were changed into apes.[**] Some points in the sacred history are the subject of special amplification and frequent rehearsal. Such are the favourite topics of the history of Moses, the catastrophe of the flood, and the overthrow of Sodom, through which the Arabian prophet would deal forth exhortation and warning to the Meccans, and to which he is ever recurring with a wearisome reiteration. The reader who has patience and interest sufficient for the tedious detail, will gain the best conception of it from the Coran itself. If a specimen be desired, the history of Moses in Suras XX. and XXVIII. will give a fair idea of the rest.

To acquire so minute a knowledge of considerable portions of the Jewish Scriptures, to assimilate these to his former materials, and to work them up into the elaborate and often extensively rhythmical Suras, which begin now to extend to a considerable length, it was necessary to devote much time and careful study. The revelation is no longer the spontaneous and impassioned eloquence of a burning Faith, but the tame and laboured result of ordinary composition. For this end many a midnight hour must have been stolen from sleep,—though ostensibly devoted to prayer and recitation of God's word. To such employment may we attribute such references as this—

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[*] Sura XI., 69; XV., 50. XXVII., 58, &c.

[†] XXXVII, 84. Which son is not specified in the Coran.

[‡] Sura XII. Mahomet makes Joseph to have been inclined towards Potiphar's wife, and only saved from impending sin by a Divine interposition, (*Sura* XII, 25.) So the Rabbin Jochanan, (*Geiger*, p. 142.) The ladies cutting their hands is also mentioned in the Sepher Hayyashar. (*ibid.*)

[§] Sura XII., 93—96.

[‖] Sura II., 55, 63, 93; IV., 153.; VII., 172. For the analogous rabbinical legend, see *Geiger*, p. 165.

[¶] Sura XXVII., 16—45; XXXIV., 10—14: XXXVIII., 18, 42. For the Jewish legends of similar nature, see *Geiger*, pp. 185—187.

[**] Sura VII., 164.

> Oh thou that art wrapped up ?
> Arise during the Night, excepting a small portion thereof:
> A Half of it, or diminish therefrom a little,
> Or increase therefrom And recite the Coran with well measured recitation.
> Verily, We shall inspire thee with weighty words.
> Verily, the hours of Night are the best for fervent Maceration, and distinct Utterance.
> Truly by Day thou hast a protracted Labour.
> And commemorate the name of thy Lord, and consecrate thyself solely unto Him.[*]

It is possible that the convictions of Mahomet may have become so blended with his grand object and course of action, that the very *study* of the Coran and effort to compose it, were regarded as his best season of devotion. But the surreptitious manner in which he availed himself of Jewish information, producing the result, not only as original, but *as evidence of inspiration,*[†] begins to prove an active, though it may have been unconscious, dissimulation and course of falsehood, to be justified only by the miserable apology of a pious end.

Up to this period there is hardly any mention of the *Christian* Scriptures. The sources of available teaching regarding them were probably as yet imperfect.

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[*] Sura LXXIII, 1—7.

[†] *See* Sura XXXVIII, 70. The story of man's creation, and the fall of Satan, is thus prefaced: "*I had no knowledge regarding the Heavenly Chiefs when they disputed; verily, it hath been revealed unto me for no other purpose than* (to prove) *that I am a public Preacher.*" So Sura XXVIII., 45—47, regarding the story of Moses at the Mount. Also XII., 102; after relating the history of Joseph, he adds: "*This is one of the secret histories, which we have revealed unto thee; thou was not present with them,*" &c.

LIFE OF MAHOMET FROM THE TENTH YEAR OF HIS MISSION TO THE HEGIRA.

By Sir W. Muir.

1. *Sîrat Wâckidi.* Arabic MS.
2. *Sîrat Tabari.* Ditto.
3. *Sîrat Hishâmi.* Ditto.
4. *Life of Mohammed*, by A. Sprenger, M.D. Allahabad, 1851.
5. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet:* par M. A. P. C. de Perceval. Paris, 1848, vols. 1 and 3.
6. *Mohammed der Prophet.* Dr. Gustav Weil. Stuttgart, 1843.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of his Mission, (the 50th of his life,) Mahomet was still shut up in the isolated quarters of Abu Tâlib, whither all his near kinsmen, unbelievers as well as converts, had, in consequence of their support of the prophet, been forced to retire. No one ventured forth except at the annual pilgrimage. Buying and selling, giving and receiving in marriage,—all the intercommunications of social life, were suspended between them and the rest of the Coreish. The Hâshimites were thus virtually blockaded for the space of two or three years.

At last the sympathies of a numerous section of the Coreish were aroused. They saw in this form of persecution something more than a conscientious struggle against an Impostor. The justice of extending the ban to the whole Hâshimite stock seemed doubtful. Many, especially those related to the family, began to grieve at the breach.

It was discovered by some of the friends of Mahomet that the parchment in the Kaaba on which the ban was engrossed, had been almost entirely devoured by insects. The important news was told to Mahomet, and to Abu Tâlib, who resolved to found thereon an effort for the dissolution of the league. The venerable chief, now more than fourscore years of age,* issued forth from his shut-up quarters, with a band of followers, to the Kaaba. Addressing the chief men of the Coreish, as usual assembled there, he said,—"Intelligence hath reached me that your deed hath been eaten up of insects; if my words be found true, then desist from your evil designs,—if false, I will deliver up Mahomet that ye may do with him as ye list." All agreed that it should be thus. So they sent for the document and when they had opened it, lo! it had been devoured by white-ants and was no longer legible. Abu Tâlib, perceiving their confusion, bitterly upbraided them with inhumanity and breach of social obligation: he then advanced with his band to the Kaaba, and standing behind the curtain, prayed to the Lord of the Holy House for deliverance from their machinations. Having done this, he retired again to his abode.

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* *Wâckidi*, p. 23.

The murmurs of the party that favoured the Hâshimites, now found an opportunity of effective utterance. The partizans of the Prophet were emboldened. The Coreish had hardly recovered from surprise at the sudden appearance, and as sudden departure, of Abu Tâlib, when five chief men rose up from their midst, and declaring themselves inimical to the league, put on their armour, and proceeded to the quarter of Abu Tâlib. Standing by, they commanded all that had taken refuge there to go forth to their respective homes in security and peace. So they went forth in the tenth year of the prophet's mission, 619—620 A. D. The Coreish, confounded by the boldness of the stroke, offered no opposition: they perceived that a strong party had grown up who would resent by arms any attempt to lay violent hands upon the Moslems.*

The rest and liberty that followed the breaking up of the hostile league were not long to be enjoyed by Mahomet. In a few months he was visited by trials more severe than any that had yet befallen him. The tenth year of his mission (the third before the Hegira) had not yet passed when Khadíja died, and five weeks later his protector Abu Tâlib also.†

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* Among the five chiefs was Abul Bokhtari, whose safety Mahomet endeavoured in return vainly to secure at Badr. Another was Zohair, a maternal grandson of Abd al Muttalib. A third was Mutím, who shortly afterwards took the Prophet under his protection on his return from Tâyif.

The version in the text is chiefly from Wâckidi, (p. 40,) with the omission only of the fiction that *God had communicated to his prophet*, the information that the document had been eaten up *all except the words "in the name of God,"* with which (according to the ancient Meccan custom, *Tabari*, p. 147,) it commenced, and that Abu Talib told this to the Coreish.

Two separate traditions are given both by Hishâmi and Tabari. One as above. The other that the five chiefs had first concerted together to procure the dissolution of the league: and that the Coreish were already influenced by their appeal when Mutím arose to tear up the document, and found that it had been eaten up. *Hishâmi*, 118.—*Tabari*, 145.

We have endeavoured to weave both versions into the likeliest historical form. Weil supposes the document to have been destroyed during the night by some partizan of Mahomet. But this could hardly have been done. The ravages of white-ants could not thus have been easily counterfeited: they have a peculiar appearance.

† The authorities regarding these dates are contradictory, and we must be content with probabilities.

The death of his wife was a sore affliction. For five-and-twenty years she had been his counseller and support, and now his heart and home were left desolate. His family, however, no longer needed her maternal care. The younger daughter, Fâtima, was approaching womanhood, * and an attachment was perhaps already forming with Ali, her father's nephew and adopted son. Though Khadîja, (at her death three score and five years old,) must have long ago lost the charms of youth, and though the custom of Mecca allowed polygamy, yet Mahomet was, during her life time, restrained from other marriages by affection and gratitude, and perhaps also by the wish to secure more entirely for his cause the influence of her family. His grief at her death was at first inconsolable, for he was liable to violent and deep emotion; but its effects were transient. The room of Khadîja could be filled, though her devotion and virtues might not be rivalled, by numerous successors.

The loss of Abu Tâlib, who lived and died an unbeliever, was, if possible, a still severer bereavement. We may dismiss without much attention the legend that on his death-bed, in reply to the earnest appeal of his nephew, he declared that he was prevented from giving his assent to the creed of Islâm only because he feared the imputation of terror at the approach of death. † Whatever he may have said to comfort Mahomet, his whole life belies the accusation that the fear of the Coreish restrained him from avowing his convictions. The sacrifices and loss to which Abu Tâlib exposed himself and his

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Wâckidi says (p. 23,) that Khadîja died *after* Abu Tâlib a month and five days: Ibn Coteiba also, that she died after him three days. The authorities, however, quoted in the Mowâhibâ alladoniya, give Ramadhân (December 619,) as the date of Khadîja's death, and Shawwâl (January 620,) for that of Abu Tâlib. Sprenger is not clear; in one place (p. 196, note 2,) he says that "Khadîja died *after* Abu Tâlib;" but in the next page, "one month and five days after his wife he lost his uncle and protector, the noble-minded Abu Tâlib."

The middle of Shawwâl is the date generally agreed upon for Abu Tâlib's decease, (Wâckidi, p. 23:) and the end of the same month, or about a fortnight later, as the period when Mahomet, downcast, and distressed at the *two* bereavements, set out for Tâyif. We must therefore either suppose that Khadîja died within this fortnight, *i. e.*, within the last fifteen days of Shawwâl, or that she died *before* Abu Tâlib. Ibn Coteiba's tradition that she died three days after Abu Tâlib, would be consistent with the former supposition. But the interval between the two deaths is generally represented as thirty-five days; (Wâckidi, pp. 23—40.)

In this view it seems more natural to adopt the alternative that she died in the first half of Ramadhân, (December 619;) that Abu Tâlib died in the middle of Shawwâl (January 620:) and that Mahomet, overcome by despondency at these successive bereavements, and by the renewed opposition of the Coreish, set out for Tâyif the end of the latter month.

* She would be then about twelve or thirteen years of age.

† *See* Weil's Mohammad, p. 67, note 79: and Wâckidi, p. 22½.

family for the sake of his nephew, while yet incredulous of his mission, stamp his character with singularly noble and unselfish features; while at the same time they afford strong proof of the sincerity of Mahomet himself. Abu Tâlib would not have acted thus for an interested deceiver; and he had ample means of scrutiny.

When the patriarch felt that life was ebbing, he summoned his brethren, the sons of Abd al Muttalib around his bed, commended his nephew to their protection, and having delivered himself of this trust, died in peace.[*] Mahomet wept bitterly for his uncle; and not without good reason. For forty years he had been the prop of his childhood, the guardian of his youth, the tower of his defence in later life. The place of Khadîja might be supplied, but not that of Abu Tâlib. His very unbelief rendered his influence the stronger. So long as he survived, Mahomet needed not to fear violence or attack. There was no strong hand now to protect him from his foes.

Grieved and dispirited by these bereavements, following so closely one upon the other, and dreading the now unrepressed insolence of the Coreish, Mahomet kept chiefly at home, and seldom went abroad.[†] The dying behest of Abu Tâlib had now an unexpected effect; for Abu Lahab, heretofore the avowed enemy of Mahomet, was softened by his despondency and distress, and spontaneously assumed his protection;—"*Do*," he said, "*as thou has been in the habit of doing, while Abu Tâlib was yet with us. By Lât! no one shall hurt thee while I live.*" But the generous pledge was not long observed. Abu Lahab was soon gained back by the Coreish to their party, and Mahomet left to protect himself as he best could.[‡]

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[*] "After his death Mahomet prayed for his salvation; but he had not yet gone forth from the house, when Gabriel descended with the verse forbidding to pray for unbelievers who have died in incredulity." *Wâckidi*, p. 23, *See Sura* IX. 115. This verse however occurs in one of the latest Suras; there is no reason to believe that the rule enunciated in it had yet been given forth before the Hegira, though the system was fast tending towards it.

It is also said that Mahomet wept and commanded Ali to wash his father's corpse, and place it in the winding sheet, and bury him. *Wâckidi, Ibid.* But this looks like one of the Alyite traditions, which would refer all important commissions to Ali. It is not probable that the last services to a man of Abu Tâlib's position, surrounded by brothers and sons, would be left to Ali alone, acting under Mahomet's orders.

[†] *Wâckidi*, p. 40—*Hishâmi*, p. 138—*Tabari*, p. 149. The two latter say that the indignities he suffered at this time were so great that on one occasion the lower classes cast dirt upon his head. He returned to his house in this plight, and one of his daughters arose to wipe it off, and she wept. And Mahomet said, "*My daughter, weep not! for verily the Lord will be thy father's helper.*" They add that he suffered no such indignity as that while Abu Tâlib lived.

[‡] This curious episode is given in detail by Wâckidi, p. 400 At first when Ibn Ghaitala abused Abu Lahab as a renegade for taking the part of Mahomet, the

The position of the Arabian prophet was now critical. He must either gain the ascendancy at Mecca, abandon his prophetical claims, or perish in the struggle. Islam must either destroy Idolatry, or Idolatry destroy Islam. He could not remain stationary. His followers, though devotedly attached to him, and numbering a few *once* influential citizens, were but a handful against a host. Open hostilities, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent them, might any day be precipitated, and his cause irretrievably lost. He was not gaining ground at Mecca. There had been no conversions, none at least of any note, since he was joined by Omar and Hamza, three or four years before. A few more years of similar discouragement, and his cause was lost.

Pondering thus, Mahomet began to look around him. The Meccans knew not the day of their visitation, and had well nigh sealed their doom. It was perhaps the will of the Lord that succour and salvation should come from some other people. Tâyif (about seventy miles to the east of Mecca,) was the nearest city of importance: it might be that God would turn the hearts of its inhabitants, the idolatrous Thâckifites, and use them as his instruments to chastise the Meccans, and establish his religion on the earth. To them, accordingly, he resolved to deliver his message.

Abu Tâlib had been buried hardly a fortnight, when Mahomet, followed only by the faithful Zeid, set out on his adventurous mission.* His road (as far as Arafat it was the Pilgrim track) lay over dismal rocks and through barren defiles for about forty miles, when it emerged on the crowning heights of Jebel Kora, with its rich gardens and charming prospect. Thence descending through fertile valleys, the smiling fruits and flowers of which suggested perhaps the bright picture of the conversion of the Thâckifites, he advanced to their city. Though connected by frequent intermarriage, the inhabitants

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Coreish admitted the excuse of Abu Lahab, and even praised him for his attempt "to bind up family differences." But shortly after Ocba and Abu Jahl told him to ask in what place Abd al Muttalib was, and on Mahomet's confessing that he was in Hell, Abu Lahab left him in indignation, saying, "I will not cease to be thine enemy for ever!"

Whatever may have been the immediate cause, it is evident that Abu Lahab was led again to abandon his nephew through the instigation of the evil-disposed Coreish.

* Hishâmi, (p. 136,) and Tabari, (p. 149,) say that he went entirely alone;—but Wâckidi, (p. 40½) that he was accompanied by Zeid, who was wounded in attempting to defend his master. As to the date, Wâckidi says, "there were still some days of Shawwâl remaining," when he started.

of Tâyif were jealous of the Coreish.[*] They had a *Lât*, or chief idol, of their own. It might be possible, by appealing to their national pride, as well as to their conscience, to enlist them on the side of Ĭslâm against the people of Mecca. Mahomet proceeded to the three principal men of the city, who were brothers,[†] and having explained his mission, invited them to the honour of sustaining the cause, and supporting him in the face of his hostile tribe. But he failed in producing conviction. They cast in his teeth the common objections of his own people, and recommended him to seek for protection in some other quarter.[‡]

Mahomet remained in Tâyif for about ten days; but, though many of the influential men came at his call, no hopeful impression was made upon them. One favour he asked, that they would not divulge the object of his visit, for he feared the taunts and hostility of the Coreish; but this, even if possible, the men of Tâyif were little likely to concede. For the first few days, perhaps, the common people regarded with awe the prophet who had turned Mecca upside down, and whose preaching probably many had heard at the pilgrimages or fairs. But the treatment he was receiving at the hands of their chiefs, and the disproportion to the outward eye between the magnitude of his claims and his solitary helpless condition, turned fear into contempt. They were stirred up to hasten the departure of the unwelcome visitor. They hooted him in the streets; they pelted him with stones; and at last he was obliged to flee out of their city, pursued by a relentless rabble. Blood flowed from wounds in both his legs; and Zeid, in endeavouring to shield him, received a severe injury in his head. The mob would not desist until they had chased him two or three miles across the sandy plain to the foot of the hills that surround the city. There, wearied and mortified, he took refuge in one of the numerous orchards, and rested under a vine.[§]

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[*] They were descended from a common ancestor with the Coreish, Modhar, (B. C. 31.) See *Article on the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia*, p. 42. In illustration of their independent and antagonisic position, see their hostile conduct in siding with Abraha in his invasion of Mecca:—*Forefathers of Mahomet*, p. 17.

[†] One of them had a Coreishite wife of the Bani Jumh, a branch that contained many adherents of Islam, and must therefore have been intimately acquainted with the politics of Mecca and the claims and position of Mahomet.

[‡] Hishâmi has given the words of each, but they are probably imaginary, p. 137.

[§] "The town is celebrated all over Arabia for its beautiful gardens; but these are situated at the foot of the mountains which encircle the sandy plain. I did not see any gardens, nor even a single tree within the walls; and the immediate neighbourhood is entirely destitute of verdure." "The nearest gardens appeared

Hard by was the garden of two of the Coreish, Otba and Sheyba; for the wealthy Meccans had their pleasure grounds, (as they still have,) near Tâyif.* They watched the flight of Mahomet; and moved with compassion, sent a tray of grapes for his refreshment.† Their slave, a Christian from Nineveh, who brought them to him, was charmed by the pious style of the prophet's address: and Mahomet was perhaps solaced more by the humble devotion of Addâs than by the grateful shade and juicy grapes.‡ After a little, composed and reassured, he betook himself to prayer, and several touching and submissive petitions are still preserved as those in which his burdened soul gave vent to its complaint. §

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to be on the S., W. side, at the distance of about half or three-quarters of an hour." *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, p. 85.

The quarter from which Mahomet made his escape, would be the west; so that he would probably have at least some three miles of sandy plain to cross before he secured his retreat to one of the gardens.

* *Burkhardt*, p. 85.

† Burkhardt "tasted at Tâyif grapes of a very large size and delicious flavour. The gardens are also renowned for the abundance of their roses."—*Ibid.* The gardens on the eminences of Jebel Kora also abound in vines "the produce of which is of the best quality, besides a variety of other fruits:—*Idem*, p. 64. The grapes were ripe when the traveller passed in the months of August and September; the visit of Mahomet was (according to M. C. de Perceval's calculations,) about four months later.

‡ The story of Addâs is not in Wâckidi. Hishâmi and Tabari give it with many fanciful additions. When Addâs offered the grapes, Mahomet exclaimed, "*in the name of God*," as he stretched forth his hand to receive them. "Is this the mode of speech," asked the slave, "of the people of this country?" "And of what country" said Mahomet, "art thou, and what is thy religion?" "A Christian of the people of Nineveh.!"—"Ah!" replied Mahomet, "of the people of the righteous Jonas the son of Mattai!"—And what hath made thee acquainted with Jonas son of Mattai?'—"He was my brother; for he was a prophet, and I too am a prophet." Whereupon Addâs fell to kissing the head and hands and feet of Mahomet, to the astonishment of his masters, who were looking on from a distance.

The story in this form is of course apocryphal; and we should have omitted the incidents regarding Addâs altogether, but that it is difficult to conceive how they could have found their way into this particular part of the history, without *some* foundation of fact. It is probable, therefore, that Mahomet did meet and converse with a Christian slave on this occasion.

§ The prayer is touching and plaintive. It is thus given by Hishâmi, (p. 137,) and Tabari, (p. 151):—

اللهم اليک اشکوا ضعف قوتي و قلة حيلتي و هواني علي
الناس * يا ارحم الراحمين انت رب المستضعفين و انت
ربي الي من تكلني الي بعيد يتهجمني او الي عدو
ملكته امري ان لم يكن بک علي غضب لا ابالي ولكن

Reinvigorated by this pause, he set forth on his journey homewards. About half way, loth to return to Mecca, he halted in the valley of Nakhla, where was an idol-fane, a grove and a garden.* There, as he arose at night to prayer, or perhaps as he dreamed, his excited and nervous imagination pictured crowds of Genii pressing forward to hear his exhortations, and ardent to embrace Islâm. The romantic scene has been perpetuated in the Coran :—

> "And call to mind when We caused a company of the Genii to turn aside unto thee that they might listen to the Coran; And when they were present at the recitation thereof, they said, *Give ear.* And when it was

عافيتك هي اوسع لي * اعوذ بنور وجهك الكريم
الذي اشرقت له الظلمات وصلح عليه امر الدنيا
والاخرة من ان ينزل بي غضبك او تحل علي سخطك
* لك العتبي حتي ترضي ولا حول ولا قوة الا بك *

"Oh Lord! I make my complaint unto thee of the feebleness of my strength, and the poverty of my expedients; and of my contemptibleness before mankind. Oh thou most Merciful! thou art the Lord of the Weak, and thou art my Lord. In whose power wilt thou leave me? In the power of Strangers who beset me, or of the Enemy to whom thou hast given the mastery over me? If *thy* wrath be not upon me, I have no anxiety, but rather thy favour is the more wide unto me. I take refuge in the light of thy benign Countenance, which disperseth the Darkness, and causeth Peace both for this world and the next, that thy Wrath light not upon me, and that thine Indignation rest not on me. It is thine to show Anger until thou art pleased, and there is no Resource or Power but with Thee."

* *Nakhla* was a valley about half-way between Mecca and Tâyif. It is famous as the scene of the first expedition planned by Mahomet against the Meccans in which blood was shed. In describing it on that occasion, Wâckidi says, "the valley of Nakhla is a garden of the son of Amir near to Mecca." But the *nearness* has reference only to Medîna, from which the expedition proceeded, and is quite consistent with the assumed position half-way between Mecca and Tâyif.

There was an image of *Uzza*, held in estimation by the Coreish and other tribes, and destroyed after the taking of Mecca. *Wâckidi*, p. 129.—*Hishâmi*, p. 371.—*C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 269, III. 241. Its position is farther marked by the "engagement of Nakhla" in the sacrilegious war during the youth of Mahomet. The Hawâzin pursued the Coreish from the fair of Ocatz to this spot, which was within the sacred limits around Mecca, or at least close upon them;—See "*Life of Mahomet from his youth*," &c. p. 3. *C. de Perceval*, I., 307.

It may probably be the same as the "Wady Mohram" noticed by Burkhardt, as the place where the pilgrims for Mecca assume the Ihrâm or pilgrim garb, (p. 67.) The supposition is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the party sent by Mahomet to Nakhla shaved themselves *there*, to deceive the caravan they were about to attack into the belief that they were peaceable pilgrims. Wady Mohram, like the Nakhla of Mahomet's time, has still fruit trees and gardens. Wâckidi's statement that there was a garden at Nakhla proves that it was on the Tâyif side of the mountain range, as all on the Meccan side is barren.

On the whole, M. C. de Perceval's description of Nakhla as "midway between Mecca and Tâyif," (vol. III., p. 34,) may be accepted as pretty accurate.

ended, they returned unto their people preaching:—they said, Oh our People! verily we have been listening to a Book which hath been sent down since Moses, attesting the Truth of the Scripture preceding it. It guideth unto the Truth and into the straight Path. Oh our People! Obey the Summoner from God, and believe in him, that He may forgive you your sins, and save you from an awful Punishment." *Sura* XLVI., verse 29, &c.[*]

After staying some days at Nakhla, he again proceeded towards Mecca; but before entering the city, which he feared (now that the object of his visit to Tâyif could not remain a secret) to do without a protector, he turned aside by a northward path, to his ancient haunts in the vicinity of Mount Harâ.[†] From thence he despatched two unsuccessful messages to solicit the guardianship of influential chiefs. At last he bethought him of Mutím, (one of the five who had been instrumental in procuring the cancelment of the ban,) and sent him word beseeching that he would bring him in unto the city under his protection; and he assented. So having summoned his sons and adherents, Mutím bade them buckle on their armour, and take their stand by the Kaaba. Mahomet and

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[*] The scene is also described in *Sura* LXXII., which opens thus:—

"Say; it hath been revealed to me that a company of Genii listened, and they said,—Verily we have heard a marvellous discourse (lit. *Coran*:)
It leadeth to the right direction; so we believed therein, and we will not henceforth associate any with our Lord;
And as to him,—may the Majesty of our Lord be exalted!—
He hath taken no Spouse, neither any Offspring.
But verily the foolish people amongst us have spoken of God that which is unjust;
And we verily thought that no one amongst Men or Genii would have uttered a lie against God.
And verily there are people amongst men, who seek for refuge unto people among the Genii, but they only multiplied their Folly.
And verily they thought, as ye think, that God would not raise any from the dead.
And we tried the Heavens, but found them filled with a powerful Guard, and with flaming Darts
And we sat on some of the Stations to listen, but whoever listeneth now-a-days findeth an ambush of flaming Darts.
And truly we know not whether evil be intended for them that are on Earth, or whether their Lord intendeth for them right direction.
And verily there are amongst us righteous persons, and amongst us persons of another kind;—we are of various sorts:
And verily we thought that no one could frustrate God on earth, neither could we escape from Him by flight;
Wherefore when we heard the direction, we believed therein,"—*(and so on, the Genii speaking as true Moslems.)*

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"And verily when the servant of God (Mahomet) stood up to call upon Him, they (the Genii) were near jostling him by their numbers," &c.

Notwithstanding the *crowds* here alluded to, Hishâmi (whose traditional authorities seem to have had a wonderfully intimate acquaintance with the habits and haunts of the Genii,) states that they were *seven* Genii belonging to Nisibin, who happening to pass that way, were arrested by hearing Mahomet at his devotions reciting the Coran. Others say they were *nine* in number and came from Yeman, or from Nineveh. And it is added, that they professed the Jewish religion! This, of course, from the reference made by them in the Coran to *Moses*.

[†] Burkhardt mentions that on the Meccan side of the Minâ valley (*i. e.*, the Tâyif road.) there is "a side valley leading toward Jebel Nûr" or Harâ. It may have been by this or a similar glen by which Mahomet turned aside to his cave and old haunts.—*Burkhardt*, p. 279.

Zeid then entered Mecca, and when they had reached the Kaaba, Mutím stood upright on his camel and called aloud,— "Oh ye Coreish! verily I have given a pledge of protection unto Mahomet; wherefore let not any one amongst you molest him." Then Mahomet went forward and kissed the corner stone, and returned to his house guarded by Mutím and his party. The generosity and faithfulness of Mutím have been perpetuated by Hassân the poet of Medîna and friend of the Prophet.*

There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Mahomet to Tâyif;—a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, like Jonah to Nineveh,—to summon an idolatrous city to repentance and to the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light on the intensity of his belief in the divine origin of his own calling.

Mahomet now sought for solace, amid family bereavement and public indignities, in a fresh matrimonial alliance. Sakrân with his wife Sawda, both of Coreishite blood, (but of a stock remote from that of Mahomet,) had early become converts to Islâm, and emigrated to Abyssinia. They had again returned to Mecca, where Sakrân died. Mahomet now made suit to Sawda, and the marriage, (so far as we know not one of mere interest and convenience, but of affection,) was celebrated within two months from the death of Khadîja.†

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* The following are the lines, which form a good illustration of the value of contemporary poetry, in bringing auxiliary evidence in support of traditional facts:—

عيني الا ابكي سيد الناس واسفحي * وان انزفته
فاسكبي الدما * فلو كان مجد يخلد الدهر واحدا *
من الناس ابقي مجد ليوم مطعما * اجرت رسول الله
منهم فاصبحوا * عبيدك ما لبي مهن واحرما *

Weep, Oh my eyes! for the chief of men: let tears gush forth; and when they run dry, then pour [forth blood!
If Greatness had caused any to survive for ever amongst mankind, then Greatness had preserved [Mutím unto this day.
Thou pledgedst protection to the prophet of God from his enemies; and thy servants went forth [while he presented himself suppliant at the Holy House, and Sacred Precincts.

Mutim was a Chief descended from Abd Shamist the brother of Hâshim (great grandfather of Mahomet;) and along with Harb, son of Ossia, commanded his tribe in one of the great battles in the Sacrilegious War, 586 A. D.—*C. de Perceval*, I, 309.

† Sawda, (a cousin of her husband Sakrân, belonged to the distant branch of Amir ibn Lowey, which separated from the Hâshimite stem at the 7th remove from Mahomet.—*Ibn Coteiba.*

Sprenger says she had a son by Sakrân, but if so, he did not survive, for Ibn Coteiba says that Sakrân left no issue.

Supposing Khadîja to have died in December, 619 A. D., Mahomet's nuptials with Sawda may have taken place in February or the beginning of March 620.

About the same time he contracted a second marriage with Ayesha, the younger daughter of Abu Bakr:—a connection mainly designed to cement the attachment with his bosom-friend. The yet undeveloped charms of Ayesha could hardly have swayed the heart of Mahomet. Though her betrothed husband had reached fifty, she was n[illegible] a child of only *six* years of age. Still there may have been something more than ordinarily precocious and interesting about her, for the real marriage took place not more than three years afterwards.

There is no information as to [illegible] terms on which Mahomet continued with the family of his deceased wife [illegible], and whether he retained any part of the property that belonged to her. During the few troublous years that had passed of his mission, and especially under the ban, it is probable that her wealth had much diminished. Perhaps it was shared with the poorer brethren. It is certain that during his remaining stay at Mecca, the Prophet had not much property at his disposal; and there are even indications (as we shall see below,) that he was straitened in his means. He appears still to have continued to live, at least occasionally, in the quarter, [illegible] not in the house, of Abu Tâlib.*

Repulsed from Tâyif, and utt[illegible] hopeless of farther success at Mecca, the fortune of Mah[illegible] now enveloped in the thickest gloom, wh[illegible] hope s[illegible]ly [illegible]med from an unexpected quarter.

The season of pilgrimage was at hand, [March 620 A. D.:] and as his custom was, the Prophet plied his solicitations wherever the crowds of pilgrims afforded a likely audience. The ceremonies were nearly at an end; Mahomet had followed the pilgrims to the hill of Arafat, and now back again to Minâ, whence, after sacrificing their victims, the multitude would disperse to their homes. Wandering over the valley, he was attracted by a little group of six or seven persons, whom he recognized as strangers from Medîna. "*Of what tribe are ye?*" said he, coming up and kindly accosting them,—"Of the tribe of Khazraj." "*Ah! confederates of the Jews?*"—"We are."—"*Then why should we not sit down a little, and I will speak with you?*" The offer was accepted willingly, for the fame of Mahomet had been noised abroad in Medîna, and the strangers were curious to see more of the man who had created so great an excitement in Mecca. Then he expounded to them his doctrine, set forth the difficulties of his position at home, and enquired whether they would receive and protect him at Medîna. The listeners were not slow to embrace the [illegible] of Islâm: "but as for protecting thee," said they, "we have hitherto been at variance among ourselves, and have fought great battles, as that of Boâth. If thou comest to us thus, we shall be unable to rally around thee. Let us, we pray thee, return unto our people, if haply the Lord [illegible] create peace amongst us; and we will come back again [illegible] ee. Let the season of pilgrimage in the following year, be the appointed time." So they returned to their homes [illegible] ted their people to the faith; and many believed, and [illegible] remained hardly a family in Medîna, in wh[illegible] mention [illegible] not [illegible] of the prophet.*

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* Thus at the Mirâj or heavenly journey, Mahomet is said to have slept during the night in Abu Tâlib's house,—*Hishâmi*, p. 129,—*Wâckidi*, p. 41.

This success [illegible] ough unexpected, was not without perceptible causes. [illegible] powerful Jewish tribes were settled in the city [illegible] nity, and (as we have seen in a former paper [illegible] t [illegible] ence between the two contending factio[illegible] zraj, whose strife frequently stained with blo[illegible] its en[illegible] ons. "When the Jews [illegible] with the idolaters of Medîna,"—relates [illegible] âc with much simplicity,—"they would say:—*"A [illegible] about [illegible] arise: his time draweth nigh. Him shall [illegible] low; [illegible] then [illegible] shall slaughter you with the slaughter of Ad and Irem.* So when Mahomet addressed the pilgrims of Medîna at [illegible], they spake one with another,—*Know surely that this [illegible] he same prophet, whom the Jews are wont to thre[illegible] refore let us make haste and be the first [illegible]* [illegible] is truth, though exaggerated and distor[illegible] in [illegible] statement. In the close and constant intercourse between the Jews and the Arabs of Medîna, the expectation of [illegible] ssiah, ingrained throughout the life and conversation of the former, could not but in some measure be borrowed by the latter. Nor could the idolatrous inhabitants live in daily contract with a race professing the pure Theism, and practising the stern morality of the Old Testament, without being influenced by the practical appeal thus continually made against the errors of Paganism, as contrasted with the spiritual worship of the one true God. Moreover, Medîna was only half so distant as Mecca from the Christian tribes of southern Syria; the poet Hassân, and men of his stamp from Medîna, used to frequent the Christian Court of the Ghassânide King; so that Christianity as well as Judâism, may have had an effect on the social position of Medîna, more than was ordinary in Arabia.

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* The words of tradition have been almost literally followed. *Wâckidi*, p. 41½,—*Hishâmi*, 142,—*Tabari*, 160. Wâckidi mentions *six* as composing the company, and in another place *eight*. It is impossible satisfactorily to reconcile the names. See *Sprenger*, p. 202. In one tradition it is said that the Prophet first met and spoke with *two* persons from Medîna, not on the occasion of the *yearly*, but of the "Little" or *personal* pilgrimage (*Omrâ*.) It seems, however, more likely, from Mahomet's *being at Minâ* when he met the Converts, that it was the ***annual*** pilgrimage.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 143,—*Tabari*, p. 161.

The city had been long torn by internal war. The sanguinary conflict of Boâth, a few years before, had weakened and humiliated the Khazraj, without materially strengthening the Aws. Assassination had succeeded open fighting. There was none bold or commanding enough to seize the reins of Government; and the citizens, Arab and Jewish, lived in suspense and uncertainty. Little apprehension would be felt from the advent of a stranger, even although he was likely to usurp, or gain permission to assume, the vacant authority. Deadly jealousy at home, had extinguished the jealousy of influence from abroad.

Such was the position of Medîna. A tribe addicted to the superstition of Mecca, yet well acquainted with a purer faith, was in the best preparation to join itself to a reformer of the Kaaba worship. An Arab idolater, with indefinite anticipations of a Messiah, would readily recognize Mahomet as his Prophet. A city wearied with faction and strife, would cheerfully admit him as a refugee, if not welcome him as a ruler.

The politics of Mecca, and the history of the Prophet, were not unknown at Medîna. The Syrian caravans of the Coreish used to rest there; there was occasional intermarriage between the two cities. Mahomet himself was descended from a distinguished lady of Khazraj birth, espoused by Hâshim; and the interest of that tribe at least, was thus secured. Abu Cays, a famous Poet of Medîna, had some time before, addressed the Coreish in verses intended to dissuade them from interference with Mahomet and his followers.* The Jews were already acquainted with the Prophet as a zealous supporter of their Scriptures. Parties from Medîna went up yearly to the solemnities of the Meccan Temple. A few had thus come under the direct influence of his preaching,* and all were familiar with the general nature of his claims. To this was now superadded the advocacy of actual converts.†

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* *Hishâmi*, p. 75, *Caussin de Perceval*, I. 368. There is no apparent reason for doubting the authenticity of these verses. The following is one of them:—

ولي امرفا ختنا رد ينا ولا يكن * عليكم رقيبا غير رب ا لثوقب *

"One who is his own master hath chosen a (new) religion, and there is none other keeper over you than the Lord of the Heavens."

Abu Cays had a Coreishite wife, and had lived some time at Mecca. When Islâm began to spread at Medîna, his adverse influence held back his own tribe (the Aws Monât, or Aws Allah,) from joining it. *Hishâmi*, p, 147,—*C. de Perceval, III.*, p. 5. He commanded the Awsites at the battle of Boâth, C. *de Perceval, II.*, 680.

This year was to Mahomet one of anxiety and expectation. Would the handful of Medîna converts remain steady to his cause? Would they be able to extend that cause among their fellow-citizens? If they should prove unfaithful, or fail of success, what resource would then remain? He might be forced to emigrate to Syria or to Abyssinia, and seek refuge with the Najâshy, or amongst the Christian tribes of the northern desert.

At last the days of pilgrimage again came round, and Mahomet sought the appointed spot in a sheltered glen near Minâ. His apprehensions were at once dispelled; for there he found a band of twelve faithful disciples ready to acknowledge him as their prophet. Ten were of the Khazraj, and two of the Aws, tribe.[*] They plighted themselves thus to Mahomet: *We will not worship any but the One God ; we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery ; we will not slander in anywise ; and we will not disobey the Prophet,*[†] *in anything that is right.* This was afterwards called the "Pledge of Women,"[‡] because, as not embracing any stipulation to *defend* the prophet, it was the only oath required from females. When all had taken this engagement, Mahomet replied ;—*If ye fulfil your pledge, Paradise shall be your reward : he that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth his concern, either to punish or forgive.* This memorable proceeding is known in the annals of Islâm as THE FIRST PLEDGE OF ACABA[§] that being the name of the little eminence or defile whither they retired from observation.

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* The traditions regarding certain Jews coming to Mahomet when at Mecca, with questions to prove him, appear to be apocryphal. Yet there can be no doubt, from Mahomet's familiarity with Jewish history, as shown in the Coran, that there was a close relation between Mahomet and some Professors of the Jewish religion before the Hegira: and the Jews of Medîna are the likeliest.

† There are, indeed, notices of actual conversion to Islâm, among the citizens of Medîna, at an *earlier* period, but they are not well substantiated.

Thus, before the battle of Boâth, a deputation from the Bani Aws is said to have visited Mecca, to seek for auxiliaries from among the Coreish in the coming struggle; and they listened to Mahomet: and *Ayâs*, a youth of their number, declared that this was far better than the errand they had come upon; but Abul Haysar their Chief cast dust upon him saying, they had another business than to hear these things. Ayâs, who was killed shortly after in the intestine struggles at Mednaî, is said to have died a true Mussulman. *Hishâmi*, p. 142,—*Tabari*, p. 159.

Similarly *Suweid*, Son of Sâmit, an Awsite Poet, came and repeated to Mahomet the Persian tale of Locmân. Mahomet, saying that he had something better than that, recited the Coran to him. And the Poet was delighted with it, "and he was not far from Islâm, and some said that he died a Moslem." *Hishâmi*, p. 141,—*Tabari*, p. 158.

Anticipations of Islâm are supplied by tradition for Medina as well as for Mecca, Thus: "The first that believed were Asâd ibn Zorâra and Dzakwan, who set out for Mecca to contend in rivalry with Otba son of Rabia. But on their arrival, Otba said to them.—*That praying fellow who fancieth himself to be the Prophet of God, hath occupied us to the exclusion of every other business.* Now Asâd and Abul Haytham used to converse at Medîna with each other, about the unity of God. When Dzakwan, therefore, heard this saying of Otba, he exclaimed,—*Listen, oh! Asâd; this must be thy religion.* So they went straight to Mahomet, who expounded to them Islâm, and they both believed and returned to Medîna. And Asâd related to Abul Haytham all that had passed, and he said, "*I too, am a believer with thee.*" *Wâckidi*, p. 41½. Sprenger adopts this version as the true one, it corresponding with his theory of the pre-existence of Islâm before Mahomet.

It is admitted on all hands that Asâd and Abul Haytham were forward, and early, in the movement at Medîna.

These twelve men were now committed to the cause of Mahomet. They returned to Medîna the Missionaries of Islâm, again to report their success at the following pilgrimage. So prepared was the ground, so zealous the propagation, that the new faith spread rapidly from house to house and from tribe to tribe. The Jews looked on in amazement, while the people, whom they had in vain endeavoured for generations to teach the errors of Polytheism and to dissuade from the abominations of Idolatry, suddenly, and of their own accord, began to cast their idols to the bats, and to profess their belief in the One true God. The secret lay in the adaptation of the instrument. Judaism, foreign in its growth, touched few Arab sympathies : while Islâm, grafted upon the faith, the superstition, the customs, the nationality of the Peninsula, found ready access to every heart.

The leaders in the movement soon found themselves unable to keep pace with its rapid progress. So they wrote to Mahomet for a teacher, well versed in the Coran, who might initiate the enquirers in the rudiments of the new Faith. The youthful and devoted Musáb, who had lately returned from exile in

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[*] We approach now to certain ground. There is no doubt or discrepancy whatever regarding the names of these twelve persons. *Wâckidi*, p. 42,—*Hishâmi*, p. 143.

[†] *Literally* "him."

[‡] بيعة النساء

[§] بيعة العقبة الاولى

Abyssinia, was deputed for that purpose.* He lodged with Asád ibn Zorâra, who used to gather the converts together to him for prayer and the reading of the Coran. The combined devotions of the Aws and Khazraj, they say, were first conducted by Musáb, for even in such a matter they were impatient of a common leader from amongst themselves.† Thus speedily, without let or hindrance, did Islâm take firm root at Medîna, and attain to a full and mature growth.‡

The hopes and expectations of Mahomet were now fixed upon Medîna. Visions of his journey northwards flitted before his imagination. The musings of the day re-appeared in midnight slumbers. He dreamed that he was swiftly carried by Gabriel on a winged steed passed Medîna to the temple at Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by all the former Prophets assembled in solemn conclave. His excited spirit conjured up a still more transcendant scene. From Jerusalem he seemed to mount upwards, and ascend from Heaven to Heaven, till he found himself in the awful presence of his Maker, who dismissed him with the behest that his people were to pray five times in the day. When he awoke in the morning in the house of Abu Tâlib, where he had passed the night, the vision was vividly before his eyes, and he exclaimed to Omm Hâni, the daughter of Abu Tâlib, that during the night he had been praying in the Temple of Jerusalem. As he was going forth to tell the vision to others, she seized him by the mantle, and conjured him not thus to expose himself to the mockery and revilings of the unbelievers. But he persisted. As the story spread abroad, the idolaters scoffed, the believers were staggered, and some are said even to have gone back.* Abu Bakr supported the Prophet, declaring his implicit belief in the vision †, and in the end the credit of Islâm suffered no material injury among its adherents.

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* *Wâckidi*, p. 42.—*Hishami*, p. 144.—*Tabari*, p. 169. According to Hishâmi, Mahomet sent Musâb back *with the twelve*, after the first pledge of Acaba. The statement of Wâckidi is clear, as in the text, that he was sent upon a written requisition from Medîna.

Musâb will be remembered as the youth, whose pathetic interview with his mother has been described in a former paper.—*Extension of Islâm*, p. 13.

† *Hishâmi, ibid.* The call to Mahomet for a teacher is stated by Wâckidi to have been made in common both by the Aws and Khazraj. Hishâmi mentions a *Friday* service, the first at Medîna, held at the instance of Asâd, and attended by forty men; but it looks anticipative and apocryphal.

‡ The following narrative, though probably fabricated in many of its details, will illustrate at any rate the manner in which Islâm was propagated at Medîna.

"Asad and Musáb on a certain day went to the quarters of the Awsites, and entering one of their gardens, sat down by a well, when a company of believers gathered around them. Now Sad ibn Muâdz and Oseid ibn Khuzeir were chief men of the *Abdal Ashal* (an Awsite branch); and they were both idolaters following the old religion. So when they heard of the gathering at the well, Sâd, who was unwilling himself to interfere (being related to Asâd,) bade his comrade go and disperse them. Oseid seized his arms, and hurrying to the spot, began to abuse them:—*What brings you two men here amongst us, to mislead our youth and silly folk? Begone, if ye have any care of your lives.* Musâb disarmed his wrath by courteously inviting him to sit down and listen to the doctrine. So he stuck his spear into the ground and seated himself; and as he listened, he was charmed with the new faith, and he purified himself and embraced Islâm. And he said "there is another beside me, even Sad ibn Muâdz, whom I will send to you; if you can gain him over, there will not be one in his tribe left unconverted." So he sent Sâd, and Musâb persuaded him in like manner. And Sâd returned to his tribe and swore that he would not speak to man or woman that did not acknowledge Mahomet:—and so great was his influence, that by the evening *every one of the tribe was converted.*

"Such were the exertions of Asâd and Musâb that there remained not a house among the Arabs of Medîna in which there were not believing men and women, excepting the branches of the *Aws Allah*, who, owing to the influence of Abu Cays the poet, continued unbelievers, till after the siege of Medîna." *Hishâmi*, p. 146,—*Tabari*, p. 165.

There is a story of Amr ibn al Jumoh, who like the other chiefs of Medîna, had an image in his house. This image the young converts used to cast every night into a filthy well, and the old man as regularly cleansed; till one day, they tied it to a dead dog and cast it into a well. Then the old man abandoned his image and believed.—*Hishâmi*, p. 153.

The tale is one in which tradition revels with congenial ecstacy. The rein has been given loose to a pious imagination. Both the journey, and the ascent to Heaven, are decked out in the most extravagant colouring of Romance, and in all the gorgeous drapery that Fancy could conceive. ‡

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* This, though stated both by Wâckidi and Hishâmi, appears improbable; and no names are specified. The words in Wâckidi are – "upon this many went back who had prayed and joined Islâm," p. 41. *Hishâmi*, p. 127. But the whole story is one of those marvellous subjects upon which tradition, when it touches, runs wild, and anything is thrown in which adds to the effect.

† He said, *Sadacta*, "thou hast spoken the truth;" and hence according to some traditions, was called *Al Sadîck*. He appears, however, to have had this name, as Mahomet that of *Al Amîn*, from his probity and truthfulness.

‡ What is here stated is all that historical criticism warrants us in attributing to Mahomet himself. It is *possible* that in later life he may have gratified the morbid curiosity of his followers, by adding imaginary details to the vision. But even this supposition is limited by the known reserve and taciturnity of the Prophet.

It is said that incredulous idolaters wished to throw him into confusion by asking for a *description* of the Temple he had thus been to see: and he was in great straits, until Gabriel placed before him a *model* of the Temple, and he was able then satisfactorily to answer all their questioning. But this is only of a piece with the other childish stories of the occasion. Thus Mahomet replied to his questioners that on his way to Jerusalem, he had passed over a caravan from Syria, that the whizzing noise of Borâc, the flying steed, had frightened away one of the camels, and that the people of the caravan could not find it till he pointed it out to them. So on his way back, he passed another caravan, in the encampment of which was a covered vessel filled with water: as he passed he drank up the

But the only mention in the Coran of this notable Vision, is contained in the XVII. Sura, which opens thus :—

Praise be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Temple, to the farther temple, * the environs of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs. Verily He it is that heareth and seeth.†

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water and restored the cover. And both caravans on arriving at Mecca confirmed the evidence ! *Hishâmi*, p. 130.

Sprenger considers Mahomet here to have committed " an unblushing forgery : he sold a description of the Temple of Jerusalem which he may have obtained from books or oral information, to the best advantage." We would rather look upon the tradition of the model in the same light as the two last foolish stories, equally worthless and fabricated. Sprenger holds by the respectability of the authorities : there is no event of his life, he says, "on which we have more numerous and genuine traditions than on his nightly journey. " But on a supernatural and imaginary subject, *numerous* traditions forming around some early common type, were to be expected, and their number can add little if any thing to the historical value of their contents.

The earliest authorities point only to a vision, not to a real bodily journey. Sprenger seems to be in error when he says that "*all historical records are for the latter opinion*, " (i.e., a bodily journey:) " *the former*" (that it was a mere Vision) "*is upheld by some Sceptics only*," p. 136. I. In opposition to this, we have the story of Omm Hâni, as in the text, given both by Wâckidi (p. 41) and Hishâmi (p. 129.) II. Cutâda and Ayesha are quoted as holding that "the Prophet's body did not disappear, but that God carried him away by night *in the spirit*. " *Hishâmi*, *ibid.* III. Hasan applies the verse in the Coran (Sura XVII., 61.) regarding "*the Vision*" correctly to this heavenly journey, and Muâvia farther illustrates it by the *Vision* in which Abraham appeared to himself to be sacrificing his son. Others make the Vision in the verse referred to, to mean the model of the Temple held by Gabriel before Mahomet ! *Wâckidi*, p. 41. IV. Hishâmi draws the conclusion that whichever of the two views be accepted, " the vision at any rate was true and faithful. " Tradition cannot therefore be said to be adverse to the theory that it was a simple Vision.

After his visit to Heaven, Mahomet is said to have consoled his faithful Zeid by telling him how beautiful and happy he saw his little daughter in Paradise ! *Hishâmi*, p. 153.

Most authors agree that the *Ascent to Heaven* (MIRAJ) occurred the same night as the journey to Jerusalem (ISRA :) but Wâckidi, who is more credulous and less critical than Ibn Ishâc and Hishâmi in this instance, makes the former to have happened on the 17th Ramadhân, a year and a half before Mahomet's flight to Medîna ; and the latter on the 17th Rabî I, six months later, p. 40.

* من المسجد الحرام الي المسجد الاقصى

† A farther allusion to the journey is supposed to be contained in v. 61 of the same Sura.

" And (call to mind) when we said unto Thee, *verily thy Lord hedgeth in mankind*; and we made not the Vision which we showed unto Thee other than a trial unto the people, and likewise the accursed Tree in the Coran : and we (seek to) strike terror into them, but it only increaseth in them enormous wickedness."

This is quoted by traditionists as bearing out (but seemingly on insufficient grounds,) the falling away of those believers who were scandalized by the Vision. A pious gloss in Hishâmi goes still farther, for it says, that had the journey been a mere Vision, nobody would have been scandalized ; but scandal having been raised, and believers having gone back, therefore the journey was a real and a corporeal one ! *Hishâmi*, p. 128.

The political events in the North had long engaged the attention of Mahomet; his interest now quickened by the prospect of approaching so much nearer to the scene of action. Almost from the period at which he had assumed the prophetical office, the victorious arms of Chosroes had been turned against the Grecian border. The desert tract, with its Arab Christian tribes, that used to oscillate between one dominion and the other according to the fortune of war, fell first into the hands of Persia: the enemy ravaged the whole of Syria; Jerusalem was sacked; Egypt and Asia Minor overrun; an army advanced upon the Thracian Bosphorus, "and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople." * In 621 A. D., when the fortunes of the Grecian empire were at the lowest ebb, Heraclius was roused from inaction, and after several years of fighting, rolled back the invasion and totally discomfited the Persians.

In this struggle the sympathies and hopes of Mahomet were all enlisted on the side of the Cæsar. Christianity was a Divine Faith that might coalesce with Islâm: but the Fire worship and superstitions of Persia were utterly repugnant to its principles. It was while the career of Persian conquest was yet unchecked, that Mahomet, in the opening of the XXXth Sura, uttered the following augury of the eventual issue of the conflict:—

> The Greeks have been conquered
> In the neighbouring coast, but after their defeat, they shall again be victorious
> In a few years. To God belongeth the matter from before, and after: and in that day, the believers shall rejoice
> In the aid of God. He aideth whom he chooseth; and He is the Glorious. the Merciful.
> It is the Promise of God. God changeth not His promise; but the greater part of Mankind know it not †

There was now a lull at Mecca. Mahomet despaired that by the simple influence of preaching and persuasion, any farther progress could be effected there. His eye was fixed upon Medîna, and he waited in quietness until succour should come from thence. At home, meanwhile, offensive measures were abandoned. Islâm was no longer aggressive; and the Coreish, congratulating themselves that their enemy had tried his worst,

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* *Gibbon's decline and fall,* Ch. XLVI.

† The commentators add a very convenient story in illustration. Abu Bakr, on the passage being revealed, laid a wager of 10 camels with Obba Ibn Khalf, that the Persians would be beaten within *three* years. Mahomet desired him to extend the period to *nine* years and to raise the stake. This Abu Bakr did, and in due time won 100 camels from Obba's heirs.

But the story is apocryphal. It is neither in Wâckidi nor Hishâmi; and bears the most suspicious stamp of being a late fabrication in illustration of the passage in the Coran.

and now was harmless, relaxed their vigilance and opposition. For this course Mahomet had, as usual, divine authority ;—

Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord: there is no God but He: and retire from the Idolaters.
If God had wished they had not followed Idolatry: and we have not made thee a keeper over them, neither art thou unto them a Guardian.
And revile not those that they invoke besides God, lest they revile God in enmity from lack of knowledge.
Thus have we adorned for every Nation their work, then unto the Lord
Shall be their return, and He shall declare unto them that which they have wrought.* Sura VI, 106-108.

But with this cessation of aggressive measures, there was no wavering of principle, nor any distrust of eventual success. A calm and lofty front was maintained, of superiority, if not of defiance. Eventual success, in spite of present discouragement, was clear and assured. The Lord had given to *all* his Apostles of old the Victory, and he would give the same to Mahomet ;—

We shall hurl THE TRUTH against that which is false, and it shall shiver it and Lo! that which is False shall vanish; Wo unto you for that which ye imagine;

* * * *

Vegeance shall fa'l suddenly upon them: it shall confound them: they shall not be able to oppose the same, nor shall they be respited.
Verily, Apostles before thee have been mocked; but they that laughed them to scorn were encompassed by the Vengeance they mocked at.

* * * *

The unbelieving (Nations) said unto their Apostles, *We will surely expel you from our Land, or ye shall return to our Religion.* And their Lord revealed unto them, *Verily*
And We shall cause you to inherit the Land after them: this for him that feareth My appearing, and feareth My threatening.
So they asked assistance of the Lord, and every Tyrant and rebellious one was destroyed.

* * * *

Verily, they have devised evil devices; but their devices are in the hand of God, even if their devices could cause the Mountains to pass away.
Wherefore do not thou think that God will work at variance with His promise that he made unto His Apostles: verily the Lord is Mighty, and a God of Vengeance.†

A dearth fell upon Mecca: it was a punishment sent from God upon the citizens because of their rejection of His Messenger. Relief was vouchsafed, but it was meant to try whether the goodness of God would not lead to repentance; if they still hardened their hearts, a more fearful fate was denounced.‡

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* The opposite party begins to be termed "the confederates,"—احزاب S. XI, v, 18. So in the same Sura, v. 25. "the likeness of *the two parties* الفريقين is as the Blind and Deaf, compared with him that hath both Sight and Hearing: what! are these equal in similitude? Ah! do ye not comprehend?"

† Sura XXI., vv. 18, 41, 42. XIV., 14, 46, 47. Cnf. also Sura XLIII., 77-79. The *whole tenor* of the Coran at this period is indeed that of quiet but confident defiance.

‡ There is no satisfactory statement regarding this visitation in reliable tradition. The *commentators* have of course, invented details to illustrate the notices of it which occur in the Coran. Yet those notices are so clear and distinct as to admit of no doubt that *some* affliction of the kind did occur, which was attributed by Mahomet to the Divine Vengeance ;—

And if We have mercy upon them and withdraw the affliction that befel them, they plunge unto their Wickedness, wildly wandering.
And verily We visited them with Affliction, and they humbled not themselves before their Lord, nor made Supplication ;—
Until when we open unto them a Door of severe Punishment, Lo! they are in despair thereat.
[*Sura XXIII.*, 77-79

That ten-fold vengeance would overtake the people if they continued to reject the truth, Mahomet surely believed. *He* might not live to see it; but the decree of God was unchangeable :—

> What! canst *thou* make the Deaf to hear, or guide the Blind, or him that is wandering widely?
> Wherefore, whether we take thee away, verily We will pour our vengeance upon them,
> Or whether We cause thee to see that which We have threatened them with, verily We are all-
> [powerful over them.
> Therefore hold fast that which hath been revealed unto thee, for thou art in the straight path.†

Mahomet, thus holding his people at bay, waiting in the still expectation of victory; to outward appearance defenceless, and with his little hand in the lion's mouth; yet, trusting in His almighty power whose Messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved;—presents a spectacle of sublimity paralleled only in the Sacred Records, amongst such as the Prophet of Israel who complained to his Master, "I, even I only, am left." Nay, the spectacle is in one point of view *more* marvellous; because the Prophets of old were upheld by a divine inspiration, accompanied (as we may conclude) by an unwavering consciousness thereof, and strengthened by the palpable demonstrations of miraculous power; while with the Arabian Prophet, the memory at least of former doubt, and the confessed inability to work any miracle, must ever and anon have caused a gleam of uncertainty to shoot across the soul. But this only throws out in bolder prominence the amazing self-possession, the enduring enthusiasm which sustained his course.

> Say unto the Unbelievers ;— *Work ye in your place, we also are working. Wait ye in ex-*
> [*pectation; we, too, are waiting in expectancy.* Sura XI, 121.

His bearing towards his own followers, no less than his opponents, exhibits the full assurance of being the Vicegerent of

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The *latter* punishment referred to in this passage the commentators will have to be the battle of Badr; but that of course is an anachronism. Again :—

> And when We made the People to taste Mercy after the affliction that befel them, Lo! they
> [devise deceit against our Signs. SAY, God is more swift than ye in
> [deceit: Verily, Our Messengers write down that which ye devise.
> It is He that causeth you to travel by Land and by Water, so that when ye are in Ships, and
> [sail in them with a pleasant breeze, they rejoice thereat
> A fierce Storm overtaketh them, and the Waves come upon them from every quarter, and they
> [think that verily they are closed in thereby; then they call upon God, rendering unto Him
> [pure Service and saying, *If Thou savest us from this, we shall verily be amongst the*
> [*Grateful.*
> But when He hath saved them, behold! they work evil in the Earth unrighteously. Oh! ye People,
> [verily your evil working is against your own Souls, &c.
> *Sura X.*, 22-24, *Cnf. S. VII.*, 95.

* Sura XLIII., 38-41. There are various other passages in the Suras of this period to the same effect. Thus: "Wherefore persevere patiently, for the promise of God is truth, whether we cause thee to see some part of that wherewith we have threatened them or cause thee (first) to die; and unto Us shall they return, &c. Sura XL., 78. Compare also Suras XXIII., 95; X., 46; XXIX., 53: XXXVII. 178; XIII., 42.

God. Obedience to *God and his Apostle*, is now the watchword of Islâm :—

Whosoever disobeyeth GOD AND HIS PROPHET, verily to him shall be the Fire of Hell ; they shall [alway be therein,—for ever ! *

The confidence in his inspiration is sometimes expressed with imprecations, which one cannot read without a shudder :—

(I swear) by that which ye see,
And by that which ye do not see !
That this is verily the speech of an honourable Apostle !
It is not the speech of a Poet ; little is it ye believe !
And it is not the speech of a Soothsayer ; little is it ye reflect !
A Revelation from the Lord of Creation.
And if he (Mahomet.) had fabricated concerning us any sayings,
Verily We had caught him by the right hand,
Then had we severed the artery of his neck,
Nor would there have been amongst you any to hinder therefrom †
But verily it is an Admonition to the Pious,
And truly We know that there are amongst you who belie the same :
But it shall cause Sighing unto the Unbelievers.
And it is the TRUTH :—the CERTAIN !
Therefore, praise the name of thy Lord,—the GLORIOUS !

Sura LXIX., v 38-52.

It would seem as if the difficulties of the prophet were at this period increased by straitened means. Though supported probably by help from his relatives and followers, there was yet ground for care and anxiety. The Divine promise re-assures him in such terms as these :—

And stretch not forth thine eyes to the Provision we have made for divers among them,—the show of this present life,—that We may prove them thereby ; and the Provision of the Lord is better and more lasting.

And command thy Family to observe Prayer, and to persevere therein ; We ask thee not (to labour) for a Provision ; We shall provide for thee, and a successful issue shall be to Piety.

Sura XX., 130-131.

Thus another year passed away in comparative tranquillity, and the month of Pilgrimage, (March 662 A. D.,) when the Medîna converts were again to rally around their prophet, arrived. Written accounts, as well as messages, of the amazing success of Islâm had no doubt reached Mahomet,* yet he was hardly prepared for the large and enthusiastic band ready to crowd to his standard, and swear allegiance to him as their prophet and their master. But it was necessary to proceed with caution. The Coreish, if aware of this extensive and hostile confederacy,—hostile because pledged to support (though only as yet defensively,) a faction in their community,—would have good ground for umbrage; the sword might prematurely be unsheathed, and the cause of Islâm seriously endangered. The movements were, therefore, all conducted with the utmost secrecy. Even the pilgrims from Medîna in whose company the converts travelled, were unaware of their object.†

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* Sura LXXII., 23. The sequel of this passage is singular. God sends a guard to attend his prophet, in order that he may see that the message is duly delivered, as if God had reason to doubt the fidelity of his prophet in this respect :—

When they see that with which they were threathened, then they shall know which side was the [weakest in succour. and the fewest in number.
SAY, I know not whether that which ye are threatened with be near, or whether my Lord shall [make for it a limit of time.
He knoweth the secret thing. and he unveileth not His Secret unto any,
Excepting unto such of His Apostles as pleaseth him, and He maketh a Guard to go before and [behind him (*i. e* , His Apostle,)
That He may know that they verily deliver the messages of their Lord.
He encompasseth whatever is beside them,
And counteth everything by number.

In farther illustration of the text see Sura LXIV :—

Wherefore believe in GOD AND HIS APOSTLE, and the Light which We have sent down, &c., [verse 9.
And *obey God and obey the Apostle* ; but if ye turn back, verily our Apostle hath only to deliver [his message. *v.* 13.

Thenceforward the expression becomes common.

† The commentators observe that the allusion is to the Oriental mode of execution. The condemned culprit is seized by the executioner by the right hand, while with a sharp sword or axe a blow is aimed at the back of the neck, and the head detached at the first stroke. This mode of execution is still practised by Mahometan states in India.

Musáb, the teacher, who also joined the pilgrimage to Mecca, immediately on his arrival repaired to Mahomet, and related all that had happened during his absence at Medîna. The prophet, when he heard of the numbers of the converts and their eagerness in the service of Islâm, rejoiced greatly.‡

To elude the scrutiny of the Meccans, the meeting between Mahomet and his Medîna followers was to be by night; and that the strangers might, in case suspicions were aroused, be for as short a time as possible within reach of their enemies, it was deferred to the very close of the pilgrimage, when, the ceremonies and sacrifices being finished, the multitude on the following day dispersed to their homes.§ The spot was to be the secluded glen, where the twelve had before met Mahomet, close by the road as you quit the valley of Minâ, and beneath the well-known eminence of Acaba.* They were to move cautiously thither, when all had retired to rest; "waking not the sleeper—nor tarrying for the absent."†

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* The converts at Medîna had, as we have seen, *written* to Mahomet early in the year, for a teacher. Both they and the teacher (Musáb,) would no doubt communicate to Mahomet by letter and verbal message, the wonderful success they had met with.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 148,—*Tabari*, p. 169. Sprenger gives the total number of pilgrims from Medîna that year (both heathen and Mussulman) at upwards of 570; of whom seventy only were of the Aws tribe, and the remainder Khazrajites.

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 201½. It was immediately after this that the affecting scene occurred, when Musáb went to visit his mother.—"*Extension of Islâm.*" p. 13.

§ This appears to be the likeliest date, as the events following seem to prove that the next day the multitudes broke up, and the Medîna party proceeded homewards. The date would thus be the night of the 11th Dzul Hijj, or that intervening between the 31st March and the 1st April, A. D. 622.

The expression in all our three authorities is من اوساط ايام التشريق —in the days of the Tashrîck, *i. e.*, between the 10th and 12th of Dzul Hijj. A tradition in Hishâmi adds that it was after the pilgrimage was ended:— فلما فرغنا من الحج, p. 147. Wâckidi relates as follows:— ثم وعدهم منا وسط ايام التشريق ليلة النفر الاول اذا هدأت الرجل

"Then Mahomet arranged that they should meet him at Minâ, in the days of the Tashrîck, *on the first night of departure* (?) when men had fallen asleep," p. 42½. (The exact meaning of the words in Italics is not quite clear.)

For the ceremonies here alluded to, see "Ante-Mahomedan History of Arabia," p. 49.

One or two hours before midnight, Mahomet repaired to the rendezvous, the first of the party.‡ He was attended only by his uncle Abbâs. To secure the greater secrecy, the assembly was perhaps kept private even from the Moslems of Mecca.§ Abbâs was the wealthiest of the sons of Abd al Muttalib, but he was weak in character, and ordinarily sailed with wind and tide. He was not a convert; but close relationship, and the long community of interest excited by the three years' confinement in the Sheb of Abu Tâlib, rendered him sufficiently reliable on the present occasion.||

Mahomet had not long to wait. Soon the Medîna converts, singly and by twos and threes, were described through the moonlight moving stealthily towards the spot.¶ The number amounted to seventy-three men, and two women, and included all the early converts who had before met the prophet there

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* It is called "the right hand glen *(Sheb,)* as you descend from 'Minâ, below the height (Acaba,) where the mosque now stands." *Wackidi*, p. 42.

فى الشعب الايمن اذا تحدروا من منا باسفل العقبة
حيث المسجد اليوم *

As the valley of Minâ descends towards Mecca, the "right hand" means probably that of a person proceeding to Mecca, and therefore points to the *north* side of the valley. See *Burkhardt*, pp. 59—277.

† *Wâckidi*, *ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Or if they were in the secret they were instructed not to be present, the less to excite suspicion. We may suppose that Mahomet's more intimate friends, Abu Bakr, Zeid, &c., were aware of his intentions. It is remarkable that not even Musâb appears to have come to the rendezvous with his Medîna converts; for it is distinctly said by Wâckidi that "there was no one with Mahomet beside Abbâs."

Hishâmi makes the Medîna converts to have assembled first, and to have waited for Mahomet, who arrived later, p. 148. Tâbari, p. 170.

|| For more particulars of Abbâs, see the "Birth and Childhood of Mahomet," p. 16. Some hold Abbâs to have been a *secret* believer long before the conquest of Mecca: but this is evidently an Abbâsside fiction. His faith was that of *expediency*. He held with the Meccans until Mahomet became too powerful to admit of doubt as to his eventual success; and then he colluded with him, shortly before the attack on Mecca.

The presence of Abbâs at this meeting is supported by traditions in each of our early authorities. Tabari has one to the effect that the Medîna converts recognized him, because he used frequently to pass through their city on his mercantile expeditions to Syria.

¶ As the Meccan month commenced with the new moon, it would, on the 12th of Dzul Hijj, be within two or three days of full moon.

on the two preceding pilgrims.* When they were seated, Abbâs, in a low voice, broke the silence by a speech something to the following effect:—

"Ye company of the KHAZRAJ! † This my kinsman dwelleth amongst us in honor and safety. His clan will defend him,—both those that are converts, and those who still adhere to their ancestral faith. But he preferreth to seek protection from *you*. Wherefore, consider well the matter; and count the cost. If ye are resolved, and are able, to defend him,—well. But if ye doubt your ability, at once abandon the design."‡

Then spake Abu Barâ, an aged Chief:—"We have listened to thy words. Our resolution is unshaken. Our lives are at his service. Now, let *him* speak."

Mahomet began, as was his wont, by reciting appropriate passages from the Coran, invited all present to the service of God, dwelt upon the claims and blessings of Islâm, and concluded by saying that he would be content if the strangers pledged themselves to defend him as they did their own wives and children. § From every quarter the seventy[*] began to testify their readiness, and to protest that they would receive him at the risk of the loss of property, and the slaughter of their chiefs. Then Abbâs, who stood by holding his nephew's hand, called aloud :—"Hush ![†] There are spies about. Let your men of years stand forth, and let them speak on your behalf. We fear our people on account of you. Then when ye have plighted your faith depart to your encampments." And their chief men stood forth. Then said Barâ: "Stretch out thy hand, Oh Mahomet!" And he stretched it out; and Barâ clapped his hand thereon, as the manner was in taking an oath of fealty.[‡] Then the seventy came forward one by one, and did the same.[§] And Mahomet named twelve of the chief men and said :—*Moses chose from amongst his people twelve Leaders. Ye shall be the sureties for the rest, even as were the Apostles of Jesus*; *and I am the surety for my people.* And all answered; "Be it so."[‖] At this moment the voice of one calling aloud, probably of a straggler seeking for his company, was heard near at hand; and the excited fancy or apprehensions of the party, conjured up a Meccan, if not an infernal spy. Mahomet gave the command, and all hurried back to their halting places.*

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* There were only eleven of the Aws tribe; the remaining sixty-two being Khazrajites. The two women were Nuseiba, daughter of Káb (several traditions from whom regarding the assembly have been preserved;) and Asmâ, daughter of Amr, whose husband (Hishâmi adds,) two sons, and *sister*, were present with her. This would seem to imply that there were *three* women there. *Hishâmi*, p. 157.

† Hishâmi states that the people of Medîna, both of the Awas and Khazraj tribes used to be addressed collectively by the Arabs as Khazrajites.

‡ The speech of Abbâs is given in all three of our authorities, but with great variation. Indeed, it could not be expected that its purport should have been exactly preserved It seems certain, however, that it was he who opened the proceedings. The sentiments are those which would naturally be attributed to him; and are appropriate enough, excepting that, both here and in the other addresses, there is an anticipation of the future armed struggle, which could not yet have been foreseen. Thus Abbâs speaks of the people of Medîna incurring by their league with Mahomet the enmity of "all the Arabs, who would discharge themselves against Medîna, like arrows from one bow." And Abbâs ibn Obâda, one of the Medîna converts, tells his brethren that they have "now pledged themselves *to fight all mankind*," (lit. *the red and the white amongst men.*) The last tradition is not in Wâckidi, and possesses little weight.

§ Hishâmi says that Abul Haytham interrupted Barâ in his address, saying that by their present act they were cutting their bonds with their allies the Jews, and asked Mahomet whether, if God gave him the victory, he would not desert them and return to Mecca; whereupon Mahomet smiled graciously and said – *Nay! your blood is mine, your destruction would be that of my very self. I am yours ye are mine, I shall fight with whom ye fight, and make peace with whom ye make peace.*

But the sentiment is altogether an after-thought. There was not at that time the slightest suspicion that Mahomet would break with the Jews. One of the first things that Mahomet did on going to Medîna, was to make a close and firm treaty with them.

The fact is that, by their present act in joining Mhomet, the Medîna converts were drawing nearer to the Jews, rather than " cutting their bonds with them,"

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[*] Though there were seventy-three men, yet by tradition they are ordinarily called "the seventy."

[†] Literally :—"*Hush your bells.*"

[‡] As usual in such meritorious actions, other claimants of the honor are brought forward. The Najjâr say that Asád was the *first* that struck the hand of Mahomet; and the Abd al Ashal, that it was Abul Haytham. *Hishâmi*, p. 151,—*Wâckidi*, p. 42½, —*Tabari*, p. 172.

Abu Barâ, who bore so conspicuous a part throughout this transaction, died the next month (*Safar*, *i. e.*, May 622, A. D.) *before* Mahomet reached Medîna. He is said to have been the first over whose grave Mahomet prayed in the formula that became usual afterwards:—*Oh Lord, pardon him! Be merciful unto him! Be reconciled unto him! And verily thou art reconciled.* He is said to have left a third of his property to Mahomet to dispose of as he chose: and to have desired that he should be buried with his face towards the *Meccan* Kibla. The latter tale has reference to a curious fiction that Barâ *anticipated* the divine command, declared a year and a half later, that Mussulmans were to turn in prayer to the Kaaba, and not as hitherto to the Temple at Jerusalem. *Wâckidi*, p. 299.

[§] The women, it is said, only repeated the words of the pledge taken by the twelve at the *first* Acaba :—Mahomet never took a woman by the hand on such an occasion; but they used to come forward, and then Mahomet would say, "Go; for you have pledged yourselves." *Hishâmi*, p. 157.

[‖] *Nackib*, or "Leader," is the term, which was ever after honourably retained by the twelve. Four of them, Abul Haytham, Asâd, Râfi ibn Mâlik, and Obâda ibn Sâmit, were also of the number who met Mahomet here on the *two* previous pilgrimages. Only *three* were of the Aws tribes, the rest Khazrajites. Several of them, as well as many amongst the seventy, are mentioned as able to *write* Arabic; and as being *Kâmil*, *i. e.*, expert in that art, in archery and in swimming. *Wâckidi*, p. 285½.

According to Hishâmi, Mahomet desired the seventy *themselves* to choose their Leaders. Wâckidi, on the contrary, not only says that Mahomet chose them, but that he added, "Let no one among you be vexed because another than he is chosen; for it is Gabriel that chooseth." p. 42½. Hishâmi quotes poetry by Kaab (who was himself present on the occasion,) in which the names of the twelve are enumerated; and it is probably genuine.

So large a gathering could not be held close by Minâ without rumours reaching the Coreish enough to rouse their suspicion. It was notorious that great numbers at Medîna had embraced the doctrines of Mahomet. The clandestine meeting must have been on his behalf, and therefore an unwarrantable interference with the domestic affairs of Mecca. It was virtually a hostile movement. Accordingly next morning their chief men repaired to the encampment of the Medîna pilgrims,† stated their suspicions, and complained of such conduct at the hand of a tribe, with whom, of all others in Arabia, they declared it would grieve them most to be at war. The converts glanced at each other, and held their peace.‡ The rest, ignorant of their comrades' proceedings, protested that the Coreish had been misinformed, and that the report was utterly without foundation. Their chief, Abd allah ibn Obey, assured them that none of his people would venture on such a step without consulting him. The Coreish were satisfied and took their leave.

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* Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi make the voice to have been that of a Devil or demon.

"And when the ceremony was ended, the Devil called out with a loud voice—*Ye People of Mecca! Have ye no concern for Mahomet and his renegades? They have counselled war against you.*" *Wâckidi*, p. 42½ So Hishâmi:—When we had pledged ourselves to the Prophet, Satan called out with such a piercing cry as I never heard before,—*Oh ye that are encamped round about! Have ye no care for* MUDZAMMAM (the "blamed,"—a nickname for Mahomet,) *and the renegades that are with him? They have resolved upon war with you.* Then said Mahomet;—"This is the demon of Acaba: this is the Son of the Devil. Hearest thou, enemy of God? Verily I will ease myself of thee!" p. 151. The word used is *Azabb.*

هذا ازب العقبه هذا ابن ازبب

So at Ohad, the party that cried "Mahomet is fallen," is called "the Demon of Acaba, that is to say, the Devil;" *Azabb al Acaba yâni al Sheitan. Hishâmi*, p. 258. We shall meet the Devil (who is easily conjured up by tradition,) again at the council of the Coreish to put Mahomet to death, and it will be remembered that he appeared in order to oppose Mahomet at the placing of the corner stone when the Caaba was rebuilt.

Weil has mistaken the word for Izb or *Azab*, "a Dwarf." *Mohammad*, p. 75.

Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi add that Abdâs son of Obâda said to Mahomet:—"If thou wishest it, we shall now fall upon the people assembled at Mina with the sword." And no one had a sword that day but he. And Mahomet replied, "I have not received any command to do thus: depart to your homes." But the circumstance is most improbable. We do not believe that any command to fight was given, till long after the emigration to Mecca. Sprenger (p. 207) appears to us at fault here. Hishâmi (p. 157) and Tabari (p. 181) speak of the command to fight, but Wâckidi has nothing of it, and Tabari elsewhere (p. 190) says that the emigration to Medîna *preceded* the command to fight. Indeed, armed opposition was not dreamt of till long after. Mâhomet and his followers were too glad to escape peaceably.

† Literally the "Sheb," *glen*, or defile, in which they were encamped.

‡ Hishâmi relates a story told by Kâb, one of the covenanters, that while this inquisition was going on, in order to divert attention, he pointed to a pair of new shoes which one of the Meccan Chiefs had on, and said to Abu Jâbir, one of his own party:—"Why could'st not thou, our Chief, wear a pair of new shoes like this Coreishite

During that day, the vast concourse at Minâ broke up; the numerous caravans again prepared for their journey, and took each its homeward course. The Medîna party had already set out, when the Coreish having strictly enquired into the midnight assembly, (which Mahomet hardly cared now to keep a secret) found to their disconcertment, that not only had it really taken place, but that far larger numbers than they suspected, had pledged themselves to the defence of Mahomet. Exasperated at being thus foiled, they pursued the Medîna caravan, if haply they might lay hands on any of the delinquents; but though they scoured the roads leading to Medîna, they fell in with only two. Of these one escaped: the other, Sâd ibn Obâda, they seized, and tying his hands, dragged him by his long hair back to Mecca. There he would no doubt have suffered farther maltreatment, had he not been able to claim protection from certain of the Coreish to whom he had been of service at Medinâ. He was released, and joined the caravan, just as his friends were about to return in search of him.

It soon became evident to the Meccans that, in consequence of the covenant entered into at Acaba, both Mahomet and his followers contemplated an early emigration to Medîna. The prospect of such a movement, which would remove their opponents entirely out of reach, and plant them in an asylum where they might securely work out their machinations, and as opportunity offered, take an ample revenge,—at first irritated the Coreish. They revived again, after a long interval, the persecution of the believers, and wherever entirely in their power, sought either to make them recant, or to prevent their escape, by placing them in confinement.*

Chief? "The latter taking off the shoes, threw them at Kâb, saying, "put them on thyself."—Abu Jâbir said, "Quiet! give back the shoes." Kâb refused, and the Meccan Chief said he would snatch them from him. A commotion ensued, which was just what Kâb desired, as it covered the awkwardness of the converts, *Hishâmi*, p. 151.

Such tales, containing supposed proofs of service rendered to the cause of Islam were plentifully fabricated, even in the earliest time, and deserve little credit.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 43. The support of the Medîna adherents, and suspicion of an *intended* emigration, irritated the Coreish to severity, and this severity forced the

Such severities, or the dread of them, (for the Moslems were conscious that they had now seriously compromised their allegiance as citizens of Mecca,) hastened the crisis. And, indeed, when Mahomet had once resolved upon a general emigration, no advantage was to be gained by protracting their residence amongst enemies.

It was thus but a few days after the "*Second covenant of Acaba*," that Mahomet gave command to his followers, saying: *Depart unto Medîna; for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which ye may find refuge.** So they made preparation, and chose them companions for the journey, and set out in parties secretly. Such as had the means, rode two and two upon camels, and the rest walked.†

Persecution and artifice caused a few to fall away from the faith. One example will suffice. Omar had arranged a rendezvous with Ayâsh and Hishâm at a spot in the environs of Mecca, whence they were to set out for Medîna. Hishâm was held back by his family, and relapsed for a time into idolatry. "Thus I, and Ayâsh," relates Omar, "went forward alone, and journeyed to Cubâ, ‡ in the outskirts of Medîna, where we alighted, and were hospitably received at the house of Rifâa. But Abu Jahl and another brother (uterine,) of Ayâsh,§ fol-

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Moslems to petition Mahomet for leave to emigrate. The two causes might coexist and re-act on one another; the persecution would hasten the departure of the converts, while each fresh departure would irritate the Coreish to greater severity.

Tabari says:—"There were two occasions on which persecution raged the hottest; *viz.*, first, the period preceding the emigration to Abyssina; second, that following the second covenant at Acaba," (p. 178)

But there is good reason to suspect that stronger epithets have been used in tradition regarding this persecution than are warranted by facts. Had it been as bad as is spoken of, *wes hould have had plenty of instances.* Yet, excepting the imprisonment or surveillance of a few waverers, we have not a single detail of any injuries or sufferings inflicted on this occasion by the Coreish. There was, no doubt, abundant *apprehension*, and ground sufficient for it.

* Wâckidi makes Mahomet first to see the place of emigration in a dream,—"a saline soil. with palm trees, between two hills." After that he waited some days, and then went forth joyously to his followers, saying:—Now have I been made acquainted with the place appointed for your emigration. It is *Yathreb.* Whoso desireth to emigrate, let him emigrate thither." (p. 43.) If this incident be real, the first vision may have been a sort of feeler to try what his people thought of going to Medîna; for long before this time he must have fully made up his mind where he was going. But the story is most probably a fiction, growing out of the idea that Mahomet must have had a divine and special command for so important a step as that of emigration to Medîna.

† *Ibid.*, and page 242.

‡ A suburb of Medîna, about three-quarters of an hour's walk on the road to Mecca.—*Burkhardt*, p. 328.

§ Being all three sons of Asmâ, a lady of the Tâmîm tribe, but by different fathers.

lowed him to Medîna, and told him his mother had vowed that she would retire beneath no shade, nor should a comb or any oil touch her hair, until she saw his face again. Then I cautioned him (continues Omar,) saying;—"By the Lord! they only desire to tempt thee from thy religion.* Beware Ayâsh, of denying thy faith!" But he replied:—"Nay, I will not recant; but I have property at Mecca; I will go and fetch it, and it will strengthen me: and I will also release my mother from her vow." Seeing that he was not to be diverted from his purpose, I gave him a swift camel, and bade him, if he suspected treachery, to save himself thereon. So when they alighted to halt at Dhajnân, they seized him suddenly, and bound him with cords; and as they carried him into Mecca they exclaimed: "*Even thus, ye Meccans, should ye treat your foolish ones!* Then they kept him in durance."†

It was about the beginning of the month Muharram (19th April, 622 A. D.) that the emigration commenced.‡ Medîna lies some 300 miles to the north of Mecca: the journey is accomplished by the pilgrim caravans "in eleven days, and if pressed for time, in ten."[*] Within two months nearly all the followers of Mahomet, excepting a few detained in confinement, or unable to escape from slavery, had migrated with their families to their new abode. They numbered between one and two hundred souls.[†] They were received with the most cordial hospitality by their brethren at Medîna, who vied with one another for the honour of having them quartered at their houses, and of supplying them with such things as they had need of.[‡]

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* In Hishâmi, it is added;—"And the heat and lice will soon enough force thy mother to break her vow." (p. 160.)

† *Wâckidi*, p. 232½ : *Hishâmi*, p. 160. Both Ayâsh and Hishâm afterwards rejoined Mahomet. From one account it would appear that Ayâsh, as well as Hishâm, relapsed into idolatry. Omar stated that until Sura XXXIX., v. 53, was revealed, it was thought that no apostate could be saved. When that passage appeared, he wrote it out for Ayâsh, and sent it to him at Mecca; which when Ayâsh had read he took courage, and forthwith quitted Mecca on his camel for Medîna,—*Hishâmi*, p. 161.

There is another tradition, at variance with the above. Mahomet, when at Medîna, said one day, "who will bring me Ayâsh and Hishâm from Mecca?" And forthwith Walîd, son of Mughîra, set out; and he traced them to their place of confinement, and assisted them with a stone and his sword to break off their fetters, and released them and carried them off to Mahomet. *(Ibidem.)* But notwithstanding the details in this version, it is evidently a fiction to *justify* Ayâsh and Hishâm from the charge of apostacy, by making it appear that they were *imprisoned* at Mecca.

‡ Abu Salma was the first that set out. He reached Medîna on the 10th Muharram (end of April) (*Wâckidi*, p. 225¼.) His wife Omm Salma (afterwards married by Mahomet,) tells a piteous story, that they started for Medîna *a year before the second covenant* of Acaba. Being attacked on the way, her husband escaped to Medîna, but she and her infant Salma were kept in durance by her family, the Bani Mughîra. Her infant was taken from her, and she "wept for a year," after which they were all happily re-united at Medîna. She ends by saying;—"there was no family that endured such hardships in the cause of Islam, as that of Abu Salma." (*Hishâmi*, p. 159.) We see here, 1st, the desire of magnifying suffering for Islam: and 2ndly, the vain-glorious wish of appearing to be the *earliest* emigrants. For we know from Wâckidi that Abu Salma did not emigrate till two months before Mahomet, and several days *after* the second covenant of Acaba.

The next that emigrated was Amir ibn Rabia with his wife Laila. (*Wâckidi*, p. 42½; *Hishâmi*, p. 159.) Then Abdallah ibn Jahsh, and his wife, a daughter of Abu Sofiân.

The Coreish were paralysed by a movement so suddenly planned, and put into such immediate and extensive execution. They looked on in amazement, as families silently disappeared, and house after house was abandoned. One or two quarters of the city were entirely deserted, and the doors of the dwelling houses deliberately locked.[§] There was here a determination and sacrifice hardly calculated upon. But even if the Coreish had foreseen, and resolved to oppose, the emigration, it is difficult to perceive, what measures they could have adopted. The multitude of independent clans and separate branches, effectually prevented unity of action. Here and there a slave or helpless dependent might be intimidated or held back; but in all other cases there was no right to interfere with private judgment or with family counsels; and the least show of violence might rouse a host of champions, who would forget their antipathy to Islam, in revenging the insulted honour of their tribe.

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[*] *Burkhardt*, p. 316.

[†] We have no exact enumeration of the numbers that emigrated at first with Mahomet. At the battle of Badr, nineteen months after the emigration, there were present 314 men, of whom eighty-three were emigrants from Mecca. A few of these may have joined Mahomet after he reached Medîna; and we shall probably not err far in making the whole number that emigrated *at first*, including women and children, about 150. At Badr almost every one of the emigrants, who could, was present. For the numbers see *Wâckidi*, p. 295½.

[‡] *Hishâmi*, p. 163.—*Wâckidi*, p. 43½.

[§] "The Bani Ghanam ibn Dûdân," says Wâckidi, "emigrated entirely to Medîna, men and women, and left their houses locked: not a soul was left in the quarters of the Bani Ghanam, Abul Bokier, and Matzûn,"—pp. 196 and 256½,—*Hishâmi*, p. 160.

"Otba, Abbas, and Abu Jahl passed by the dwelling place of the Bani Jahsh, and the door was locked, and the house deserted. And Abu Jahl sighed heavily, and said, 'every house, even if its peace be lengthened, at the last a bitter wind will reach it. The house of the Bani Jahsh is left without an inhabitant!" Then he added; 'this is the work of my good-for-nothing nephew, who hath dispersed our assemblies, ruined our affairs, and made a separation amongst us.'—*Hishâmi*, p. 160.

At last Mahomet and Abu Bakr, with their families, including Ali, now a youth of above twenty years of age, were the only believers left (excepting those unwillingly detained) at Mecca. Daily Abu Bakr pressed the prophet to depart; and he was ambitious of being his companion in the flight. But Mahomet told him that "his time was not come:—the Lord had not yet given him the command to emigrate." Perhaps he was deferring his departure until he could receive assurance from Medîna, that the arrangements for his reception were secure, and his adherents there not only ready, but able, in the face of the rest of the people, to execute their engagement for his defence.* Or, there may have been the more generous desire to see all his followers safely out of Mecca, before he himself fled for refuge to Medîna. Is it possible that he may have waited with some indefinite hope that a divine interposition, as with the prophets of old, might subdue the hostile city, in which peradventure even ten righteous men could not now be found?

Meanwhile Abu Bakr made preparations for the journey. In anticipation, he had already purchased, for 800 dirhems, two swift camels, which were now tied up and well fed in the yard of his house. A guide, accustomed to the devious tracks and byways of the Medîna route, was hired, and the camels committed to his custody.†

The Coreish were perplexed at the course Mahomet was taking. They had expected him to emigrate with his people; and perhaps half rejoiced at the prospect of being rid of their enemy. By remaining almost solitary behind, he seemed, by his very loneliness, to challenge and defy their attack.

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* During the two months elapsing between the second covenant at Acaba and Mahomet's emigration, communications, as might have been expected, were kept up between Mecca and Medîna. Thus, it is stated by Wâckidi, that after the foremost emigrants had reached Medîna, a part of the Medîna converts who had been at the Acaba covenant, returned to Mecca, where no doubt farther arrangements were concerted between them and Mahomet. It is added, that these Medîna converts had thus the merit of being both *Emigrants* (muhâjirîn,) and *Adjutors* (ansâr.)

† The guide was Abdallah ibn Arcad; or as Wâckidi has it, Abdallah ibn Oreicat. He was of the Bani Duil, a tribe descended from Kinâna; and thus affiliated with the Coreish. His mother was pure Coreish.

He was still an idolater; and Wâckidi, *anticipating the era when war was waged against all idolaters*, adds,—"but Mahomet and Abu Bakr had given him quarter,—or pledge of protection:"— امناه as if he required their protection at that stage! The expression is significant of the way in which subsequent principles and events insensibly threw *back* their light and colour upon the tissue of tradition.—*Wâckidi*, p. 212,—*Hishâmi*, p. 167.

What might his motive be for this strange procedure? The chief men assembled to discuss their position. Should they imprison him?—his followers would come to his rescue. Should they forcibly expel him?—he might agitate his cause among the tribes of Arabia, and readily lure adherents by the prospect of the supremacy at Mecca. Should they assassinate him?—the Bani Hâshim would exact an unrelenting penalty for the blood of their kinsman. But representatives from all their tribes, including even that of Hâshim, might plunge each his sword into the prophet: would the Hâshimites dare to wage mortal feud with the whole body of the Coreish thus implicated in the murder? Even then there would remain his followers at Medîna, whose revenge of their master's blood would surely be ruthless and desperate. Assassination by an unknown hand on the road to Medîna, might prove the safest course: but there the chances of escape would preponderate. At last they resolved that a deputation should proceed to the house of Mahomet. What was the decision as to their future course of action, what was the object even of the present deputation, it is impossible, amid the hostile and marvellous tales of tradition, to determine. There is small reason to believe that it was assassination, adopted, as the biographers assert, at the instigation of Abu Jahl, supported by the devil, who, in the person of an old man from Najd, shrouded in a mantle, joined the council. Mahomet himself, speaking in the Coran of the designs of his enemies, refers to them in these indecisive terms:—

And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might detain thee, or slay thee, or expel thee. Yea, they plotted: but God plotted likewise. And God is the best of plotters.—Sura VIII., v. 29.

Assuredly had assassination been resolved upon for immediate execution, as represented by tradition, it would have been indicated by more than these alternative expressions. It would unquestionably have been dwelt upon at length, both in the Coran, and by tradition, and produced as a justification (for such indeed it would have been) of subsequent hostilities.*

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* The following is the general narrative of tradition, given with some variations by Wâckidi and Hishâmi,—Tabari following mainly the latter.

The Coreish, irritated by hearing of the warm reception the converts experienced at Medîna, held a council to discuss the matter. The devil, in the shape of an old man, shrouded in a cloak, stood at the door, saying that he was a Sheikh from Najd, who had heard of their weighty consultation, and had come, if haply he might help them to a right decision. So they invited him to enter.

One proposed to imprison, another to expel, Mahomet. The old man from

Whatever the object of the visit, Mahomet received previous notice, and anticipated danger by stealing at once from his house. There he left Ali; around whom, that the suspicions of his neighbours might not be aroused, he threw his own red Hadhramaut mantle,* and desired him to occupy his bed. He went straight to the house of Abu Bakr, and after a short consultation, matured the plans for immediate flight. Abu Bakr shed tears of joy when it was fixed that the hour for emigration had at last arrived, and that he was to

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Najd warmly opposed both suggestions. Then said Abu Jahl; "Let us choose one courageous man from every family of the Coreish, and place in their hands sharp swords, and let them slay him with the stroke of one man; so his blood will be divided amongst all families, and the relatives of Mahomet will not know how to revenge it." The old man of Najd aplauded the scheme saying,—"May God reward this man; this is the right advice, and none other." And they separated, having agreed thereto.

Gabriel forthwith apprised Mahomet of the design, who arose and made Ali to lie down upon his bed. The murderous party came at dusk, and lay in wait about the house. Mahomet went forth, and casting a handful of dust at them, recited from the 1st to the 10th verses of Sura XXXIV., ending with the words; *and we have covered them, so that they shall not see.* He departed without their knowing what had passed; and they continued to watch, some say till morning, thinking that the figure on the bed was Mahomet. As light dawned they found out their mistake, and saw that it was Ali. Others say they watched till one passed, and told them that Mahomet had left, when they arose in confusion and shook the dust from their heads which Mahomet had cast upon them.

The whole story of the council and the attempt on Mahomet's life is so mingled with what is marvellous and unlikely, as to render it almost impossible to disentangle the truth, or even a consistent and probable story, from the spurious details. Indeed, there is some reason for suspecting with Sprenger "the whole story of the Council, and the resolution of assassinating him, to be apocryphal." (p. 208.) Parts of the story are evidently fabricated to illustrate or support the verse of the Coran above quoted, and the other regarding the counterplot of God, (*Sura VII., v.* 29;) —and to cover the opponents of Mahomet with infamy.

The reasons given in the text make it in the last degree improbable that *assassination* was ever *attempted or even resolved.* The tale of the assassinators surrounding the house for so long a period in the face of Mahomet's family and kinsmen, even apart from the miraculous datails, is absurd. If intent on murder, they would at once have rushed on Ali, and finding their mistake, have set off for Abu Bakr's house, (vide *Sprenger, ibidem*). The clear intimation in Wâckidi that Mahomet left for the house of Abu Bakr *in the middle of the day*, is also opposed to the whole story.

Mahomet's sudden flight, and long concealment in the cave, were probably supposed by his followers, to have been caused by the apprehension of immediate violence. This supposition would require illustrative grounds: and hence the fiction. It seems to us, however, that it was not violence at Mecca, *but assassination by the way*, which he most feared, and which led to his concealment in the cave, and thus to the securing of a free and safe road.

Upon the whole, *the council itself*, is not unlikely or improbable: and we have therefore given it a place in the text, endeavouring to adopt it as well as possible to the other incidents that are clearly proved.

* *Wackidi*, p. 43½. Hishâmi calls it *green*, (p. 165.)

be the companion of the prophet's journey.* After a few hasty preparations (among which Abu Bakr did not forget to secure his remaining wealth,) they both crept in the shade of evening from a back window, escaped unobserved through the southern suburbs of the city, and ascending the lofty mountain Thaur (about an hour and a half distant in that direction,) took refuge in a cave nea rits summit.† Here they rested in security, for the attention of their adversaries would in any case be fixed upon the country *north* of Mecca on the route to Medîna, whither they knew that Mahomet would proceed.

Eight or nine years after, Mahomet thus alludes in the Coran to the position of himself and his friend in the cave of Thaur :—

If ye will not assist the Prophet, verily God assisted him when the unbelievers cast him forth, in company with a second only,‡ when they

* Ayesha, in a somewhat loose tradition quoted by Hishâmi, relates as follows: Mahomet regularly visited her father's house either in the morning or the evening: that day, however, he came at mid-day. Being seated on Abu Bakr's carpet, Mahomet desired that he and Abu Bakr might be left alone. The latter replied that the presence of his two daughters only did not signify, and besought that he would at once tell him what he had to say. Then follows the conversation in which Mahomet tells him that the time had now come for emigrating, and that Abu Bakr was to be his fellow traveller;—whereat Abu Bakr wept for joy. Ayesha adds;—"I never knew before that any body could *weep* for joy, till I saw Abu Bakr weeping that day." (*Hishâmi*, p. 166.) There is, of course, a tendency in all Ayesha's traditions to magnify her father's share in the matter.

Tabari gives a tradition to the effect that Abu Bakr proceeded to the house of Mahomet. Ali, whom he found there alone, told him that Mahomet had gone to the cave in Mount Thaur, and that if he wanted him, he should follow him thither. So he hurried in that direction, and made upon Mahomet by the way. And as he approached, the prophet hearing the footsteps thought that it was the Coreish in pursuit, and he quickened his pace and ran, and burst the thong of his shoe, and struck his foot against a rock, so that it bled much. Then Abu Bakr called aloud, and the prophet recognized his voice, and they went both together; and blood flowed from Mahomet's leg, till they reached the cave at break of day, (p. 187.)

Notwithstanding the apparent freshness and circumstantiality of these details, the story is no doubt spurious. It looks like an Alyite or Abbasside fabrication to detract from the honour of Abu Bakr's being selected by the prophet as the companion of his flight, by representing it as an accidental, and not previously planned arrangement.

† Hishâmi describes it as "a hill in Lower Mecca:" جبل با سفل مكة i.e. adjoining the lower or southern quarter.

The folowing is from Burkhardt. "JEBEL THOR. About an hour and a half south of Mecca, to the left of the road to the village of Hosseynye, is a lofty mountain of this name, higher it is said than Djebel Nour. On the summit of it is a cavern, in which Mohammad and his friend Abu Bekr took refuge from the Mekkawys before he fled to Medîna." (p. 176.) But he did not visit the spot. Nor does Ali Bey appear to have done so either.

‡ Lit: *the second of the two* ثاني الاثنين

two were in the cave alone: when he said to his companion:—*Be not cast down, for verily God is with us.* And God caused to descend tranquillity[*] upon him, and strengthened him with Hosts which ye saw not, and made the word of the unbelievers to be abased; and the word of the Lord, it is exalted; and God is mighty and wise.[†]

The "sole companion," or in Arabic phraseology, *the second of the two*, became one of Abu Bakr's most honoured titles. Hassân, the contemporary poet of Medîna, thus sings of him:—

> **And the second of the two in the Glorious Cave, while the Foes were searching around, and they [two had ascended the Mountain;**
> **And the Prophet of the Lord, they well know, loved him,—more than all the world; he held no [one equal unto him**[‡]

Whatever may have been the real peril, Mahomet and his companion felt it to be a moment of jeopardy. Glancing upward at a crevice whence the morning light broke into the cave, Abu Bakr whispered;—"What if one of them were to look beneath him; he might see us under his very feet!" "*Think not thus, Abu Bakr!*" said the prophet, "WE ARE TWO, BUT GOD IS IN THE MIDST, A THIRD."[§]

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[*] The word used is سكينة *sekinah*: borrowed from the "Shekinah" of the Jews. The expression occurs repeatedly in the Coran.

[†] *Sura* IX., v. 42.

[‡] "Mahomet asked Hassân ibn Thâbit, whether he had composed any poetry regarding Abu Bakr; to which the poet answered that he had, and at Mahomet's request repeated the following lines, (as in the text):—

وثانى الاثنين فى الغار المنيف وقد طاف العدو به اذا صعد الجبلا *
وكان حب الرسول الله قد علموا من المرئه لم يعدل به رجلا *

And Mahomet was amused thereat, and laughed so heartily as even to show his back teeth; and he answered;—"Thou hast spoken truly, Oh Hassân! It is just as thou hast said."—*Wâckidi*, p. 212.

[§] فقال يا ابا بكر ما ظنك بالاثنين الله ثالثهما

Wâckidi, p. 212.

The crowd of miracles that cluster about the cave, are so well known as hardly to need repetition. It will be interesting, however, to note how far they are related by our early authorities.

Wâckidi says that after Mahomet and Abu Bakr entered the cave, a spider came and wove her webs one over another at the mouth of the cave. The Coreish hotly searched in all directions for Mahomet, till they came close up to the entrance of the cave. And when they looked, they said one to another;—*Spiders' webs are over it from before the birth of Mahomet.* So they turned back, (p. 44.)

Another tradition is that "God commanded a tree and a spider to cover His prophet, and two wild pigeons to perch at the entrance of the cave. Now two men from each branch of the Coreish, armed with swords issued from Mecca for the search. And they were now close to Mahomet, when the foremost saw the pigeons, and returned to his companions, saying that he was sure from this that nobody was in the cave. And the prophet heard his words, and blessed the wild pigeons, and made them sacred in the Holy Territory.—*Ibidem*.

The verses (quoted in the text,) in Sura VIII., v. 29, about God *plotting* so as to

Amir ibn Foheira, the freed-man of Abu Bakr,* who in company with the other shepherds of Mecca, tended his master's flock, stole unobserved every evening with a few goats to the cave, and furnished its inmates with a plentiful supply of milk. Abdallah, the son of Abu Bakr, in the same manner, nightly brought them victuals cooked by his sister Asmâ.† It was his business also to watch closely by day the progress of events, and of opinion, at Mecca, and to report at night the result.

Much excitement had prevailed in the city, when it became first known that Mahomet had disappeared. The chief of the Coreish went to his house, and finding Ali there, asked him where his uncle was. "I have no knowledge of him," replied Ali :—"am I his keeper? Ye bade him to quit the city, and he hath quitted."‡ Then they repaired to the house of Abu Bakr, and questioned his daughter Asmâ, but failing to elicit from her any information, § they dispatched scouts in all directions, with the view of gaining a clue to the track and destination of the prophet, if not with less innocent instructions. But the precautions of Mahomet and Abu Bakr rendered the search fruitless. One by one the emissaries returned with no trace of the fugitives ; and it was believed that having gained a fair start, they had outstripped pursuit. The people soon reconciled themselves to the fact. They even breathed more freely now that their troubler was gone. The city again was still.

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deceive the Meccans, and in Sura IX., v. 42, about God *assisting* the two refugees in the cave, have probably given rise to these tales.

There are some miraculous stories, but of later growth, regarding Abu Bakr putting his hand into the crevices of the cave to remove the snake that might be lurking there, and being unharmed by their venomous bites.

* See "*Extension of Islam*" (p. 6)

† Hishâmi says that Asmâ also used to take them food at night; but that is doubtful. She certainly carried to them the victuals prepared for the journey, on the third day. Hishâmi adds Amir ibn Foheira used to lead his goats over the footsteps of Abdallah in order to obliterate the traces.—*Wâckidi*, pp. 44, 212,—*Hishâmi*, p. 167.

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 44,—*Tabari*, p. 189. The latter adds :—"Thereupon they chided Ali, and struck him, and carried him forth to the Kaaba, and bound him for a short space, and then let him go." The notice is, however, quite unsupported by any other proof or collateral evidence, and is evidently fabricated to enhance the merits of Ali.

§ Hishâmi has the following.—"Asmâ relates that after the prophet went forth, a company of the Coreish, with Abu Jahl, came to the house. As they stood at the door, she went forth to them. 'Where is thy father?' said they. 'Truly I know not where he is, ;' she replied. Upon which, Abu Jahl who was a bad and impudent man, slapped her on the face with such force, that one of her ear-rings dropped."(p. 168.)

On the third night, the daily tidings brought by Abdallah satisfied the refugees that the search had ceased, and the busy curiosity of the first agitation relaxed. The opportunity was come. They could slip away unobserved now. A longer delay might excite suspicion, and the visits of Abdallah and Amir attract attention to the cave. The roads were clear; they might travel without the apprehension (and it was a fear not unreasonable,) of an arrow or dagger from the wayside assassin.

Abdallah received the commission to have all things in readiness the following evening. The guide wandered with two camels close about the summit of mount Thaur. Asmâ prepared food for the journey, and in the dusk carried it to the cave. In the hurry of the moment, she had forgotten the thong for fastening the wallet. So she tore off her girdle; with one of the pieces she closed the wallet, and with the other fastened it to the camel's gear. From this incident Asmâ was ever after honourably known as "She of the two Shreds."* Abu Bakr did not forget his money, and safely secreted his purse of between five and six thousand dirhems.†

The camels were now ready. Mahomet mounted the swifter of the two, Al Cuswâ thenceforward his favourite, ‡ with the guide; and Abu Bakr having taken his servant, Amir ibn Foheira, behind him on the other, § they started. Leaving the lower quarter of Mecca[*] a little to their right, they struck off by a track considerably to the left of the common road to Medîna; and hurrying westward, soon gained the vicinity of the sea-shore nearly opposite Osfân.[†] The day of the flight was the 4th Rabî I., of the first year of the Hejira, or by the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval, the 20th June, A. D. 622[‡]

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* ذات النطاقين *Wâckidi*, pp. 44–212. ذات النطاق *Hishâmi*, p. 168. These little incidents add life and reality to the story. The names, "*the Second of the Two*," and "*She of the Shreds*," must have been current generally. They could hardly have been invented for the story, and are therefore corroborative of it.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 168. A curious tradition is given here. Abu Bakr's father, Abu Cuhâfa, now so old that he could not see, came to visit his granddaughters (Asmâ and Ayesha,) after Abu Bakr had departed, and condoled with them on being left without any means. To comfort the old man, Asmâ placed pebbles in a recess, and covering them with a cloth, made him feel them, and believe that it was his son's money, which he had left behind, so the old man went away happy.

‡ Hishâmi adds that Mahomet refused to get on the camel until he had purchased it, or rather pledged himself to pay the price which Abu Bakr had given for it. —*Hishâmi*, p. 168.

§ A tradition in Wâckidi says that Amir rode upon a *third* camel, and that Mahomet getting tired on Al Cuswa, changed to Abu Bakr's camel; the two others changing also. (p. 212.)

This may be explained by the fact, that when the party reached Arj, within a few stages of Medîna, the animals were so fatigued, that they hired an extra camel and servant from the Bani Aslam tribe that inhabited the vicinity. Thus they arrived at Medîna mounted upon *three*, which is no doubt the origin of the tradition referred to—*Hishâmi*, p. 171.

In the morning they had reached the Bedouin encampment of a party of the Bani Khuzâa. An Arab lady sat in the door of her tent ready to give food and drink to any travellers that might chance that way. Mahomet and his followers were fatigued and thirsty (for it was the extreme heat of the year) and they gladly refreshed themselves with the milk which she offered them in abundance.[§] During the hottest part of the day, they rested at Cudeid; and in the evening, thinking they were now at a safe enough distance from Mecca, they joined the common road. They had not proceeded far when they met one of the Meccan scouts, returning on horseback. Surâca, (for that was his name) seeing that he had no chance of success single-handed against four opponents, offered no opposition; but on the contrary pledged his word, that if permitted to depart in peace, he would not reveal that he had met them.[||]

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[*] *Hishâmi*, p. 170.—*Tabari*, p. 194. سلک بهما الی اسفل مکه

[†] Osfân is a pilgrim station at the present day, on the highway from Mecca to Medîna.

[‡] *Hegira*, "emigration." Though applied *par excellence* to the flight of the prophet, it is also applicable to the rest of the emigrants to Medîna, *prior to the taking of Mecca*; and they are hence called *Muhâjirin*, *i. e.*, those who have undertaken the *Hejïra*, or emigration. We have seen that they commenced to emigrate from the first of Moharram, *i. e.*, from the first month of the *Hegira era*.

The chronology of M. C. de Perceval is supported by the notices of extreme heat. وذالک في ايام حارة *Hishâmi*, p. 171.

[§] Wâckidî here gives miraculous details omitted by Hishâmi. The former relates that it was a time of dearth, and the scarcity of fodder had so reduced the flocks, that they gave no milk. Omm Mábad (the Arab lady, at first told them of her inability in consequence to entertain them. But there was in the corner of her tent a miserable goat, that not only gave no milk, but was so weak as to be disabled from accompanying the flocks to pasture. The prophet spied it, and going up prayed and touched its udders which immediately filled with milk, and all drank to their hearts' content! *Wâckidi*, p. 44.

Her husband who had been absent, shortly after returned; and on her giving a description of the prophet, he perceived who it had been, and said that he too would have gone with him, if he had been at home.

Omm Mábad herself is said to have emigrated to Medîna andbeen converted. —*Ibid.*

[||] The marvellous tales and probabilities connected with the story of Surâca are so great, that one is almost tempted to omit all mention of him as fictitious Yet there may probably be this ground of truth, that they did fall in with one of

The party proceeded. The prophet of Arabia was safe.

The first tidings that reached Mecca of the real course taken by Mahomet, were brought two or three days after his flight from the cave, by a traveller from the Khuzaite camp at which he had rested. It was now certain from his passing there, that he was bound for Medîna.*

Ali remained at Mecca three days after the departure of Mahomet, appearing every day in public, for the purpose of restoring the property placed in trust with his uncle by various parties. He met with no opposition or trouble, and leisurely took his departure for Medîna.†

The families of Mahomet and Abu Bakr were equally unmolested. Zeinab continued for a time to dwell at Mecca with her unconverted husband. Rockeya had already emigrated with Othman to Medîna. The other two daughters of Mahomet, Omm Kolthûm and Fatima, with his wife Sawda, were for some weeks left behind at Mecca. ‡ His betrothed Ayesha,

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the scouts, or with a Meccan traveller coming the same road,—around which the fiction has grown.

The tale, as given by Hishâmi, is that the Meccans offered a reward of 100 camels to any one who would bring back Mahomet. Suraca had private intimation that a party on three camels had been seen on the Medîna road, and forthwith set out in pursuit. When he had made up on them, his horse stumbled and threw him, then it sank in the earth and stuck fast. Mahomet at his entreaty prayed that it might be loosened, and it was accordingly freed. This happened over again, and then Suraca pledged that he would go back, and turn from their pursuit all the emissaries that were out in quest of Mahomet. He farther begged of Mahomet a writing in remembrance, which Abu Bakr having written "on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a bit of cloth," threw down to him. Suraca picked it up and slipped it into his quiver. *He kept the whole transaction secret till after the capture of Mecca,* when he produced the writing as an introduction to the favour of Mahomet, and embraced Islâm.—*Hishâmi*, p. 169.

The tradition in Wâckidi, though not quite so absurd as the above, are sufficiently marvellous, (p. 44½.)

* Here again we have the marvellous. Asmâ relates that they waited three days without knowing whither the party had gone; when one of the genii, whose voice was heard, but who could not be seen, entered Lower Mecca, passed through the town and made his exit from Upper Mecca, singing the while, verses in praise of Omm Mâbad, the Khozaite lady, for her entertainment of Mahomet and Abu Bakr. From the position of this encampment, the people then knew which way Mahomet had taken. The very verses of the genius are given both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi; and the latter adds couplets by Hassân ibn Thâbit in reply to them. —*Hishâmi*, p. 168,—*Wâckidi*, p. 44,—*Tabari*, p. 197.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 182.—*Hishami*, p. 167, 172—*Tabari* p, 200.

‡ Omm Kolthûm had been married to one of the sons of Abu Lahab, but was now living in her father's house, Zeinab's husband, Abul As, was still an

with the rest of Abu Bakr's family, and other females, likewise remained.*

Mahomet and Abu Bakr would no doubt look to their respective clans to protect their families from insult. But no insult or annoyance of any kind was offered by the Coreish: nor was the slightest attempt made to detain them; although it was not unreasonable that they should have been detained as hostages against any hostile incursion from Medîna. These facts lead us to doubt the intense hatred and bitter cruelty, which the strong colouring of tradition is ever ready to attribute to the Coreish.†

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unbeliever. It is said, that he kept her back in Mecca in confinement. But subsequent events show that she was strongly attached to him. The story of their both joining Mahomet at Mecca, some time afterwards, is romantic and affecting.—*Wâckidi*, p. 46,—*Hishâmi*, p. 234.

* When Zeid was sent back from Medîna to bring away Mahomet's family, he carried with him also his own wife Omm Ayman (*i. e.*, Mahomet's old nurse, Baraka, and his son Osama, then a boy.

Abdallah brought away the family of his father Abu Bakr, and Ayesha among the rest.—*Wâckidi*, p. 46.

† In accordance with this view, is the fact that the first aggressions after the Hegira, were solely on the part of Mahomet and his followers. It was not until several of their caravans had been waylaid and plundered, and blood had thus been shed, that the people of Mecca were forced in self-defence to resort to arms

SELECTIONS
FROM THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET FROM HIS YOUTH TO HIS FORTIETH YEAR.

By Sir W. Muir.

1. *Essai sur L' Histoire des Arabes.* Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval. Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammad.* By A. Sprenger, M. D. *Allahabad,* 1851.
3. *Sîrat Wâckidi.* Arab. M. S. | 4. *Sîrat Tabari.* Arab. M. S.
5. *Sîrat Hishâmi.* Arab. M. S.

IN a previous article, we have traced the boyhood of Mahomet down to the journey into Syria, which, in his twelfth year, (582, A. D.,) he made under the guardianship of his uncle, Abu Tâlib. The next incident in his life possessed a wider and more stirring interest.

Between the years 580 and 590, A. D., the vale of Mecca and the surrounding country were rendered unquiet and insecure by one of those bloody feuds, so frequently excited by the fiery pride, and prolonged by the revengeful temper of the nation.

In Dhul Cáada, the sacred month preceding the days of pilgrimage, an annual fair was held at Ocâtz, where within an easy three days' journey of Mecca, the shady palm and grateful fountain solaced the merchant and the traveller, after their toilsome journey.[*]

Goods were bartered, vain glorious contests (those characteristic exhibitions of Bedouin chivalry) were held, and verses recited by the bards of the various tribes. The successful poems produced at these national gatherings, were treated with distinguished honor; they were adorned with golden letters, and so styled *Mudhahabât,* and were sometimes suspended in the Kaaba, and thence called *Mòallacât;* and the SABAA MOALLACAT (or seven suspended pieces,) still survive from a period anterior even to Mahomet, a wonderful specimen of artless Arab eloquence. The beauty of the language, and the wild richness of the imagery, are acknowledged by all, but the subject of the poet was limited, and the beaten track seldom deviated from. The charms of his mistress, the solitude of her deserted haunts, the noble qualities of his camel, his own generosity and prowess, the superiority of his tribe over all others;—these were the themes which, with little variation of treatment, and without the exercise of imagination in the contrivance of any general plot or design, occupied the Arab muse;—and some of which only added fuel to the besetting vices of the people, vain-glory, envy, pride and revenge.

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[*] Ocâtz lay between Tâif and Nakhla. There were two other fairs, but of less note, held near Mecca: one at Majna, in the vicinity of Marr al Tzahrân, the other at Dzul Majâj, behind Arafat. (*M. Caussin de Perceval,* Vol. I, p. 296.

At the fair of Ocâtz a rivalrous spirit, about the period of our story, had been engendered between the Coreish and the Bani Hawâzin, a numerous tribe of kindred descent,[*] which dwelt (and still dwells,) in the country between Mecca and Tâif. An arrogant poet, vaunting the glories of his tribe, was struck by an indignant Hawâzinite; and a maid of Hawâzin descent was rudely treated by some Coreishite youths; an importunate creditor was insolently repulsed;[†] on each occasion the sword was unsheathed, and blood began to flow, until the leaders interfered to calm the excited people. Such was the origin of the FIJAR, or Sacrilegious War, so called, because it occurred within the sacred term, and was eventually carried into the sacred territory.

These incidents suggested the expediency of requiring all who frequented the fair to surrender, for the time, their arms, and deposit them with Abdallah ibn Jodáân, a Coreishite chief, descended from Taym, and uncle of Cussei. By this precaution, peace was preserved for several years, when a wanton murder supplied a more serious cause of offence.

Nomân V., Prince of Hîra, despatched to the fair of Ocâtz a caravan richly laden with perfumes and musk. It proceeded under the escort of Orwâ, an Hawâzinite. Birrâdh, an ally of the Coreish, was annoyed at being supplanted in the convoy of the merchandise, and watching his opportunity, fell upon Orwâ, encamped by a fountain near Fadac,[‡] and having slain him, fled with the booty to conceal himself in Kheibar. On his way thither he met a poet of the Coreish, called Bishr, whom he charged to proceed with expedition to the fair then being held at Ocâtz, and communicate the intelligence to Harb (who was the confederate or *halîf* of Birrâdh,) and the other Coreishite chiefs. The message was conveyed, and Abdallah ibn Jodáân, thus privately informed of the murder, immediately resorted to all their arms,* and feigning urgent business at Mecca, set off thither at once with all his tribe. As the sun went down, the news began to spread at Ocâtz, and reached the ears of Abu Berâ, the chief of the Hawâzin, who forthwith perceiving the cause of the precipitate departure of the Coreish, rallied his people around him, and proceeded in hot pursuit. But the Coreish had already entered the sacred limits, and the Hawâzin contented themselves with challenging their enemy to a recounter at the same period of the following year. The challenge was accepted, and both parties prepared for the struggle. Several battles were fought with various success, and hostilities, more or less formal, were prolonged for four years, when Otba, the son of Rabia (the nephew of Harb,) proposed a truce. The dead were numbered up, and as twenty had been killed on the side of the Hawâzin more than of the Coreish, the latter consented to pay the price of their blood, and for this purpose delivered hostages, one of whom was Abu Sofiân, the son of Harb.

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[*] They sprang through Cays Aylân, from Modhar and Maad, who were the ancestors of the Coreish.

[†] The circumstances form a curious illustration of Arab manners. The Hawâzin creditor seated himself in a conspicuous place with a monkey by his side, and said, "*who will give me another such ape, and I will give him in exchange my claim on such a one,*"—naming his creditor with the full pedigree of his Kinânaite descent. This he kept continually vociferating, to the intense annoyance of the Kinâna tribe, one of whom drew his sword and cut off the monkey's head. In an instant the Hawâzin and Kinâna tribes were embroiled in bitter strife. The Bani Kinâna, it will be remembered, form the collective descendants of one of the ancestors of the Coreish, removed a few steps *above* the point at which the Coreishite branch shoots off. Both the poet here mentioned, and the murderer Birrâdh, who, we shall see below, kindled the war, belonged to the Bani Kinâna. The war, therefore, embraced a wider range than merely the Coreishite family.

[‡] The spot was called Awârah, in the valley of Tayman, north of Medîna.

In some of these engagements, the whole of the Coreish and their allies were engaged. Each tribe was commanded by a chief of its own; and Abdallah guided the general movements. The descendants of Abd Shams and Nowfal were headed by Harb, the son of Omeya, and took a distinguished part in the warfare.

The children of Hâshim were present also, under the command of Zobeir, the eldest surviving son of Abd al Muttalib; but they occupied no prominent position. In one of the battles, Mahomet attended upon his uncles; but though now near twenty years of age, he had not acquired the love of arms According to some authorities, his efforts were confined to gathering up the arrows discharged by the enemy, and handing them to his uncles. Others assign to him a somewhat more active share in the warfare: but it is allowed by all, that he never spoke of it with much enthusiasm. "I remember," said the prophet, "being present with my uncles in the sacri-

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* Harb is said to have urged Abdallah to give up only the Coreishite, and to withhold the Hawâzin arms, so that they might fall upon the latter unprepared. Abdallah rejected the proposal as perfidious. But it looks very like an Abbasside tradition to vilify the Omeyads. Harb was the son of Omeya.

"legious war, and I discharged arrows at the enemy; nor do "I regret having done so."[*] Physical courage, indeed, and martial daring, were virtues which did not distinguish the prophet at any period of his career.

The struggles for pre-eminence, and the contests of eloquence at the annual fair, possessed for the youthful Mahomet a more engrossing interest than the combat of arms. At such spectacles, while his national enthusiasm had ample scope, he, no doubt, burned with strong desire after personal distinction, and trained his fertile genius into learning from the highest efforts there displayed by the great masters of those arts, the mystery of poetry and the power of rhetoric. But another and still nobler lesson might be taught in the concourse at Ocâtz. The Christianity, as well as the chivalry of Arabia, had there its representatives; and, if we may believe tradition, Mahomet, while a boy, heard Coss, the bishop of Najrân, preach a purer creed than that of Mecca, in accents of deep reason and fervid faith, which carried conviction to his soul. The venerable Coss was but one amongst many at that fair, who enlightened haply by a less Catholic spirit, or darkened by more of prejudice and superstition, yet professed to believe in the same revelation from above, and preached, it may be, the same good tidings. There, too, were Jews, serious and earnest men, surpassing the Christians in number, and appealing to their own book also. Mahomet was more familiar with them, for, as a child, he had seen and heard of them and their synagogue at Medîna, and he had learned to respect them as men that feared God. Yet they cast bitter glances at the Christians, and even when Coss addressed them, in language which approved itself to the heart of Mahomet as truth, they scorned his words, and railed at the meek and lowly Saviour of whom he spoke. Notwithstanding this enmity, Mahomet was surprised to hear the Christian preacher admit the authority of the Jewish book as equal to that of his own: and both parties mentioned with veneration the name of Abraham, the admitted builder of the Meccan Temple, and author of its rites and faith. What, if there be truth in all these systems;—divine TRUTH, dimly glimmering through human prejudice, malevolence, and superstition? What a glorious mission, to act the part of a Coss on a wider and yet more Catholic stage, and by taking away the miserable partitions which hid and severed each nation and sect from its neighbour, to make way for the natural illumination of truth and love, emanating from the Great Father of all! Visions and speculations, such as these, were, no doubt, raised by associations with the Jews and Christians frequenting this great fair; and late in life the Prophet referred with pleasure to the memory of Coss, as having preached there the *Hanefite* or Catholic Faith.*

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[*] Vide *Wâckidi*, pp. 23½ and 24, where will also be found an account of the origin and progress of the war, with the names of the leaders of the several tribes. The statement in Hishâmi is briefer. (p. 38.) Caussin de Perceval enters with great detail into the war, devoting to it no less than twenty-two pages, (Vol. I, p. 296 *et seq.*) He makes the engagement in which Mahomet was present to be the first, that, *viz.*, in which the Coreish retreated on receiving tidings of Orwâ's murder: but there does not appear to have been any *fighting* on this occasion; and Wâckidi distinctly ascribes Mahomet's presence to an engagement in the *following* year. Wâckidi speaks only of one battle, in which the Coreish at first gave way, but were subsequently victorious. The engagement is spoken of (p. 24,) as occurring in the month of Shawwâl, that, viz., *preceding* the sacred months: but this is said, probably in order to shelter the youthful Mahomet from the sacrilegious charge of fighting within the sacred term. C. de Perceval, drawing upon the poetical remains in the Kitâb al Aghâni, details a succession of battles: he also makes Mahomet to have been but fourteen years of age on the occasion, and adds that, had he been older, he would have occupied a more important part than that of picking up his uncle's arrows. But the testimony of Wâckidi, Hishâmi, and Tabari (p. 77) is distinctly and unanimously in favor of the age of *twenty* years: and Wâckidi, as we have seen in the text, states that he actually took part in the archery.

Among the chieftains in command of tribes, it is interesting to trace Khuweilid, the father of Khadîja; Ahattâb, the father of Omar; Othmân ibn al Huweirith; Al As ibn Wâil; Omeya ibn Khalaf; Zeid ibn Amr, and other well known names.

A confederacy formed at Mecca, for the suppression of violence and injustice, aroused more enthusiasm in the mind of Mahomet than the martial exploit of the sacrilegious war. It was called the "Oath of *Fudhûl*," and occurred immediately after the restoration of peace.† The offices of State, and with them the powers of Government, had, as we have seen in a former paper, become divided among the various Coreishite families. There was no one who now exercised an authority such as had been enjoyed by Cossai and Hâshim, or even by Abd al Muttalib. When any of the numerous tribes neglected to punish in its members acts of oppression and wrong, no chief at Mecca was strong enough to stand up the champion of the injured. Thus right was not enforced, and wrong remained unpunished. Some glaring instances of this nature * suggested to the principal Coreish families the expediency of binding themselves by an oath, to secure justice to the helpless. The honor of originating the movement is ascribed to Zobeir, the oldest surviving son of Abd al Muttalib. The descendants of Hâshim, and the families sprung from Zohra and Taym, assembled in the house of Abdallah, son of Jodáân, who prepared for them a feast, and they swore by the avenging Deity, "that they would take the part of the oppressed and see his "claim fulfilled, so long as a drop of water remained in the "ocean, or would satisfy it from their own resources."† The league was useful, both as a preventive against unjust aggression, and on some occasions as a means of enforcing restitution. "I would not," Mahomet used in after years to say, "exchange "for the choicest camel in all Arabia, the remembrance of "being present at the oath which we took in the house of Abdallah, when the Bani Hâshim, Zohra and Taym, swore that "they would stand by the oppressed." ‡

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* *See* page 67 *of a previous Article in this Review, on the 'Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia;' also M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 159 and *Sprenger*, p. 35.

The only authentic tradition we have met with on the subject, does not prove that Mahomet ever heard Coss. It occurs at page 61½ of Wâckidi, in the account of the deputation to the Prophet at Medîna, from the Bani Bakr ibn Wâil. One of them addressed Mahomet, "Didst thou know Coss, the son of Sâida"? The prophet replied; "*He was not one of you; he was a man of the tribe of Iyâd, who professed the true faith in the days of ignorance, and he visited Ocâtz during the concourse of the people there, and addressed them in words which have been preserved from him.*" فقال له رجل منهم هل تعرف قسل ابن ساعدة فقال رسول الله ليس هو منكم هذا رجل من اياد تحنف فى الجاهلية فوافي عكاظ و الناس مجتمعون فتكلمهم بكلامه الذي حفظ عنه

† Wâckidi states that it occurred the month after the conclusion of the war, while Mahomet was yet twenty years of age. (p. 24.)

The youth of Mahomet passed away without any other incidents of special interest. At one period he was employed, like other lads, in tending the sheep and goats of the Meccans, upon the neighbouring hills and valleys. He used, when at Medîna,

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* M. C. de Perceval gives two instances. The first in which a stranger, even though under the protection of the Cheif Abdallah ibn Jodáân, had his camels slaughtered and devoured before his eyes. The second relates to a man who had no patron or protector at Mecca; and being denied the price of goods he had sold, repaired to an eminence on the side of the hill Abu Cobeis, near where the Coreish used to assemble for the cool evening breeze, and loudly called for justice. (Vol. I., p. 330.)

† The expression in the last clause is not very clear, but is probably as we have rendered it. The words are:—و في التاسي فى المعاش

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 24. It is remarkable that only these three tribes are included in the league. To the Bani Zohra belonged Mahomet's mother; and his friend Abu Bakr to the Bani Taym. That the league was only a partial one is evident from its name; *fudhûl*, meaning, "what is unnecessary or supererogatory," by which appellation it seems to have been called by the rest of the Coreish, who did not join it. For other, but less likely derivations, see *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 338, and *Weil*, p. 33. The former gives an alleged instance in which the league was appealed to by Hosein, the son of Ali, against Moâvia or his nephew.

to refer to this employment as one that comported with his prophetic office. On one occasion some people passed by with the fruit of the wild shurb *Arak*; and the prophet said "pick me out from thence the blackest of the berries, for they "are sweet;— even such as I wont to gather when I fed the "flocks at Ajyâd." The hire which he received for this duty, would help to support him while he lived with his needy uncle, and the occupation itself was one which must have proved congenial with his thoughtful and meditative character.* While he watched the flocks, his attention would be rivetted by the evidences of natural religion spread around; in the dead of the night the bright stars and constellations that glided silently along the deep blue sky, were charged to him with a special message; the loneliness of the desert would arm with a deeper conviction that speech which day everywhere utters unto day, while the still small voice which, to the attentive listener, is never unheard, would rise into grander and more impressive tones when the clouds darkened, and the rain and tempest swept with forked lightning and far rolling thunder along the vast solitudes of the Meccan mountains. Thus, we doubt not, grew up, or was strengthened, that deep and earnest faith in the Diety, as an ever-present, all-directing agent, which, in after days, the prophet was wont to enforce by eloquent and heart-stirring appeals to the sublime operations of nature, and the beneficent adaptations of Providence.

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* See *Wâckidi*, p. 23, *Tabari*, p. 63: *Sprenger*, p. 81: *Weil*. p. 33: *Mishcât ul Masabih*, (*English Translation*) Vol. II, p. 51 and 520. In the last named work, (p. 51) the hire received by Mahomet is specified. In one tradition given by Wackidi, Mahomet speaks thus وانا رعيتها لاهل مكة بالقراريط Some make the word Al Carârît here, to be the name of a place, but it is more probable that Mahomet by it meant that he fed the flocks for *Kirats* or small coins, (*Weil.*)

Sprenger says that as this was a very humilating occupation for a man, his engaging in it proves Mahomet's "unfitness for the common duties of life:" (p. 81). The duty, doubtless, was never regarded in Arabia as a very manly one, and as Burkhardt shows, is now committed by the Bedouins to their unmarried girls; yet in Mahomet's time, at least, it was evidently no insult or unprecedented humiliation for the boys of respectable citizens to be thus employed. We read of another Coreshite lad being engaged with Mahomet in tending the flocks. (*Tabari*, p. 63.) Omar used to be sent out by his father to feed his sheep and goats, and to bring in forage for his camels. (*Wâckidi*, p. 231) So Abu Bakr, even after his elevation to the Caliphate, is said to have been in the habit not only of milking the goats of the people of the quarter of Medina where he lived (al Sunh), but of taking them occasionally *out to pasture*. This may be an exaggeration, intended to magnify the simplicity of his life (as a lesson and example to future Caliphs); still, the very existence of the tradition proves that the task was regarded in as little dishonorable a light at Medina as at Mecca. Probably, it was less disliked by the people of the towns than by those of the desert.

The place Ajyâd is probably the rising ground to the south of Mecca, now called Jabel Jyâd, and the quarter *Haret Jyad*, built on its declivity; *Burkhardt*, p. 115; *Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 119) Mahomet used to compare himself to Moses and David, in having been a shepherd.

All our authorities agree in ascribing to Mahomet's youth a correctness of deportment and purity of manners, rare among the people of Mecca. His modesty, they say, was miraculously preserved :—" I was engaged one night," so runs the tradition of a speech of the prophet, " feeding the flocks in " company with a lad of the Coreish. And I said to him, if " you will look after my flock, I will go into Mecca, and divert " myself there, as youths are wont by night to divert them-" selves." * But no sooner had he reached the precincts of the city, then a marriage feast engaged his attention, and at last he fell asleep. On another night, as he was entering the town with the same intentions, he was arrested by heavenly strains of music, and sitting down, slept till the morning, and thus again escaped temptation. " And after this," added Mahomet, " I no more sought after vice ; even until I attained " unto the prophetic office." Making every allowance for the fond reverence which paved an easy way for the currency of such stories, it is quite in keeping with the character of Mahomet that he should have shrunk from the coarse and licentious practices of his youthful friends. Endowed with a refined mind and a delicate taste, reserved and meditative, he lived much within himself, and the ponderings of his heart supplied occupation for the leisure hours which were spent by men of a lower stamp in rude sports, or in riotous living. The fair character and honorable bearing of the unobtrusive youth, won, if not the approbation, at least, the respect of his fellow citizens, and he received the title, by common consent, of AL AMIN, " the Faithful."†

Thus respected and honored, Mahomet lived a quiet and retired life, in the bosom of the family of Abu Tâlib, who was prevented by his limited means from occupying a prominent position in the society of Mecca. At last Abu Tâlib, finding his family increase faster than the ability to provide for them, bethought him of setting his nephew, now of a mature age, to eke out a livelihood for himself. Mahomet was never covetous of wealth, or energetic in the pursuit of riches for their own sake. If left to himself, he would probably have preferred the quiet and repose of his present life, to the bustle and cares of a mercantile trip ; and it is likely that he would never

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* كما شمر الباب The story is told by Tabari, p. 63.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 38.

spontaneously have contemplated such an expedition. But when proposed by his uncle, his generous soul at once felt the necessity of doing all that was possible to ease the necessities of his uncle, and he cheerfully responded to the call. The story is thus told :—

Abu Tâlib addressed his nephew, now five-and-twenty years of age, in these words :—" I am, as thou knowest, a man of " small substance ; and truly, the times deal hardly with me. " Now here is a caravan of thine own tribe about to start for " Syria, and Khadîja, daughter of Khuweilid needeth men " of our tribe to send forth with her merchandize. If thou " wert to offer thyself, she would readily accept thy services." Mahomet replied :—" Be it so, as thou hast said." Then Abu Tâlib went to Khadîja, and enquired whether she wished to hire his nephew ; but he added : " We hear that thou hast " engaged such an one for two camels, and we should not be " satisfied that my nephew's hire were less than four." The matron answered, " Hadst thou askedst this thing for one of a " distant and unfriendly tribe, I would have granted it ; how " much rather now that thou askest it for a near relative and " friend." So the matter was agreed upon, and Mahomet prepared for the journey ; and when the caravan was about to set out, his uncle commended him to the men of the company. Meisara, a servant of Khadîja, likewise travelled with Mahomet, in charge of her property.

The caravan took the usual route to Syria, the same which Mahomet had traversed thirteen years before with his uncle ; and in due time they reached Bostra, a city on the road to Damascus, and about sixty miles to the east of the Jordan. The transactions of that busy mart, where the practised merchants of Syria sought to drive hard bargains with simple Arabs, were ill-suited to the tastes and the habits of Mahomet ; yet his natural sagacity and ready shrewdness carried him prosperously through the undertaking. He returned from the barter, with the balance of exchange unusually favourable.*

The philosophical mind of Mahomet, arrived at the mature but still inquisitive period of early manhood, received deep and abiding impressions from all that he saw and heard upon the journey and during his stay at Bostra. Though we reject, as a puerile fabrication, the details of the interview which he held with Nestorius, (a monk who is said to have embraced him as "the coming prophet,")[*] yet we may be certain that Mahomet lost no opportunity of enquiring into the practices and tenets of the Christianity of Syria, or of conversing with the monks and clergy who fell in his way.[†]

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* The usual profit was to double the value of the stock ; so that in the case of Mahomet, who is said by some to have made *twice* the *usual* gain, the principal would be quadrupled. But Hishâmi says only that " he doubled the stock, or nearly so." A tradition runs thus, that a contention arose between Mahomet and one who wished to take his wares, but who, doubting his word, desired him to swear by Lât and Ozza, the two Meccan goddesses, which Mahomet refused to do. But this again is mentioned as one of the signs by which the Monk knew that he was " the coming prophet," and seems of a piece with the other marvellous tales on the occasion. The same story of his refusing to swear by Lât and Ozza, is related of his *first* journey to Syria as a child.

He probably experienced kindness, perhaps hospitality, from them; for in his book he ever speaks of them with respect, and sometimes with praise;[‡] but for their doctrines he had no sympathy. The picture of the faith of Jesus drawn in the Coran, must have been, in some considerable degree, painted from the conceptions now formed. Had he witnessed a purer exhibition of its rites and doctrines, and possessed some experience of its reforming and regenerating influence, we cannot doubt, but that, in the sincerity of his early search after the truth, he would readily have embraced and faithfully adhered to the faith of Jesus. Lamentable, indeed, it is, that the ecclesiastics and monks of Syria exhibited to the earnest enquirer but a little portion of the fair form of Christianity, and that little, how altered and distorted! Instead of the simple majesty of the Gospel, with its great sacrifice, the requisition of repentance, and of faith, and the solemn rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—the sacred dogma of the Trinity was protruded upon our traveller with the misguided and offensive zeal of Eutychian and Jacobite partizanship, and the worship of Mary was so strenuously inculcated, and exhibited in so gross a form, as to leave the impression upon the mind of Mahomet that she was, in reality, the third person, and the consort of the Deity! It was by such teaching that Mahomet knew our Saviour as "Jesus, son of Mary" (the only term by which he is spoken of in the Coran,) and not as Jesus, the son of God. We may well weep that this misnamed Catholicism of the Empire, so misled the master-mind of the age, and through it, in due course, the half of Asia.

[†] The ancient biographies have less of the marvellous in this journey than in the former; yet there is a sufficiency. Nestor, the monk, saw Mahomet sitting under a tree, below which none ever sat but a prophet: he immediately recognized him as such, and was confirmed by the further prophetical symptom of redness in the eyes. Meisara saw two angels, who regularly shaded him during the heat of the day, and so forth.

[‡] Arabic was spoken by the subjects of the Ghassânide dynasty, and there would be little difficulty found by our traveller in effecting an interchange of ideas with those about him. Poets, merchants, and travellers from Medina used often at this period, to be the guests of the Ghassân Court.

[§] Thus *Sura*, v. 91:—*Thou shalt surely find those to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the believers who profess Christianity. This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride.*

But to return; when Mahomet had disposed of the merchandise of his mistress, and had, according to her command, purchased for her such things as she had need of, he retraced his steps, in company with the caravan, to his native valley.* The mildness of his manners, and his kind attention, had won the heart of Meisara, and as they drew near to Mecca, the grateful servant persuaded Mahomet to go forward from Marr al Tzahrân, and be himself the bearer to his mistress of the tidings of his success. Khadîja, surrounded by her maids, was sitting upon an upper story, on the watch for the first glimpse of the caravan, when a camel was seen rapidly to advance from the expected quarter towards her house, and as it approached, she perceived that Mahomet was the rider. He entered, and recounted the prosperous issue of the adventure, and the various goods which by her commission he had purchased for her. She was delighted at her good fortune; but there was a charm in the dark and pensive eye, in the noble features, and in the graceful form of her assiduous agent, as he stood before her, which pleased her even more than her success. The comely widow was forty years of age, she had been twice married, and had borne two sons and a daughter, yet she cast a fond eye upon that thoughful youth of five-and-twenty; nor, after he had departed, could she dismiss him from her thoughts.†

Khadîja was a Coreishite lady, distinguished by brith, as well as by fortune. Her father, Khuweilid, was the grandson of Asad, (whence the family is styled the Bani Asad;) and Asad was the grandson of Cussei. Khuweilid, in the sacrilegious war, commanded a considerable section of the Coreish, and so did his nephew Othmân, son of Huweirith. Her substance, whether inherited, or acquired through her former marriages, was very considerable; and through hired agents, she had increased it largely by mercantile speculation. To the blessings of affluence, she added the more important endowments of discretion, virtue, and an affectionate heart; and, though now mellowed by a more than middle age, she retained a fair and attractive countenance. The chief men of the Coreish were not insensible to these charms, and many sought her in marriage; but she rejected all their offers, and seemed bent to live on in dignified and independent widowhood. But the tender emotions excited by the visit of Mahomet, soon overpowered such resolutions: her servant Meisara continued to sound, in her not unwilling ears, the praises of his fellow-traveller; and at last her love became so strong and confirmed, that she resolved, in a discreet manner, to make known her passion to its object. A sister, (according to other accounts, a servant,) was the agent deputed to sound his views. "What is it, O Mahomet," said this female, with a cautious adroitness, "what is it which hindereth thee from marriage"? "I have nothing," replied he, "in my hands wherewithal I might marry." "But if haply that difficulty were out of the way, and thou "wert invited to espouse a beautiful, wealthy, and noble lady, "who would place thee in a position of affluence, wouldest thou "not desire to have her"? "And who," answered Mahomet, startled at the novel thought, "may that be"? "Khadîja." "But how can I attain unto her"? "Let that be my care," replied the female. The mind of Mahomet was at once made up, and he answered, "I am ready." The female departed and told Khadîja.

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* Though the *direct* route from Mecca to Bostra would run a great way to the east of the Mediterranean, yet it seems to us not improbable that either in this, or the former journey, Mahomet may have seen the Mediterranean Sea. His references in the Coran to ships gliding majestically on the waters *like mountains*, appear to point to a larger class of vessels than he was likely to see on the Red Sea. The vivid pictures of sea-storms are among some of the finest sketches in the Coran, and evidently drawn from nature: the waves and tempests may have been witnessed from the Arab shore, but the "mountain" ships, more likely refer to the Mediterranean.

† The above account of the journey to Syria is chiefly from Wâckidi. Tabari has a tradition, that Mahomet traded on account of Khadîja, in company with another man, to a place called Habasha, a market in the Tehâma, erroneously named by *Weil*, Hayasha (p. 34.) This, however, is not well supported. Had there been really any such journey, we should have heard a great deal more about it, considering the mature period of Mahomet's life, at which it is said to have occurred.

No sooner was she apprized of his willingness to marry her, than Khadîja despatched a messenger to Mahomet, or his uncle, appointing a time when they should meet. Meanwhile as she dreaded the refusal of her father, she provided for him a feast; and when he had well drunk and was merry, she slaughtered a cow, and casting over her father perfume of saffron or ambergris, dressed him in marriage raiment. While thus under the effects of wine, the old man united his daughter to Mahomet, in the presence of his uncle Hamza. But when he recovered his senses, he began to look around him with wonder, and to enquire what all these symptoms of a nuptial feast, the slaughtered cow, the perfumes, and the marriage garment could mean. So soon as he was made aware of what had happened,—for they told him "the nuptial dress was put upon thee by Mahomet, thy son-in-law," he fell into a violent passion, and declared that he had never consented to give away to that insignificant youth, a daughter who was courted by the great men of the Coreish. The party of Mahomet replied indignantly that the alliance had not originated in any wish of theirs, but was the act of no other than his own daughter. Weapons were drawn on both sides, and blood might have been shed, when the old man became pacified, and a reconciliation ensued.*

Notwithstanding this stormy and inauspicious commencement, the connubial state proved, both to Mahomet and Khadîja, one of unusual tranquillity and happiness. Upon the former it conferred a faithful and affectionate companion, and in spite of her age, a not unfruitful wife. Khadija fully appreciated the noble mind and commanding talents, which a reserved and contemplative habit veiled from others, but could not conceal from her. She conducted as before the duties of her establishment, and left him to enjoy his leisure hours undisturbed and free from care. Her house was thenceforward his home,† and her bosom the safe receptacle of those doubts and longings after spiritual light, which now began to agitate his mind.

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* It is not without much hesitation that we have followed Sprenger and Weil in adopting this version of the marriage. It has a strongly improbable air ; but its very improbability gives ground for believing that it has not been fabricated. It is also highly disparaging to the position of Mahomet, at a period of his life, when it is the object of his followers to show that he was respected and honored. Its credibility is therefore sustained by the *Canon III. c.*, which we have laid down in the paper on the "Original sources for the biography of Mahomet." There was no object in vilifying Khuweilid or the Bani Asad ; and even if it is possible to suppose the story to have been fabricated by Mahomet's enemies before the conquest of Mecca, it would (if resting on no better foundation,) have fallen out of currency afterwards. We can perceive, therefore, no option but to receive it as a fact, which later traditionists have endeavoured to discredit. under the impression that it was a foul spot on their prophet's character, that Khadîja, the pattern of wives, should have effected her marriage with Mahomet by making her father drunk. (*See Canon II. L.*) Wâckidi gives the story twice in a differing form and from *different* traditions (the variety of source thus giving it a wider and less doubtful foundation ;) but he adds that the whole story is a mistake, as Khuweilid, the father of Khadîja, had died previously, and even before the sacrilegious war, (p. 25.) Yet we have seen above that his name is given as one of the *commanders* in that war. Tabari quotes the tradition from Wâckidi, word for word. together with his refutation (p. 67.) Both add that not her *father*, but her *uncle*, Amr ibn Asad, betrothed her. Yet other traditions, containing no allusion to his drunkenness, speak of her *father* as having given her away (*Tabari*, p. 65 ;) and Hishâmi's account which is fused from a variety of traditions by Ibn Ishâc, while containing no reference to the drunken fray, states Khuweilid as the person who betrothed her. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the tradition of Khuweilid's previous death has been invented to throw discredit on the story of his drunkenness. Wine shops were common in Mecca before Islâm ; but drunkenness, though occasionally mentioned, does not seem to have been a general or common failing. Hishâmi adds to his statement that Mahomet gave his wife a marriage present of twenty young she-camels.

† The house is specified by Tabari as one currently known in his time by Khadîja's name. It was purchased by Moâvia, and though made use of as a mosque, was preserved unaltered. A little closet at its door used to be shown in those days, little more than a yard square, in which Mahomet used to crouch down under a large stone, to protect himself against the missiles of Abu Lahab, and Adi the Thackifite.

Within the next ten or fifteen years, Khadîja bore to Mahomet two sons and four daughters. The first-born was named Câsim, and after him (according to Arab custom,) Mahomet received the appellation of AB UL CASIM, or "the father of Câsim." This son died at the age of two years. Meanwhile, his eldest daughter, Zeinab, was born; and after her, at intervals of one or two years, three other daughters, Rockeya, Fâtima, and Omm Kolthûm. Last of all was born his second son, who is variously named as Abd Menâf, Abdallah, Tayib, and Tâhir; but he, too, died in infancy. Salma, the maid of Safia, Mahomet's aunt, officiated as midwife on these occasions; and Khadîja is said to have sacrificed at the birth of each boy two kids, and one at the birth of every girl. All her children she nursed herself.*

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* Wâckidi states that there was an interval of *only one year* between each child. (p. 25.) This, if taken with precision, would make the second son to be born when Mahomet was about thirty-one years of age, that is about nine or ten years before his assumption of the prophetic office. But the expression used by Wâckidi is somewhat vague, and tradition says that the second son, or last child, was born *after* the commencement of Islam, that is after Mahomet had declared himself inspired, or forty years of age. (*Wâckidi*, p. 179) Sprenger does not believe this, but holds that the youngest child must have been born at a much earlier period; *first* on account of the age (fifty-three or fifty-five years,) at which Khadîja must have arrived when Mahomet assumed the prophetic office, and, *secondly*, because he considers the name of *Abd Menâf* (the servant of the idol Menâf,) to have an idolatrous significance, which Mahomet would not have admitted at the time referred to. He therefore holds that the Moslems being ashamed of the name, subsequently called the deceased child Abdallah, Tayib, or Tahir, and to take away the very suspicion of its ever having been called by an idolatrous name, assert that it was born *after* the commencement of Islam. (*Sprenger*, p. 83.) We agree with Sprenger as to the original name of the boy, and the cause of the substitution of others for it more palatable to Mahometan ideas. But we are not certain as to the date of its birth. If an interval of about a year and a half elapsed between the birth of each child (the more likely as Khadîja herself nursed her children) the last would be born when Mahomet was thirty-four or thirty-five, and Khadîja forty-nine or fifty years of age.

All authorities agree that Câsim was the eldest of the family, and Zeinab the next, but the succession of the other children is variously reported. That in the text is the one commonly received, and is given by Wâckidi (p. 25.) But Wâckidi in another place (p. 179) makes Abdallah follow Zeinab, and then Rockeya, Fâtima and Omm Kolthûm. Tabari gives another, and Hishâmi a third order of sequence. The latter specifies two sons, besides Câsim, *viz.*, Tayib and Tâhir, both of whom, it is added, died before Islam (p. 40.) Tabari also speaks of them as *two* (p. 65.) But this, as Sprenger has shown (p. 83,) is evidently a mistake. The first tradition in Wâckidi is capable of both constructions; لا فى ألاسلام عبد ا لمكه قسمي الطيب و الطاهر *i. e.*, "afterwards was born, in Islam, Abdallah, called Tayib, and *Tâhir*." The tradition in this shape, evidently gave rise to the error of supposing that Tâhir, one of the surnames of Abdallah, was a separate son. At page 179, Wâckidi states the true case in unmistakeable language

Many years after, Mahomet used to look back to this period of his life with fond remembrance; and he dwelt so much upon the mutual love of Khadîja and himself, that the envious Ayesha declared herself to be more jealous of this rival, whom she had never seen, than of all his other wives who contested with her the present affection of the prophet.*

No description of Mahomet at this period has been attempted by the traditionists. But from the copious accounts of his person in later life, we may venture an outline of his appearance in the prime of manhood. He was slightly above the middle size; his figure, though spare, was handsome and commanding; the chest broad and open; the bones and framework of his body large; and the joints well knit together.† His neck was long and finely moulded.‡ The head was unusually large, and gave space for a broad and noble forehead: the hair thick, jet black, and slightly curling, fell down over his ears. The eyebrows were arched and joined.|| The countenance thin, but ruddy; and the large, intensely black, and piercing eyes, received lustre from their long dark eye-lashes. His nose was high and slightly aquiline, but fine, and at the end attenuated; the teeth were far apart; a long black bushy beard, reaching to his breast, added manliness and presence. The expression was pensive and contemplative; the face beamed with intelligence, though something of the sensuous could be discerned in it. The skin of his body was clear and soft; the only hair that met the eye, was a fine thin line which ran down from the neck toward the navel. His broad back leaned slightly forward as he walked; and his step was hasty, yet sharp and decided, like that of one rapidly descending a declivity.§

وعبدالله و هو الطيب و هو الطاهر سمي بذلک لانه و لا ى الاسلام

i. e., "and Abdallah, *the same is Tayib, the same is Tâhir*, so called because he was born after the rise of Islam:—the two words signifying "sweet" and "pure."

M. C. de Perceval and Dr. Weil have both been misled here; the former (Vol. I., p. 329,) making two sons. Tayib and Tâhir; the latter no less than six, mistaking *Tayib*, *Tâhir*, *Abd Menâf*, *Abdallah*, *Mutayib*, and *Mutahhir*,—(all appellations of the younger son,) as the names of as many different children! (p. 39.)

* *Mishcât*, Vol. II., p. 790.

† The hollows of his hands and feet were more than usually filled and level; which is a feature the Orientals set much by.

‡ "His neck rose like that of an antelope." (*Wâckidi*, p. 81½.)

|| But some say they were apart and not knit together." (*Wâckidi*, p. 81½.)

§ *Wâckidi*, p. 79, &c. This at Medina degenerated into a stoop. Some say he walked like a man *ascending* a hill; others as if he was wrenching his foot from a stone.

There was something unsettled in his blood-shot eye, which refused to rest upon its object. When he turned towards you, it was never partially, but with the whole body. Taciturn and reserved,* he was yet in company distinguished by a graceful urbanity, and when it pleased him to unbend, his speech was not only pregnant, but humorous and sometimes pungent. At such seasons he entered with zest into the diversion of the moment, and would now and then laugh immoderately ; † but he rather listened to the conversation than joined in it.

He was subject to impulse and passion, but on occasions of necessity, he could, by a strong effort of the will, hold himself under a thorough control. When much excited, the vein between his eyebrows would mantle, and violently swell across his ample forehead. Yet he was cautious, and in action fearful of personal danger.

Mahomet was to his friends generous and considerate, and by his well-timed favor and attention, he knew how to rivet the heart to his service. He regarded his enemies with a vindictive and unrelenting hatred, while they continued their opposition ; yet a foe who tendered timely submission, he was rarely known to pursue. His commanding mien inspired the stranger with an undefined awe ; but, on closer intimacy, apprehension and fear gave place to confidence and love. ‡

Behind the quiet and unobtrusive exterior of Mahomet, there lay hid a high resolve, a singleness and unity of purpose, a strength and fixedness of will, a sublime determination which was destined to achieve a marvellous work. Khadîja was the first to perceive this, and with a childlike confidence she surrendered to him her will and her faith. One after another gave in their allegiance to the master spirit, till in the end he bowed towards himself the heart of all Arabia, as the heart of one man ; but we anticipate.

The first incident which interrupted the even tenor of the married life of Mahomet was connected with the rebuilding of the Kaaba, about the year 605, A. D. One of those violent floods which sometimes sweep down the valley of Minâ, having shattered the holy house, it was filled with ominous rents, and they feared lest it should fall.* The treasures it contained were also insecure, from the absense of any roof, and a party of thieves having clambered over had robbed some of the precious relics. These were recovered, but it was resolved that a similar danger should for the future, be avoided by raising the walls, and covering them over. While the Coreish deliberated how this should be done, a Grecian ship was driven by stress of weather upon the shore of the Read Sea, near to Shûeiba (the ancient harbour of Mecca :) and the news of the misfortune reaching the Coreish, Walîd, the son of Moghîra (of the Bani Makhzûm) accompanied by a body of the Coreish, proceeded to the wreck, and having purchased the timber of the broken ship, engaged her captain, a Greek, by name of Bacûm, skilled in architecture, to assist in the reconstruction of the Kaaba. The several tribes of the Coreish were divided into four bodies, and to each was assigned the charge of one side.† With such a mysterious reverence was the Kaaba regarded, that great apprehensions were entertained as to the commencement of the work: at last Walîd seized a pick-axe, and invoking the Deity in a deprecatory prayer, detached and threw down a portion of the wall. All then retired and waited till the following morning, when finding that no mischief had befallen the adventurous chief, they joined in the demolition. They continued to dig till they reached a hard foundation of green stones set close together like teeth, which resisted the stroke of the pick-axe; ‡

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* " Mahomet was sorrowful in temperament ; continually meditating ; he had no rest ; he never spoke except from necessity ; he used to be long silent ; he opened and ended his speech from the corners of his mouth ; he expressed himself in pregnant sentences, using neither too few, nor too many words." (*Wâckidi*, p. 81½.)

† When laughing immoderately, he showed his teeth and gums, and was sometimes so convulsed, that he had to hold his sides. (*Wâckidi.*)

‡ The personal description and traits of character are chiefly gathered from *Wâckidi*, p. 79, *et seq.* ; and *Hishâmi*, p. 129. Tirmidzi also gives a full account of Mahomet's person.

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* Such torrents have frequently committed similar ravages. Thus, in 1627, A. D., the flood destroyed three sides of the sacred building (*Burkhardt*, p. 136.) Omar is said to have built a mole across the valley above Mecca, to protect the Kaaba from these floods. The remains of the dyke, Burkhardt says, were visible till the fourteenth century, (*Idem*, p. 126.)

† This independent portioning shows how divided and isolated the several branches of the Coreish were at this time. *One* side was assigned to the Bani Abd Menâf (including descendants of Hâshim, Abd Shams, Naufal and Abd al Muttalib,) and the Bani Zohara; a *second* to the Bani Asad and Abd al Dâr; a *third* to the Bani Taym and Makhzûm; and the fourth to the Bani Sham, Jumh Adi, and Amr ibn Lowey. There was, in fact, no acknowledged head, as the coming incident proves.

‡ This green bed is called the "foundation of Abraham," and the tradition adds, that when one struck his pick-axe into the stones, the whole of Mecca shook (*Hishâmi*, p. 42; *Tabari*, p. 76.)

It is also stated that an inscription was discovered in one of the corner foundations written in Syriac, which no one could decypher, until a Jew made it out as follows: *I am God, the Lord of Becca* (an ancient name of Mecca;) *I created it on the day on which I created the heavens and the earth, and formed the sun and the moon; and I have surrounded it with seven angles of the true faith; it shall not pass away until the two hills thereof pass away. Blessed be the inhabitants thereof, in water and in milk.* (*Hishâmi*, p. 42.) He adds, "There is a tradition that about and from thence they began to build upwards. Stones were selected or hewn from the neighbouring hills, and carried by the citizens upon their heads to the sacred enclosure.

Mahomet, with the other Coreish, assisted in the work ; * and it proceeded harmoniously until the structure rose three or four feet above the surface. At that stage it became necessary to build the Black Stone into the eastern corner, with its surface so exposed as to be readily kissed by the pilgrims upon foot. This mysterious stone, we learn from modern travellers, is semi-circular, and measures about six inches in height, and eight in breadth ; it is of a reddish-black colour, and bears marks in its undulating surface, notwithstanding the polish imparted by a myriad kisses, of a volcanic origin. †

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forty years before the mission of Mahomet, a stone was found in the Kaaba, inscribed with these words :—*He that soweth good, shall reap that which is to be envied ; and he that soweth evil, shall reap repentance. Ye do evil, and* (*expect to*) *obtain good : Ah ! that would be to gather grapes of thorns.*" (*Ibid.*)

The first of these traditions is very remarkable. It quite accords with our theory, developed in a previous Article, that the Ishmaelites, acquainted with Syriac, should have been concerned at some remote period in the building of the Kaaba, and then left an inscription of the tenor referred to. At all events, the very existence of the tradition, whether true or not, shows the popular opinion on the subject, and the popular opinion was founded on *probable* legend.

* A miraculous tale is here added. The people loosened their under-garments and cast them over their heads as a protection in carrying the stones. Mahomet did so too, when a voice from heaven was heard warning him not to expose his person : immediately he covered himself, and after that the nakedness of the prophet was never again seen by any human being. (*Wâckidi,* p. 27.) One may conclude of what authority such stories are, when it is added that Hishâmi tells the same tale, in almost identical words, of Mahomet as a *child* playing with other boys. (p. 38.)

† Ali Bey has given a plate with a front view and section of the stone. It possesses so peculiar an interest, that both his description and that of Burkhardt are here inserted :—

"The Black Stone, Hhajera el Assouâd, or heavenly Stone, is raised forty-two inches above the surface" (*i. e.,* the level of the ground,) and is bordered all round with a large plate of silver, about a foot broad. The part of the stone that is not covered by the silver at the angle, is almost a semi-circle, six inches in height, by eight inches six lines in diameter at its base.

"We believe that this miraculous stone was a transparent hyacinth, brought from heaven to Abraham by the angel Gabriel, as a pledge of his divinity ; and being touched by an impure woman, became black and opaque.

"This stone is a fragment of volcanic basalt, which is sprinkled throughout its circumference with small pointed coloured crystals, and varied with red felspath, upon a dark black ground like coal, except one of its protuberances, which is a little reddish. The continual kisses and touchings of the faithful have worn the surface uneven, so that it now has a muscular appearance. It has nearly fifteen muscles, and one deep hollow.

"Upon comparing the borders of the stone that are covered and secured by the silver, with the uncovered part, I found the latter had lost nearly twelve lines

The virtue of the whole building depended upon this little stone, and each family of the Coreish began to advance pretensions to the exclusive honor of placing it in its future receptacle. The contention became hot, and it was feared that fighting and bloodshed would ensue. The building was for four or five days suspended, when the Coreish again assembled at the Kaaba amicably to decide the difficulty. Then Abu Omeya,* being the oldest citizen, arose and said : " O Coreish, " hearken unto me : my advice is that the man who shall first " chance to enter in at this gate of the Bani Sheyba, be chosen " to decide amongst you, or himself to place the stone."† The

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of its thickness; from whence we may infer, that if the stone was smooth and even in the time of the prophet, (?) it has lost a line during each succeeding age." (*i. e.*, century.) (*Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 70.)

" At the north-east corner of the Kaaba, near the door, is the famous 'Black Stone ;' it forms a part of the sharp angle of the building, at four or five feet above the ground. It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulated surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly smoothed : it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again. It is very difficult to determine accurately the quality of this stone, which has been worn to its present surface by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. It appears to me like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles, of a whitish and a yellowish substance. Its color is now a deep reddish brown, approaching to black ; it is surrounded on all sides by a border, composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel, of a similar but not quite the same brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces ; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.

" In the south-east corner of the Kaaba, or as the Arabs call it Roken el Yamâny, there is another stone, about five feet from the ground ; it is one foot and a half in length, and two inches in breadth, placed upright, and of the common Mecca stone. This the people walking round the Kaaba touch only with the right hand ; they do not kiss it." (*Burkhardt*, pp. 137, 138).

The last mentioned stone, or the *Rukn Yamani*, so called from its south-east position towards Yemen, is frequently mentioned in the annals of Mahomet, but was never regarded with the same reverence as the Black Stone.

The Black Stone was carried off by the sacrilegious Carmats, and retained by them at Hajar, in the east of Arabia, from A. H. 317 to 339, and then restored, (*Weil's Caliphs*, Vol. II., p. 612 : *Burkhardt*, p. 167.) It was struck with a club by an emissary of the Egyptian fanatic Hakim, A. H. 413 ; after which the chips and dust were carefully restored, and the fractures cemented. (*Burkhardt*, *Ibid.*)

On the worship of stones, in addition to the authorities quoted in a former article, see *Gibbon*, chap. L., note c.

* *Hishâmi*, p. 43 ; *Tabari*, p. 76. He was of the Bani Makhzûm : and brother of Walîd, who was the father of the famous Khâlid.

† Wâckidi says " to place the stone ;" Hishâmi and Tabari " to decide the dispute between them." The gate is called " that of the Bani Sheyba " in Wâckidi.

proposal was confirmed by acclamation, and they awaited the issue. Mahomet, who happened to be absent on the occasion, was almost immediately observed approaching, and he was the first to enter the gate. They exclaimed, "Here comes the Faithful arbiter *(al Amîn ;)* we are content to abide by whatever he may decide!" Calm and possessed, Mahomet received the commission, and with his usual sagacity at once resolved upon an expedient which should give offence to none. Taking off his mantle, and spreading it upon the ground, he placed the stone thereon, and said, "now let one from each of your four divisions come forward, and raise a corner of the mantle." And they did so, simultaneously lifting the stone, which Mahomet, then, with his own hand, guided to its proper place. * The judgment raised the character of Mahomet for wisdom and discretion; while the singular and apparently providential call sank deep into his own heart. Religious awe not unfrequently with him degenerated into superstition; and there was here a mysterious singling out of himself to be a judge among his fellows in a sacred act, which might well have wrought upon a less imaginative and enthusiastic spirit than that of Mahomet.

When the stone had been thus deposited in its proper place, the Coreish built on without interruption; and when the wall had risen to a considerable height, they roofed it in, with fifteen rafters resting upon six pillars. The Kaaba thus rebuilt was surrounded by a small enclosure, probably of not more than fifty yards in diameter. To the west stood the Hall of Coun-

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(p. 27.) Probably, because it was built by Abd al Muttalib. Burkhardt (p. 152.) quotes Azraki and Colobi to the effect that the Bâb al Salam is the modern name of the Bâb bani Sheyba. There are, however, two places called by that name, one a grand entrance in the piazza; the other an isolated archway, about seventy feet on the north-east side of the Kaaba, and a little beyond the Macâm Ibrahim. The latter is most likely the gate intended, as the piazza is entirely modern; and it is not improbable that the ancient limits of the sacred yard extended, with some sort of wall or enclosure, about seventy feet round the Kaaba, so that this would be one of the original gates or entrances.

* Wâckidi adds a foolish legend, that a man from Najd offered Mahomet a stone to fix the corner stone withal; but that Abbâs interfered, and himself presented Mahomet with a stone for that purpose. The man of Najd was incensed, and Mahomet explained to him that only a Coreishite could have any concern whatever in the building of the house. The Najdite then became furious, and abused the Coreishites for choosing so young and insignificant a fellow as Mahomet for the office, and then it turns out that this stranger from Najd was none other than *Iblîs*, the devil himself!

We again find this legend of the devil, in the shape of an old man from Najd, appearing at the council of the Coreish, assembled many years afterward, to condemn Mahomet to death.

cil, with its door towards the Kaaba.* On the opposite side was the gateway of the Bani Sheiba. At a respectful distance around were built the houses of the Coreish. The great idol Hobal was placed in the centre of the holy house; and outside were arranged various other images.† The door for entering the Kaaba was then, as it is now, several feet above the ground, which was attributed by Mahomet to the pride of the Coreish, and a desire to retain in their own hands the power of admission. The building, though now substantial and secure, occupied somewhat less space than its dilapidated and roofless predecessor. The excluded area, called the *Hejer* or Hatîm, lay to the north-west, and is still without the sacred walls.‡

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* *Sprenger*, p. 24, n. 4. Burkhardt also shows that it stood near the present station of the Hanefites, which lies on the west side. This, and the gate of the Bani Sheiba, were probably the limits of the holy yard, and hence we may assume the enclosure, in the days of Mahomet, to have been of the dimensions given in the text.

† We have no authentic information as to the number of these idols. The popular tradition, (*Burkhardt*, p. 164.) that there were 360, or one for every day in the year, is unfounded. Lât and Ozza were no doubt pre-eminent. When Mahomet came as a conqueror to Mecca, all the idols were destroyed, or as legend has it, each fell prostrate as he pointed at it. That the image or picture of Jesus and Mary had a place among the other idols, we believe, to be apocryphal.

‡ The sill of the door is now six or seven feet above the level of the ground, (*Burkhardt*, p. 137; *Ali Bey*, Vol., II p. 75;) and a moveable wooden staircase is used for ascending. The pavement surrounding the Kaaba is eight inches lower than the rest of the square ;(*Burkhardt*. p. 142;) and Ali Bey affirms that the square itself is several feet lower than the surrounding streets, as you have to descend by steps into it. Hence, he concludes, that the floor of the Kaaba (*i. e.*, the sill of its door,) is the *original* level, the earth having been subsequently hollowed out. But this is not consistent with the fact that the door of the Kaaba was, even in Mahomet's time, when there could have been little need for excavation, about as high, probably, as it now is. The following tradition is related from Ayesha, in Wâckidi. "The Prophet said, verily, the people have drawn back the foundations of the Kaaba from their original limit; and if it were not that the inhabitants are fresh from idolatry, I would have restored to the building that which was excluded from the area thereof. But in case the people may again, after my time, have to renew the structure, come and I will show thee what was left out. So he showed a space in the *Hijr* of about seven yards." Then he proceeded :—"And I would have made in it two doors level with the ground, one towards the east, the other towards the west. Dost thou know why this people *raised* the door? It was out of haughtiness, that no one might enter thereat, but whom they chose; and any man they desired not to enter,, they suffered him to come up to the door, and then thrust him back, so that he fell." It is added, on other authority, that the Coreish used to open the Kaaba on Mondays and Thursdays, and take off their shoes out of reverence for the holy place, when they entered; and that those who were thrust back from the door were sometimes killed by the fall. (*Wâckidi*, p. 27½.) When the Kaaba was reconstructed by Ibn Zobeir, A. H. 64, two doors are said to have been opened even with the ground. (*Burkhardt*, pp. 137, 165. But if so, the ancient form and proportions must subsequently have been reverted to. Ali Bey thought that he perceived marks of a second door opposite, and similar to the present one.

The circumstances in which the decision of Mahomet originated, are strikingly illustrative of the entire absence of any paramount authority in Mecca, and of the number of persons among whom the power of Government was at this time divided. Each main branch of the Coreishite stock was independent of every other; and the offices of state and religion created by Cossai, were unheeded, sub-division among hostile families having neutralized their potency. It was a period in which the commanding abilities of a Cossai might have again dispensed with the prestige of place and birth, and asserted dominion by strength of will and inflexibility of purpose. But no such one appeared, and the divided aristocracy of Mecca advanced with a weak and distracted step.

A curious story is related of an attempt about this period to gain the rule at Mecca. The aspirant was Othmân, son of Huweirith, a first cousin of Khadîja's father. He was dissatisfied, as the legend goes, with the idolatrous system of Mecca, and travelled to the Court of the Grecian Emperor, where he was honorably entertained, and admitted to Christian baptism. He returned to Mecca, and on the strength of an imperial grant, real or pretended, laid claim to the government of the city. But his claim was rejected, and he fled to Syria, where he found a refuge with the Ghassânide princes. Othmân revenged his expulsion by using his influence at the Court of Ghassân, for the imprisonment of the Coreishite merchants, who chanced to be on the spot. But emissaries

The present *Hijr* or *Macâm Ismail*, lies to the north-west of the Kaaba, about the distance pointed out by Mahomet as the limit of the old building. It is now marked by a semi-circular parapet five feet high, facing the Kaaba: the intervening space being termed Al Hatîm,(*Burkhardt*, p. 139.) When Ibn Zobeir rebuilt the Kaaba on an enlarged scale, this is believed to have been enclosed in it, but it was again excluded by Hijâj ibn Yusuf. (*Burkhardt*, p. 139.) The space is, however, still regarded as equally holy with the Kaaba itself.

Both Othmân and Ibn Zobeir enlarged the square by pruchasing and removing the adjoining houses of the Coreish, and they enclosed it by a wall. Various similar changes and inprovements were made by successive Caliphs, till in the third century of the Hegira, the quadrangle with its imposing Colonnade, assumed its present dimensions. (*Burkhardt*, p. 162,*et seq.*)

The Kaaba, as it now stands, is an irregular cube, the sides of which vary from thirty to forty feet in length; the quadrangle corresponding loosely with the direction of its walls. Some say that the name of *Kaaba* was given after its reconstruction by Ibn Zobeir; but it is so constantly referred to by that name in the most ancient traditions, that we cannot believe it to be a modern appellation. It is more probably *the* ancient idolatrous name, while Beit-ullah, or *the house of God*, is the most modern title, and harmonizes with Jewish, or Abrahamic expressions.

from Mecca countermined his authority with the prince by presents, and at last procured his death.[*]

Notwithstanding the absence of a strong government, Mecca continued to flourish under the generally harmonious combination of the several independent phylarchies. Commerce was prosecuted towards Syria and Irâc, with greater vigor than ever; and about the year 606, A. D., we read of a mercantile expedition under Abu Sofiân; which, for the first time, penetrated to the capital of Persia, and reached even the presence of the Chosroos.[†]

We proceed to notice some incidents in the domestic life of Mahomet:—

The sister of Khadîja was married to Rabî, a descendant of Abd Shams,[‡] and had borne him a son called Abul As. The son had by this time grown up, and was respected in Mecca for his uprightness and success in merchandise. Khadîja loved her nephew, and looked upon him as her own son; and she prevailed upon Mahomet to celebrate his marriage with their eldest daughter, Zeinab, who had but just reached the age of puberty. The union was one, as is proved by the subsequent history, of real affection, though in the troubled rise of Islam, it was chequered by a temporary severance, and by several romantic passages.[§] Somewhat later, the two younger daughters, Ruckeya and Omm Kolthûm, were given in marriage to Otba and Oteiba, both sons of Abu Lahab, the uncle of Mahomet.[||] Fâtima, the youngest, was yet a child.

Shortly after the rebuilding of the Kaaba, Mahomet comforted himself for the loss of his son Casim,[¶] by adopting Ali, the little son of his guardian and friend, Abu Tâlib. The circumstance is thus described;

It chanced that a season of severe scarcity fell upon the Coreish; and Abu Tâlib, still poor, was put to great shifts for the support of his numerous family. This was not unperceived by Mahomet, who, prompted by his usual kindness and consideration, repaired to his rich uncle Abbâs, and said :—"Oh "Abbâs ! thy brother Abu Tâlib has a large family, and thou "seest what straits all men are brought to. Let us go to him, "and lighten him somewhat of the burden of his family. I "will take one son. Do thou take another. And we shall "support them." So Abbâs consenting, they proposed the thing to Abu Tâlib; and he replied,—"Leave me Ackîl and Tâlib ;[*] and do ye with the others as it pleaseth you." Thus Mahomet took Ali, and Abbâs took Jâfar. And Ali, who was at this time probably not above five or six years of age, remained ever after with Mahomet, and they treated each other with the attachment of parent and child.[†]

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[*] He died by poison. The story is not strongly attested, considering the lateness of the incidents related. (See *Sprenger*, p. 34; *M. C. de Perceval*, p. 335; *Hishâmi*, p. 56.)

[†] *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I, p. 242.

[‡] He was not, however, of the Omeyad line, but descended through Abd al Ozza. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. III, p. 76.

[§] *Hishâmi*, p. 234.

[||] *Hishâmi, as above*; *Sprenger*, p. 83; *Weil*, p. 39.

[¶] Possibly for that of his second son, Abd Menâf or Abdallah also; for we have seen above that the dates of his birth and death are uncertain, and may have happened earlier than we are disposed to place them.

The heart of Mahomet was inclined to ardent and lasting friendships. About the same period he received into his close intimacy another person unconnected by family ties, but of less unequal age. This was Zeid, the son of Hâritha ; and as he is frequently alluded to in the after history, and must, by his constant society, have influenced to some extent the course of Mahomet, it is important to trace his previous life. The father of Zeid was of the Bani Odzra, a branch of the Bani Kalb, occupying the region to the south of Syria. His mother belonged to the Bani Mân, a division of the Great Tai family. While journeying on a visit to her home, whither she was carrying the youthful Zeid, her company was waylaid by a band of Arab marauders, and her son made captive, and sold into slavery. Zeid afterwards fell into the hands of Hakîm, the grandson of Khuweilid, who presented him to his aunt Khadîja, shortly after her marriage with Mahomet. He was then above twenty years of age ; he is described as small of stature, in complexion dark, his nose short and depressed ; but an active and useful attendant.[‡] Mahomet soon conceived a strong affection for him ; and Khadîja gratified her husband by presenting him with her slave as a gift.

A party of the Bani Kalb, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, recognized the youth, and communicated the tidings of his welfare to his disconsolate father,* who immediately set out to fetch him home. Arrived at Mecca, Hâritha offered a large sum for the ransom of his son; but Mahomet summoning Zeid, left it in his option to go or to stay. He chose to stay:—"I will not leave thee," he said, "thou art in the place to me of both father and mother." Charmed by his faithfulness, Mahomet took him straightway to the Black Stone of the Kaaba, and said;—"Bear testimony all ye that are present! Zeid is my son: I shall be his heir, and he shall be mine." His father, contented with the declaration, returned rejoicing home; and the freed-man was thenceforward called "Zeid ibn Mohammad," or *Zeid, the son of Mahomet.* At Mahomet's desire, he married his old attendant, Omm Ayman. Though nearly double his age, she bore him a son called Usâma, the leader in the expedition to Syria, at the time of Mahomet's death. †

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[*] Some traditions say only Ackîl. The subsequent history of Tâlib is not clear or satisfactory. It is said, that he was obliged against his will to fight on the side of the idolatrous Meccans at Badr, and that he was never heard of after.

[†] Ali was born about the beginning of the seventh century. M. C. de Perceval fixes the year as 602, A. D., which would make him fifty-nine or sixty when he died, in 661 ; but tradition says he died aged 63. That, however, is the pattern age, which having been Mahomet's tradition is inclined to give, where possible, to its heroes. Supposing that to have been his real age, and making allowance for the lunar year, his birth would date in 600 or 601, A. D.

[‡] *Wâckidi*, p. 186½ ; *Sprenger*, p. 160.

Christianity prevailed in the tribes from which, both on the father's and the mother's side, Zeid sprang; ‡ and though ravished from his home at probably too early an age for any extensive or thorough knowledge of its doctrines, yet he would, no doubt, carry with him some impression of the teaching, and some fragments of the facts and legends of Christianity. These would form subjects of conversation between the youth and his adoptive father and friend, whose mind was now feeling in all directions after religious truth. Among the relatives, too, of Khadîja, there were persons who possessed a knowledge of Christianity, and perhaps something of its practice. We have already instanced her cousin Othmân, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the rule at Mecca, retired a Christian to the Court at Constantinople. Waraca, another cousin, is said also to have been a convert to Christianity, to have been well acquainted with the religious tenets and sacred Scriptures, both of Jews and Christians, and even to have copied or translated some portions of the Gospels in Hebrew or Arabic.* We shall see hereafter that this person had an acknowledged share in satisfying the mind of Mahomet that his mission was divine.

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* See the affecting verses his father is said to have recited when wandering in search of him. (*Wâckidi*, p. 186; *Weil*, p. 325).

† There is difficultly and discrepancy about the age of Zeid. Some say he was a mere child when received by Mahomet; but this is incompatible with his having shortly after married Omm Ayman. Sprenger, we think on insufficient grounds, attributes this to a fear on the part of the traditionists, that Mahomet might have been suspected of gaining Christian knowledge from Zeid, and therefore represented him as too young for that purpose (p. 161.) Others say he was ten years younger than Mahomet. (*Wâckidi*, p. 186½.) Another tradition represents him as fifty-five, when killed at the battle of Mûta, A. H. 8, or 629 A. D. This would make him six years younger than Mahomet, or somewhat above twenty, when he came into his possession. The difference of age between him and Mahomet's nurse was great, as tradition says that the prophet promised him *paradise* for marrying her! (*Wâckidi*, p. 187.)

The likelihood is that he was of a tender age when carried off by the Arabs, for his mother would not probably have taken one above the years of a child with her on a visit to her family:—a period intervened in which the slave changed owners, and in which his father, after long wandering after him, gave up the search; so that he may well have fallen into Khadîja's hands about twenty years old.

Some accounts say that Hakîm brought him with a company of slaves from Syria, and that having offered the choice amongst them to his aunt, she selected Zeid. Others, that he bought him at the fair of Ocâtz, expressly for his aunt. But the discrepancy is immaterial.

‡ In a former article (*Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia,*) we have shown that both among the Bani Kelb and Bani Tai, Cristianity had made progress.

It was a fond fancy of the traditionists (the origin of which we have traced elsewhere, †) that shortly before the appearance of Mahomet, some enquirers were not only seeking after the true faith,—or as they style it, *the religion of Abraham*,—but, warned by the prophecies of the Jews and Christians, were on the tiptoe of expectation for a coming prophet. Of such enquirers among the Coreish, it is the fashion of Mahometan biographers * to specify *four*. Two of these, *Othmân* and *Waraca*, we have already mentioned. The third was *Obeidallah* (by his mother, a grandson of Abd al Muttalib,) who embraced Islam, but afterwards, in Abyssinia, went over to Christianity. * The fourth was *Zeid*, the grandson of Nofail, and cousin of Omar. † Of him tradition says that he condemned the idolatrous sacrifices of the Kaaba, reprobated the burying alive of infant daughters, and " followed the religion of Abraham." But not content with such assertions, the traditionists add, that Zeid possessed distinct knowledge of the coming prophet, and left his salutation to be delivered when he should arise; nay, he described his very appearance, stated that he would be of the family of Abd al Muttalib, and even foretold that he would emigrate to Medîna! He died while the Kaaba was rebuilding, and was buried at the foot of Mount Hirâ.‡

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* Hishâmi says of him : فاستحكم فى النصرانيه و اتبع الكتب من اهلها حتى علم علما من اهل الكتاب (p. 56.) So Tabari, who, however, adds the Mahometan conceit, that he was on the look out for a prophet about to rise among the race of Ishmael :—وقد كان تنصر و اتبع الكتب حتى ادرك فكان في ما طلب من ذلك انه كاين لهذه الامة نبي من بني اسماعيل (p. 11.) "He had embraced Christianity, and studied their books until he had reached (a knowledge of the faith ;) and he was one of those who deduced from thence that there was a prophet about to arise for this nation from the children of Ishmael." So also as to his knowledge of the Old Testament. (*Ibid*, p. 91.) و قرا الكتب و سمع من اهل التوريت و الانجيل There is no good authority for believing him to have previously adopted the Jewish religion. Other traditions make him to have copied from the Gospels in Hebrew, or (according to various readings) in Arabic : — فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبراني ماشاء ان يكتب Sprenger satisfactorily shows that the expression here used signifies simply *transcription*, not translation, (p. 40, note i).

The traditional tendency would be to magnify Waraca's knowledge of the Scriptures, in order to give more weight to his testimony in favor of Mahomet, and to bear out the fiction that he was *expecting* a prophet. Waraca seems to have died before Mahomet *publicly* assumed the prophetic office, and hence we should not trust too much to the accounts of him. (*Conf. Canon. B.*; See *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 322.)

† See *Canons II. g.* and X., pp. 52, 53, of article on the *Original Sources of Mahomet's Biography.*

Though we reject, as puerile and unfounded legends, these anticipations of the prophet, and though the patent tendency to invent them makes it difficult to sever the real from the fictitious in the matter of the four enquirers, yet we cannot hesitate to admit that, not only in their case, but probably in that of many others also, a spirit of enquiry into true religion, the rejection of idolatry, and a perception of the superiority of Judaism and Christianity, did exist. With such enquirers, Mahomet deeply sympathized, and held, no doubt, frequent converse on the dark and gross idolatry of Mecca, and the need of a more spiritual faith.

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* He emigrated to Abyssinia with those who fled from the persecution at Mecca After embracing Christianity, he met a party of the Mussalmans, and said to them, " now we see, but ye are feeling after sight, and see not." (*Hishâmi*, p. 56.) He died in Abyssinia, and Mahomet sent for his widow, Omm Habîba, daughter of Abu Sofiân and married her at Medina.

† Owing to a debasing Arab custom, which allowed the son to marry, (if it did not give him the right to *inherit*.) his father's widows, Zeid was at the same time the cousin and the uncle of Omar. Nofail's widow. Jaida, who had already borne to him Khattâb (Omar's father,) was married by his son Amr and bore to him Zeid, who was thus the uterine brother of Khattâb, and likewise his nephew.

‡ Wâckidi, Tabari and Hishâmi have all copious accounts of Zeid. Hishâmi is the least marvellous, though even he says that after travelling through Mesopotamia and Syria, enquiring of the Rabbis and clergy for " the Faith of Abraham," he came to a monk in Balcâ, who told him the usual story that a prophet would shortly arise in Arabia, so he hastened back, but was killed on the way. He also states that Zeid was persecuted by his uncle Khattâb, who stationed him at Hirâ, and would not allow him to enter Mecca, lest any should follow his heresy. (pp. 56—59.) Wâckidi has several traditions attributing many purely Mahometan speeches and practices to him: (pp. 255, 255½) see some of these quoted by Sprenger. (pp. 41—43) He has also the absurd story of his leaving his salutation for the coming prophet, which, when delivered by Amr to Mahomet, was returned by the latter, who said he had seen Zeid in Paradise, joyfully drawing along his skirts :" (*i. e.*, walking with joyous step.) He used the Kaaba as his Kebla. His place of burial is given by the same authority.

Tabari's traditions so improve upon the narrations, that we cannot resist translating the following, to show their utter worthlessness. " Amir ibn Rabia said, I heard Zeid speak as follows:—*Verily, I look for a prophet from among the sons of Ismael, and from among the Children of Abd al Muttalib; and I think that I shall not reach to his day, but verily, I believe on him, and I attest his truth, and I bear witness that he is a true prophet. But if thou survivest to see him, then repeat to him a salutation from me. Now shall I describe to thee his appearance, that he may not remain hid from thee?* I said " do so!" Then follows Zeid's description of Mahomet's person, rejection by the Meccans, emigration to Yathreb and final victory. " *Take heed*," proceeded the prophetic sage "*that thou art not deceived in him, for I have visited every city in search of the Faith of Abraham, and every one of the Jews and Christians and Magians say that his religion is about to follow, and they seek for the same signs as I have given unto thee, and they say there will no more be any prophet after him.*" " So" continued Amir, " when I was converted, I told the prophet the saying of Zeid, and I recited his salutation: and the prophet returned his salutation, and prayed for mercy upon him; and said, *I have seen him in Paradise, &c.*" (p. 83.) We see how the tradition has grown in its fabricated elements between the times of Wâckidi and Tabari.

Mahomet was now approaching his fortieth year. He had gradually become more and more pensive: contemplation and reflection now engaged his whole mind. The debasement of his people, his own uncertainty as to the true religion, the dim and imperfect shadows of Judaism and Christianity exciting doubts, without satisfying them, pressed heavily upon his soul, and he frequently retired to seek relief from meditation in the solitary glens and rocks near Mecca. His favorite spot was a cave among the declivities at the foot of Mount Hirâ, a lofty conical hill to the north of Mecca.* He would retire thither for days at a time, and his faithful wife is said sometimes to have accompanied him.† The continued solitude, instead of

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* Since called Jebel Nûr, or Mountain of Light, because Mahomet is said to have received his first revelation there. Ali Bey gives a drawing of it. (Vol. II., p. 64; *Burkhardt*, p. 175.) A cleft among the rocks about six feet square, is still shown in the vicinity as the cave in which Mahomet meditated. Others make it four yards long and one to three broad. (*Sprenger*, p. 95, n. iv.)

† The traditionists say that Mahomet used to spend the month of Ramadhân yearly in the cave at Hirâ. Thus Hishâmi :—"Mahomet used to visit Hirâ for a month every year. Now that was a religious practice which the Coreish used to perform in the days of their heathenism. And so it was that Mahomet was wont to spend this month at Hirâ, and he used to feed all the poor that resorted to him: and when the period of his visitation at Hirâ was fulfilled, he would return and encompass the Kaaba seven times: and that was in the month of Ramzân." (pp. 60, 61; (*so Tabari*, pp. 86—90.) Others add that Abd al Muttalib commenced the practice :—"That it was the worship of God, which that patriarch used to begin with the new moon of Ramadhân, and continue during the whole of that month" (*Sprenger*, p. 94, n. v.) Tabari goes still further :—"It was the habit of those Coreishites who aspired to being thought very pious, to spend the month of Rajab at mount Hirâ, in seclusion and silence. This habit was more particularly observed by the Hâshimites. Every family had its separate place on the Mount for this purpose, and some had buildings in which they resided during their seclusion." (As quoted by Dr. Sprenger from the Persian version of Tabari; but we do not find the passage in the original Arabic copy.)

We doubt the whole of these traditions, and do not believe that the inhabitants of Mecca had any such practice as is attributed to them. It is the tendency of the traditionists to foreshadow the customs and precepts of Islam, as if some of them had existed prior to Mahomet as a part of "the religion of Abraham." (*vide Canon* II. *h*.) It is very evident that the idea of a fast was *first* borrowed from the Jews, and that *after* Mahomet had emigrated to Medina. It was originally kept like that of the Jews, on the 10th of Moharram, and afterwards when Mahostilling his anxiety, magnified into sterner and more impressive shapes the solemn realities which perplexed and agitated his soul. Close by was the grave of the aged Zeid, who having spent a life-time in the same enquiries, had now passed into the state of certainty: and might he himself not reach the same assurance without crossing the gate of death?

All around was bleak and rugged. To the east and south, the vision from the cave of Hirâ is bounded by lofty mountain ranges, but to the north and west, there is an extensive prospect thus described by the traveller:—"The country before us had a "dreary aspect, not a single green spot being visible; barren "black, and grey hills, and white sandy valleys, were the only "objects in sight."* There was harmony between these wild scenes of external nature, and the troubled chaotic elements at that time forming his view of the spiritual world. By degrees his impulsive and susceptible mind was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement; and he would give vent to his agitation in wild and rhapsodical language, the counterpart of his mind struggling after the truth. The following fragments, which found their way into the Coran, may perhaps belong to this period:

SURA CIII.

By the declining day, I swear!
Verily, man is in the way of ruin;
Excepting such as possess faith,
And do those things which be right,
And stir up one another to truth and steadfastness.

And again:—

SURA C.

I swear by the rushing (horses) that pant!
By those that strike fire (with their hoofs) flashing!
By those that scour (the enemy's land,)
And darken it with dust,
And penetrate thereby the host!

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met receded from them, he established a fast of his own in the month of Ramadhân (See *Tabari*, p. 243: *Cnf.* also p. 37 of the "*Washat Mohammed aus dem Juienthum auf genonomen*" *of Abraham Geger.*)

The truth seems to be that Mahomet retired frequently (not periodically,) to Mount Hirâ, for several days at a time, and stayed so long as his provisions lasted. Then he returned home, and either remained there for a while, or furnishing himself with a fresh supply, retired again to the cave. (*Tabari*, p. 86.)

His wife, anxious and surprised at this strange demeanour, may have sometimes accompanied him to watch his movements, and see that no ill befel him.

* *Burkharat's Travels*, p. 176; *Cnf. Sura XXXV.*, *v.* 28. "Dost thou not see that * * * in the mountains, there are strata white and red, of various hues, and others are of a deep black; and of men and beasts and cattle there are whose colours are various in like manner," &c.

Verily, man is to his Lord ungrateful;
And he is himself a witness thereof;
And, verily, he is keen in the love of (this world's) good.
Ah! wotteth he not, when that which is in the graves shall be scattered abroad,
And that which is in (men's) hearts shall be brought forth;
Verily, their Lord shall in that day be informed as to them.

And perhaps :—

SURA XCIX.

When the earth shall tremble with her quaking;
And the earth shall cast forth her burthens;
And man shall say, *What aileth her?*
In that day shall she unfold her tidings,
Because the Lord shall have inspired her.
In that day shall mankind advance in ranks, that they may behold their works.
And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of a grain, shall behold it.
And whoever shall have wrought evil of the weight of a grain, shall behold it.

Nor was he wanting in prayer for guidance, to the great Being who, he felt, alone could give it. The following petitions, though probably adapted subsequently for public worship, contain perhaps the germ of his daily prayer at this early period.

SURA I.

Praise be to God, the Lord of Creation;
The All-merciful, the All-compassionate!
Ruler of the day of reckoning!
Thee we worship, and Thee we invoke for help.
Lead us in the straight path;—
The path of those upon whom thou hast been gracious,
Not of those that are the objects of wrath, or that are in error.†

How such aspirations developed themselves into the belief that the subject of them was inspired from heaven, is a dark and painful theme, to which in some future paper we may possibly recur.

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* Of the four Suras above quoted, which we believe to be the earliest extant composition of Mahomet the *ciii* and *c*, are generally placed by the Mahometan traditionists early, *i. e.*, about the 10th or 12th in order. But the *xcix* is reckoned about 90th, and is generally represented as a Sura revealed at Medîna, though some are critical enough to dispute this. The reader will hence perceive how entirely dependent we are on *internal* evidence as fixing the chronological order of the Coran.

† The first Sura is said to have been more than once revealed, which, if it has any definite meaning, may signify, that although one of the earliest pieces, it was aftrwards recast to suit the requirements of public worship.

SURGEONS IN INDIA—PAST AND PRESENT.

By Dr. N. Chevers.

Alphabetical List of the Medical Officers of the Indian Army; with the dates of their respective Appointments, Promotion, Retirement, Resignation, or Death, whether in India or in Europe; from the year 1764, *to the year* 1838. Compiled by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles.

"SEND for the Apothecary!" was the last utterance of the mightiest voice that ever urged on the storm of England's battle. Mirabeau's latest hopes clung desperately to Cabanis, his Physician and friend—and to him only. "Now that Paré is with us, we shall not perish of our wounds," was the shout which re-animated Guise's dispirited soldiers in their memorable defence of Metz. "Your attention to me"—wrote Johnson towards the close of his life, to Broklesby—"has never failed. If the virtue of medicines could be enforced by the benevolence of the prescriber, how soon should I be well!" To this way of thinking, in that pass, we shall nearly all, doubtless, come at last; still there are some, we dare say, who would be ready enough to cry out with old Sarah Jennings, "I hate a doctor—I won't be blistered—I won't die—and I won't have a doctor!" For the dulcifaction of these acid spirits, and in justice to a respectable body of men, who have always stood among the most prominent maintainers of science and literature in this country, we propose to devote a brief article to the "Physiology" of the Indian Surgeon—past and present.

We shall say nothing of Vydya or ancient Physician of the Hindus, except to declare that if he knew and practised all that his Shastras inculcated, he must have been a person of no mean learning, and a gentleman in every sense of the term; nor shall we pause to enquire how large a portion of knowledge the Mussulman Hukims inported from Arabia, that first alembic of scientific medicine.

It is to be feared, that the mists of nearly three hundred years, devoted to hard-fighting and close bargaining, with small leisure for the cultivation of science, or the encouragement of her votaries, conceal in hopeless obscurity the progress of the long ranks of Chirurgions who left their bones under the walls of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danish factories of Goa, Surat, Hughly, Serampore, Chandernagore, Pondicherry and Barnagore. Here and there, it is true, some chance record, by a passing traveller, affords us a glimpse of their doings; and, it is but just to declare that whenever we thus behold them, we find them manfully at their work, in high repute for skill and fidelity among the native rulers of the country, and apparently regarded by them as a kind of priesthood, whose craft was practised without danger of those two greatest bug-bears of native courts—empoisonment and intrigue.

We are told that late in the sixteenth century, Akbar applied to the English, at Surat, for gunners, and found his goldsmiths and his Physicians among the Portuguese of Goa. Nearly a hundred years later, in 1665, we find Monsieur Tavernier paying a visit to a young Dutch Chirurgion, " belonging to the King" (of Golconda), whom the Sieur Cheteur, Envoy from Batavia, had left at Golconda upon the King's earnest entreaty. The following affords us a curious insight into the position of an European physician in one of the native courts :—" The King was always very much troubled with " the head-ache : for which reason the Physicians had ordered that he should let blood in four places under the tongue ; but there was no person that would undertake to do it : for the natives of the country understand nothing of chirurgery. " Now, before that, Peter de Lan, for that was the Dutch Chi- " rurgion's name, was entertained in the King's service, he was " asked whether he could let blood? to which he answered, that " there was nothing so easy in chirurgery. Some few days " after, the King sent for him and gave him to understand that " he was resolved to let blood next day in four parts under " the tongue, as the Physicians had ordered, but he should take " care of not drawing away above eight ounces. De Lan return- " ing the next day to court, was led into a chamber by three " eunuchs, and four old women, who carried him to a bath, and " after they had undrest him, and washed him, especially his hands " they anointed him with aromatic drugs, and instead of his own " European cloths, they brought him a robe according to the " fashion of the country. After that they brought him before the " King, where he found four little porringers of gold, which the " Physicians, who were present, had weighed ; in short, he let the " King blood under the tongue in four parts, and performed his " business so well, that when the blood came to be weighed, it " weighed but bare eight ounces. The King was so satisfied with " the operation, that he gave the Chirurgion three hundred " pagods, which comes to almost seven hundred crowns.

" The young Queen, and the Queen-mother, understanding " what he had done, resolved to be let blood too. But I believe " it was rather out of curiosity to see the Chirurgion, than out " of any necessity that they had to be let blood. For he was a " handsome young man ; and perhaps they had never seen a

" stranger near at hand, for at a distance, it is no improbable thing, " in regard the women are shut up in such places as they may " see, but not be seen. Upon this De Lan was carried into " a chamber, when the same old woman that had waited on him " before he let the King blood, stript up his arm, and washed it, " but more especially his hands, which, when they were dry, they " rubbed again with sweet-oils as before. That being done, a cur-" tain was drawn, and the Queen stretching out her arm through " a hole, was let blood ; as was the Queen-mother afterwards, in " the same manner ; the Queen gave him fifty pagods, and the " Queen-mother thirty, with some pieces of cloth of gold." De Lan appears to have stood well with the King's first " Physician," (a native) who was also of the King's council, and who had testified a great affection for him.

About ten years previous to this, in 1655, FRANCIS BERNIER was, as he himself tells us, obliged by " fortune " and the small stock of money left him (after divers en-"counters with robbers, and the expenses of a voyage " of six and forty days from Surat to Agra and Delhi, the " capital towns of that Empire)—to take a salary from the " Grand Mogul in the quality of a Physician." Bernier was assuredly one of the most highly educated men that ever visited India. He studied and graduated in medicine at Montpellier, and was the pupil and intimate associate of the Philosopher Gassendi ; an abridgment of whose works he published. Arriving in the country with a mind as free from superstitious fancies, and as little prone to unquestioning credulity as any mind in those times could well be, he viewed India and her tyrants by the clear light of educated common sense ; and has left—in his *Histoire de la Derniere Revolution des Etats du Grand Mogul*,—the best, although the most cautiously delineated picture ever drawn of Mussulman pageantry, intrigue and misrule. Bernier's servants were probably scarcely so veracious as their master, when they made friends for him among " those robbers, the Koullis," into whose clutches he had unluckily fallen, by swearing that he was the greatest Physician of the world. He was an admirable oriental scholar, a dignified courtier of gallant bearing, who could use his sword at the right time, and a true philosopher ; but,—although he appears to have considered it as a matter of duty, to give his readers a scrap of medical lore occasionally, and to explain to his patron Danechmendkan, those late discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, he evidently had not his own profession much at heart, but loved rather to cogitate and discourse on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which he translated to the said Agah into Persian—his chief employment during five or six of his years of exile This patron and pupil of Bernier's, "the most knowing man of Asia," appears to have been an unusually favourable specimen of the Mogul warrior, equally devoted to arts and arms. His physician writes of him:—"He "can no more be without philosophizing in the afternoon upon "the books of Gassendi and Descartes, upon the globe and the "sphere, or upon anatomy, than he can be without bestowing "the whole morning upon the weighty affairs of the kingdom, in "the quality of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of great "master of the cavalry." Although the protegé of an Emperor and a Foreign Secretary, Bernier did not find the pagoda tree very abundantly fruitful in the court of Delhi. He could shake down from it only one hundred and fifty crowns, which he had by the month; and, on one occasion, in speaking of the ill fare procurable in Delhi, and his consequent necessity of bribing the King's caterers to sell him dinners which cost them nothing, "made his Agah smile when he told him that he had, he knew "not how many years, lived by artifice and stealing, and that for "all the hundred and fifty crowns pay they monthly allowed "him, he was ready to be starved." And thence it was, he repeated,—"that at Delhi there is no mean; there you must either be "a great lord, or live miserably, for I have experienced it myself "in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have "had considerable pay." And so, at the end of twelve years, the yearnings for his beautiful home, and for undisturbed philosophic communion with the shades of Gassendi and Descartes—to say little of the reflection that, "in France, for half a rupee, he could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King"—determined his steps towards Paris, where he resided in high esteem nearly a quarter of a century; and where he, doubtless, retained to the last a firm conviction that Aurung Zebe, his affable patron, was, despite his venial leaning towards fratricide, usurpation, and empoisonment, by no means a barbarian, "but a great and rare genius, a great statesman, and a great King."

The Kings of Delhi appear to have been rarely, if ever, without an European Physician. Bernier speaks of a Frenchman named Bernard who was at that court about the latter years of King Jehanjire, and who must needs have been a good physician, and withal excellent in chirurgery. He was welcome to Jehanjire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree, that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this Jehanjire even think on anything but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the State to his wife, the renowned Nour Mehale, "which," he used to say, "had wit "enough to govern the empire, without his giving himself any trouble about it." Besides, that this countryman of Bernier's had of the King ten crowns daily pay (cut down to five in sober Bernier's time), he gained yet more by treating those great ladies of the seraglio, and the great Omrahs, these all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his cures, and extraordinarily favored by the King; but he was a man that could keep nothing; what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other; so that he was known and loved by all. Those who would be interested in learning how this indiscreet practitioner got deservedly laughed at by the courtiers of the oriental King Cole, may find the whole story in Bernier's narrative.

John Fryer, himself an accomplished Cambridge Physician and Fellow of the Royal Society, who visited Goa about the year 1672, says, that "the fore part of their vespers to the *Natal* he spent at the King's hospital; where their care for the sick is commendable, an handsome apothecary's shop furnishing them with medicines: the Physicians here" he adds, "are great Bleeders, that they exceed often Galen's advice *ad deliquium* in fevers; hardly leaving enough to feed the currents for circulalation; of which cruelty some complain invidiously after recovery." The early predecessors of these Salgados must have had abundant experience, as we find that, nearly a hundred years previous to this, over five hundred soldiers died annually in Goa hospital from syphilis and the effects of profligacy.

Some years after Fryer's visit, Captain Hamilton found the Goa hospital a large stately building, well endowed and well kept. This voyager tells us that, in Surat, the French had then a little church which maintained a few Capuchins, who practised surgery gratis to the poor natives, of what persuasion whatever. In old times, the only famous hospital at Surat was that for cows, apes and vermin.

Hamilton also makes known a beautiful trait in the religious practice of the *native* priests of Pegu. "If any" (stranger) "be sick or maimed, the priests, who are the Peguer's chief Physicians, keep them in their convent till they are cured, and then furnish them with letters, for *they never enquire which way a stranger worships God, but if he is human, he is the object of their charity.*"

The Dutch have always been judiciously liberal in their employment of medical men in their eastern colonies. In 1776-77 the establishment of their Company at Bantam, although consisting, in all, of only 282 Europeans, had five Surgeon and Assistants, not a larger number, however, than was doubtless needed, as Stavorinus tells us that the air there is generally very unhealthy, and the mortality pretty considerable. In the year 1768, out of the complete number of the Company's servants, including pennists, mariners, and military—being 317—the deaths amounted to 60 or about one in five. The whole establishment of the Dutch on the west coast of Sumatra, consisted of only 175 Europeans and ninety-seven natives, they also had five Surgeons and Assistants, two belonging to the artillery. Captain Stavorinus found the hospital at Amboyna one of the best and fittest for the purpose, belonging to their country, which he had seen in India; the building was a very good one. The sick were well treated in it, and by the excellent attention of Mr. Hengeneld, they were kept extremely neat and clean.

Much as we had previously heard, in a general way, of the unhealthiness of Batavia, we felt the utmost astonishment in going over the statistics given by Stavorinus. It appears that Batavia was never a healthy city, its muddy shore, the marshy tracts to its westward, and the imperfect circulation of water in the filthy canals with which it is intersected, had always tended to render it a place where intermittent and remittent fevers were the chief rulers. An unusual degree of mortality first made its appearance in the year 1733, when canals were begun to be dug around the city, by which the water was diverted from taking its course through the city. Stavorinus gives tables of the deaths in the Batavia hospitals, from the year 1714 up to 1776, from which it appears that, up to 1732, the numbers of those who died annually, rose gradually from about 450 to 800 or 900. In 1733, however, they were 1,116; and, from that time. they increased in number nearly every year, until, in 1776, they amounted to 2,877. In the year 1769 alone, there died, both in the hospitals and out of them, altogether 6,446, of whom 2,434 were Company's servants, and 164 burghers. In the preceding year, the entire population of the city numbered 91,089. There were then two hospitals in the city. The second was erected in 1744, and, in order to defray the expenses, a regulation was introduced, in both hospitals, that the wages of all sick who were admitted into them, should be withheld from them, while they were under cure, and applied to the benefit of the institutions, whence it was said that many more patients died from the chagrin this regulation caused them. The extent of the above mortality is shewn by the statement that, in June 1768, there were in Batavia 5,490 Europeans (1,338 *of whom were in hospital*) ;—

no less than *two thousand four hundred and thirty-four* of these unfortunates died in the ensuing twelve months. At the same time, the number of the Dutch Company's servants, in all the out-stations, amounted to 14,470 Europeans—of whom 1,637 died in the year following. Well might a resident in those times use what Stavorinus calls the "strong expression,"—that the air of Batavia was pestilential and the water poisonous; well also might a new comer, viewing the country, "every where so verdant, gay and fertile, interspersed with "such magnificent houses, gardens, canals, and draw-bridges, "and so formed in every way to please the eye, could health "be preserved in it"—exclaim—"What an excellent habitation it would be for immortals!" The number of the Company's medical officers of Batavia, in 1778, was according to Huysens, ninety-nine Surgeons and Assistants. How many of these lived (or attempted to live) in the city of Batavia, we do not learn with certainty, but it would appear, from the context, that the duty of these consisted in attendance upon 4,221 Europeans and 703 natives in the Company's service, stationed in the town—whereas, as we have already seen, the Company had nearly 14,500 Europeans in the out-stations, who must have had other medical attendants. From the account of a traveller cited by Stavorinus's translator, it would appear that some at least of the ninety-nine Dutch practitioners, at about this time, were not professors of the very highest caste, as he speaks of their "not having had the advantage of a medical education."

All the practitioners of surgery in Batavia, were subordinate to a chief, who had the control over all the Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates, as well on board the ships, as in the hospital; and who had the rank of senior merchant. In 1776-77 the whole establishment of the Dutch in Bengal was reduced to 200 Europeans, of whom seven were Surgeons and Assistants. We cannot discover what provision the French made in old times for the health of those employed in their Indian Colonies. Not many years ago, however, their medical staff in the East consisted only of three persons, one at Pondicherry, one at Chandernagore, and one at Karrical. The appointment of three additional Surgeons appeared to be contemplated.

Our notes of English medical men in India, during the sixteenth century, are few and scattered. When Fryer visited Surat, only one Chirurgeon was attached to the English factory. The consideration in which this science was held is questionable, as it is mentioned elsewhere that a Brahmin* came every day, and felt every man's pulse in the factory, and was often made use of for a powder for agues which "worked as infallibly as the Peruvian Bark," it was a preparation of native cinnabar. When disease occurred with such terrific and uncontrollable severity, it was not surprising that native practitioners, who would promise every thing, should be often preferred even by Europeans to their own practitioners, with their reserved prognoses and their palliative measures. We are therefore told that, at Batavia, they had both male and female native Physicians, who had been known to effect many surprising cures by means of their knowledge of the medicinal and vulnerary herbs produced in their country, and who had sometimes greater practice among the European residents than those Physicians who had been regularly bred and had come over from Europe. Even in Hamilton's narrative, we find a man, himself bred a Surgeon,—attacked with a bilious disorder, as he believed, from the operation of poison,—consulting a Dutch doctor of physic in Malacca, who forthwith told him that he was poisoned, and advised him to send at once for a Malayan doctor, by whose cantrips his cure was, of course, effected with marvellous dispatch,—or the story would never have been told. Nevertheless, all society owes a large debt of gratitude to the Dutch doctors, since we learn from Sprengel that tea was brought into use by the Dutch merchants and physicians aiding each other.

When Dr. Fryer visited Bombay, he found the English President living with all the state of a Viceroy, having a Council, a body guard of cavalry, chaplains, linguist, mint-master, physician, chirurgeons and domestics. Silver staves to wait on him whenever he moved out of his chamber, trumpets to usher in his courses, soft music at his table, large milk-white oxen for his coach, standards borne before him, and a sumbrero of state always carried over him;—still,—"for all this gallantry," adds Fryer, "I reckon, "they walk but in charnel houses." "In five hundred, "one hundred survive not; of that one hundred, one-quarter "get not estates; of those that do, it has not been recorded "above one in ten years has seen his country."

At the risk of being thought to borrow too much from the ancients, we must quote another haram consultation scene, in Dr. Fryer's own words:—"A good day coming, the Governor sent "for me to visit his lady in the haram, which was opposite to a "chamber he sat in, accompanied only by one pretty wanton boy, "his only son by this woman; upon which account, he had the "greater kindness for him; an old gentlewoman, with a tiffany "veil, made many trips, being, I suppose, the Governant of the "women's quarters; at last, I was called and admitted with my "linguist. At our being ready to enter, she clapped with her "hands to give notice; when we were led through a long dark "entry, with dormitories on both sides, the doors of which "creeked in our passage (but I was cautious of being too cir-"cumspect) till we came to an airy choultry; where was "placed a bed hung with silk curtains; to which being "brought, I was commanded to place myself close by it, from "whence I might conveniently discourse and feel her pulse, "putting my hand under the curtains. It was agreed among "them to impose upon me; wherefore, at first, they gave me "a slave's hand, whom I declared to be sound and free from "any disease, nothing contradicting the true tenor and rythme "of pulsation; when they began to be more ingenuous, telling "me it was done to try me. Then was given me another "hand, which demonstrated a weak languid constitution; and "collecting the signs and symptoms, I feared not to give "sentence; which met with their approbation, and so I was "sent back the way I came. The Caun had been acquainted "with what had passed, and seemed pleased; whereupon "I must visit the haram again, the next day to bleed another "(had Doctor John been able to find it in his conscience to "bleed the one with the 'weak and languid constitution'?) of "his wives, he being tolerated four, though he keeps more "than three hundred concubines. And now the curtain was "extended across the choultry, and an arm held forth "at an hole; but this was a slight fence for such animals, "who leaning too hard as they peeped, pulled it down and "discovered the whole bevy, fluttering like so many birds, when "a net is cast over them: yet none of them sought to escape, "but feigning a shame-facedness, continued looking through the "wide lattice of their fingers. The lady I had by the arm was a "plump russet dame, summoning the remainder of her blood to "enliven her cheeks (for among the darkest blacks, the passions "of fear, anger, or joy, are discernible enough in the face), and "she bearing a command, caused it to be hung up again; pour-"ing upon her extravasated blood a golden shower of pagods, "which I made my man fish for."

We must now abandon details of personal adventure, and select two leading chapters from the history of India, shewing how absolutely and entirely the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," were indebted to the generosity of two of their Surgeons for the first footing which they obtained in Bengal, and for the most valid of the advantages which they subsequently gained by consent of the Mogul sovereigns.

In the year 1614, Sir Thomas Roe,—a wise and dignified personage, who had studied law at the time when Coke and Bacon dealt in it; and who, probably disliking the trade as they carried it on, had devoted a few years to those piratical expeditions in the direction of Virginia and the Spanish Main, which were then humorously termed voyages of discovery,—was chosen as ambassador to the Great Mogul. After having, doubtless, been nobly feasted by the Company at Merchant Tailor's Hall (for the Company had not, at that time a house of their own,—Craven House, or even the "great room of the Nag's Head" by Bishop's-gate Church, which they afterwards rented), or at old Fishmonger's Hall, where he fared as abundantly as the whiffs from the crop of Jesuits' and traitors' heads on Southwark Gate would let him, on grand boiled meat, sturgion's jowle, rabbit suckers, grand sallet, almond leach, march paine, and orringadoe pie,[*]—was despatched for Surat with complimentary letters to the Mogul, a set of articles for securing our trade in India, which it was to be his duty to persuade the Mogul to subscribe to, and a State coach, a case of strong waters, "a couple of fine knives and six glasses," "two embroidered sweet bags," "two glass cabinets," some mastiff dogs, "a case for combs and razors," a chest of pictures, among which was one of Venus leading a satyr by the nose, a "saddle and other trifles," by presenting which, in due season, it was trusted that he would succeed in working upon the cupidity or gratitude of that outside barbarian. Sir Thomas Roe, however, found to his disappointment that, before he had fully completed his first interview with the Emperor Jehanjire, His Majesty "made himself drunk out of the case of bottles," (aforesaid) "and so the visit ended." Still, in many after interviews, the Emperor (whose unbounded magnificence in the way of strings of pearls, great balass rubies, services of solid gold, silver thrones, elephants, and horses of Arabia, quite discountenanced the poor ambassador, and threw his scanty and ill-furnished retinue altogether into the shade) proved himself to Sir Thomas as a very clear-headed man of business, (that is, always previous to supper time) and laid down for his information, with a degree of candour not unsual among Orientals in those times, certain plain facts and broad principles, which he was left at liberty to repeat when writing home to his friends. A few of these were,—that in Delhi, presents of embroidered gloves are to be considered as rather complimentary than useful; that, with reference to the above-mentioned painting of a fair lady conducting a brown skinned gentleman by the nose, the allegory appeared to offer an ill-chosen allusion to the predominance of female influence in Eastern Courts; that carving-knives, sweet bags, comb cases, and leashes of mastiff dogs, although things of a rather agreeable and acceptable kind than otherwise, did not altogether come up to the standard of gifts which should be sent by the King of England to the Great Mogul; that he owned Sir Thomas Roe as our Ambassador, his behaviour speaking him a man of quality: and yet he could not understand why he was kept there with so little grandeur; that he was satisfied that this was not his, nor his Prince's fault: that he would make him sensible he valued him more than those that sent him; and that, finally, he would send him home with honour, and give him a present for his master, without regarding those which he had received;—but "that there was no *articling* at all, it was "enough to have an order from the Prince, who was lord of "Surat, to trade there; *but for Bengala, or Synda, it should* "*never be granted.*" And so, after three years of unsuccessful negociation, the wise and respectable, but unpliant and ill-supported Ambassador returned crest-fallen home.

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[*] At least these are a few of some hundred dishes with which the Company entertained their guests at Merchant Tailors, eight years later, on the 20th of January 1622.

In the earlier pages of Sir Thomas Roe's narrative, allusion is made to one of his suite, MR. BOUGHTON who, evidently, must have been the Surgeon to the embassy (he was certainly not the Chaplain) as, upon their touching at Tamara, on the coast of Arabia, on their passage out, it appears that he alone was allowed to visit the house of the Mussalman King, when he was treated with "cahu," a black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured, and which is supposed to have been coffee. No further allusion is made to Boughton in Sir Thomas' narrative; but the name not being a common one, and it being difficult to believe that two Surgeons of high repute of that name were attached to the Company's service, nearly at the same period, it may be not unfair to guess that this was the Gabriel Boughton who, some say in the year 1636, others in 1644, when Surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell*, was chosen by the Council at Surat as the person best qualified to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had been frightfully burnt by the accidental ignition of her clothes, and for whose relief, all native skill having failed, her royal father had, by the recommendation of Vizier Assad Khan, (probably "Asaph Chan," the Minister who is so frequently alluded to by Sir Thomas Roe, and who must have been well acquainted with the Surgeon to the embassy), sent an express, requesting the aid of an English Surgeon. Repairing to the Emperor's camp in the Deccan, he cured the Princess, and was desired by the grateful Emperor to name his reward. Standing, probably, alone in the world, but with a heart overflowing with generous and patriotic feeling, this noble gentleman requested that his masters, the Company, might be granted the long sought for and often denied privilege of establishing factories in Bengal, and of trading there free from all taxation. This boon, which Jehanjire had distinctly, nay, almost rudely, refused to King James the First and to the Company, through their Ambassador, Shah Jehan at once conceded to the humble Surgeon of one of the Company's vessels. Repairing to Bengal, with a view to secure and carry out the privileges thus granted, Boughton visited Rajmahal (this was nearly about the time at which Gour was deserted), where he was honorably entertained by Sultan Sujah, Subadar of Bengal, the Emperor's third son, and where he gained additional credit and good will, by curing one of the ladies of the Prince's haram, of a disease in the side—and, consequently, obtained the fullest aid in establishing the Company's trade in Bengal. Upon Boughton's information, persons were sent out by the Company to occupy the new ports. The Prince desired Mr. Boughton to send for these gentlemen, and, on their arrival, received permission to establish factories at Hughly and Balasore, in addition to that at Pipley, which had already been thrown open by the Emperor's firman. We wish, we could add, that Boughton received the full reward of his generosity, in living to see his masters' power firmly grounded in Bengal, as the foundation of the mightiest colony that the world has ever known, and in dying under his father's roof-tree, with tall sons and fair daughters around his bed. This, however, was not to be: he died in India. not long after the opening of the ports. Do the ruins of Rajmahal still enshrine that honorable dust, or have the waves of the invading river swept it down to that ocean, which was the only fitting sepulchre for so large and pure a heart?

Boughton was probably of good lineage. A baronetcy was conferred, by Charles the First, upon one of his name, in 1641, within a few months of the time of Boughton's death. We should be glad to learn whether this was a mere coincidence, or a compliment paid to his family in recognition of his merits. The unfortunate Sir Theodosius Boughton, for whose murder by laurel water, Captain Donellan, (who had served in the Company's army in 1758) was executed in 1781, was the seventh baronet. In 1842, the family was represented by Sir Edward Rouse Boughton, F. R. S., President of the Horticultural Society.

It was by no means necessary to Boughton's reputation that the generosity of his act should have any thing original in its character. The example had been set, a few years previously, by De Cruz, an Augustinian, who was taken to Agra after the destruction of Hughly in 1632; and who, upon receiving a promise from Shah Jehan, to grant whatever request he might prefer, craved permission to return with his fellow-captives to Bengal, and received a grant of 777 acres of land, which still appertain to the Church of Bandel, near Hughly

By a singular coincidence of events, it fell within the power of another of the Company's Surgeons, eighty years after the passage of the above events, to confirm the Company's power in Bengal, by a perfectly similar act of patriotic generosity.

In 1715, the Company began evidently to give way under the exactions and oppressions of Moorshed Kuli Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. It was therefore determined to send an embassy to the Emperor Furrukshere at Delhi, with a view to obtaining recognition of their old firmans and immunities. Against the fulfilment of this project, all the craft and energy of Moorshed were directed, with every prospect of success, when, happily, the intervention of MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON, who had accompanied the embassy as their Surgeon, rescued the Company from their difficulties.

The marriage of the Emperor Furrukshere, with the daughter of Raja Ajit Sing, one of the Rajput princes, had been for some months delayed in consequence of the Monarch's illness, under a disease which his own Physicians were unable to cure. The princess had arrived at Delhi, and matters were assuming a very serious aspect when, by the advice of the Khan Dowrah, who had become the patron of the embassy, Mr. Hamilton was consulted, and was so fortunate as to restore the Emperor to health by a skilful operation. Delighted at his recovery, the Emperor heaped gifts and promises upon the Surgeon, who is known to have accepted, among other presents,* *models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold*, and to have entreated the Emperor to grant the requests of the Ambassadors. Consent was freely and immediately conceded to the objects of this generous mediation and—although after considerable delay attendant upon the marriage festivities, and prolonged by the active machinations of the Nawab's agents,—a firman was granted, confirming all the original privileges of the Company, permitting their President to grant passports exempting goods from search throughout Bengal, allowing them the use of the mint at Murshedabad, and permitting them to purchase thirty-eight additional towns (villages) near Calcutta, at a rent of 8,121½ Rupees. The Company did not receive this firman until 1717,—in the unhealthy autumn of which year good William Hamilton was carried to his grave, in the old cemetery by the fort green.

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* A vest, a culgi set with precious stones, two diamond rings, an elephant, horse, gold buttons for coat, waistcoat and breeches set in jewels, and 500 Rupees. These were presented to Mr. Hamilton in the presence of the whole Court.

His tombstone is still preserved, and we have had a representation of it carefully engraved, considering it to be one of the most important historical memorials of the rise of the East India Company existing in Calcutta. It would appear, from Stewart's History of Bengal, that Hamilton's tomb was only discovered on clearing a space for the foundation of Saint John's Cathedral, in 1787; it is evident, however, that this slab was originally fixed in front of a lofty pile of brick-work. Many tombs remained around the New Cathedral until fifteen years after that building was consecrated when,—(early in 1802) the masses of brick-work having fallen into a state of such irreparable decay as to endanger the safety of those who approached them,—it was deemed necessary to pull most of them down. Charnock's mausoleum and Watson's and Speke's tombs appear to have been spared—like respect would, doubtless, have been paid to the resting-place of Calcutta's greatest benefactor, but it must have stood upon the space required for the building. The house of prayer could not have been placed better than on the dust of the patriot who, under Divine Providence, secured peace to the land. The stone is fixed upright in a niche within the Charnock monument. Three tablets to Charnock and his daughters are the only other stones beneath the dome. A wide step surrounding the circular building is paved with inscriptions to the memory of other early residents in the settlement. The slab from Hamilton's tomb is six feet high, and three in width. Like Charnock's and his daughters, and most of the other older slabs, it is a solid block of granite, the colour of which is so deep a green as to appear perfectly black, except upon close inspection. We were surprised to find that the inscriptions and ornaments upon the whole of these stones are cut in relief. The surfaces of the stones have first been highly polished and, the outlines of the letters, &c., having been marked out, the intervening spaces have been cut away to the depth of the eighth of an inch. The cut surface remains slightly rough, and the polished letters stand out from it as conspicuous and as sharply defined as if cast in bronze. We are confident that any stone-mason would declare the execution to be perfect. The slabs are not very clean, but the edge of every letter remains without a flaw, indeed, the stone is as nearly as possible indestructible. These beautiful slabs are said to have been brought from St. Thomas's. Stewart gives the following translation, by Mr. Gladwin, of the Persian inscription :—" William Hamilton, Physician in the service of the " English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own " name famous in four quarters of the earth, by the cure of the " Emperor, the Asylum of the world, Mohammed Furrukshere " the Victorious ; and, with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the " universe, to return to his country ; by the Divine decree, on " the fourth of December, 1717, died in Calcutta, and is buried " here." The discrepancy in the date is easily accounted for.

We cannot quite discover what rates of pay Boughton and Hamilton received from the Company. Charles Lockyer, however, tells us, that in 1711, the Company retained one Surgeon at Madras on a pay of £36 per annum. If Walpole judged rightly, that every man has his price, we wonder at what rate those two poor gentlemen would have forfeited their integrity.

Few particulars, worthy of note, can be gathered with regard to other medical officers who served the Company, early in last century. In India, a good Surgeon's reputation scarcely has the durability attributed by Hamlet's professional acquaintance to a tanner's hide. We believe that the only medical man who suffered in the Black Hole was Holwell himself, who had been an Apothecary. The presence of a medical man seems to have been long viewed as a valid means towards success in difficult negociations with native powers. Upon the advance of the implacable Nuwab Suraj-oo-Dowlah, upon Kossimbazar, Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, being threatened with an attack, unless he should immediately present himself; at first hesitated but, upon receiving a letter with assurances of safety, proceeded to the camp, accompanied by the Surgeon, Mr. Forth. Mr. Fullarton, a Surgeon, was the only person who was suffered to escape the massacre at Patna, in October 1763; he having endeared himself to most of the grandees of the Court by attending them professionally. He even had Mir Cassim himself for an acquaintance and friend.

The maritime service of the Company appears not to have been very attractive to medical men in those times. We find that Mr. Archibald Kier, Surgeon of the *Delaware*, in which ship Major Kilpatrick's detachment was embarked from Madras, on information of the surrender of Kossimbazar, in 1756, not only afforded very acceptable services as a medical man, but acted as Secretary to the Council of those who assembled at Fultah. When the *Delaware* was ordered home, he accepted a Lieutenant's Commission, was shortly afterwards appointed quarter-master of the forces, and finally obtained his Company.

That must have been the time in which the economical Governor of Bombay declared that the figures in the Surgeon's monthly pay-bill for forty-two Rupees had certainly been transposed, and wrote twenty-four in the order for payment. It would be a great error, however, to conclude that, because ill remunerated, the Company's Surgeons in those days were inferior or illiterate men.

Mr. Ives, who was Surgeon of H. M.'s ship *Kent* at the capture of Fort Orleans, has supplied us* with a very important history of the great events which immediately followed the fall of Calcutta and the catastrophe of the Black Hole, in 1756. Mr. Ive's character as a Surgeon and an author is, perhaps, best illustrated by the following affecting episode in his account of the attack on Chandernagore, in March 1757. The gallant Captain Speke, commanding the *Kent*, and his son, a Midshipman, had been severely wounded by the same shot. "The behaviour of "Captain Speke and his son, a youth of sixteen [eighteen] "years of age, was so truly great and exemplary on this glorious "but melancholy occasion, that I must beg leave to describe it "with some of its most interesting circumstances. When Ad-"miral Watson had the unhappiness to see both the father and "son fall in the same instant, he immediately went up to them, "and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alle-"viate their distress. The Captain, who had observed his son's "leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the Admiral, 'indeed, "Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both the father and "the son!' Mr. Watson's heart was too full to make the least "reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried "to the Surgeon. The Captain was first brought down to me in "the after-hold, where a platform had been made; and then "told me how dangerously his poor Billy was wounded. Pre-"sently after, the brave youth himself appeared, but had ano-"ther narrow escape, the quarter-master, who was bringing him "down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball: "his eyes overflowing with tears, not for his own, but for his "father's fate. I laboured to assure him, that his father's wound "was not dangerous, and this assertion was confirmed by the "Captain himself. He seemed not to believe either of us,

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* Voyage and Historical Narrative.

"until he asked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to "him my first assurance in the most positive manner. He then "immediately became calm; but on my attempting to enquire "into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me if I had dressed his father, for he could not think of my touching him before his father's wound had been taken "care of. I assured him that the Captain had been already "properly attended to. '*Then*' (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow sufferer,) '*pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man, who is groaning so sadly beside me!*'"

"I told him that he already had been taken care of, and "begged of him, with some importunity, that I now might have "liberty to examine his wound; he submitted to it, and calmly "observed, '*Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint!*' "I replied, 'my dear, I must!' Upon which he clasped both his "hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and "fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following "short, but earnest petition:—'Good God, do thou enable me to "behave, in my present circumstances, worthy my father's son!' "When he had ended this ejaculatory prayer, he told me that "he was all submission. I then performed the operation above "the joint of the knee; but during the whole time, the intrepid "youth never spake a word, or uttered a groan that could be heard "at a yard's distance. The reader may easily imagine what, "in this dreadful interval, the brave but unhappy Captain suffer-"ed, who lay just by his unfortunate and darling son. But "whatever were his feelings, we discovered no other expression "of them, than what the silent trickling tears declared, though "the bare recollection of the scene, even at this distant time, "is too painful for me. Both father and son, the day after the "action, were sent with the rest of the wounded back to Calcutta." The father was lodged in the house of William Mackett, Esq., his brother-in-law; and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort, by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy; and in the same manner, I gratified the son in regard to the father. But, alas! from that time, all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalled youth, began to disappear. The Captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in; nor did he ever ask me more than two questions concerning him; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first was, on the 10th day, in these words: "How long, my friend, do you think my Billy will remain in this state of uncertainty?" I replied that, "If he lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery." On the 13th, however, he died; and on the 16th, the brave man looking me steadfastly in the face, said, "Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" I could make him no reply; and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. He cried bitterly, squeezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for one half hour, when he wished to see me again: and assured me, that I should find him with a different countenace, from that he troubled me with at present. These were his obliging expressions. I punctually complied with his desire; and when I returned to him, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.* The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note written by himself, with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy. "If "Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he "is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his father is "not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busy "to honour this chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness "could draw from me. The boy waits an answer." Immediately upon the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me. "And, is he dead?" "Who, my dear?" "My father, sir." "No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I assure you; he is almost well." "Thank God! Then why did they tell me so? I am now satisfied, and ready to die." At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress, but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered; he begged my pardon for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself,) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life.

Poor little Speke's tomb, with its inscription, may still be seen in the Old Cathedral yard. Ives tells us that his father afterwards captured a vessel of force superior to his own in the action off Belleisle. He died soon afterwards at Lisbon, in the 45th year of his age.†

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* His wound, which was dangerous, and from which he never perfectly recovered, was in the leg. Consequently, it would, doubtless, have been impossible to remove him to his son.

† Mr. Ives must have been as able in his profession as he was gentle and compassionate. His detail of the fatal illness of his friend Admiral Watson, --a quotidian fever becoming remittent, with symptoms of cerebral congestion,—is minute, and his treatment was evidently orthodox, according to the practice of those days. Ives and his Assistant, Mr. Bevis, must have found their hands full after the action at Chandernagore. Thirty-seven men were killed on board the *Kent* and twenty-four wounded. The *Tiger* lost nearly as many men as the *Kent*, and forty-one of

Dr. Anderson, of the infantry, was one of those who fell in the Patna massacre in October 1763. The following is an extract from a letter which he wrote, on the day of his murder, to his friend Dr. Davidson :—" Since my last, his Excellency " has been completely defeated, and in consequence, obliged to " retreat to Zaffier Khan's gardens yesterday, and purposes " coming into the city, this day, (5th October 1763). Sumroo, " with the sepoys, arrived here last night, and I suppose to " effect his wicked designs ; for last night Mr. Kelly and forty-" three gentlemen with him were massacred, and as about an " equal number of soldiers, and us yet remain, I expect, my " fate this night. Dear D., this is no surprise to me, for I " expected it all along. I must, therefore, as a dying man, re-" quest of you to collect and remit my estate home as soon as " possible, and write a comforting letter to my father and " mother ; let them know I die bravely, as a Christian ought, " for I fear not him who can kill the body, and no more, " but I rejoice in hope of a future existence through the merits " of my Saviour." We are told, that the inhuman Sumroo marched up to the house where these ill-fated people were confined and, without the least hesitation or remorse, ordered them to be shot. Utterly desperate, but without losing courage, they advanced towards their murderers and, with empty bottles, and stones, and brick-bats, fought them to the last man. The very sepahis urged Sumroo to place arms in the hands of these brave men, whom they would then destroy—but they were not executioners to butcher men in cold blood. Sumroo goaded them on, however, and every man was slaughtered.

In 1766, the pay of a Surgeon on the Bengal establishment was fixed at Sonaut Rupees 124, in garrison, and 372 in the field ; the corresponding allowances of an Assistant Surgeon were Rupees 62 and 248. In November of this year, with a view to reduce the charges of the Medical Department, the Surgeons received a contract for the supply of medicines, at the rate of eighteen shillings for each European, including every thing, except clothing, bedding, cots and lodging.

Captain Hamilton found a " pretty good hospital at Cal-

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her wounded were sent to hospital. In July of the year 1757, which proved fatal to their Admiral, upwards of 600 of the men were sent to the hospital. Their chief diseases were putrid fevers, fluxes, &c. In August 1754, one of the ships of this fleet, the *Cumberland,* when in St. Augustine's Bay, Madagascar, had 200 sick, and buried 67. In October 1757 died Major Kilpatrick—of the 250 soldiers who accompanied him from Madras, in August of the preceding year, only five survived him, and even those were then, by repeated sickness, emaciated to the greatest degree.

cutta, where many went in to undergo the penance of physic, "but few came out to give account of its operation."

It has already been shewn, in an article on "*Calcutta in the Olden Time*," published in our thirty-sixth Number, that towards the end of last century (1780) "physic, as well as law, "was a gold-mine to its professors. The medical gentlemen in "Calcutta made their visits in palanquins, and received a Gold-"mohur from every patient, for every common attendance—"extras were enormous."

Entertaining considerable doubts as to whether this now exhausted gold-mine ever existed, except in the imagination of an ingenious traveller, we have still abundant proof that Calcutta then contained several medical men of the highest eminence, whose labours were, however, for the most part, caviare to the general. In 1784, Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society. The names of several distinguished Surgeons were enrolled among those of its first Members. As a dry detail of the scientific labours of each of those gentlemen might be somewhat tedious, we shall quote a few poetical descriptions of their characters, from a pamphlet of the time. We, who live in prosaic times, and upon whom classical allusions are generally wasted, may be excused in suspecting that portions of the poem verge upon the pathetic. Still we can assure all questioners that this is known to have been a "very ingenious" poem in its day, and had an extensive run. The third edition now lies before us * :—

Flora and her attendant handmaids mourn
Still o'er lamented *Kænig's early urn.*

We are told, in the notes, that "Dr. Kænig was a disciple "of the great Linnæus. He died shortly after the institution of "the Society, in consequence of the hill fever, caught when he "was in pursuit of Botanical Researches on the Coast of Coro-"mandel."

Fleming! acnowledged scholar, tell us why
Are your remarks hid from the public eye?
What in your life of science gain'd, impart
With such compliance as you favour art:
Come, let your modesty be now subdu'd,
And mental measures ope for general good.

"Dr. John Fleming was first Vice-President of the Society" (Thus encouraged, Dr. Fleming published a valuable catalogue of Indian medicinal plants and drugs in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches.)*

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* Poems in three parts—Literary Characteristics of the most distinguished members of the Asiatic Society, 1799.

> " Come forward ye, whom rosy Flora loves,
> Whose labours all that blooming Queen approves :
> See *Roxburgh* first the high assembly grace,
> To him just judgment gives a prior place.
> Roxburgh ! for you the long hair'd Gopia spread
> Ind's odorous Nard to deck your honour'd head.
> Go, favour'd man, the blue-eyed goddess greet,
> Go, lay Jonesia sprigs before her feet !
> At her command bright Butea buds unfold,
> Whose vivid pigment vies with burnish'd gold.
> Go, studiously explore the flowery fields,
> And taste the bliss the pleasing study yields !"

(Roxburgh died February 18, 1815.)

> In zealous *Anderson* we see conjoin'd
> To skill profound, a persevering mind.
> Son of the Swede ! The powers of verse present
> So you all luscious fruit of fragrant scent,
> Or aught in Nature pleasing to your sight,
> Say, will Alphonso mangoes give delight ?
> On you the gaudy garden nymphs have smil'd,
> And Flora ranks you as a darling child.

" Dr. James Anderson, of Madras." (He became a Member of the Medical Board in 1800, and died August 5, 1809, at Madras.)

> Next comes a votary of equal powers,
> Adorn'd with D'hawry and Morinda flowers !
> Flora emits on him her musky breath,
> And bids Malavian shepherds twine his wreath !
> But not the garden only claims his care,
> Each muse for *Hunter* myrtle wreaths prepare,
> He pleases when he treads their laurel bower,
> Or when we join him in the instructive tour.
> Behold him Learning's every path pursue
> He shew'd the force of the Mechanic's screw ;
> Explain'd by him, we see its power increas'd,
> It makes elastic bodies more compress'd.
> Labour's rough sons may now with manual ease,
> A mighty mass of ponderous matter raise,
> Which in a dark unletter'd age would fail
> The common impetus of human toil.
> Th'. ingenious man in this refin'd pursuit,
> The nice micrometer made more minute.
> The Index turn'd to cause its fall or rise,
> Will make the smallest measurement precise.
> His hours are now to heighten commerce given,
> And now to trace th' expanse of starry Heaven.

(William Hunter, a Bengal Surgeon, Secretary to the Asiatic Society, died December 1812, at Java) " See his tender and very affecting poem of the Spanish husband." Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, in the 6th vol. of the *A. R.* His Essay "On a new mode of applying the Screw," was presented to the Royal Society of London by Lieut.-General Melville, in the year 1780, and published in the LXXI. vol. of the *Philosophical Transactions.* See his account of Pegu, chapter the 8th. Three papers of Astronomical Observations, in the *A. R.*, and one on the Astronomical labours of Jayasingha:—

" He who endeavours well deserves applause,
More, if he labours in the public cause;
Balfour! Observer nice, then come, receive
The just encomiums which the muses give.
Early you learn'd and op'd the precious store
Of knowledge chronicled in Persian lore.
Whenever Fever in his baneful chase,
Shall dull the bloom on beauty's lovely face,
Be yours the bliss, O scientific sage!
To check the progress of his savage rage—
To sooth the fair—alleviate her pain—
And bring her smiles and dimples back again.
Pleasure refin'd the feeling man must know,
Who eases mortals on the bed of woe."

" Dr. Francis Balfour was one of the first in this country, " who endeavoured to facilitate the study of the Persian language, " by the publication of the *Insha-y-Herkern,* with an English " translation. He is also the author of a paper in the *A. R.*, on " the introduction of Arabic into Persian, and has laboured in " the improvement of his own profession by several treatises, " wherein he illustrates the influence of the moon in fevers." (Dr. Balfour retired in September 1807.)

Hear *Scott* in modest words the power impart,
Of Nitric Acid in the healing art.
Ye giddy youths, who spend nocturnal hours
In sensual pleasure's fascinating bowers,
Whose limbs enfeebled, scarcely can sustain
Your bodies, half consum'd with rooted pain,
Hear Scott a milder remedy proclaim,
Than the strong metal which impairs the frame!
Rejoice, ye youths, who tread in folly's round;
Ye men of riot, hear the silver sound!
The Nitric Acid will your strength restore,
And kill *that* subtile poison's direful power.

" Dr. Helenus Scott's paper on the use of the Nitric Acid, " with an account of the success attendant on it, is to be found " in the 2nd vol. of Dr. Beddoes's Collection of Medical Cases, " and Observations on Factitious Air, published at Bristol, in the " year 1796." (Dr. Scott became a Member of the Medical

" Board of Bombay, in 1802, and retired in March, 1810, in " England.)

" In yonder Empire, where the Burmas reign,
Lies an extensive populous domain,
On which inquiry's dawn has seldom shone,
Their learning, language, and their ways scarce known ;
Return *Buchanan !* to their regions go,
Explore whatever Burma sages know !
Remark what minerals their country yields,
And, lovely study, read their flowery fields !
This page of nature viewed with learning's eye,
Exhibits treasures—shall they hidden lie ? "

" ' Botany,' says the great Father of the Society, is the " loveliest and most copious diversion in the History of Nature. " For the study Dr. Francis Buchanan is peculiarly adapted, as " well for ability as from inclination."

(Dr. Buchanan retired in August, 1816)

Is there no other spends inquiring hours
In sacred Casi's consecrated bowers?
Yes—*Williams !* you—your praise is surely great,
Williams ! men snatched from death your name repeat,
You check the progress of envenomed pain,
And made the poison of the adder vain !

" His remarks on the use of Caustic Alkali, against the bite of snakes, are published in the 2nd volume of *A. R.*" (John Williams died at Cawnpore, in July 1808.)

Oppressively flowery as the above stanzas assuredly are, they are interesting, as shewing forth, within a moderate compass, the merits of a body of medical men, whose characters and scientific labours went far in obtaining for Surgeons in India the respectable position which they at present hold.

Our notes of eminent medical writers in India, previous to the year 1800, are but scanty. In addition to the above, we can only name John Woodall (1612-28.) Burt Adam, James Bryce, James Clark, John Clark, J. P. Wade, J. Shearman, and Alexander Stewart.

It would be work for a biographical dictionary, rather than for a Review, to repeat even the names of those medical officers in the three Presidencies who have gained high literary reputations since the beginning of the present century. A few only can be mentioned here. It may be considered scarcely proper to include the names of John Leyden, the Poet and Orientalist, who, entering the Madras Service as a Surgeon's Assistant, in 1802, when in his twenty-seventh year, (after having *qualified* himself by five or six months' incredible labour) passed a considerable time in Prince of Wales' Island, engaged in amassing information relative to the Indo-Chinese tribes, and was appointed a Professor in the College of Bengal, but is stated by his English biographers to have soon exchanged this for the more lucrative appointment of a Judge in Calcutta! devoting every leisure however to the study of Oriental manuscripts and antiquities, upon the resolve which he thus expresses in a letter to a ſriend :—" If I die without surpassing " Sir William Jones a hundred-fold in oriental learning, let " never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer." In 1811, Leyden accompanied the Governor-General to Java, where, searching eagerly for Oriental manuscripts in an ill-ventilated library, in the pestilential month of August, he was attacked with fever, and died in three days, at the age of thirty-six, adding another to the countless hecatombs of lives which have been cast away by Indian adventurers, in vain efforts to compel the failing body to obey the unfair behests of the never-tiring mind. Nor is Mr. Assistant Surgeon Joseph Hume, the Statesman and Oriental scholar, altogether within our province, although he served and served well, in the Bengal Presidency, from 1799, until February 1808 Neither can we fairly deal with the Right Honorable Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay and Doctor of Physic, who, at one period of his early career, narrowly escaped the prospect of becoming Physician to the Emperor of Russia, upon Dugald Stewart's recommendation, that " he was a man eminently qualified in the line of his profession."

The following are but a sprinkling of the names of those who have given by their writings a scientific character to the medical profession in India.*

In Medicine and Surgery.—Malcolmson, John Milne, Colin Rogers, William Scott, John Adam, R. Cole, A. Thomas, H. Goodeve, James Anderson, Brett G. H. Bell, Searle, W. Raleigh, Sir James Annesley, Twining, Kenneth Mackinnon, McCosh, Mosgrove, Ambrose Blacklock, John Macpherson, Sir W. Ainslie, Hutchinson, Richard O'Shaughnessy, Allan Webb, Hare, Parkes, Geddes, Wise, Maxwell, Finch, Thomas Moore, Charles Morehead, Conwell, F. Corbyn, Frederic Forbes, Dr. Honigberger, J. Cole, W. Hunter, R. H. Kennedy, N. Jameson and Jas. Kennedy.

In Botany, Natural History and Chemistry.—Wallich, Royle, Faulkener, W. O'Shaughnessy, R. Wight, Thomas Thomson, Arnott, W. Gilchrist Theodore Cantor, Jerdon, McCelſand,

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* It is told of the late Lord Rolle that, when a Colonel of Yeomanry, he was wont to dismiss his regiment from parade, with the question,—" Now my lads, how will ye go home, rank and file, or higglee piggle?" The answer invariably was – " Higglee pigglee, 'My Lord! Higglee pigglee!' We beg that we may be understood to have placed the following names—not rank and file, " but higglee pigglee."

W. Montgomerie, J. Stevenson, Helfer, Herbert, and Hugh Cleghorn.

Public Health.—Ranald Martin, F. Pemble Strong, Dr. Norman Chevers, and Joseph Bedford.

General Literature and Science.—Tytler, John Grant, Corbyn, Hutchinson and Hunter.

Oriental Literature, History and Antiquities.—Horace Hayman Wilson. James Bird, Sherwood, Wise, E. G. Balfour, Nicholson, Lush, Stevenson, Macgregor, and Aloys Sprenger.

Medical Topography, Meteorology and Geology.—A. Campbell, Donald Butter, Fayrer, J. P. Malcolmson, Spry, Baikie, Carter, J. Adams, Birch, Ives, W. H. Bradley, Bruce, Carter, Kinloch, Kirke, R. Cole, C. F. Collier, Dollard, Irvine, J. McCosh, John Murray, J. Clark, Taylor, Sir J. Burnes, Spilsbury, Turnbull, Christie. Ward, Grant, Malcolmson, Arnott, Benjamin Babington, Baddely, Hutton, A Duncan, Gibson, Benjamin Heyne, P. B. Lord, Forbes, Benza, J. Clark, Marshall, J. Stevenson, Murray (of Bombay) Walker, Voysey.

Considering the many drawbacks which attend the pursuit of Medical Research and Literature in the East, India may boast of very fair success in the number and value of her Medical Journals.

The Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta were commenced in 1825.

The Transactions of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society were first issued in 1838. They have continued to appear up to the present time.

In 1834 the *Indian Journal of Medical and Physical Science* was commenced by Messrs. Grant and Pearson who published two volumes; it subsequently appeared regularly every month under the successive auspices of Dr. Corbyn, Dr. Eveleigh and Dr. C. Finch, until the end of 1845, when its publication ceased.

The *Quarterly Medical and Surgical Journal of the North-West Provinces* first appeared in 1848.

Dr. Edlin's India Register of Medical Science was issued monthly during the year 1848.

The Indian Annals of Medical Science are published half yearly in Calcutta. The first part was issued in October, 1853.

We will venture to say that the whole of these Periodicals will bear comparison, as regards the value and originality of their matter, with any serials of like pretensions in Europe.

It would be difficult to point to any peculiar and distinctive characteristics in the Indian Surgeon, with the exception of his pallid countenance and his empty pockets. Many of his friends, whose forte is witty anecdote, regale him frequently with certain ornamented facts, regarding his venerable predecessors, which are, questionless, deemed valuable, as conveying instruction and warning to himself.—Such as the veracious histories—of the *Philosophic* Surgeon, who, on his way to his indigo factory, would enquire of the native doctor—"Any thing to-day"—and, upon receiving the ready answer, "All's well, Lord of the world! only five men dead," would exclaim cheerfully—"good, very good"—and canter gaily about his business;—again of the *Ambitious* Surgeon who, having gone through every grade in His Majesty's army, from Assistant Surgeon to retired Inspector-General of Hospitals, entered the Company's service with an eye to a seat in the Medical Board:—and, still again, of the *Experimental* Surgeon who, in every case requiring a brisk emetic, compelled the patient to swallow two live blue-bottle flies. of the splendid Indian species, which were no sooner bolted, then they operated vitally and returned to light.* All men have their peculiarities, but the greatest peculiarity of the Indian Surgeon probably is, that he is rarely, if ever, permitted the luxury of exercising his. Forming one of the centres of a series of very small circles, he is kept too conscious of being an object of criticism to venture upon singularity.

We have now before us a valuable pamphlet entitled "*Notes on the condition of the Indian Medical Services,*" by J. Macpherson, M. D., which contains the most recent account that we have of the official position of Medical Officers in the three Presidencies:—

> The Medical Service of Bombay consists of 35 surgeons and 105 assistant surgeons, making a total of 158, with usually a certain number of supernumeraries, never exceeding 20 in number, and generally falling short of that number. It may be said, in a general way, that about 70 officers are employed with the Army. or in the Indian Navy, about 50 are on Staff or Civil employment, and the large number of 32 on leave or furlough. almost all of them on sick certificate.
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> The zillah or civil stations appear to be about 16 in number. and their pay seems to be much the same as that of similar appointments in Bengal, Rupees 360 a month, sometimes with an additional hundred for the charge of civil or insane hospitals. or the same sum for a duty which is never assigned to them in Bengal—that of assistant magistrates; and which, since commencing this article, we find has been withdrawn from all

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* This philosopher merely prescribed *auctoritate antiquorum* since we are told that the best and most effectual way of taking *Wood Lice*, (once considered of potency in asthmas) "is the swallowing them alive, which is very easily and conveniently done, "for they naturally roll themselves upon being touched, and thus form a sort of "smooth pill, which slips down the throat without being tasted. This is the securest "way of having all their virtues." Every one is aware with what sovereign effect John Abernethy recommended a live spider to the lady who had swallowed a fly.

assistant surgeons: they appear to be scarcely ever post-masters or registrars of deeds. There are also in civil or district employ, 4 superintending vaccinators, each receiving Rupees 350 a month, besides their military pay. Of the civil stations, we believe Poona is the favourite one, and that a little is made by private practice, but there is reason to suppose that in the absence of any great number of Europeans, they must be inferior to the better class of Bengal stations as respects income from private practice; and can have little advantage over ordinary Military appointments, beyond the convenience of their being more fixed.

Other appointments held by them at present are, the surgeoncies in the Persian Gulf, at Baroda, Cutch, Kuttywar, Indore, Sattara. &c., the charge of the ex-ameers, and the private secretaryship to the Governor of Madras, and one appointment in the Nizam's Service. The station of Mahabaleshwur is one of the best appointments, and a popular man may make something by practice, although fees are rarely given by Government servants in Bombay. We see the pay of the surgeon in the Persian Gulf (whether at Bagdad or Bushire, is not very clear.) set down at Rupees 515-0-4. Three officers are detached in the Assay Department, and we observe that there are four staff surgeons.

The proportion of staff appointments at the Presidency itself, is, as compared with the other Presidencies, large; including the Members of the Medical Board, they amount to about 20, or almost as many as in the much larger Presidency of Bengal. There are three Members of the Board, and its secretary, a superintending surgeon, five professors of the Medical College, a store-keeper, a surgeon to the General Hospital, and an assistant, a garrison surgeon and assistant, a surgeon of the Marine battalion, a civil surgeon and assistant, a police surgeon and assistant, port surgeon, &c.; surgeon to the Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy hospital, an oculist: generally one officer holds two or more of these appointments.

The pay of the officers at the Presidency appears to be much the same as that of Calcutta; for instance, the professors in the Government College receive Rupees 450, while they only have Rupees 400 at Calcutta; but perhaps this difference depends merely on house-rent; and may be only apparent. The Members of the Board, however, and their secretary, the superintending surgeons, the store-keeper, and the surgeon to the Governor, are not so well paid as the corresponding officers in Bengal.

Most assistant surgeons, in the earlier part of their career, are made to serve for two years in the Indian Navy. If their stay be not too long protracted in it, there is very little hardship in this, as they have the opportunity of seeing, in fine vessels, a good deal of the coasts of India, Persia, Arabia, &c; the pay is small. somewhat larger we believe than that for doing duty with a regiment; but as the temptations to extravagance, and even the opportunities of spending money, are few, it may be considered ample.

The number of Bombay Medical officers always absent on sick leave is remarkable. and this is usually ascribed to the effects of the unhealthy climate of Scinde. Something. perhaps, may also be attributed to the greater facility and cheapness of getting home from Bombay than from the other Presidencies.

Staff appointments at the Presidency are as much sought after at Bombay as in Calcutta and several of the officers at the Presidency enjoy pretty good incomes from practice, as also do one or two private practitioners. A good deal of the practice lies among the Parsees, who are, after the Europeans, the leading class, and certainly the most intelligent and enterprising of Orientals. They are, however, much in the habit of employing private practitioners. The best medical practice is not nearly so remunerative as in the larger city of Calcutta, nor even equal to Madras.

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On the whole, Bombay has a greater number of staff appointments at the Presidency, in proportion to the number of the members of its Medical Service, than Bengal; it also enjoys a larger proportion of the appointments that fall to the lot of the seniors of the Service than Bengal, though it is inferior in this respect to Madras, which has certainly got the lion's share.

The Madras Medical Service consists of about 72 surgeons and 154 assistant surgeons, making a total of 226. Of these some 80 are on staff employ, 90 in regimental employ, and some 50 absent on sick or other leave.

Of those on staff employ, about 28 are zillah surgeons, 10 employed in Residencies. The pay of zillah surgeons is, we believe, the same as in Bengal and Bombay. We should suppose that civil surgeoncies, generally speaking, cannot be very remunerative. We have heard of Salem as a good civil station. The Neilgherries must yield a considerable income, and of the surgeoncies, Hyderabad is of course the best, rivalling Lucknow; the surgeoncy to the Mysore commission and some other Residency surgeoncies, as that of Cochin, are comfortable appointments. There are 10 officers in the Nizam's service, all well paid. 5 garrison Surgeons, no fewer than 10 superintending Surgeons, 3 members of the Medical Board, and a secretary, the latter at present being an assistant surgeon.

There are at the Presidency 15 medical officers, including the Medical Board, being 8 surgeons and 7 assistant surgeons. Their duties are those of garrison surgeon, medical store-keeper, four district surgeons, superintendent Eye Infirmary, surgeon General Hospital, one permanent assistant, and one assistant surgeon to it, and six chairs in the Medical College. We observe, as differing from the routine of Bengal, that one of the assistants at the General Hospital retains his appointment on promotion, also that an assistant at the General Hospital is officiating as surgeon to it during the absence on sick certificate of the surgeon. A principle somewhat similar to this was acted on recently in the North-West Provinces of Bengal, when the Lieutenant-Governor, anxious to secure the station of Agra, which is a surgeon's appointment, for an assistant surgeon on his promotion, appointed him while an assistant surgeon to the civil station.

Assistant surgeons in Madras are, on their first arrival, made to do duty at the General Hospital, and keep case books, until they are reported duly qualified for the general duties of the army.

We confess our very imperfect knowledge of Madras, but from all that we have heard, the private practice at the Presidency is not so remunerative as at Calcutta, though more so than at Bombay. The best practice is chiefly in the hands of two men. We have also heard of surgeons in the Madras Presidency making a point of never receiving fees, even from those who are well able to pay, in which respect they differ from 9-10ths of their Bombay and Bengal brethren.

The great superiority of the Madras service over the two others lies in the unusually large proportion of superintending surgeons which it possesses, no fewer than 10, or but one short of the Bengal Army, and if Burmah should be finally assigned to the Madras Army, they will get one more superintending surgeon, and thus have just as many superintending surgeons as the much larger Presidency of Bengal. We have been told that there is a much more efficient Board at Madras than there has been in Bengal for many years, and, as the men are younger, this is very probable, but that there, as elsewhere, their influence, for good or bad, is, from the want of all independent power, very trifling; they have, however, published some useful Topographies and statistical Returns, and have never been guilty of giving to the world any documents so feeble as the late Report of the Bengal Board on Fever and Dysentery, which has been so generally laughed at. We think that the Service continues to support a Medical journal.

We have reason to believe that the Madras Subordinate Medical Department is better organized than that of Bengal, and they have apothecaries instead of Native doctors to their regiments; a certain number of the Medical officers are made to give gratuitous lectures to the Subordinate Department, but gratuitous services cannot be expected to be zealously rendered.

The Bengal Medical Service consists of 129 surgeons and 230 assistant surgeons, making a total of 359. There are supposed to be a certain number of supernumeraries attached, but this is by no mean always the case. The service may be said generally to be divided into 200, employed in purely regimental duty, (including irregular cavalry and local corps,) about 120 on civil or staff employ, and 40 on furlough or leave, the proportion of the latter being much smaller than in Madras, and little more than 1-3rd that of Bombay,—a very remarkable fact! We may here remark that it is a subject of some just complaint in Bengal, where promotion is so slow, that a Surgeon of 30 years' service, when on furlough, draws no higher pay than one just promoted, but this is also the case with the Captain who is unlucky in his promotion.

Some of the chief civil and staff appointments, besides the 11 superintending surgeons and the members of the Board, are the following: viz., upwards of 50 civil stations in Bengal and the North-west: of these only 6 are assigned to full Surgeons, namely. Delhi, Agra, Benares, Patna, Dacca, Berhampore, and are all more or less sought after. Of the appointments in the North-West, the most lucrative for assistant surgeons are Bareilly, and the civil surgeoncies of Simla and Mussoorie: the two last only held for a period of two years. In Bengal there are many very excellent civil appointments, supposed to vary in value from 700 to 1,100 a year, as Kishnaghur, Howrah, Jessore, Tirhoot, Bhaugulpore, Chuprah, Hooghly, Ghazeepore, &c. The registry of deeds is in some of the cases the most valuable addition to the appointment, while in Kishnaghur the ferry gives a handsome return, but in all these cases, the value of the appointment depends much on the popularity of the civil surgeon with the station and the neighbouring planters and land-holders. In Bengal and the North-West, the civil surgeons very generally hold the post-office, and are also often Registers of Deeds. But under the new changes they are to be deprived of the Post Offices, and the civilians always endeavour to get hold of the Registries for themselves.

Of political appointments, strictly speaking, only two are now held by Members of the Medical Service, namely, the charge of Darjeeling, and the custody of the young Maharaja. The two chief residency surgeoncies are excellent appointments, Lucknow being worth Rupees 1,500 a month to any one of common judgment, and Nagpore about Rupees 1,200. The superintending surgeoncy at Gwalior is a desirable appointment, as, indeed, must the charges in the Gwalior Contingent generally be considered. The opium examinerships at Ghazeepore and Patna are excellent appointments; that at Indore is now held by a Bombay Assistant Surgeon. Two mint appointments, one in Bombay and one in Calcutta. are held by Bengal Surgeons, as well as the charge of the Botanical Gardens in Calcutta and Saharunpore; one of the examinerships of the College of Fort William is also held by a Medical man.

Including the Medical Board, there are 25 Members of the Medical Service performing Medical duties at the Presidency, and this is including the Surgeon to the Governor-General and to the Body Guard, who cannot be looked on as fixtures. In the last 10 years the offices of second garrison assistant, deputy apothecary, and marine assistant Surgeon, have been abolished, and one Presidency surgeoncy absorbed in the marine surgeoncy. Some of the appointments at the Presidency are the Medical store-keeper or apothecary, the garrison surgeon and assistant, the surgeon to the General Hospital and his two assistants, the Marine Surgeon, the oculist. 6 or 7 professorships in the Medical College, and 5 Presidency surgeoncies.

Of these the best paid are the apothecary, and the Secretary of the Medical College and Council of Education, (two professors of the Medical College. by holding several appointments, also have about Rupees 1,200,) and the worst paid. is the Garrison Assistant Surgeon. The Presidency surgeons are not much better paid than the last, their whole Government pay being Rupees 490; but there is only one who does not now hold some additional employment; the district Surgeons in Madras have Rupees 800, we are told.

People, at a distance, attach an imaginary value to appointments in Calcutta, and suppose them all to be well paid. Many a man who has looked to coming to the Presidency, has been staggered on finding a Presidency surgeoncy offered to him. and then hearing that it is not worth Rupees 500 a month. The fact is, that the value of Calcutta appointments depends on what can be made of them;—when a man has to look to mere Government pay, he would probably be much better off out of Calcutta. The receipts of the Calcutta practitioners are now considerably smaller than in former days. One of the most highly-respected men that has ever visited India—and the oldest resident practitioner in this city—once told us that his largest receipt were Rupees 87,000 in fees, in one year. What may be counted the best practice in Calcutta is divided among three or four men, two of them being supposed to be far ahead of their compeers. There are several private practitioners, some of them, as the Police Surgeon, holding Government appointments, and several of the others having some public employment, as the charge of dispensaries, most of them enjoying the privilege of prescribing on the Company's dispensary, a privilege now become valueless.

Careful sifting of Messrs. Dodwell and Miles' List of the Medical officers of the Indian Army, from the year 1764, to the year 1838, has given us some very curious statistics. We find that, out of 2,019 Surgeons who ate the Company's salt during that period, there are reported—to have been killed in action 7, to have been drowned 13, and to have died on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, 743. In all, seven hundred and sixty-three deaths in India, out of a list of two thousand and nineteen, which included, of all the medical men serving in the three Presidencies when that list was taken! Farther, we find that, of the above number, 63 obtained seats in the Medical Board, and that the number of those Superintending Surgeons who had not risen to the Board (including those serving when the list was drawn out,) was 88. Under the disagreeable heading of "struck off," we find 39: these were, for the most part, gentlemen who exceeded their terms of leave or furlough. The number of those "cashiered," was 6.

We had intended to dwell somewhat at length upon the "Physiology" of the Surgeon in India; but must hasten to a close. It is to be remarked, however, that his constitution appears to lay him open to a peculiar species of affliction immediately upon his receiving his warning, at the India House, that he must sail within three months, and proceeding to conclude his bargain with the owner of some vessel for a passage round the Cape. We would not willingly brand any class of men with a charge of flagrant dishonesty; but we do not hesitate to declare that, in conducting this transaction, he is, in several cases out of every ten, in imminent danger of being egregiously cheated. Every passenger vessel of a certain class must, according to law, carry a surgeon. The owners of certain ships trading to the East Indies, however, display an almost unconquerable aversion to pay the Surgeon who is to attend their crew, and whose ' experience" is advertised to attract their passengers. We could relate many instances of the grossest fraud thus practised by ship-owners, upon inexperienced Medical Officers; we will only quote two, for the accuracy of which we can vouch. An Assistant Surgeon takes his berth in a first-class vessel, with a large crew, and crowded with passengers. He suggests that his medicial attendance upon these persons should be considered in the arrangement, and is told that—" the Captain doctors his crew." Near the Cape, scurvy or typhus appears among the ship's company, and nearly every man in the vessel passes through his hands. It is then only upon the strongest remonstrance, that he receives a promise of a trifling fee from the Captain, "on his own responsibility." Again,—a married officer has received the charge of troops. He meets the owner of the vessel by appointment at the Jerusalem. He bargains for his wife's passage, the price of his own has been fixed by Government. With some difficulty, a stated sum is agreed to; he then proposes that the amount of this should be reduced, if he is to afford medical aid to the crew and passengers. The reply is—" We are not accustomed to have these demands made by Company's Officers, the Captain has his own medicine chest.—But the passengers?—If we have any, out of the service. they must make their own arrangements." The Doctor then points to a card on the wall which announces that the ship carries an "Experienced Surgeon." "Oh" (with some perturbation) "that is the agent's doing." "However," adds the man of capital, with a defiant air, "If you do not choose to attend as other medical men do, I shall add to the price of Mrs.———'s passage." The doctor, feeling himself entrapped, lodges a complaint at the India House. The city gentleman requests another interview, apologising for "hastiness." The Doctor, having his eye upon a larger cabin, determines to meet his extortioner half way. The last words of the man of tens of thousands, the owner of a fleet, the merchant prince, in this dirty transaction are, "*Another five pound note will make all right between us.*" The note is, then and there, handed across the table, and the chaffering is at an end.

In cases of this kind, medical officers would do well, having paid down their passage money, and having obtained a receipt, to desire that the proper arrangement should be made; any decided evasion should be met thus:—"You have evidently calculated upon receiving gratuitously services to which you have no claim, and for which you are bound to pay; as you have refused to engage my services, I distinctly refuse to render them; you will, however, receive an intimation from my attorney of the fact, that you are compelled by law to carry a surgeon, and that extreme measures will be taken against you, if you venture to sail without one." A few such lessons would, doubtless, put an end to this nefarious system.

Arrived in India, and settled down in a regimental charge, or in a civil station, the medical officer, like every other man, has his trials and his difficulties; but, so long as he retains his health and likes his profession, these are, for the most part, irritations rather than griefs. With the Military Assistant Surgeon, the chief vexations arise from frequent marchings and counter-marchings; the innumerable harassments of detachment duty; the inactivity and ennui attendant upon small charges; the toils and exposure of service in the field; the labour and anxiety which pestilential visitations carry in their train.

The position of the Civil Surgeon more closely resembles that of his professional brother, the country general practitioner at home, than any other. Still it presents a few striking distinctive characters. The Mofussil Doctor, who is probably the only European practitioner in a district as large and nearly as populous as Surrey—is, essentially, a doctor of all work. He has his Jail Hospital, his Military Hospital and his Government Dispensary to attend to. He is probably Secretary to the Government school, and a Member of the Ferry Fund Committee. If fortunate, he is also Post-Master, Registrar of Deeds, and Registrar of Marriages: beyond this he has his private practice, this last, probably, brings him from 0 to two-thirds of his income,—and most of his anxieties and vexations. There is a very singular *lex non scripta* governing the relation between a medical man and his patients in India, from which we must be allowed to cite some few specimen passages.

Upon his arrival at a new station, whatever may be the reputation which has preceded him, and which all might learn upon enquiry, for every man's character can be ascertained in India—his opinions and practice are treated, by the generality of his patients, with the greatest and most undisguised distrust. This is bad law, and should be abrogated entirely. When one's coachman drives us along the edge of a declivity, with a somewhat unsteady grasp upon the reins, it is difficult to repress an exclamation of caution. Still, it may be safe to bear in mind the axiom,—that evident want of confidence can only have the effects of insulting a good Surgeon and of unnerving a bad one.

The unwritten law holds that all pecuniary arrangements shall be settled by the patient, the Doctor not being allowed a word in the matter. If he be paid adequately (which it is but just to say, is generally the case)—well; if he be egregiously defrauded, as happens by no means very rarely,—he must hold his peace, a word of remonstrance would place his reputation in the sharper's power. This should be cried down by the profession themselves

Although it is generally considered, at home, that death comes in India as a matter of course, it has been decided here, that all deaths are irregular, and that the medical man not only ought not to permit them to occur, but is to be subjected to punishment for their occurrence. We seriously believe that no medical man has ever lost a private patient in India without suffering,—over and above the toil, the anxiety and the disappointment which, in a ten-fold degree, attend such casualties here,—a certain amount of injury, either to his feelings or to his character. This may be dispensed in all degrees, from the averted eye, and thanks for unceasing attention uttered with the intonation of a reproof, to a formal declaration of opinion that a valuable life has been sacrificed by the physician's ignorance. It is easy enough to account for all this. It is a peculiar fault among Surgeons in India that they are often careless of those guards over demeanour and expression, which are necessary to gain them confidence in their patients' minds. Again, in small Indian communities, a death is an event of such rarity and importance, that every member of the society naturally establishes a rigorous enquiry into the matter ; and, as naturally, condemns a failure which might, not improbably, occur to-morrow in his own case. Beyond this, it generally happens, at home, that the largest number of deaths occurs in the practice of the most eminent physicians and surgeons. The humble apothecary is, therefore, permitted to lose his patient or two annually, in the course of nature, without being subjected to question or blame.

Although often unable to maintain a character for knowledge in his own line, he is expected to be thoroughly acquainted with all those lines which diverge from it. He must be skilled as a meteorologist, a geologist, a chemist, a botanist, a mineralogist, and an icthyologist ; he should be practised as a dog-doctor and a horse-doctor ; cunning in the manufacture of ginger-beer, and in the preparation of cold cream, and hair oil ; an examiner of boys in mathematics and history, a classical and oriental scholar, an antiquarian, a sanitary reformer, a horseman, and a buggy-driver, a retailer, (if he can possibly be brought to it,) of the morning's news ; and, it may be even—in stations where the march of intellect has rapidly advanced,—a homœopath, a hydropathist, a table-turner, and a believer in the universal merits of cod-liver oil, and sarsaparilla. True, most of these qualifications may, perhaps, be fairly expected in a good officer and a civil neighbour ; still it is palpably unfair to seek for them, either in aggregate or in extensive detail, within a head-piece of any but the best quality and largest dimensions.

Notwithstanding all this rigour, professional merit is judged in India by very carelessly fixed standards. There is the "clever man" and the "horse-doctor ;" the "Joe Manton" (sure to kill), and the good children's doctor : but, beyond this, there never was a country in which strivings to approach eminence of any kind were so little appreciated and encouraged, by society generally, as they are with us. This may also be readily accounted for. In India, nearly every member of the society whose good opinion the scientific aspirant is solicitous to gain, is a person who not only possesses considerable acquirements and celebrity of his own, but maintains a vivid consciousness of the fact. Here, then, the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle goes for nothing, and no men of intellect can be fairly expected to think highly of that which they do not understand. As regards medical fame, the principle holds universally, that, *It can only be legitimately dispensed by the voices of the profession.* In a country, therefore, where it often happens that a medical man is not brought into contact for many years with any one of his professional brethren, it is not surprising that many fair reputations should remain at a stand-still. Not very long since, we met with a sufficiently clear illustration of the mode in which scientific labours are viewed in India. Conversing with a friend who is, in most respects, a man of great sense and discernment, we placed in his hand the———, a Treatise by a medical man in this country,—observing that it was an admirable work. Our friend turned over the leaves of the bulky volume; and, returning it with an air of some uncertainty, remarked, that "he should have thought that doctors did enough of that sort of writing at the hospitals." The work of European celebrity, the labour of half a life-time, was placed upon the footing of a mere school essay. This was the style of encouragement afforded by the non-professional circles in which he moved to another friend of ours who, not being overburthened with practice, devoted all the spare hours of his days, for many years, to the study of pathology, in the school where his education had been received. He gained some little reputation, with the profession; but, to the last, his aunts and cousins could never be brought to understand why "it took John so many years to walk the hospitals!"

An attempt to set forth the state of the Military and Retiring Funds, upon which the Surgeons of our three presidencies depend as means of providing for their families towards, or after, the termination of their own careers, would be greatly out of place at the end of an article. The question is, unhappily, one which, involving the deepest interests of every officer in the service, will hereafter demand folios for its elucidation. It will be sufficient to say that the Medical Officers of each Presidency have their Retiring Fund. That at Madras is of the oldest standing, that of Bombay is, or at all events, was a few years since, in a position of exceeding difficulty, while the Medical Retiring Fund of Bengal, established not many years ago at the instance of Dr. John Henderson, can now only grant, in twenty-two years, the annuities which were to have been ready at the expiration of seventeen. One and all, the various Joint Stock Funds of India appear to have been constructed upon no principles more valid or determinate than those upon which an ingenious child builds up a dirt pie of unusual dimensions; and to be conducted in a manner which, although sufficiently characterised by zeal and conscientiousness, has ever displayed an absolute unacquaintance, on the part of the managers, with the first principles of joint stock union. Two instances, out of many, will sufficiently illustrate the truth of these assertions. A few years since, it was discovered by one of the managers of the Military Fund that, in all cases where subscribers had died indebted to the Fund in any portion of a month's subscription, the sum thus due was never claimed for the benefit of the Fund. Thus, supposing the deaths of A. and B. to have occurred respectively on the 1st and the 28th of January, deductions were made from their pay only up to the end of December, and thus twenty-nine days' subscriptions were lost to the Fund. It was found that some thousand Rupees, thus due, were still available and, when claimed, were paid into the Fund. Many thousands, with the interest which should have accrued from them were, however, irrevocably lost. Again, whenever any question involving unusual expenditure of monies belonging to either Fund is brought upon the tapis, the custom is to leave its decision to the votes of the subscribers at large! True, every man should be permitted to do what he will with his own ; but, to do this wisely, it is, of course, essential that he should know precisely what means he possesses, and we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that neither of those associations can select one of their member from every hundred who could give even an approximative guess at the actual condition of the Funds to which he subscribes, or justify the outlays for which he votes. The various propositions to relax the rules of the Funds in favor of this pitiable case or that, are—considering that fixed principles of organization are essential to the existence of every Joint Stock Concern—palpably ridiculous. There is not a little truth mixed with the sarcasm of the axiom that "Joint Stock Companies should have neither mercy, conscience, nor compassion." At all events, any Company of the kind, wishing to exercise either of these virtues, should assuredly provide themselves with a distinct fund whence they may meet its demands. Ill-constructed and ill-understood, it is to be feared, that many years must elapse and many severe pulls upon the pockets of the subscribers must be endured, before these Funds can be freed from their original defects and subsequent shortcomings.

Like the Members of all other services, the Medical Officers of the Company have their grievances. Year by year, however, these have diminished in weight and number under calm remonstrance, addressed to a Government who have rarely turned a deaf ear to the just claims of their servants. The chief of the remaining sources of dissatisfaction are :—The low rates of pay and allowances. The slowness of promotion among those who have reached the grade of Surgeon. The limitation of the powers of the Medical Board, and the hesitation which Government displays in granting pensions by rank to their Medical Officers. The latter subject, being at present in agitation, we shall quote a passage from an application by Dr. Burness, to the late Court of Proprietors, as setting forth the wishes of the service.

> In 1796, when the Indian army was assuming the important character it now possesses, the Medical Department was officially declared by the Court of Directors to be an integral portion of it. Liable to the same dangers, and to more than the same fatigues and exposures, the right of its members to rank, quarters, pay, and pension, relatively with military officers, was freely and fairly conceded. The same just principle was again enunciated in the Court's despatch of the 5th February 1823, wherein it was unequivocally expressed that no distinction should exist betwixt the military and medical branches, but that the one should enjoy proportionate advantages in common with the other. And so, for forty years, the united departments proceeded *pari pasu*, the officers of each retiring on the pension of the grade which they had respectively attained. In 1838, however, the Home Government granted to the military officers penisons by length of service, as well as by rank, giving them an option to choose between the two, but without including their medical brethren in the boon, and when the latter prayed for a similar favour, they, strange to say, granted the pension by service, but withdrew that by rank; thus drawing a marked distinction between the departments, rendered more galling by the fact that the avowed object, as respected the military, was a gracious intention to raise, so far as pension could, the unfortunate in promotion, to a level with the fortunate, while the manifest design, in regard to the medical service, was to bring down the lucky to the standard of the unlucky; or in other words, because one branch of it had been slow and supine in its rise, another, which had mounted the ladder with an active step, was also to be brought down to, and retained at, zero. Could any legislation be more mistaken, or disheartening? But the singular anomaly did not end here. In every other case, where innovations, injurious to individuals, had been introduced, they were only to affect new comers, and not those in the service. Take, for instance, the new rules as to the pensions for chaplains, dated Augustt 31, 1836, those for veterinary surgeons, dated May 2, 1851, by both of which it was clearly defined that present members were not to suffer : and again, those promulgated in the present year for chaplains, prolonging their pension period from fifteen to seventeen years, but guarding religiously the interests of actual incumbents. While strict justice was thus being administered to other departments, the medical service was told that, for ten years, from July 1842, its Members might retire either under the old or new rules; but that in July 1852, the latter were to become absolute. This narrow concession might satisfy the seniors to the change, but its practical effort was, by a stroke of power, to alter arbitrarily the conditions on which several hundreds of valuable public servants had accepted the employ of Government, men who, without any disparage-

ment to the 'ecclesiastical and veterinary departments, had done their duty as well as they, and were as much entitled to the consideration of their masters.

Doubtless, most of these drawbacks will undergo mitigation in due process of time. Long ago, even when laboring under many serious disadvantages from which they are now entirely freed, the generality of Surgeons in India never failed to regard and to boast of their service, as by many degrees the best and the most liberal that has ever been open to the members of the profession. The Medical Officer of the East India Company is exempt from many of the greatest ills that beset the career of his professional brethren at home. While he lives, fair competency is assured to him in return for a fair amount of daily toil ; and his thoughts of the future are not embittered by a prospect of over-wrought or necessitous old age, or by the reflection that those who are dearest to him will lose all support at his death.

Well-esteemed and attentively listened to by the profession at home, with a countless number of hitherto almost untrodden tracks of scientific enquiry open before them, in the scene of their labours, with the certainty of full encouragement from Government in the pursuit of their investigations, and with a fair probability that any success which they may achieve will be duly appreciated,—for we could not point to a single Medical Officer in the service who can justly complain that, in his case, unusual talent, industry or merit has been long and entirely neglected—we cannot but believe that, with increased activity in working out the hidden treasures of Eastern pathology and therapeutics, and in the encouragement of closer professional union among themselves, by the establishment of Medical Societies in correspondence with the learned bodies of Europe and America, the profession in India might readily achieve a degree of appreciation and influence, which would render them the most fortunate class of physicians ever known, since the good old times of scarlet roquelaures and gold-headed canes.

PRATT, WEITBRECHT, AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BY REV. G. C. CUTHBERT.

1. *Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht, late Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Burdwan: comprehending a History of the Burdwan Mission.* Compiled from his Letters and Papers by his Widow. With recommendatory notice by the Rev. H. Venn, B.D., Hon. Sec. of the C. M. S., and an Introduction by the Editor, the Rev. A. M W. Christopher, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Richmond, &c. London. 1854.
2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, B. D., late Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and for twenty-one years Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.* By his Sons, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, M. A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and the Rev. John Henry Pratt, M. A., Fellow of Grenville and Caius' College, Cambridge, and Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. London. 1849.
3. *The Reports and other Publications of the C. M. S.*

CHRISTIAN missions to the Heathen have now assumed a position of that magnitude and importance among the powerful agencies of this age of earnest activity, and more especially here in India, that more than justifies, that demands, a respectful notice in these pages, one of the objects of which is to chronicle the chief movements and principles which affect the minds and the interests of men, and exert an influence, direct or indirect, in producing great moral results in the condition of Indian Society, under its main division of Native and European.

A notice of the class of motive agencies here referred to is demanded also by the astonishing ignorance which prevails concerning them, even among persons who might well be expected to be familiar with the whole matter. What Henry Martyn said near fifty years ago, might be repeated still by nineteen-twentieths of those most strongly bound to know every thing that makes either for, or against, the interests of this our Indian Empire :—"We known nothing about Christianity in India ; take it in its most extensive sense, as the religion of all who are baptized, and we can do no more than guess at the extent to which it has spread."* We suppose, for instance, that if five out of every six of our Governors, or Governors-General, were, on returning to England, to be called before a Parliamentary Committee, or the Hon'ble Court of Directors itself, in some rare moment of interest about a subject so despised, and asked to give some information respecting the state and prospects of Christianity among the "peoples, nations and languages" they had been governing—about the Missionaries and their work among these widespread millions—how many they (the Missionaries) are,—what they are doing,—what subsidiary agency they employ,—what have been the results of their proceedings in converting natives to Christianity ; with what feelings they inspire the people generally towards their European masters, whether, as used to be so vehemently and solemnly predicted as the certain effect of missionary interference, they are really exciting the superstitious fears of the population, and stimulating them to rise *en masse* inflamed with religious fury, and drive us from the land ;—or any other of the multitudinous questions which would occur to a mind of ordinary intelligence enquiring on the subject,—our worthy rulers, though "Christians" themselves, of course, and though perhaps pensioned and titled and G. C. B'd., for their able and enlightened administration, would have to confess that they knew nothing whatever of all these things. that except when some forward lady collector or officious secretary of a missionary society intruded upon them a subscription list or a Report, or when they happened to see in a newspaper an account of a missionary meeting—which they *skipped* of course,—they never heard or saw anything whatever of the missionaries or their doings.[*]

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* Letter quoted in Pratt's Memoir, p. 63.

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[*] Perhaps we ought to except Lord Dalhousie from this imputation. He has certainly seen with his own eyes something that had resulted from Missionary labour. It is recorded of him, on the best authority that, in company with the late honoured Mr. Thomason of Agra, he actually visited the Church Missionary Society's station at that place on his way Up-the country for the first time ; entered some of the native Christians' houses in the Christian village. and expressed himself surprised, if not interested, by what he saw. Of other acts of the kind in his Lordship's career we have not heard.

He has not been left without precedent, however ; not only did his Lordship's father in-law Lord Tweeddale, when Governor of Madras, manifest a lively interest in Missionary affairs ; but previous Governors-General. *e. g.*, the Marquis of Hastings and Lord W. Bentinck went as far, probably. as they were allowed in their day. in forwarding this *the great work of England in India*

Nor ought we to omit acknowledging that a better spirit seems to be getting place amongst our men in authority. Without referring at any length to the late Mr. Thomason's steady and cordial countenancing of missionary labour ; it gives us pleasure to state that his successor in the Lieut Governorship of Agra, the Hon. J Colvin, has manifested a ready and intelligent interest in the same, both by visiting and subscribing liberally to Missionary institutions and objects : and our new Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. the Hon'ble F. J. Halliday, on his first official tour, astonished every one. and delighted the friends of missions, by his kind notice of missionary schools and missionary plans, and the careful attention and minute enquiries they elicited from him. The honourable testimony to missionary efforts delivered by Sir Charles Wood, when introducing the new India Bill to the British Parliament, may have tended to produce this altered tone but, at all events, we sincerely rejoice in it.

And no one would be more surprised than these same enlightened ex-Governors, if some one who perhaps had never seen " the East," but took some thought for the great and best interests of the people of India, as well as for the petty ones of the *Honourable Company*, were to inform them that in the country they had governed with so much enlightenment, there were some 400, more or less educated, intelligent, active and zealous European missionaries, engaged night and day in doing their work of evil or of good ; that they are establishing themselves in the land, having formed no fewer than 300 stations, where they generally erect permanent buildings, and set their varied machinery at work, including no fewer than 2.000 schools, which contain above 64,000 pupils of almost all classes of the native community ; that they have gathered round them in their several spheres altogether some thousands of fellow-agents, natives of the country, and in various degrees educated, trained, obedient men. fully prepared to carry out the designs of their employers in acting on the minds of the people, and actually engaged in doing so, teaching in the schools, preaching and distributing books innumerable in the bazars, and at the immense periodical gatherings of the people, called *Melas*, in various noted places, as well as journeying about through the villages, and there also pursuing their work of propagandism ; and moreover, that they were expending on this work not far short of £200,000 sterling per annum. And if it were further stated, that the ready evasion, that the whole agency is powerless and insignificant, is set aside by the undeniable fact, that *tens of thousands* of the people have, from whatever motives, actually declared their adhesion to them, abandoning their ancestral habits of life and worship, so dear to Orientals, and adopting others of a new and foreign stamp ; that of these there are actually known to be above 112,000— though the number is probably much greater)— who have been formed into about 400 little communities or congregations. We say, that at all this information, the be-starred and be-lauded ex-Governor would open his bewildered eyes in utter amazement, only to be equalled, we hope, by his honest shame at having to learn it only *then*.

Nor is this igronance peculiar to our Governors ; it is but too common amongst the inferior members of " the Services," and amongst Europeans in India generally. We well remember when voyaging to this country not many years ago, having as shipmates amidst a very large company, for we came by what is facetiously termed the " Overland Route," an old Company's officer, who had served his masters bravely and well, no doubt, during some five and twenty years, and was then returning to India, after a visit home, "bearing his blushing honours thick upon him," having been specially complimented on his services by Royalty itself. Now there were with us in the ship two or three gentlemen connected with one of the great missionary societies, who were making their first voyage to India. They seemed very full of the great work to which their lives were devoted, and often spoke of it, with a view apparently of both gaining information themselves, and of enlisting in it the interest of their fellow-passengers. Our veteran Indian friend, however, gave them very little encouragement. His testimony, most confidently given, was to the effect that missionary work in India was all a delusion, if not an imposture;—that there was no such thing in existence as a true convert, and could not be,—to convert the Hindus being an *utter impossibility*—(and, indeed, he seemed to think, if he did not say, that the attempt was as unnecessary as its success was impossible, the religion of the Hindus being a better one, at least *for them*, than Christianity)—that the few pretended converts that one hears of, were induced to profess Christianity merely from interested motives, and were all of the very lowest and most despicable of the people. And then as to missionary schools, there were either none at all, or if there were, they were just got up by the missionaries, that they might have something to write reports of, and the pupils who attended them were bribed to do so, for that the Hindus were too learned a people to want any of our teaching. As for the missionaries themselves, this man of Indian experience, seemed to think them about equally divided between weak fanatical men who deluded themselves into thinking they were doing good, and artful men, who knowingly deluded others for their own purposes;—in fact, knaves and fools.

Such statements as these, delivered with great confidence and a somewhat oracular air, backed too by some quarter of a century's experience of Indian life, appeared at first somewhat to puzzle and daunt our zealous young missionaries. At length, however, one of them happened to ask the witness what *personal knowledge* he possessed of the matter to which he testified so authoritatively. It then came out, after some little fencing with the query, and no little wincing on the part of the deponent, that he had *none whatever*;—that he had no personal acquaintance with any missionary in India, that he had never spoken to, or if we recollect rightly, even seen any native convert, never examined or visited a missionary school, nor entered a missionary station in his life, and in point of fact, knew nothing whatever of the affairs upon which he had so freely and confidently spoken! It was instructive, and to some amusing, to see the veteran's hardy cheek crimson with shame before the numerous company, when he had to confess to his own utter ignorance of what he had so often delivered himself upon with all the air of a man of thorough information.

We give this little fact at length, and vouch for its correctness, because it presents a fair illustration of the entire ignorance of missionary subjects prevalent throughout the mass of the Indian community.* People, unhappily, caring nothing about a subject so serious, take no trouble to ascertain the facts connected with it; never make an enquiry of any one qualified to furnish correct information, never spend so much as an hour, during a life of years, perhaps, in a missionary country, in personal examination of Missionary proceedings that may be going on at their very doors. And then, they take up notions upon the subject, quite contrary to the truth, and violently unfavourable to missions, from some of the irreligious newspapers or other periodicals of the day, which with safe valour, delight in having a fling at the religionists and their doings, of which writers and readers are alike supremely ignorant—the blind leading the blind.

There is indeed old and classical authority for this ignorance and these erroneous notions. The accomplished Tacitus, with profound philosophic unacquaintance with the Christian missions of his day, which he deemed too insignificant for a dignified historian's examination, branded the whole of the relegion of the Gospel as a *Malefica superstitio.*" Pliny, though forced to know something of the habits of the Christians, and to testify to their innocence and virtue, yet speaks of them and their faith and their martyr devotion to it, in terms almost equally contemptuous, and the profligate Lucian could find in the Christianity and the Christians of the second century,—and Christianity, be it remembered, was almost wholly missionary then,—only subjects for his loose lampoonery. Alas, that so many of the nominal Christian writers of the ninteenth century, should in this respect so discreditably resemble the avowed Heathen ones of the first and second !

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* If the simple English reader should enquire how it is possible for intelligent persons, living so long in India, to continue unacquainted with what has been going on among them and around them, we refer him to a story of Dr. Aikin's, in *Evenings at Home*, called (if we remember rightly the reading of our childhood) "*Eyes and no Eyes, or the Art of seeing.*" And for his further information we cite the following anecdote, which we have on good authority:—In a certain town (which as well as one of the parties in question we could name) in Britain, was held not long ago, a missionary meeting; whereat appeared a missionary from India (we forget what part), and told the people assembled of the work going forward in the country and the station where he had been employed; and amongst other things, of his schools, well attended by native youths, all learning Scripture Truth, and of his preaching to chapels filled with attentive hearers, &c. Something of what the Missionary had said was related in the hearing of an officer of a Regiment then lately returned from India; and this officer began immediately to denounce the whole as a delusion and an imposture, alleging as a proof, that he had himself been quartered for many months in the very station where the missionary had laid his schools and his chapels, and had never seen or heard anything whatever of him or of them. In fact, there was nothing of the kind; the whole was a story, just got up to draw money from the pockets of the fanatics, &c., &c. This "eye-witness" testimony would doubtless have had great weight; but that unfortunately for the witness's credit, a senior and graver officer who was by, quietly asked him whether he had ever enquired as to the existence of these missionary doings, when he had been on the spot in India. "Not I," replied the Sub. "Well," rejoined the major, "I did. I take an interest in these things. I very soon found out the missionary and his work; and was frequently in the school, the very existence of which you deny, and saw it and the chapels too, repeatedly, filled with native learners and hearers." The young man was silent. The fact will serve to answer the supposed enquiry. We suppose there are hundreds, if not thousands, of persons who live years in Calcutta itself seeing and knowing nothing whatever of the existence of a missionary or a mission within it.

In fact, an acquaintance with the subject in question is seriously inconvenient to human selfishness. To know and acknowledge that a great and all-important work is going on amongst us, and is dependent for its progress in great degree on the generosity of men ; and yet to withhold the hand that could administer to that progress, and to devote to selfish and sinful objects the means which, if rightly applied, would aid materially in securing the ends of a sublime benevolence to mankind, all this supposes a littleness, if not a moral obliquity of soul, from the imputation of which men instinctively shrink ; and almost unconsciously perhaps set about transferring the criminality of the neglect to the object neglected. "A man," says Johnson, "would rather be thought angry than poor," and still more, than poor-spirited ; and hence it may be, springs much of the ignorance and contempt of missionary operations here in India, and the oft-paraded objections against them.

But deeply persuaded of the truth of the Bible, and believing Christianity to be from God, and to be designed by Him for men of all countries and all times, we cannot but believe missions to the Heathen to be the great and first work of Christians among the still unconverted nations of the earth ; a work which had its type from the Divine Founder of Christianity, Himself the first Missionary, which derives its authority and even its rules from his last majestic command,—a command never yet repealed or abrogated,—"Go ye into all "the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature ;" (St. Mark xvi.—15) or as more fully stated by St. Matthew (xxviii 19, 20), "Go ye therefore and teach (or make disciples of) all "nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the "Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all "things whatsoever I have commanded you;"—a work which, commenced under what would seem the most unfavourable auspices, and by the least apparently-suitable persons, low and ignorant men, advanced with almost silent but steady and resistless march, overturning as it advanced, the classical as well as the barbarian mythologies which it found among the natives of the Roman world, prostrating and grinding into powder beneath its sublime and colossal truths, the subtlest philosophic systems of the mightiest minds of antiquity, and the ablest devices of a powerful and interested priesthood, yea, and the authorities, the edicts, the very thrones of empires arrayed in determined hostility against its progress.

We cannot but feel, too, that it is the only work or agency by which the elevating, civilizing, saving principles of Christianity, which it is its object to propagate, can be disseminated amongst the numerous tribes and families of mankind still ignorant of them. We know of no other. Those who cavil and inveigh most vehemently against Christian missions have never pointed out any thing to take their place. Such persons often say, indeed, that they are not enemies of missions in the abstract, as it were; that they believe them to belong to the genius and the *organism* of Christianity, as a system of benevolence to mankind. But somehow it appears to be only some theory of the thing that meets their approval: every actual, existing, working mission is attacked or sneered at. We wish these men would give to the world their ideal of a Christian mission; or still better, would establish and maintain one after their own heart, and then people might have an opportunity of judging whether they had hit upon something better than the means, majestic in their simplicity, ordained by the Divine Founder of our faith.

Colonization might perhaps be mentioned by some; and America might be pointed to as thus in great part covered with Christianity. But, alas! colonization, at least as hitherto conducted propagates Christianity, not by converting the denizens of the soil, but by exterminating them, and presents the Christian in the odious character, not of the friend and the benefactor, but the dispossessor and destroyer of his ruder and more ignorant fellow.

If education, and the various appliances of a social civilization, be put forward as the true means of eventually bringing on enlightened men to receive the pure and exalting principles of the Gospel, we say that there are no historic evidences of the soundness of the allegation. There is, we believe, no instance on record, of a people educated into Christianity by teaching which was not essentially Christian. We do not find that Paul and the first preachers of the Gospel had as much success amongst the polished and well informed people of Athens, as among the ruder population of Thessalonica or Galatia. Nor do we find at the present day, that the grand and holy Truths of our religion have more sway with the educated people of India or of China (unless the present movement in the latter Empire, still uncertain in its character, proves something opposed to former experience) than with the untaught, but yet acute and vigorous minds of the Negro or the New Zealand races. We have even heard it stated by Missionaries in India, that so far from the highly intellectual, though non-Christian education imparted to native youths in the Government Colleges of India, disposing the minds of any considerable number of those young men to receive or even to favour the Gospel,—the Missionary's bitterest and most violent opponents are very frequently found amongst that highly cultivated class; and though some individuals of it we must allow to have become converts, regarding whose sincerity the most sceptical can entertain no reasonable doubt, still they are as yet but exceptions, and leave the question altogether unreplied to, what other means or mode can be devised of manifesting and setting to work the self-diffusing, all-embracing genius of Christianity, what other means of carrying out the last command of its august Founder, save the ordinary, simple, obvious one of Missionary labour of some such sort as is now adopted by Protestant Missionary Societies?

Feeling thus and feeling strongly, we rejoice to have an opportunity of drawing our readers' attention to the subject, and at the same time of discharging a long deferred debt of duty, by a brief notice of the work whose title stands second (though in date it should come first) at the head of this article; the *Memoir of the Rev. Josiah Pratt*, a debt incurred at the time of its publication in 1849, but which various circumstances prevented our discharging till now, when it must be done in the most succinct manner. It is to us a work particularly interesting, as it opens to our view the earliest history of the movement in behalf of Christian Missions, which originated above half a century since in the evangelical section of the Church of England, as it traces that movement through its first struggles with infidelity, irreligion, supineness, formalism, bigotry and a short-sighted worldly policy,—those evil influences which still though "with bated breath" continue to resist and malign it—and takes us out with it, as it were, in its earliest exploratory expeditions into the wide wastes of heathenism, to behold the Tree of Life planted in the desolate wild, to watch its progress to vigour, to maturity, to fruitfulness, and see it extending the benign shadow of its widespread branches into almost every land "from Indus to the pole." This, Mr. Pratt's Memoir does; and does it, not in the cold tone of a mere chronicle of incidents, nor with the generalizing stateliness of history, which grasps salient points and groups of kindred events and holds them up to view, whilst the minute and personal incidents, the feelings and motives the difficulties, anxieties and encouragements which swayed the chief actors in the work, are overlooked,—but with all the lively, individualizing, almost sacred interest which attaches to the progress of a grand and enduring enterprize, in which a principal agent is a friend, a father whom we revere.

The execution of the work (the Memoir we mean) is, on the whole, creditable to the filial biographers. Often as it has been attempted, it is no easy task to compile well the Memoir of a father; and we doubt not that the sons of the Rev. Josiah Pratt felt the difficulty as well as the delicacy of the work they had taken in hand. It has been executed, however, with an industry, a judgment, a chastened filial tenderness, and withal a Christian fidelity, such as (whether common or not in biographers of a parent) might have been looked for from the sons of such a father. If they have not cast into the treasury of our national religious literature a shining offering, they have presented at least a solid and a valuable one. If the book is not a brilliant book, neither was the character it pourtrays a brilliant character in the ordinary sense of the term. But if the reader shall miss here the flash and sparkle which characterize and vitiate a large bulk of the productions of a too prolific press, and the misty terseness of style, serving so well to mask many a supercilious sneer against what Englishmen have been taught by their fathers, their Reformers, and their Bibles to revere as sacred, which is the main strength of a certain modern school of writers, he will find,—what from our hearts we wish he could find much oftener,—viz., sound, sober and *tried* principles, accurate historic statements, the decisions and the actings, too, of a judgment calm, vigorous and directed by the Word of God, together with the occasional utterances of a heart full at once of practical wisdom, of manly piety, and of the most tender yet chastened domestic affection.

The memoir of Josiah Pratt, like the history of Howard or of Oberlin, teaches us how much man may do for his fellows, and how little of that much he commonly attempts. It teaches us, too, that great and shining endowments are not indispensable to a distinguished and most useful career, a career compared with which the meteor course of many whose exploits have dazzled mankind, will be viewed only with abhorrence when men become enlightened enough to understand what is true nobility of character and of soul, and are able correctly to distinguish a blessing from a curse.

But we have generalized—the reader will perhaps call it rhapsodized,—too long: we can only plead earnest sincerity in our excuse, and shall now come to matters of history and of fact.

Josiah Pratt was born of reputable parents, in the town of Birmingham, in December 1768. His father was a manufacturer in that busy place, but was eminent for his piety and active zeal in religion, at a time when such were by no means common within the pale of the Church of England, to which he belonged. His father wished him to follow his own business, and placed him at twelve years of age, in his own manufactory, and subsequently in another, to give him every advantage. His own tastes, however, were much more studious than mechanical or commercial; he secretly spent all his spare money and time on books, which he enjoyed in the privacy of his own chamber.

The first awakenings of strong religious feeling in his mind are traced to circumstances somewhat remarkable, on account of their unlikehood to produce such an effect. The solemn manner of the afterwards distinguished Charles Simeon's reading of the *Venite Exultemus* in Church, first strongly impressed him; and about his seventeenth year, the eminent Rev. Thomas Robinson of Leicester, officiating once in St. Mary's Church, Birmingham, pronounced the words, "Let us pray," with such solemnity and pathos, that they fastened the attention and were brought home to the heart of the thoughtful youth; they

> "Occupied his mind so entirely, that he had no recollection of any thing else connected with the occasion, not even the subject of the sermon. He thought what a solemn act prayer was! He doubted whether he had ever prayed in his life. His mind was filled with awe and contrition for his passed neglect. These, and many other considerations, took such possession of him, that his religious views and feelings might be said to have assumed a definite character from that period and from this circumstance." page 5.

An excellent hint this to those clergymen who seem to think it little or no matter whether they go through the public services of devotion with any appearance of solemnity or impressiveness.

He soon became desirous of entering the sacred ministry;

and his father cheerfully consenting, he set to work in good earnest to prepare for the University, often presenting himself in the cold mornings of winter, at the door of his tutor, before the latter was out of bed, and entered at St. Edmond's Hall, Oxford, in 1789. He does not appear to have distinguished himself at college for any thing more than remarkable diligence, and habits so regular and orderly, that on his non-appearance at chapel one day, a number of his friends went together to his room, expecting, as they said, to find him "dead or dying."

Mr. Pratt was ordained in 1792, by the Bishop of Hereford, and, in 1795, become Curate to the talented and original Richard Cecil, at St. John's, Bedford Row. His converse with that acute minded, judicious and faithful minister, as well as his previous training to business, assisted materially, no doubt, to form his eminently useful public character.

In 1797 he married the elder daughter of Mr. John Jowett, of Newington, Surrey, and used to receive pupils into his house. Amongst whom was the present Bishop of Calcutta, who still often speaks of him as "his tutor."

His first work of extensive usefulness was the projection and commencement of the *Christian Observer*, the design of which seems without question attributable to him: and he was its first Editor. It commenced in 1802, and has ever since been a most widely influential organ of the Evangelical body in the Church of England.

In 1808, he published the first complete edition of Bishop Hall's works, in ten volumes 8vo., and the year following, those of Bishop Hopkins, in four volumes 8vo.

A long cherished project for the publication of a compendious Polyglott Bible, much simpler and more compact than Walton's immense work, in six ponderous volumes, published about 1657, though it cost him almost as much trouble as the publication itself would have done, eventually failed of being actually attempted.

Mr. Cecil's death, in 1810, led to his undertaking to publish his works, which appeared in four volumes, in 1811; also a valuable Memoir of the same eminent character, published under the title of *Cecil's Remains*, well known, no doubt, to most of our readers, and deservedly held in high esteem. It has gone through many editions.

The period of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, was seized upon, and laboriously used by Mr. Pratt, to forward the views of the friends of missions in India. He thought the occasion favourable, too, for the commencement of that comprehensive digest of detailed information about all the missions in the world, called the *Missionary Register*, the plan of which had been in his mind for two or three years. This useful periodical still flourishes.

The last work that we are aware of as having proceeded from the pen of our author, was one entitled *Propaganda;* it was a compilation from the published documents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, intended to shew forth the best missionary features of that society, and to obtain for it public support. This appeared in 1819, on occasion of a Royal letter being issued, authorizing collections in all the churches in aid of the above society; and ran through two editions in the course of a few months. It affords a notable instance of Mr. Pratt's large and catholic spirit, thus to tax his time and come forward publicly in aid of a society, some of the leaders of which had just been making the most bitter attacks on a kindred body to which he was devotedly attached.

The above literary productions were not the fruits of learned leisure, but the result of the extraordinary industry of a man engaged in incessant and most laborious occupations, both official and ministerial. This brings us to speak of the great work which employed so many of the best years of Mr. Pratt's life, with which he is inseparably identified, and his most efficient and useful labour in connexion with which, constitutes his best and noblest distinction as a public man.

On the 12th of April 1799, twenty-five persons, sixteen of them being clergymen and nine laymen, met at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, London, and there, after solemn prayer to God for his direction and blessing, instituted THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.*

The measure, however, was not a sudden or hasty one. Above three years previously, in February, 1796, the subject was brought before a religious body consisting chiefly of clergymen, called the Eclectic Society, by the eminent Rev. Charles Simeon; and though at that time most of the members were not prepared to take any active steps, it was not allowed to sleep. In February 1799, it was again brought forward in the same society by the Rev. John Venn,† Rector of Clapham, and was gone into seriously and at length. The result was a determination that a society ought to be formed; and this determination was carried into effect, at the meeting of April 12th, above described, of the honoured founders of the society.

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* Its first designation was a "Society for Missions to Africa and the East, instituted by members of the Established Church:" but in 1812 it was altered to that it still retains,—"The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East."

† Son of the Rev. Henry Venn, of Yelling, one of the fathers of evangelical religion in England; and father of the Rev. Henry Venn, B. D., the present Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

Amongst these first fathers of the society, was Josiah Pratt. Others of them bore names which are now names of renown in the evangelical world, as for instance, Thomas Scott the Commentator, John Newton, and others. Why William Wilberforce was not amongst the nine lay founders present at the meeting, we cannot say; he was certainly from the first thoroughly friendly to the design, and was the new Society's first President.

It is not necessary to inform the reader, that this was not the first Protestant missionary society formed, and still less was it the first missionary effort put forth with a view to evangelize the heathen. Very soon after the establishment of the principles of the Reformation, missionary zeal began to animate the followers of the Bible. As far as we know, the honour of the first effort of a missionary kind amongst the Protestants belongs to the Swiss. In 1556, thirteen individuals left Geneva, to proceed to Brazil, on a Missionary expedition. The design was patronized by the distinguished but unfortunate Admiral De Coligni of France, and approved of by John Calvin. They proposed to proceed by forming a colony and gradually propagating Christianity amongst the barbarous natives, and they were accordingly joined by a considerable number of fellow Protestants, as they passed through France on their way. Popish perfidy and cruelty, however, frustrated the object of the expedition, and contrived so, that some of the leaders of it were sent back as traitors to France in 1558.

The Swedes come next in order. In 1559 the celebrated Gustavus Vasa sent a mission into Lapland. His successors followed up his design. In 1648 a manual was printed in the language of the Laplanders, containing portions of the Scriptures, with Catechism, Hymns and Prayers; and in 1755, the whole New Testament, by means of a most liberal subscription, raised for the maintenance of the mission.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch having wrested Java, Ceylon, and other Eastern possessions from the Portuguese, justly thought it part of their duty to promote the diffusion of Christianity in their acquisitions, as we shall afterwards advert to more fully. Some of the means they employed, however, were far from the best. They encouraged, indeed, they almost compelled, a merely nominal profession of Christianity, and in this way, in 1688, they could boast in one district of the Island of above 180,000 nominal converts; and a few years later the number baptized is said to have amounted to 300,000.

The name of John Eliot is embalmed in the reverential remembrance of every friend of Christian missions as that of the "Apostle of the Indians." A minister amongst those pilgrims of religious liberty, who under the capricious rule of the Stuarts, left their native England to seek freedom for conscience on the shores of the Western world, he acquired there the language of the Indian tribes which frequented the neighbourhood of Roxbury, near Boston: and in 1646 made his first essay, in company with two or three friends, in addressing the Indians. The trial was sufficiently encouraging to induce him to persevere, and after some time, to devote himself in good earnest to the most toilsome and self-denying labours for these children of the forest. It is with difficulty we refrain from dwelling upon his noble Christian devotion and wonderful success. But as we are merely noticing the main Protestant efforts of a Missionary kind previous to the end of the eighteenth century, any thing more than a bare mention of them would carry us far beyond our limits. Eliot died in 1690.*

Those who shared in this Christian effort for the salvation of the red men of the West, were sons of the soil of England. In the mother country itself zeal for the conversion of the heathen soon afterwards began to manifest itself. In 1701 a charter was granted by William III. to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts.*† It is true, the peculiar object of the institution of this society (which, as is well known, consists exclusively of members of the Church of England) was to supply the lack of ministerial services so grievously felt amongst the plantations, colonies and factories "of British subjects beyond the seas;" but it very early attempted proper missionary labour. It directed its missionaries to instruct the Negro slaves in the Gospel, and a school was opend for that race in New York in 1704; the Rev. T. Moore having been at the recommendation of Queen Anne, sent in 1704 to labour among the Mohawk Indians. He was favoured with little success, and was lost at sea in returning to England: but Mr. Andrews who took up the work and arrived at Albany in 1712, was for some time much more favoured.

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* Besides reducing the language of those Indian tribes to a written form, and publishing a grammar of it, he translated the whole Bible into that tongue. It was printed about 1664, and is said to have been the first Bible ever printed in America. He also produced several other works; the concluding words of his Grammar are well known, and ought to be remembered by all—"Prayer and pains, through faith in Jesus Christ, will do anything."

† We should be culpable were we to omit mentioning that two of the most distinguished men of their respective times for talents, learning, piety and every elegant accomplishment were warm advocates of Protestant Missionary enterprize. They were both Irishmen. One of these eminent individuals was the Hon'ble Robert Boyle, born in 1626-27. Besides the bequest mentioned in the text, he was for thirty years governor of the corporation for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and contributed largely to it; he endeavoured to induce the East India Company to attempt the Propagation of the Gospel in the east, and sent £100 to begin with, promising further aid when the work had begun. He had the Gospels and Acts translated into the Malay language at his own cost, and published at Oxford, in 1677; and also undertook the charge of translating into Arabic, Grotius's Treatise on Christian Evidences, and of putting it into extensive circulation. He intended further to assist in translating the Bible into Turkish, as he had done previously in publishing the Scriptures in Irish and in Welch; an early illustration of the fact, that those who are most zealous and liberal in promoting missions abroad, are usually the leaders also in doing good at home.

The Danes began to put forth missionary efforts about the same time, encouraged by Frederick IV, and in 1706 the first two missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho landed at Tranquebar. In 1709 the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge * began to assist these missionaries, and in 1728 undertook the whole support of a mission to Madras.

The Moravians followed in 1731; when two noble spirited young men, John Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold, offered themselves, even if need were, to be sold into slavery in the Island of St. Thomas in order to gain access to the Negro slaves. A

The other was George Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, Ireland, born in 1684, and so eminent for ability, learning, piety, zeal, and all that can adorn the man, that even Pope, cynic as he was, ascribes

"To Berkeley every virtue under heaven."

This dintinguished scholar cherished for many years the design of commencing Missionary operations amongst unconverted men, by establishing a Missionary College in the Bermudus, of which he was himself to be the first head, on an allowance fixed by himself of £100 per annum. For this he was willing to give up a lucrative Irish Deanery which he held, and a sure prospect of the highest preferment in the Church. The Queen endeavouring to dissuade him from his Missionary design, offered her interest to procure him an English Bishopric—His reply was that "He would prefer the headship of St. Paul's College at Bermudu to the Primacy of England." Encouraged by deceitful promises of public support from Sir Robert Walpole. the good Dean sailed for America in 1728, acompanied by a few noble spirits like himself, and taking with him his fortune and his books. He had depended too much on the promises of statesman, however, and they failed him. The public funds on which he had reckoned never came; and he returned to Europe in 1734 after dividing his books between Yale College and the Clergy of Rhode Island, where he appears to have sojourned during his stay, and transferring to Yale College a tract of near 100 acres of land which he had acquired in America. His scheme proved a failure indeed; but, as remarked by one of his biographers, "reflects more honor on his memory than all his philosophical labours can ever confer."

* To this Society belongs the honor of encouraging and maintaining the Apostolic Swartz, Gericke, and many other devoted servants of God in South India. They all were Lutheran ministers.

poor and persecuted flock the Moravians were, having but just found a refuge under Count Zinzendorf on his estate in Upper Lusatia, from the persevering and relentless persecutions of Rome, and built their now celebrated village of Hernhutt. They were but some 600 in number and mostly indigent exiles, when they commenced their missionary enterprises, and in some nine years they sent missionaries to Greenland, St. Thomas, St. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, to the Indians of North America and the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, Tartary, Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Ceylon.

Although the general Wesleyan Missionary Society was not formed till 1817, missionary operations may be said to have been commenced by the English Wesleyans in 1786 or 87, in consequence of the casual circumstance of the Rev. Dr. Coke, with six other methodist preachers destined for Nova Scotia, having been driven by stress of weather to the Island of Antigua; where, meeting an encouraging reception, they decided on setting on foot a mission to the Negroes; and Mr. Warenner, one of the original seven that were thus driven to the Island, was nominated the first missonary.

The Missionary spirit was by this time fast rising in Great Britain. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was formed by a few ministers of the Baptist denomination, assembled at Kettering in Northamptonshire. Its attention was first drawn to Bengal; and its first missionaries were Mr. John Thomas, and the afterwards celebrated William Carey, then a minister in Leicester.

In 1793 Dr. Porteous, Bishop of London, having obtained, by a suit in Chancery, certain funds left by the celebrated Robert Boyle for the conversion of the Negroes, formed a Society for that object.

The London Missionary Society was instituted in London in 1796. It was composed of English Christians of various denominations: including evangelical clergymen, and laity of the Church of England, and set to work with remarkable energy at the very first. The Islands of the Southern Pacific first attracted their attention,* and in August 1796, a vessel called the *Duff* having been purchased by the Society, twenty-nine missionaries set forth in her for those beautiful islands. Most of them settled at Otaheite, where they arrived in March 1796, and where the chiefs and people gave them a most encouraging reception.

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* It was a paper laid before the new Society by the Rev. D. Haweis, Rector of Alderwick, Northamptonshire, that presented the south Sea Islands in so engaging an aspect, as to enlist general sympathy in their behalf. Many zealous clergymen, as well as lay members of the Church of England, were at first active promoters of this Society.

The Scottish (or, as it was first designated, the Edinburgh) Missionary Society was almost contemporaneous in its formation with that just mentioned. It consisted chiefly of members of the Church of Scotland, and having been commenced early in 1796, it sent out its first missionaries to the Susoo country in Western Africa the following year. *

Thus it will be seen that Missionary interest, and the institution of a Missionary Society, were not new things at the time when the Church Missionary Society was called into existence. Indeed, considering the extent to which the missionary spirit had already begun to awaken throughout Protestant Christendom, it must cause some surprise that the evangelical portion of the Church of England had not, at an earlier date, manifested their participation in it by some such step as they took in 1799. Two reasons may be assigned :—many zealous members of the English church, filled with missionary ardor, and regardless of minor differences, had been for some time operating through the Moravian, the Baptist, or the London Missionary Society, and, what, no doubt, had a still greater share in the matter,—there was already in the church of England a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel abroad—the very first missionary society formed in England, as stated above ; and though the body in the English church, who were most alive to the claims of the heathen, were far from satisfied with that society, and did not see their way either to co-operate with, or seek to reanimate and extend it, they yet hesitated to form another, independent of it, whose sole object would be to evangelize the nations. This the former had almost ceased to attempt, if it had ever attempted it, confining itself to its primary object, viz., the supplying of regular ministrations to the Colonists of Great Britain, throughout the rapidly widening dependencies of the British crown.

In fact, the old Society was moved to send Missionaries to the heathen *as such* ; but declined, not seeing such a Mission to be in its province. In sending ministers to British Colonists in the dependencies of England, it sent them to such heathen only as this might bring them into contact with. This being the case, there was a clear and distinct line of action to be taken up by the new Society ; and one which need never have clashed with that followed by the former one. Since then, however, the elder has diverged from her first course, having derived fresh life and impulses, we believe, from her younger sister's nobler, bolder, and more Christian example, and has taken up Missions to the heathen, as such, as a substantive part of her work. This historic fact seems to be forgotten by many.

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* The above very bare outline of the commencement of the Protestant efforts made towards the conversion of the heathen before the close of the eighteenth century has been taken chiefly from the Rev. W. Brown's History of Missions ; a generally accurate work. Reference has been made also to the Rev. J Hough's excellent "History of Christianity in India," to the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, and other publications of authority.

But it is not for us here to enter into a justification of the line pursued by the party in question, nor even to state the reasons which they urged in vindication of their course in instituting the new society. One thing we may feel assured of, that amongst the founders were men of that mature and solid judgment, of that weight of character and of experience, and of that full and thorough acquaintance with the principles involved in their procedure, as well as of that sagacity to foresee the consequence which their procedure would entail upon themselves, that must evidence, sufficiently, their strong and solemn conviction, not only that the step they took was right, but also it was *necessary*, if any earnest and effective efforts were to be made by the Church of England for the conversion of the heathen.

Influenced by this conviction they decided on the attempt to constitute the Church Missionary Society, and the spirit in which the attempt was made, appears from the following passage of the very first paper they put forth :—*

" Let not this society be considered as opposing any that " are engaged in the same excellent purpose. The world is an " extensive field, and in the Church of Christ, there is no com- " petition of interests. From the very constitution of the " human mind, slighter differences of opinion will prevail, and " diversities in external forms ; but in the grand design of " promoting Christianity, all these should disappear. Let there " be cordial union amongst all Christians, in promoting the com- " mon salvation of their Lord and Saviour."

Difficulties and disappointments early awaited them. For some time neither bishop nor peer was found to bestow upon the design one glance of favour. One of the very early steps taken, was to send a respectful application to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Durham, to regard their attempt favourably. They asked no more: but even to this they could obtain no answer or notice whatever for above a twelve-month ; when Mr. Wilberforce having been requested personally to sound the Primate, drew from him a cautious and guarded verbal expression of his interest in the design. Slight and questionable as was this encouragement, the earnestness of Thomas Scott, the first Secretary of the society, and the judgment of Mr. Venn, induced the founders to act upon it. To this they were in great part led, too, by the firmness of the lay members of the committe, which had been formed. Mr. Scott contended, "that it "was their duty to go forward, expecting that the difficulties "would be removed in proportion as it was necessary that they "should." The wisdom of their course is sufficiently apparent. With all due respect for bishops, we must still recollect that they are usually old men, past the period of life when measures of a novel aspect are likely to engage their regard. They naturally rather lean to maintain the state of things in which they rose to eminence—of position at least; and having gained the summit of their ambition, they naturally, and often no doubt, unconsciously, feel rather disposed to enjoy and to preserve, than to entertain projects, however weightily urged, which would tend to disquiet them, and to unsettle the relations which they are accustomed to and are able to control,—projects, too, to sanction which would involve themselves in a certain amount of responsibility, and which must, of course, be attended with a certain amount of uncertainty as to their eventual tendency and results. Hence it is scarcely fair, perhaps, either to expect bishops (under the existing constitution of the Episcopal Bench) to come forward at once to promote such projects, until actual experiment has shewn something of their practical character and effects; nor is it, on the other hand, reasonable to hold back from prosecuting a design of good, which has been thoroughly weighed and sifted by men of sound, vigorous and active minds, impelled from within by zealous and God-fearing souls,—merely because the aged and dignified incumbents of the Episcopate cannot at first see their way to take the lead. So thought Venn and Pratt and their noble spirited lay associates in the case of the Church Missionary Society; and so have thought and acted many faithful and fervent men since, in commencing sundry noble designs, such as the Bible Society, the Jews' Society, and many others, which, though at first distrusted, and in some cases vainly opposed by the authorities of the Church of England, have gradually lived down and worked down the distrust and opposition of all the really estimable amongst those authorities, by the force of their own intrinsic excellence and the results of their practical working; so that we find bishops, with other good and eminent men, at the head of these institutions, and standing forth in their public advocacy. Let the lesson not be thrown away either upon the active and fervent spirits of the age, or upon the episcopate itself. It is not well to be always last in a good work: more than one signification may be assigned to "*nil sine Episcopo.*"

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* "Account of a Society for missions to Africa and the East, instituted by members of the Established Church," by Rev. John Venn.—*Proceedings of the Society*, vol. I.

But it was not by the great alone that the new Society was coldly and distrustfully regarded; many of the good also held aloof, thinking the design too bold, or too vast, or too visionary. Small as was the number of its originators, some even of them soon lost heart, or yielded to other influences, and withdrew from the undertaking. Infidelity and irreligion plied it with the keenest shafts in their envenomed quiver; and bigotry, in and out of the Church of England, stormed hotly against it, and sharpened its ablest pens to write it down. The time too, seemed to many, peculiarly inauspicious to a new movement of a peaceful missionary nature. Europe—the world was palpitating in the midst of wars and commotions, the most terrible, among the nations. The French Revolution seemed to have maddened half mankind. Bonaparte was just taking his gigantic strides to despotism. England was threatened by armed and excited Europe from without, and was far from being at unity with herself within. This was not the time, many thought, to begin to talk of organizing a new religious society, or of sending missionaries abroad into a world every where travailing in expectation of the immediate bursting forth of war and revolution.

Yet the noble spirited men who had been inspired with the desire to propagate the Gospel of Salvation in the world's darkest parts, went on with their design in faith, in patience, and in prayer. "It was a wondrous time" (as has been remarked in a previous number of this *Review* *) "all through the world "that close of the 18th century—a time of great events,—a time "to require and call forth the energies of great men." And though not, perhaps, what the world would do, we do not hesitate to place such men as John Venn and Josiah Pratt amongst the great men of that notable epoch.

If it is indicative of greatness to see clearly what is far beyond the ken of others—to conceive or to lay hold of a design, so grand, so far-stretching, so beset with difficulties and uncertainties as to appal ordinary minds and make them shrink from taking it up;—to pursue that design with firm, earnest, unblenching purpose, amidst the cautions of the prudent, the alarms of the timorous, the solemn forebodings of the prophets of evil, amidst the cool repulsive indifference of superiors, the objections and defection of half-hearted friends, and the violence and misrepresentations of bitter and bigoted opponents: if to meet all with calm but unshaken confidence in the rectitude of the principles on which a stand has been taken,—to proceed with steady, patient energy to carry the design into practice, upon a basis so well constructed at the outset, that the strains and trials of half a century have not produced in it a single rent;—if *to succeed* in the face of all but universal discouragement and opposition;—to establish a society which has gone forward in extent, in stability, in usefulness, from year to year, winning friends and champions on almost every side, until it has become one of the mightiest religious agencies of this day of great religious activity—if these things indicate superior and great men, then to those who planned, commenced, and matured this society, belongs, we think, without dispute, the distinction of *greatness.*

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* No. XLIV., p. 385.

Amongst these men Josiah Pratt stood prominent. From the first the design had his cordial support, and when its first Secretary, the eminent Thomas Scott, withdrew from the charge after about two years, it was with one consent assigned to Mr. Pratt, who accepted it in 1802, whilst yet the Society was struggling with its first difficulties. And his firm though gentle and well directed hand,—directed from above,—guided it, for one and twenty years, to its maturity and greatness, and to that firm and deep hold which it has attained on the affections of the vast body of the evangelical members of the Church of England.

But these remarks are already beginning to extend to so great a length as to admonish us to compress, within the narrowest limits, our further notice of the rise and progress of the Church Missionary Society. The first difficulties of its institution were not its only ones. It was some time before any one appeared willing to set out under its auspices as a Missionary to the heathen.* Its Committee might well have shrunk from looking for Clergymen, owing to the coldness of the Bishops, and difficulties about the power to license clergymen so engaged: nor could they at first hope to procure ordination for any missionaries who might present themselves; so that they only aimed in the first instance, at procuring a few young men suitable to the work of catechists and teachers amongst unenlightened tribes. In this they were, for some time, utterly disappointed; not a single individual in Great Britain could then be induced to go. It seems to have been a severe trial to the faith of Mr. Pratt and others. But that faith was maintained by prayer; and worthy of all honor is the memory of that man of God—the Rev. Wm. Goode, Rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, one of the twenty-five fathers of the Society, who was wont to cheer on more active spirits to persevere in faith and prayer, that the Lord would not suffer the work begun in His name to have been begun in vain. Week after week they met in his house to pray: they could do little else. And *in due time* their prayers were answered.

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* "I have endeavoured,"(says the Rev. Chas. Simeon, in a letter, dated August 1800) " in a prudent way to sound the disposition of the serious young men (at Cambridge) respecting Missions, and I am sorry to say that not one of them says,' Here am I, send me.' "

Was it not a token for good, that the first Englishman who offered himself to the new Society as a Missionary, was the devoted and Christ-like Henry Martyn? He did so in 1802, while yet in the full flush of his university honours, the year before his ordination. The loss in 1804, of his little patrimonial property, in which his younger sister shared, seemed to put a bar in the way of his design being accomplished; as he felt doubts as to whether he ought to go and leave her unprovided for. On consulting his friends, they decided on endeavouring to procure him an East India Chaplaincy, and when they succeeded, the Society expressed its full approval of his going out to India, in a capacity which opened to him so wide a sphere of Missionary usefulness, rather than maintaining his engagement with them. Surely the hand of God was in this event. The Society was still both poor, and inexperienced in its work; so that it could but very inadequately have maintained Martyn in his course: but it was arranged that he should go to India with the spirit of a Missionary, and yet with the influential position of a Chaplain of the Company, and the ample income which at that time every Chaplain enjoyed. He left England on August 10th, 1805.

Nothing is more remarkable, perhaps, in the dealings of God with His servants, than the mode in which He is pleased frequently to disappoint the expectations, whilst at the same time He honours the faith, of those that trust and serve Him. The new Society believed that God would send forth labourers into His harvest, and they expected them, as was natural, from England: the Most High and most Wise did call forth labourers, but the first were called, not from England, but from Prussia. A seminary had then recently been established at Berlin, for the purpose of training pious young men for missionaries.* This institution (presided over at the time by the Rev. J. Jænike) supplied our society with its first missionaries. Two young men named Renner and Hartwig, joined the Society from that institution in November 1802,* and in March 1804, they sailed, to commence the society's first Mission on the deadly soil of Sierra Leone, on the West coast of Africa.† They were in Lutheran orders (having proceeded from England, after their first visit back to Germany for ordination) and the employment of such, under a church of England society, was but following the steps of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who had for some years previously been maintaining continental Protestant ministers as missionaries in South India. If any blame is attachable to any one on this account, surely it must rather rest on those who might have admitted them to the ministry of the Church of England, and yet did not, than on those who, ardently desiring for them this additional authorization, were nevertheless compelled to send them forth without it.

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* It was through the assistance of Mr. Steinkopff, the venerable Secretary of the Bible Society, that the committee opened communications with zealous men in Germany, and first heard of this school for Missionaries. It had its rise a few years before from the benevolence of Baron Von Shirnding, of Dobraluk in Saxony, who had been full of zeal for the diffusion of Christianity amongst Heathen nations. It was at this time dependent on voluntary contributions, which were small, and had six students under training. Two of these were transferred to the English Society, and subsequently the Society engaged to pay the whole charge of maintaining and educating four students for the Mission in Africa.—"*The Founders and first five years of the Church Missionary Society*,"—pp. 22-23.

It was not till 1807, that the first English candidate for Missionary employment was received by the Society. The first Church of England Clergyman, whose services were actually engaged for the work, was the Rev. William Jowett, M. A., brother-in-law of Mr. Pratt. This was six years later, in 1813. Mr. Jowett was sent to the Mediterranean.

We cannot here enter into further details, interesting as they would prove, of the progressive steps by which the new society advanced to its present position, as to numbers and strength and widespread organization and influence. It is instructive, however, as a lesson on the effects of a simple faithful adherence to right principle, just to notice that the society whose beginnings were thus "small and despised," and beset with difficulties, has now amongst its friends and supporters, both the Primates and in all about thirty bishops ‡ of the Church of England, with her clergy in thousands, an array of England's highest nobility, yea, Royalty itself,—the Queen and Prince Albert, as well as the King of Prussia, being at the head of its Governing Members. It possesses too, what in our judgment is better than all, the deep seated affection of the vast body of the pious laity of England, so that its jubilee in 1848, bore the aspect of a national festival. Its missions are planted in the four quarters of the globe, at 118 different stations. The two missionaries with whom (after three years) it began its operations, have grown almost to hundreds, the last returns (for 1854) give 176, of whom above twenty are ordained natives of the countries in which Missions have been planted, and 103 of them Englishmen, so slow at first to come forward. Its lay assistants, such as catechists, teachers, &c., exceed 1,700, of which number above 1,600 are natives.

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* Mr. Pratt's Memoir says 1803, but this seems an error in date.

† The cause of the selection of Sierra Leone for the Society's first missionary efforts, was the existence there of a free Negro settlement, under the sanction of such men as Wilberforce, Clarkson and Granville Sharp, an establishment for the purpose of resisting the slave-trade and slavery, and encouraging lawful commerce and useful arts amongst the native tribes of Africa. The manumission of the unhappy Negroes received from captured slave ships afforded ready subjects for immediate Missionary labours, and most happy has been the result.

‡ The first bishops who joined the society were Bishops Ryder and Bathurst of the Sees of Glo'ster and Norwich. We record their names with honour; though with regret we add, that it was not till 1814, that any members of the Episcopal Bench felt constrained to take this step.

The Society's funds, which were at first as small as its operations,—(only £2,462, having been received during the first five years, an average of scarcely £500 a year)—have also grown in some proportion to the extent of its labours, having amounted last year to £123,915 for the year, the whole of which consists of voluntary contributions.

Such have been (as far as the organization and growth of the Society itself are concerned) the results of the clear views and the firm adherence to their principles, of the Society's early founders. It is with much justice remarked by, we believe, the present Honorary Clerical Secretary, the Rev. Henry Venn, (son of the Rev. John Venn, of whom honorable mention has been made above) in one of the publications called forth by the jubilee of the society, that—

> "The difficulty which suspended and seemed to threaten the failure of the undertaking, arose from their determination to be true both to their *ecclesiastical* and to their *spiritual* principles. Had they been willing to make some sacrifice of the spiritual character of their design, it would have been easy to have secured the direct patronage of the heads of the Church, and a large accession of the clergy. Had they been less true to their Church principles. they might have gone forward without waiting for an answer from the Bishops. Had they been less confident in the ultimate triumph of their principles, they would have abandoned their attempt to establish a new society, and would have divided their strength between the existing societies of the Church of England and the London Missionary Society."

We believe that no one's influence contributed more—probably no one's so much—to the maintenance of this firm, moderate and consistent course of fidelity to principle, as that of Mr. Pratt. It was he that at the meeting of the Eclectic Society (before referred to) in March 1799, when the project of forming a society first assumed a definite shape, stated it as his opinion that it "*must be kept in evangelical hands,*" and to that principle he continued to the last to adhere.

This has always, to our mind, been the distinction of the Church Missionary Society; it is the *Evangelical* missionary society of the Church of England. This was once its opprobrium in the estimation of the world, it is now its distinguishing honour, its *decus et tutamen.* It has of late become the fashion with a certain party to deny this distinction, and to dispute the Society's claim to the title. In assuming it they say, you cast reproach upon other Church of England societies which claim to be evangelical too. Evangelical means conformable to the Gospel, and that we all claim to be : we all preach and teach the Gospel, and why should you arrogate the title evangelical peculiarly to yourselves ? It is, however, not a little unfair to dispute the Church Missionary Society's claim to this designation. She took it and held it fast when it was a term of reproach amongst the wise and prudent of this world ;—yes, and amongst a great majority of the good people of the world too, and among none more so than that very party who now profess to claim it themselves, in order that they may wrest it from her. We can ourselves remember the name of evangelical being one of reproach, one that we sometimes felt half-ashamed to avow ; when "as wild as an evangelical" was no uncommon phrase by which to describe a half-crazed fanatic. At a time when the name was in this evil repute, the society took it and bore it ; and now that the many undeniable virtues, the piety, the zeal, the active benevolence, the consistent bearing of the great majority of evangelical men, have made the name a name of respect, it is rather hard in those who once cast it in their teeth, to turn round and say, "No, you shall not have it now : we are evangelical as well as you !" *Methodism* was also at one time a nickname and term of reproach, but the numbers, and, in sundry respects, the merits of the Methodists have in many places rendered their designation also a respectable one. But what would be thought of other Christians, were they to begin to say, " No, you must not " call yourselves Methodists ; it reflects upon us as if we were " all unmethodical and irregular : now we love method and order " as well as you ; and we protest against your distinguishing " yourselves as Methodists ! "

The *crux* lies in the meaning ascribed to the term evangelical ; or rather in the view taken of certain doctrinal points included in the Gospel, considered as a system. Agreeing in many grand and principal, as well as also minor truths, still learned and pious men differ widely from each other in their views of certain points connected therewith, and those points of no slight moment, which Arminius would expound differently from Calvin, Wesley from Whitefield, Marsh (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough) from his *quondam* antagonist Wilson (now Bishop of Calcutta), Sumner of Canterbury, from

Philpotts of Exeter, or, to adduce a less offensive contrast, Blomefield of London. We have heard one, who is no inconsiderable authority here in India on such matters, say, that if any one wanted to know the genearl leading views of the evangelical members of the Church of England, he might be referred to the writings of Thomas Scott (the commentator) Richard Cecil and John Newton, as giving a fair representation of them. Not that evangelical men take these writers as their religious dictators, their Protestant popes, but simply as fair expositors of the leading views which the majority of them entertain.

Holding these views firmly and from deep conviction, yet soberly and without undue heat, Mr. Pratt laboured with admirable energy, judgment and self-denial, first to organize and afterwards to carry on the Society, which may almost be said to present their best practical embodiment and exponent.

His laboriousness was remarkable. We have already adverted to his work as author and editor, and this alone, with the duties of his office, would have given many men enough to do;—especially as one of his eyes was defective in vision, in fact had no power of sight at all, all his life, and the other was at times affected by sympathy, at one time confining him in seclusion and severe suffering for nineteen weeks. But he was not merely an official and a book-maker. From his ordination in 1792, to the curacy of Dowles near Bewdley, till the time of his death in 1844, above half a century, he continued to labour also in the word and doctrine, as a minister of the Gospel.

In 1804 he relinquished his curacy at St. John's, Bedford Row, which he had held (as before stated) since 1795, in consequence of being chosen Sunday afternoon Lecturer at St. Mary Woolnoth's, Lombard Street. His rector here was the Venerable John Newton, and thus he had succesively the distinction of being connected with two of the most remarkable evangelical clergymen of that day, Cecil and Newton.

In September of the same 1804, he undertook the Evening Lecture at Spitalfields church, and in the next December the Lady Cambden's Lecture on a week evening at St. Lawrence, Jewry, Guildhall. In about a year after, Mr Newton's curate dying, Mr. Pratt succeeded him, and owing to Mr. Newton's increasing age and infirmities, usually took the morning service. For a considerable part of 1807, he preached regularly four times in the week. At the close of the same year, however, occurred Mr. Newton's death and the expiration of the term of his own incumbency in Spitalfields: and his clerical duties were for about two years confined to the evening Lectureship on

Sundays and Thursdays, which he retained till disabled by the increasing infirmities of age.

In 1810, Wheler Chapel, Spital Square, was obtained for him by the exertions and liberality of friends, and there he continued to minister till 1826, in which year he was re-elected by the parishioners to the living of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, after a three years' suit in Chancery as to the legality of a previous election, and resigned the other charge, retaining the latter to his death.

In his ministry he seems to have been much blessed, especially in training and leading on to maturity of Christian character, persons of solid and practical minds and habits of business. Amongst the fruits of his ministry are specially mentioned Sir T. F. Buxton and Samuel Hoare, Esq., both so distinguished in the world of Christian benevolence.

It will be readily supposed that such an amount of ministerial labour, added to his weighty and engrossing official duties, which he himself says in one of his letters in 1815, formed " an average engagement for the last two years of eight to twelve hours a day, beside frequent journeyings," (p. 229,) and added further to his editorial work, must have fully tasked the time and strength of the strongest and the most diligent labourer. Few, indeed, ever attempt so much ; and yet he did still more. A man of thorough order and diligence has sometimes been compared to a *good packer* of merchandize ; he can get almost twice as much into the same space, as another man can, and still the bale is not overfull. Mr. Pratt exemplified this most strikingly. Loaded as were his hands at all times, he yet found room for occasional efforts of usefulness, outside of his own immediate walk.

Thus, in 1804, he was a warm originator, and became the first Church of England Secretary of the newly formed Bible Society, since grown to such a magnificent extent of greatness and usefulness ; though he soon resigned the office to the able and pious Rev. J. Owen. Long afterwards, in 1831, he showed his abiding interest in its welfare, by coming forward to aid in composing some serious differences which had arisen within it, but which soon passed away He took an active part in the exertions made previous to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in 1813, to render its provisions more tolerant and Christian than they had previously been. When Bishop Chase of Ohio visited London in 1823, to obtain aid for the founding of a seminary to educate ministers for his vast wild diocese, it was Mr. Pratt that took up the matter at once, warmly and practically ; and by his sound and judicious advice, together with his personal exertions, led in great measure to the success of the good bishop's mission, which resulted in the establishment of Kenyon College, in Ohio, £6,000 having been raised in England for that object.

Again in 1831, he united with a few friends of like mind in forming what was called "The Christian Influence Society," which was designed to operate upon every important public matter within its reach, not so much by public proceedings as patiently and unostentatiously by faith, prayer, and perseverence in the exertion of Christian influence. On the great religious questions of the time his views carried great weight, and his opinion was sought by a wide circle of aquaintances. Nor was he inattentive to the political and social movements of his day. The "Roman Catholic Relief Bill" (as it was called,) the Reform Bill, the Church Reform Movement, and other public measures engaged his interest and, when he could apply them usefully, his vigorous exertions.

In 1834 he drew up a prospectus to form the basis of the New City of London School. The principles he laid down were embodied in an Act of Parliament, and the present flourishing institution is the result.

In 1835-6 he had a considerable share in the formation of the Church Pastoral Aid Society—now so widely useful and largely blessed in England.

Brief and poor as is this sketch, it is already growing too long. We could not altogether withhold, however, a notice of Mr. Pratt's abundant labours of usefulness; for the view is instructive, we repeat again, shewing as it does, how much may be done by a man of no extraordinary abilities, who sets himself with full purpose of heart to use his talents, whatever they are, and his opportunities, with humble reference to the will of God, for the good of mankind; or as he himself expressed it in a letter to a clergyman in Nova Soctia, "There is nothing too much to expect where we attempt anything for God, according to His will and in due dependence on His blessing."—p. 186.

Mr. Pratt's private character was just what the private character of such a man as he was in his office and his ministry, might be expected to be. Unlike many who shine only abroad, and whose private life one shrinks from contemplating too closely—he was, as it were, the same all through. A man of the Bible and of prayer for his own personal profit, in his house as in his ministry, they held the first place. Affectionate and wise, kind and dignified, tender and yet judicious, anxious for the spiritual good of his family and household, yet not rigid or gloomy in his treatment of them, but on the contrary, taking a lively interest in their enjoyments, he seems to have been in no common degree reverenced, loved and confided in by all his children. Thoughtful and vigilant in using suitable opportunities of bringing before their minds, by words of counsel or by letters, the truths of the Gospel, the concerns of the soul, and the realities of eternity, his endeavours have been remarkably blest, all his six children, two sons* and four daughters, have, we believe, become followers of him as he followed the Saviour. His readiness to every good work and his constant occupation in something of the kind were, (as the present Bishop of Calcutta said of him †), without "a particle of what we understand by assumption and forwardness."

In his measures for their best welfare, he appears to have been well seconded by the partner of his domestic life. This is, however, rather an inference than a fact stated (as far as we have seen) in the Memoir, in which we have remarked a lack of the usual amount of mention of the sharer of his home and heart. It is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact of Mr. Pratt being still alive when the Memoir was compiled.

When we have added that his habits were retired, perhaps too much so both for himself and for society; that he was (as every reader will have guessed) pre-eminently distinguished for punctuality and order, to which is in part to be ascribed his ability to get through so vast an amount and variety of business as he did; that he was in the midst of all his occupations readily accessible and willing to attend to any one needing his counsel and assistance; and that he was liberal of his money (though possessing but a moderate income and having a pretty large family) to the cause of charity and of God, which always found him ready to respond to its claims to the utmost of his ability, maintaining that Christians should not devote less than a tenth of their income to religious and charitable purposes, we shall have concluded our very imperfect sketch of this truly admirable Christian and ministerial character, and have now, before passing on, only to refer to the close of his labours and his life.

This faithful servant's death was not a scene of rapture and of triumph, it was rather one of humble cleaving to the Saviour. It has remnided us of the expression of a poor fisherman, who had been rescued from Romish delusions, and led by Divine Grace to embrace a pure Scriptural creed, and to hold to it amidst revilings and persecution. When dying he was asked how he felt in that solemn hour; he replied faintly, but unhesitatingly, "At peace:—I am sore buffetted by the enemy; but I am clinging to the Saviour, *like the limpet to the rock.*" So, as the shell fish buffetted by the rude billows, clings closer and closer to its rocky shelter, did the soul of this eminent saint and servant of the Lord draw nearer, in simple dependence to the Saviour, as the waves of the Jordan of Death beat upon him; and he found there peace and safety. His dying experience seems to us peculiarly instructive and confirmatory of the great Gospel truths to publish which his life was devoted. He found by experience the truth of what he had taught, that the soul's peace and salvation are not secured by active zeal or many labours, not by sacrifices of ease and self-denying exertions in the best of causes, but by the atoning, justifying, interceding work of the Son of God, realized to the soul by the operation of the Holy Spirit, and apprehended by a simple, living, child-like faith. Thus laborious and devoted as he had been, "the thought of sin, and particularly of omissions of duty," we are told, "often troubled him" during the few weeks of his last illness, and he only found relief and tranquillity by casting himself in deep humility of soul and entire renunciation of self, with a sinner's helpnessness and a child's simple dependence, on the all-sufficient Saviour. "I wish to have no comfort," he exclaimed, "but that which springs from an "assurance that I have an interest in the Covenant of Christ "Jesus to penitent sinners;" and on being asked—whether he had not that comfort then in possession, he replied, "Yes, I have; and He gives me perfect peace." A few minutes before his spirit departed to the Saviour, that well-known hymn,

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* The elder son, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, succeeded his father immediately as Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman street, where he still continues: the younger is well known to India, as the present excellent Archdeacon of Calcutta.

† In his Fourth Charge, May 1845.

"Guide me, O thou great Jehovah,"

"seemed to draw out the emotions of his soul," and almost before its soothing sounds had passed away from the ear, he had calmly passed into the number of those "that sleep in Jesus."

His chief malady seemed to have been a breaking down of his vigorous constitution, ending in London on October 10th, 1844, in his 76th year.

Not in vain, as we trust, have we traced this very brief record of his life and death; for surely we ourselves, or some others will be stirred up by it to imitate more than ever what every Christian *can* imitate,—his faith, his firmness and his zealous laboriousness for God.

We have too long deferred that part of our paper which more strictly falls in with the subject proper to the *Calcutta*

Review. The society whose beginning we have briefly traced, took for its title at once "A Society for Missions to Africa and the East." And from the first, *the East*, and China and India in particular, attracted the regard of its founders.

As already intimated in this article, India had for some time previously been the scene of Christian missionary efforts for the evangelization of its people. It would be beside our purpose to enter into the subject of the first introduction of Christianity into India. by the Apostle St. Thomas, or the subsequent efforts of the Nestorians. The traditions we have of the former event in particular, are so uncertain and so mixed with fable, as to afford little firm footing for the modern historian. We pass over altogether the Romish attempts, through the Portuguese and others. The accounts we have of them, too, are so little to be trusted; the means adopted to effect their object were so little such as the spirit of Christianity can acknowledge; and the religion itself which they propagated, was so little that of the Divine Saviour of men, that we cannot regard them as capable of being fairly called efforts for the spread of the Gospel.

It is to the honour of the Dutch, as a Protestant people, that they seem always to have recognized it as a duty, to aim at the spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, and in fact the conversion to Christianity, of the people amongst whom they obtained a sufficiently authoritative status, either commercial or political. For instance, on obtaining possession of Java in 1619, as we find stated in *Hough's History of Christianity in India*, Vol. III., chap 2 :—

> One of the first objects of their attention was the religious instruction of the natives. * In obedience to the Governor's commands, the chaplains took immediate steps for the introduction of the Reformed Church of Holland among the people. The island was divided into districts. and in each district they erected a Church and established a school, After a time, their most promising converts were employed as catechists; and they made a selection of their scholars to preside over the schools, though it does not appear that they had all embraced the Christian faith. These teachers were distributed through the districts, and Dutch clergymen appointed to superintend the whole. The language spoken here, and in the Eastern Islands generally, is Malay, into which the ministers soon translated the Reformed Catechism and other elementary works on the doctrines and duties of Christianity, for the use of their catechists and schoolmasters. They also began, and in a few years completed a translation of portions of the Scriptures into the same language; and thus had they the honour of being the first visitors from the West to give the word of God to the natives of the East in their own tongue: the Romish missionaries who preceded them, having never put the sacred volume into the hands of their numerous proselytes, nor given them any methodical and intelligible instructions in the Christian religion.

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* It was with a view to aid in this missionary work that Grotius (according to the same authority) composed his celebrated treatise *De Veritate*, &c.

This was all well, and as it should be: and similar measures seem to have been adopted by the Dutch in their subsequent conquests, such as the island of Formosa and others in those Eastern Seas. In Ceylon, however, where they obtained a footing about 1642 (though they do not appear to have finally expelled the Portuguese till 1656-8), they combined with these legitimate measures of a missionary kind, others highly objectionable, though for a time effectual in producing a vast number of professed converts to Christianity. Subscriptions to the Helvetic confession of faith, and submission to the rite of baptism, were made sure and necessary steps to civil rank and privileges. No native who refused these forms was permitted to hold any office, or even to farm land under Government; and thus were great numbers of the more aspiring inhabitants of the island tempted, by motives merely of a worldly sort, to embrace, in outward seeming at least, the religion of the Saviour; though, of course, as was to be expected, they remained in heart either Buddhist or Romanist idolators as they had been before. Mistaken and deserving the strongest reprobation as were these *measures* for the introduction of Christianity, the feeling or *principle* of national interest and responsibility for the religious welfare of a people, whose country is taken possession of, and its wealth drained by a more enlightened and especially a Christian race, is entitled to all approval and respect.* Protestantism was then young, and had not yet fully unlearned the doctrines of force and of artifice in religion which the Church of Rome had been teaching the world for ages.

Would that we had any similar evidence to record of a sense of such high and solemn responsibility being entertained by the Government or by any great body of the people in England, when, in 1601, the first fleet of British ships sailed under the Charter of England's Protestant Queen, to open commercial relations with India by the route which, a century before, Vasco de

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* The objectionable measures referred to in the text seem to have been entirely *Governmental;* the better qualified amongst the Dutch clergy sent out to Ceylon to superintend the instruction of the people, such as the excellent Philip Baldœus, who arrived from Holland in 1656, and Dr. Singer, who was appointed Rector of the Cingalese Seminary in 1705, with others, do not appear to have relied on them; but to have applied themselves to preaching and teaching the word of God in the language of the people, with true missionary zeal. And to their labour, doubtless, are to be traced the good results which, amidst much evil, appeared from the Dutch Missions in Ceylon. The Rev. James Cordiner, English chaplain at Colombo, at the commencement of the present century, when treating of this subject in his *Description of Ceylon,* states, that "although religous knowledge "was not very perfectly conveyed to the lower order of natives, yet many of the "middle and higher ranks became as true believers in the doctrines, and as conscientious performers of the duties of Christianity, as those who adorn more enlightened regions."—*Hough's History,* Vol. III., ch. 2.

Gama had thrown open to them by the Cape. But unfortunately amongst the honourable distinctions, which we freely admit, must be accorded to the East India Company, the highest of all cannot be included, that of an enlightened and a Christian concern for the best interests of India's swarming and idolatrous population. On the contrary, the deep reproach must ever rest upon it, that both whilst it was merely a commercial, and after it had become a territorial and ruling body, it never shewed an enlightened regard for the real and supremely important welfare of the people from whose land it was deriving more than royal wealth and power and greatness. Nor is it only that it neglected to put forth efforts of its own to communicate to that people the benefits of enlightened learning and the blessings of true religion, but it strenuously resisted every endeavour made by truer friends of India to do the great and good work which it had neglected; whilst, at the same time, it readily made grants and used the influence and services of its officers (often sorely against their will) to maintain and to honour the temples, the priests, and the rites of the Hindu's hideous and debasing idolatory. The noble triad, Carey, Ward and Marshman, were refused toleration by the British authorities in Bengal, and had to seek it in the limited territory of the Danes. Judson, the Apostle of Burmah, was driven from Calcutta, and had to get himself and his heroic wife smuggled on board the vessel which was to bear them to Burmah, where they found from a Buddhist monarch the friendliness and toleration which had been sternly refused them by the Christian Government of Bengal. Morrison, the Apostle of China, finding it impossible to get a passage to the east in a British ship,—all being at that time under the monopolist control of the East India Company,—was obliged to go round by New York, and make his way to China in an American vessel. It is true, that the force of public opinion has compelled the Court of Directors to a late toleration of missionaries as well as of other British subjects; but it has been little more than a mere toleration: they and their work were evidently looked upon for many years with jaundiced if not with hostile eyes; and even yet there is but little of cordial recognition accorded to them, and still less of encouraging co-operation and support. This was painfully evinced but a few years ago, when the Government of India, and we regret to add, the present Governor-General, took part with with the Rajah of Nagpore against Christian missionaries at that place, and compelled them to give up to the relentless hands of the heathen King, a converted native who had taken refuge among the missionaries, alleging as a justification of that most unchristian proceeding, that the treaty between the British Government and the native state forbade the former to "*aid discontented subjects*" in the latter;—as if to turn from heathenism to Christ was to become a "*discontented subject !!*"

We do not refer, however, to this sad and dark page in the history of our rule in India, by way of having a passing *fling* at the Government; but in order, should our remarks meet the eyes of any of those in authority, either here or at home, to add our humble mite of influence to strengthen the current of public and Government favour, which, from Sir Charles Wood's testimony in the British Parliament to missionary usefulness, from the late Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, and other recent occurrences, seems at length beginning to turn, however slowly and interruptedly, in favor of what we must always believe to be *the great work of Great Britain in India*, and the humble but yet noble-minded band of men who have been carrying it on for thirty or forty years, in the face of almost every kind of reproach, discouragement and resistance from the authorities of the country,—authorities too, of their own country and their own faith, from whom they might reasonably have looked for every suitable aid and support.

If the course hitherto adopted has proved not only unbecoming a professedly Christian Government, but also absurd and futile; if the frightful consequences predicted in affected alarm, by worldly-wise statesmen of a by-gone day,—of allowing, and still more of encouraging the diffusion of Christian truth among the people,—have been shewn by experience never to follow; if, on the contrary, the influence of some men in high station, who, from time to time, previously took a warm interest in the work of evangelization, has had anything but a prejudicial effect either on the Government or the people; then, why not cheerfullya nd at once relinquish the old discountenancing policy, and (without using the force, the authority, or the pecuniary resources of the Government to bring about conversions,—we are as far as possible from desiring that) cordially and decidedly extend public encouragement and aid to missionary efforts, and thus not only take a consistent course as a professedly Christian Government, but also assist in removing one of the hindrances so long found in the way of the spread of the Gospel, a hindrance which missionaries tell us they constantly have to encounter, *viz.*, the marked and palpable indifference (to say the least of it) of the Government respecting Christianity? It is no uncommon occurrence for the natives, when unable otherwise to meet the missionary's arguments for the truth and value of the Gospel, to say: But if this were all true, why have not the Company Bahadur told us of it? Why do you not come with credentials from them? Why does not the Government shew an interest in the spread of these "glad tidings" of yours? Unschooled in the subtleties of modern "Christian" controversy, and the inconsistency of modern "Christian" indifferentism, they cannot see why a Government should not concern itself for the best interests of its subjects, as well as for their inferior ones, and if Christianity be, as the missionaries and their books say it is, the only religion given by God for the enlightenment, the elevation, the temporal happiness and the eternal salvation of men, why the Government should not at least shew an interest and a desire for its promulgation amongst the millions of men whom Providence has placed under its influence.

But this is a digression. We were about to touch briefly on the earlier attempts to plant Christianity in Hindostan. As the Protestant Dutch took a lively and active interest in the propagation of Christianity in the eastern regions where they obtained a footing, so did also the Protestant Danes, though not so promptly or of such set purpose. The first Danish merchant vessel reached the Coromandel Coast in 1618, and in 1621, the Copenhagen Company purchased from the Rajah of Tanjore the town of Tranquebar, with a few miles of adjacent territory. They had been more than eighty years engaged in the pursuits of commerce, however, before they began to concern themselves about the souls of the people. The honour of directing the commencement of missionary work belongs in this instance to a crowned head. Frederick IV. of Denmark, (as before stated) urged by one of his chaplains, Dr. Lutkens, used his royal influence to set on foot endeavours for the conversion to Christ of the idolatrous people of India. The distinguished and pious A. H. Franke, Professor in the Halle University and founder of the well known Orphan House at Halle, was applied to and recommended the first missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutschou, who (with the authority and commission of the bishop of Zealand) arrived at Tranquebar in 1706. They met at first with not only ridicule and contempt, but direct and violent persecution from their gain-seeking fellow "Christians" from Europe: but peremptory orders from the King of Denmark, the first promoter of the Mission, put this down after it had become known at home. Their modes of proceeding seem to have been so admirable from the very first, that the missionary experience of a century and a half has scarcely improved on them in any respect. Their spirit, their self-denial, their zeal, their devotedness, and their astonishing laboriousness are far above human praise.

An English translation of some letters of these Danish Lutheran missionaries published in 1709, by the Rev. Mr. Boehm (chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Ann) was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison) the President, and other members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. This led to that society espousing the cause of the Danish mission, by granting a donation of £20,—a pretty considerable sum at that time, when the society's funds were still very trifling,—together with a number of books, and letters of kind brotherly encouragement.

A similar publication next year led to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (established in 1699), also resolving to open a separate fund in aid of the Danish missionaries and their work. "People of all ranks," we are told,* "nobility "and clergy, ladies and gentlemen, citizens and merchants, "contributed to a large amount, some without wishing it to be known." They "felt ashamed that such an enterprise should have been so sparingly encouraged by Protestants." This fund continued to be managed in great measure by Archbishop Tenison, (and afterwards by Archbishop Wake) and Mr. Chamberlayne, Secretary to the *Propagation Society*, though it was properly connected with the *Christian Knowledge Society;* a fact which proves that both these bodies united cordially in this work. We are glad to be able to record this fact; it shows that these Societies were animated, then, by a larger and more catholic spirit than we fear has characterized them in later days.

From thenceforth the mission was steadily patronized and assisted by the Christian Knowledge Society. Its successive new missionaries (usually from Halle in Prussia) after having visited Copenhagen, to obtain ordination from the head of the Danish Church, seem always to have proceeded to England, to receive the benediction of the Primate and the cordial acknowledgment and substantial aid of the Christian Knowledge Society, before they sailed for India. Amongst these we should not omit to specify the distinguished Christian Frederick Swartz, who reached Tranquebar with two companions in 1750.

It is pleasant, too, in these statelier or more indifferent times, to recollect that, then, not only did the Primate of England write in cordial terms of Christian counsel and encouragement to these excellent missionaries; but Royalty itself showed them a similar favor. George I. of England wrote more than once, with his own hand, in a most friendly, and indeed, Christian strain, to cheer the labourers in their work. His Majesty's last letter of this sort was written in 1727, the year of his death.

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* Hough's Christianity in India, Vol. III., p. 172.

It will be impossible to follow further the fortunes of this first Protestant mission in India. Some particulars of it are well known in connexion with the history of the eminent Missionary Swartz just named, whose death took place in February 1798.

Some time after the English had established themselves in Madras, some of the chaplains began to take a lively interest in promoting missionary objects. Messrs. Lewis, Stevenson, and Leek, successively, from the year 1712, shewed themselves friendly to the Danish mission at Tranquebar. In 1734, Mr. Schaltze, who had been sent by that mission to Madras, was formally adopted, as was also the Madras mission itself, by the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was aided, too, by contributions from Germany.

It was not till 1814-15, that the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Messrs. Schnarre and Rhenius, came out to Madras, where they settled with the full permission of the Governor, the Hon'ble H. Elliott; and since that time the mission has been steadily maintained, and the society has, besides, above twenty stations and forty ordained missionaries (thirteen of them natives) in various parts of the Madras Presidency.

The Christian Knowledge Society must certainly be regarded as the earliest Christian friend of India in England. From the time that that poor semi-heathen, Job Charnock, founded the English factory of Calcutta in 1689, no thought seems to have been taken for the souls of the people of Bengal, except a proposal (which came to nothing) on the part of the chaplain, the Rev. S. Briercliffe, to establish a school, until in 1714—the above named society invited that gentleman to become one of its corresponding members, and sent him a number of books, with a view to attempt the introduction of the Gospel among the population. Nothing, however, appears to have been actually done, further than the erection of the first Church in Calcutta, and the formation of a charitable institution,—the original of the present Free School, no doubt,—until some Dutch, German, and other foreigners residing in Bengal, again took the lead of us, in seeking the good of the people of the land. They applied to the Tranquebar missionaries in 1732, to send one or more of their number to establish a mission in Bengal, both for the instruction of the natives and also for that of the children of the Europeans themselves, who were growing up in ignorance. The brethren in South India were at that time unable to meet this requisition: but it was still urged with so much importunity, that in 1734 they forwarded it to Europe, where it inspired a lively sympathy, both in England and in Germany. The Christian Knowledge Society again came forward with warm interest, and offered to contribute to maintain a missionary, if a suitable person could be found. Liberal aid flowed in from other quarters; but no one appeared who was considered an eligible person to enter on the proposed mission.

Time passed on, and Calcutta received two tremendous blows; first, in 1737, from a terrific hurricane and earthquake, which swept over it and did immense damage, and afterwards in 1756, by the invasion of the ruthless Suraj-u-Dowlah, when the terrible tragedy of the Black-hole was enacted, and 123 of our countrymen perished in one night. Almost every record seems to have vanished in these disasters; so that we know not if anything was done for the propagation of Christianity until 1758, when the first Protestant Missionary, John Zechariah Kiernander arrived in Bengal from Cuddalore, or more properly from Tranquebar, where he and his companion Mr. Huttman had taken refuge, on the French taking Cuddalore after a few days' siege. He was a Swede,* but had been for some time engaged in a responsible situation at Halle, when the admirable Professor Francke (that true friend of India and of mankind) recommended him to the mission, and he reached Cuddalore in 1740.

Kiernander met from the British authorities, the Governor-General, the gallant Lord, (then Colonel) Clive, and the Council, a cordial reception and friendly support, which (strange to say) most of their successors seem to have been far from imitating. Colonel and Mrs. Clive, and Mr. Watts, a Member of Council, stood sponsors for his son, and the chaplains of that day, Messrs. Butler and Cape, showed the kindest feeling, and procured liberal subscriptions in aid of the objects of his mission.

The incidents of Kiernander's remarkable career are too well known to render our dwelling upon them necessary. In 1775 a second missionary, John Christian Diemer, from Halle, joined Mr. Kiernander; and it must be recorded to the honour of the East India Company,—who began better than they con-

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His native place was Akstad, in Sweden. He died in Calcutta in 1799.

tinued to go on,—that they granted him and Mr. Kiernander's two children, who were returning after being educated in Europe, a free passage in one of their ships. Mr. Diemer's health, however, allowed him to do but little, and obliged him to return to Europe in 1783, so that Kiernander had to apply again to Tranquebar for aid *; and two missionaries successively (Messrs. Koenig and Gerlach) were sent up in 1778, but appear to have remained only a short time.

The first English clergyman that came to India as a missionary, was the Rev. Abraham Thomas Clarke, sent out to Calcutta by the Christian Knowledge Society in 1789, after Kiernander's pecuniary difficulties had forced him to retire. We must acknowledge with regret, that this first English missionary was unworthy of the high calling wherewith he had been called; for after about a year he obtained a Government chaplaincy, and without notice suddenly threw up his missionary charge (offering to repay what he had cost the society), and was sent by the Commander-in-Chief to Chunar. He still, however, retained an interest in Missionary work, and endeavoured afterwards to promote it. The Rev. W. T. Ringletaube also, who joined the mission in 1797, became discontented and forsook it, two years after; and the Christian Knowledge Society seemed in consequence to grow discouraged and to withdraw from the work.

Far different in spirit was the Rev. David Brown, the father of evangelical religion in Bengal. He had come to India in 1786, and had not only laboured hard, but sacrificed comforts and emoluments to carry on the Missionary work, which had been commenced in Calcutta. "The furtherance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to me all in all," said he, in a letter dated 1792; and his whole life proved that it was no empty vaunt. He found a true and a most able fellow labourer in the distinguished Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who came to India in 1797, and whose eminent services are well known. Messrs. Chambers, Grant, and Udney, ought also to be mentioned as most active, zealous and laborious friends of the mission, amongst the persons in high station, and especially Lord Teignmouth, who arrived in Calcutta as Governor-General in 1793, and most liberally supported and befriended Missionary work.

In the meantime, a missionary spirit was gaining strength amongst the Baptists in England. It seems to have risen there

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* Two Portuguese Roman Catholic Priests, who had been converted through Kiernander's instrumentality, were very useful in the new mission.

first in the bosom of the afterwards eminent William Carey; and about the same time in Calcutta, in that of Mr. Thomas, a ship surgeon, who sailed to India, for the first time, in 1783. After the formation of the *Baptist Missionary Society*, in 1792, as before noticed, these two men first met; their meeting was deeply affecting; they fell on each other's neck and wept. They arrived in Calcutta on June 13th, 1793, on board a Danish ship, and were welcomed by David Brown and other Christian friends. In 1799 arrived Ward, Brunsdon, Grant and Marshman; but this large accession to a force then little known and less understood, at once awakened the suspicions of the Indian Government; and even the able and far-seeing Lord Mornington had almost ordered them to leave the country.* But he was induced by the intervention of Dr. Buchanan, to allow them to remain, and settle at Serampore, where the Danish Governor gave them a friendly reception; and there, as is well known, the Baptists have ever since maintained their mission.

It may well be concluded that, on learning of the formation of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, David Brown's heart would be filled with joy; and that he would use every exertion to bring its agency to bear on India. In 1807, he, and those true and noble friends of India named above, Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Udney, were constituted a sort of Corresponding Committee by a grant of £200, made by the Society's Committee in London, to be appropriated at their discretion to promote the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East. This sum was not drawn for immediately, and, in 1809, it was increased to £500, and Henry Martyn and Mr. Thomason were added to the Committee entrusted with it.

In consequence of a proposal made by this Committee, for the maintenance of natives to read the Christian Scriptures in public, the London Committee granted £250 a year for that purpose, in 1811, the year in which the devoted Martyn left India to return no more.

Previous to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, the society had begun to bestir itself to secure an opening for Missionary efforts, and all the judgment and energy of its Secretary were exerted to the full. Dr. Buchanan had gone to England in 1808, and immediately began to plead the cause of India, with all his consummate ability and rich stores of oriental knowledge, through the pulpit and the press, both in England and Ireland: and with decided effect. It was at the request of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society that he drew up his celebrated Memoir on the necessity of a colonial ecclesiastical establishment for India, which was published by the society in 1812, and being extensively circulated amongst members of the Legislature, led in fact to the institution of the Indian episcopate. Thus it is to this society, which high church bigotry so vehemently assailed as opposed to church order and episcopal authority, that the origination of Protestant episcopal authority in India must be ascribed. It is difficult for us, at this period of our Indian history, with bishops, clergy and missionaries of all sorts, so long living realities around us, to realize the extravagant alarm and the violent spirit which the proposition of an ecclesiastical establishment for India, and especially for sanctioning,—(Dr. Buchanan went no further),—missionary labours amongst the people, called forth from the worldly-wise politicians and statesmen of that day. The following passage from the Rev. J. Long's *Hand Book* of Bengal Missions (p. 14.) will give some idea of how such persons felt on this subject*:—

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* It must be admitted, that at the time there was something to excite the suspicions of the Government in the fact of Dissenters, (a body of whom many were known to have espoused French Republican principles), arriving without the usual license of the Court, in American vessels, with the avowed intention of propagandism amongst the natives.

" Opinions of the following description were warmly advocated by Anglo-Indians. The Hindu system little needs the ameliorating hand of the Christian dispensation, for " the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." "No Hindu of respectability will ever yield to the missionary's remonstrances." Even as late as 1808, Major Scott Waring, a Bengal Officer, has recorded his opinion in the following terms :—" Whenever the Christian religion does as much for the lower orders of society in Europe, as that of Brahma appears to *have* done for the Hindus, I shall cheerfully vote for its establishment in Hindustan."

" We give the following as specimens of the notions and practices of some of the Anglo-Indians in Bengal, in former days, and which proved mighty obstacles to the conversion of the heathen. Colonel Stewart, who received the sobriquet of Hindu Stewart, resided at Berhampore, where he worshipped idols and the Ganges. He built a temple at Sagor ; and on his return to Europe, took idols with him to perform pujà. Warren Hastings sent an embassy to the Grand Lama to congratulate him on his incarnation. Mr. Lushington, a Director of the East India Company, stated publicly, in 1793, " that were 100,000 natives converted, he should hold it as the greatest calamity that could befal India." The sermon preached at Bishop Middleton's consecration in 1814, was not published, lest the fears of many Anglo-Indians should be excited. At that period the opponents of missions declared. that if bishops were sent to India, " our empire there would not be worth a year's purchase." Major Scott Waring writes in 1805; "I never met with a happier race of men than the Hindus when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their own religion; and it might truly be said, that if Arcadian happiness ever had existence, it must have been rivalled in Hindustan." In 1793, a member of the Court of Proprietors declared at the India House, "that the sending missionaries into our Eastern territories is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project that was ever suggested by the most visionary speculator; that the project would affect the ultimate security of our Eastern possessions." We need not be surprised, however, at these statements, when we find the Bishop of St. Asaph, stating in the House of Lords in 1783, that "the obligation said to be incumbent on Christians, to promote their faith throughout the world had ceased with the supernatural gifts which attended the commission of the Apostles"

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* See also the article entitled *The Establishment of the Indian Episcopate*, in No. XXV. (March 1850) of the *Calcutta Review*.

The battle of the truth, however, was bravely fought, and at length won; and Thomas Fanshawe Middleton arrived at Calcutta as the first Protestant Indian Bishop, in November 1814. But we cannot say that this able, though cold and formal prelate, did much to forward the great work of missions in India. He thought himself restricted by the wording of his letters patent from ordaining either natives or others for the propagation of Christianity in his vast and swarming diocese. He even doubted whether he ought to countenance Missionary proceedings by any but the clerical servants of the East India Company,—and he did both countenance and commend those of Mr. Corrie at Agra. So that, though clergymen of the Church of England had begun to engage in missionary labour in the diocese during his episcopate, he never could make up his mind to license, or even to recognize them, because neither the canons nor liturgy of the English Church, nor the Commission of the Court of Directors, had specially provided for such cases. Towards the close of his career he seemed to be inclining towards a course of action more worthy of a Christian and Protestant Bishop in a country like this. But death surprised him before he had taken any step except founding Bishop's College, which forms an appropriate monument of the man.

Great was the disappointment of the Church Missionary Society. The small-mindedness (if we may construct a word for the occasion) and timidity of the new bishop, however, did not retard its energetic labours. The authorities of the Church seemed from the first, as it were, resolved to let the world see how much could be done without *their* help. Amongst the parties which have always existed, and we suppose always will exist in the Church, ever since there has been anything like a settled ecclesiastical organization, has been one whose cry is evermore "*Church Principles*;" and another whose equally constant cry is "*Perishing Souls.*" To the former of these belonged Bishop Middleton; to the latter pertain most of the leaders of the Church Missionary Society; and without debating at present their relative merits, we shall only say, let our soul ever be with the latter.

Not long after the first Bishop, the first English missionaries of the Church Missionary Society reached India. The Rev. Messrs. Norton and Greenwood were at first designed for Ceylon, but circumstances led to the former being assigned to Madras and the latter to Calcutta, where he arrived in June 1816. They had been ordained in England, and came out with the license of the Company to reside in their territories. From that time the number of English missionaries steadily increased, ignored and discouraged as they were, by their principal head; until at his decease, in July 1822, they amounted to eighteen, with eight Lutherans in India and Ceylon. The society had taken up twenty-four stations, of which ten were in the Bengal Presidency; and in spite of the unconcealed dislike of the Court of Directors, the "passive resistance" of the Indian Government, and the stiff and formal coldness of the Indian Bishop, was making friends for itself amongst the wise and good in the land, who began to support it liberally, and was doing its trying and difficult work with a steady patient zeal and perseverance, which nothing but true Christian principle could have maintained. What can this be ascribed to other than the blessing of God? Never was there a more decisive and more cheering instance of that blessing prevailing against almost every human hindrance.

Heber was a wiser, as well as a warmer and farther-seeing man than his predecessor. During his more genial episcopate, the missionaries proceeded more cheerfully with their work as acknowledged members of the Church of England Ministry in India; and Bishop Wilson's lengthened episcopate of now two and twenty years, his evangelical principles, his missionary zeal, his liberal disposition, his sermons and charges, and his friendly bearing towards his clergy in general, have done much to place the missionary on his proper level, to cheer him in his work, and to commend that work to the many, who in India, as everywhere, are more influenced by the authority and example of one in an eminent position, than by the righteous claims of a good and glorious cause.

This should bring us to write of what they *have* done, of the actual fruits of missionary labour in India; and we had intended to have gone into this part of the subject at some little length, and to have proved by facts and by arguments that the actual results of Missionary labour are such as should call forth the thankful respect of all right thinking men; but we have been led somehow, in writing these pages, to take a somewhat different course from that at first contemplated, and are consequently obliged to defer much that we had intended to say on this and other branches of our subject. We gladly refer the reader, however, to an article exclusively devoted to it, by another and a much abler hand, in an earlier number of this *Review*, No. XXXI., for September 1851, where the subject will be found very fully and very fairly treated; and it is shewn that the results, not only in actual conversions of natives of the country, and in gathering of native Christian congregations, are much greater than could reasonably have been reckoned on from the comparatively trifling amount of missionary labour as yet expended upon this vast Missionary field; but also in the quantity of *material* produced, in the way of mission establishments, vernacular books, especially the Scriptures, and efficient native helpers, for the future carrying on of the work. We commend the paper to the perusal of the reader who wishes to obtain a just view of a work too little known, as we have said, and too much decried. And, at the same time, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of referring to and commending to our readers another article in a number of the *Review* subsequent to that just referred to (No. XXXV., September 1852,) entitled *India as a Mission field*, and the pamphlet there reviewed, entitled *The Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions*, by a Layman in India: London, 1852. We are not, we believe, now betraying any secret in naming the Layman as Macleod Wylie, Esq., Senior Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, who has just left India (but we rejoice to hope only for a time) to seek restoration of the health which had seriously suffered under his devoted labours in the cause of missions and of every good work amongst us. Even while we write, another work of his has been announced, dictated by the same spirit of Christian zeal which has long animated him. It is designated *Bengal as a field of Missions.*

It was during the incumbency of India's third Bishope the active and sensible Thomas Turner, that the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht landed in Calcutta as a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, on New-year's day, 1831.

It is with no small regret that we find both our space and time so far engaged already, as to necessitate our compressing into a few concluding pages our notice of the Memoir and the Life of this truly valuable Missionary, which we had intended should constitute a large portion of this article.

The critic cannot and would not deal severely with the work of a widow, drawn up, in great part, during the very year of her bereavement. But in candour we must say, that whilst the work presents some of the faults to be expected from the circumstances of its compilation, such as a natural tendency to accumulate and to over-colour every thing which can in any way exalt its subject, and to pass over, perhaps unconsciously, other things which might cast a shade over it, it is very far in our judgment, from deserving the harsh measure dealt out to it by a Calcutta contemporary.* Admitting that the Memoir is in some measure "*overdone*," and that there are pages, which might, without much loss to the life or to the public, have been omitted—(though it is but fair to remember, that a history of the Burdwan mission is incorporated with the Memoir, and many passages unnecessary to the latter are quite relevant to the former,)—and, moreover, that the work would have been much more extensively read, were it less bulky, and printed in larger type; we must still say that the majority of ordinary readers,—for whom, be it remembered, and not for the critics, such books are written,—have pronounced warmly in its favour, as far as we have had opportunity of personally ascertaining; and the public in general has evinced its feeling very decidedly, by taking up an impression of 3,000 copies, and calling for another in the course of, we believe, a few weeks. We have heard, too, from a friend in England, well qualified, from position and otherwise, to form a judgment, that the work "is doing good service to the cause of Missions at home." This is a decided *success*. And as for the largeness of the volume and the smallness of the type, if they do not evince the literary discretion of the compiler, they certainly shew her honesty, so to speak: much less matter in much larger type would have cost her much less labor and expense, and probably sold still better; but there was a wealth of materials, and we happen to know, that nearly half as much more as appears in print, was included in the original compilation; but was judiciously excised by the Editor, Mr. Christopher, whose Introduction, (by the way) though by no means necessary to the Memoir, is in itself sound and sensible, and likely to prove useful.

We cannot but wish certainly that greater literary skill had been exerted in the arrangement of the materials; but it was necessary, for various reasons, to bring out the work soon;—every one who has had to compile a book hurriedly will understand what is meant by *not having time to be brief*:—it was done by a hand unhackneyed in the arts of book-making, though

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*The *Calcutta Christian Observer*, November 1854.

not wholly inexperienced in authorship ; and to say the least of the work, it follows the fashion of biography so much in vogue at present, *viz.*, to leave the subject of the memoir to tell his own tale and exhibit his own character, by his journals, his correspondence, and the more public productions of his pen.

We shall say no more at present as to the execution of the work, except this, that if it has faults, it is certainly not without merits, too. It is agreeably written. With all its minute detail, and its certainly rather excessive lengthiness, no one can justly call it *tiresome :* and many readers, as we have already said, have pronounced it positively delightful. It has, in our eyes at least, one great merit ; it is so contrived as to bring forward a great number of incidents, small, it may be, in themselves, but yet calculated to prove instructive and cheering to persons engaged, as its subject was, in arduous and self-denying labour ; and by presenting us with Mr. Weitbrecht's own descriptions of his inward conflicts, and the sources whence he derived strength and comfort, and victory, it directs other tried ones to the same "wells of salvation," from which they may draw for themselves in their time of need.

We might choose passages, almost at random, from the Memoir, to illustrate this latter commendation. Take for instance, the account of the close of his second year in India, 1832 :—

> " A few days later, his brethren left him, and he concluded his journal of this year by a summary of the great and wonderful mercies he had received from his Lord, who had so graciously assisted him through the arduous and difficult beginning of his missionary course. He traces all his strength for duty, and all his success, to the help and blessing of his heavenly Father, and renews his prayers and his vows for future aid and consecration under six heads :—I. For troubles, give faith and hope. 2. For discouragement, patience and perseverance. 3. For the poor heathen, love and pity. 4. For private devotion, humility and confidence. 5. For the work of the ministry, divine unction. 6. In combats, victory, through the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."(p. 77.)

Again, on New Year's Day 1834, he thus writes :—

> " I have now spent three years in India, and depending on the Almighty hand which has hitherto so graciously and faithfully guided me, I enter on the fourth. O Lord ! let Thy favour perserve my breath, for in this land we sensibly feel that in the midst of life we are in death. Give me, blessed Jesus, new faithfulness, new zeal, new strength, and new blessings in my work in this vineyard wherein Thou hast called me to labour. My comfort under all my own infirmities and weaknesses, and under all the difficulties and trials of my pilgrim way is, that Thou wilt never leave me nor forsake me. My soul cleaveth unto Thee. Thou hast loved me first, and Thy love constraineth me to live, and if called on, to die for Thee. Be to my soul more and more precious,—more and more glorious, —more and more dear ; preserve me to Thy heavenly kingdom, and grant me at last a joyful entrance therein." (p. 98.)

And once more in 1836 :—

> The great point a missionary must ever have in view, in all his engagements, is the conversion of those among whom he labours. While I feel my inability to accomplish this change in one soul, the privilege is sweet to me by which I can say, " *Lord, help me.* I am Thy servant." It is an especial comfort to be able to ask His blessing in every particular case. "Lord, I am going to preach the Gospel of Thy dear Son; accompany my testimony by the power of Thy Spirit to the hearts of the hearers. I am going to instruct the young; bless the instruction." Labouring thus in His name we may be happy, and take courage. The cause is His, and not ours May we be "faithful unto death!" Our reward will be great, and our rest sweet. Sometimes our faith and patience is exceedingly tried, at other times we are refreshed and comforted. I know this must be. All the saints in glory went there on the same path." (p. 146-7.)

We cannot but think that the disparaging remarks of the critic we have referred to, on Mr. Weitbrecht's personal qualities and ministerial labours, are unjustly severe and splenetic. * They are moreover strangely dissimilar to others in the same periodical at an earlier period, soon after that excellent missionary's death. Were we to have the lives of men of genius only written, the world and the church would, in our opinion, be grievous losers; the mass of mankind would be effectually deterred from aiming at what is good and worthy of imitation in the teaching of Biography, because of that transcendant and heaven-bestowed something, called genius, with which it would come to be regarded as inseparably connected, as effect is with cause. But with but little of this undefined and fitful thing, a man may possess many most excellent and useful, nay, most noble and admirable qualities, which, while they render him a benefactor and blessing to his kind, do not raise him above their imitation. And such, we think, was Josiah Pratt, whose character we have just attempted, though very imperfectly, to pourtray; and such we hold also was John James Weitbrecht. Talents and powers, we maintain, he possessed, of no common order; but it is not for these we love, we honour, and we try to follow him; it is for his virtues; for the grace that was bestowed upon him, for the uses to which he applied his many and various gifts.

It affords evidence of mental superiority to have maintained always a pre-eminence amongst his fellows, and that not by any assumption of his, but by the ready concession of those amongst whom he moved. This pre-eminence was awarded to him by his college-mates at Basle missionary institution; and we can testify that it continued to be yielded by his brother missionaries in India up to the close of his life. Often have we heard the regretful remark made since his removal, "We have no one to take the place that he held amongst us; no one to look up to as we did to him."

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* We don't know who the writer is, but he seems to think the business of a critic is to strike out as far, and to deal as many and as hard blows as he can on any and everything within reach, all round. In the space of his five or six pages, he manages to attack writers of fiction and biography in general, and Mrs. Weitbrecht and her work in particular, missionary societies, and the missionary whose memoir he was reviewing, and we know not whom and what beside. This is not to be a reviewer, but a censor-general.

It is indicative of no contemptible amount of talent, combined with energy, firmness and diligence, to have successively set to work at, and made some progress in, four strange languages, and to have mastered the fourth so early and so respectably as Weitbrecht did the Bengali. And amongst his linguistic attainments must be included his perfection in English, which required little correction, even when he was on his voyage to India after scarce two years' residence in England; for one of his fellow passengers says of him, "he then wrote as correctly "and eloquently as in latter years, and preached in English with "as much ease as if he had been born in England." We have ourselves heard the friend, himself no inelegant scholar, who carried through the press the volume of Mr. Weitbrecht's Sermons published in Calcutta soon after the author's decease, say, that scarce a line or a word needed correction.

Nor can it be denied to be a proof of a gifted mind to possess the power to influence and control, by the utterance of the lips, popular assemblies of almost every sort, and that without the slightest attempt at the arts of the practised rhetorician, by the force of manly sense, fresh and vigorous thought, and pointed and simple appeal to the best feelings of our nature. Without dwelling on his missionary preaching in India, his progress through Germany on his visit home, in 1841-44, was a career of triumph. Wherever he went, he created an enthusiasm. A like, though perhaps not quite an equal success attended him in England, to him a foreign land; and it was proved to be the result of no tricks of oratory or mere graces of manner or of style; for his missionary addresses were published not only in German but in English, and in both languages had a very considerable *run*.

An instance or two will illustrate this position, as related in his free and artless letters to his wife.

"The town contains only 400 Protestants, yet the church was so full, one might have walked upon the heads of the people. At least 10 00 individuals listened for one hour and a half in breathless silence. The two Dukes (Paul and Adam, of Wurtemberg) were present, and became subscribers; you can imagine I do not lose these fine opportunities for speaking, as God may enable me, to the hearts and consciences of my hearers."

And again—

> "I wish you could have seen the masses of hearers this day. I spoke an hour and a half. The people seemed quite electrified: there were about 3,000 present. It was a beautiful sight! An old infidel physician, who had not been in church for thirty years, attended. He was quite shaken down, and sent us a present for our work."

We think, too, that the death of a man of ordinary and common place ability, would not have called forth the numerous and strongly worded expressions of regret and admiration which followed Weitbrecht's decease, expressions which were not only heard from many of the pulpits of Calcutta and elsewhere, but which were entered on the records of public religious bodies, both those of the Church of England, and others, too, as may be seen in the latter pages, and the Appendix to the Memoir. Either these various bodies and individuals happened, accidently and independently of each other, all to go out of their usual way, to do honour to the memory of a mere everyday good man; or else the man whose memory they honoured was one of no common stamp

Thus much we say in simple justice; but we repeat, that we care not for the point. We are glad the Memoir has been written, if the subject of it were not half the man, the missionary and the Christian that he was; for even though the work be partial and over-coloured,—as we suppose almost every Memoir, at least by a near relative is,—we believe it will minister encouragement, and stimulus and comfort to many a faithful heart, both in the homes of Christian Europe and the tabernacles of the missionary field.

We may as well say here respecting the missionary character, and missionaries themselves in general, as they have come under our observation, that we have been constrained to respect them very highly. We think they are a class of men, much misjudged by most persons. The missionary character, in the abstract idea, is doubtless duly venerated; but somehow the Missionary himself, in the actual living reality, is not estimated amongst us here in India, as we think he ought to be. People are inconsiderate. They seem to expect a missionary to be a man above the reach of human infirmity, and even of human feelings and human wants: a man of an anchorite's self-denial, an apostle's zeal, a giant's power, and an angel's disinterested devotedness. They conceive the idea of a sort of compound character, made up of the best features of many others, and seem to expect to find their idea realized in every missionary they meet. They take the heavenly mind and even the splendid talents of a Martyn, the untiring energy and great success of a Swartz, the deep humility of soul of a Brainerd, the laborious self-denial of an Eliot, or a Judson, the resistless gentleness and winning love of a Corrie, the solid sense, agreeable manners, and ready address of a Weitbrecht, and the physical energy and iron-constitution of a Lacroix, and forming to their imaginations a character composed of such elements, they seem to expect to find it wherever they find a missionary. Of course, they are disappointed ; "God" (as Cecil says) "who alone *could* make such ministers, has not done so : "—admirable Crichtons, and Berkeleys, endowed with "every virtue under heaven," are but rarely seen in this degenerate world ;—but in their disappointment men are apt to fly to the other extreme, and think nothing of the man who has not every thing they fancied he had. But this is unreasonable and unfair. "Every man," says St. Paul, "has his proper gift of God, one after this manner and another after that : " and though there are exceptions to what we are about to say, among the missionary body, we must in candour express it as our opinion that the Missionaries, as a body, form the most truly respectable class of society in India : respectable for their general ability, respectable for their usefulness and laboriousness, respectable for their high Christian character, and respectable above all, (we mean more than any other class) for their disinterested and single-minded devotedness to India's good. Of no other men in the country can it be said as a body, that they came to India only to seek the good of India and her people : and we must add, as the result of our own not very limited observation and experience, that amongst no other body are you so sure of meeting with a ready response and cordial co-operation when you want to carry out any well laid scheme for the real benefit, even of a merely temporal kind, of the sons and daughters of the land. We are well aware, and rejoice in the acknowledgment, that among the members of the public services, civil, military and clerical, there is a considerable, and perhaps an increasing, proportion of persons feeling a lively interest in such undertakings, and ready to lend them energetic and substantial aid ; but of none others, that we are acquainted with, save and except the missionaries, can this be said *as a body* ; and, of them, it can. There are exceptions ; but we have found them but few. The people and the friends of India are sure of finding friends in them.

One element in the romantic idea of a Missionary to which we have alluded is, that he should live like an anchorite ; and if he is seen dwelling in a moderately good habitation, and partaking of the ordinary simple comforts of civilized life, he is liable to be set down as a luxurious self-indulger, who thinks more of his comforts than of his work, and who probably entered on his holy calling to obtain a sort of advancement and independence in the world. This has always appeared to us a great mistake. We quote, in reference to it, the remarks of a writer in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, who seems to be well acquainted with the subject :—

"Half a century's experience has taught such bodies (Missionary Societies) that *penny wisdom* here is *pound folly*—looking at the matter merely in a pecuniary light. It has taught them, that to educate men in European Colleges for missionary labour, to send them out to India in our costly ships, with all necessary outfit, and then to place them in poor close dwellings, on stinted allowances, without conveniences for either family comfort or missionary activity—is the most utter folly. It wastes funds entrusted to them not for foolish waste but judicious use; it flings away valuable lives, which, on a better system, might be, and are preserved for many years; and it creates a prejudice and a fear about the missionary life, as if to be a missionary was necessarily to be a martyr, as poor Mrs. Pfeiffer thought it, though in another sense.

Hence good, substantial, airy and often expensive (we will not say they are not sometimes too expensive) houses are built for missionaries in those places where the mission is likely to be permanent. Hence missionaries are provided with the necessary appliances and means of protection from the deadly climate, and with a sufficiency of the ordinary supplies and comforts of persons in the middle classes of society; and one of the duties of the Secretaries, or senior members of missionary bodies, is to warn inexperienced missionaries against the folly and danger of denying themselves needful comforts, and exposing themselves to heat, damp, &c., &c., under mistaken ideas of economy.

We well remember the fears excited not very long ago on behalf of a zealous, though rather incautious missionary friend, who, being left too much to himself, adopted a mode of living which exposed his health and life to the most imminent peril. We felt constrained to volunteer more than one urgent caution ourselves; and we cannot forget the wasted and sickly look which he brought back with him after a few months of living in a mode which Mrs. Pfeiffer would probably not think "martyr-like" enough; for he never quite came up to her idea of living exactly like the poorest natives, eating with them from one dish, &c., &c. We have no doubt his life was saved by his having to leave his chosen abode and go to sea." *

The amount of labour gone through by a diligent and zealous missionary in India few persons are aware of. It is not merely going to preach now and then, or teaching a little in a school, with natives to help him. It is the constant and wearying pressure of many and often conflicting claims upon his time and his exertions, that wear him down. Most missionaries have more or less of a native Christian congregation to attend to, and some, as for instance those of the Church Missionary Society in the Kishnaghur district in Bengal, and of that and other Societies in several parts of South India,—of many hundred members, such as are considered more than enough to fill the time, and tax the energies of a strong man in the bracing air of Europe. But this is but a small part of the zealous missionary's charge. He has (in addition to the usual European requisites for ministerial usefulness, to acquire a full and familiar knowledge of perhaps two or three strange and difficult oriental tongues, so as to discuss in them not only ordinary matters of business or routine (such as the planter or the Government servant has to do with) but abstruse religious doctrines and the niceties of eastern philosophy and metaphysics. Whilst he is learning these, his time is perpetually demanded, and his studies interrupted by the care of the before-mentioned native flock, by the concerns of his schools, of which he has probably two for native *Christian* children, boys and girls, in his mission compound, and two or three others in different parts of his district, at some miles distance from him and from each other; and none of these can go on at all satisfactorily without his frequent and steady superintendence. Missionary preaching tours occupy a good part of the season of the year, when it is possible to itinerate in a country like India, and exclude every thing else for the time. As he becomes known and respected amongst the people, he is constantly visited by enquirers, some seeking with a measure of sincere earnestness, to know what is the true way of salvation; some coming merely out of curiosity,—like the Athenian idlers gathering round St. Paul,—to have a talk with the Sahib, and hear how he talks their language, and what he has to say about his religion and about theirs; they want also to see how he lives in his house, and what kind of beings his wife and his children are. Some, again, come again and again, veiling their object under a thick cover of simulated concern about spiritual things in hope of securing the Sahib's intercession with the neighbouring judge or collector or other Government officer, for the obtaining a situation, or the decision of a law suit, or some such matter. All these persons the Missionary thinks it right to attend to. It is impossible often to distinguish the sincere from the hypocritical; and even though it were not, he knows not but that God's mercy may have led, unknown to himself, even the curious questioner, or the seeker of worldly advantage, to hear from him the words of life which will yet convert his soul. Hence the missionary receives and converses with all, usually giving them tracts or books to take with them to their homes. Besides, he is often the physician of the neighbourhood, and has, morning by morning, a crowd of applicants for medicine and medical advice, with which he endeavours to impart the "Balm of Gilead" for the sin-diseased soul. He is not unfrequently, too, made (though we think he ought not to allow it) the arbiter in the disputes of his vicinity, and thus brings upon himself much trouble and annoyance. But whilst all this is going on, occupying and over-occupying his mornings and his days, he feels the want of new books or translations of books for both his Christian flock and the unbelieving multitude. There is no one to prepare them, but himself or some brother Missionary, who is no better off than himself. True, he is already "pressed out of measure above strength;" but the want is pressing too, and he sets to work, giving the brief occasional intervals of his interrupted days and a portion of his nights due to repose, to the work of composition or translation. In this way many of the now numerous religious books and tracts in the native languages have been prepared, and not a few of the translations of the Sacred Scriptures themselves. And this part of the work goes on silently and in private, whilst harshly judging persons are thinking that the Missionary is indulging himself in ease: But even yet the Missionary's labour is not at an end. In many places there is something of a European flock without a shepherd, to whom he feels bound to minister the word of life, hoping that the benefit done may revert in good to the work of missions; and though this is a labour which often times brings much refreshment to the missionary's own spirit, still it is a labour, and consumes both time and energy. And, in addition to all, he has to prepare reports for his Society, to keep up correspondence about his Mission, and frequently to collect some of the Funds for its support; and as most missionaries have a family, some time and attention is required for their culture and instruction too, especially surrounded as they are by the uncongenial influences of a heathen land.

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* "Many instances might be cited of missionary labourers, who fell early victims to their own hasty and mistaken ideas of self-denying economy, contrary to the frequent warnings of more experienced persons. One, in particular, occurs to us of a promising young man, who thought it would look proud and luxurious to allow himself to be carried in a palanquin; and unable or unwilling to keep a horse conveyance, went about Calcutta and its environs on foot, and soon fell a prey to the climate, or rather to his own contempt of the warnings of both nature and experience. This is but one of *many* cases."

Thus is the missionary pressed and worn down. Let any one compare the amount of labour we have just described, and *which is the lot of the great majority of missionaries in this country*, with all its disadvantages of a relaxing and exhausting climate, imperfect means of communication, and lack of cheering Chistian society; let any one compare it with what is often considered such *hard work* in an English parish, that a curate or two must be got to share it, or the over-burthened minister soon breaks down—and we feel assured that more consideration and respect will be felt for the missionary than it has been the fashion to exhibit in some quarters that might have been better informed and better disposed. Less wonder, too, will be ignorantly expressed, that these over-pressed and toil-worn men do not do much more, that they do not convert all India at once, whilst, too many of their "Christian" brethren, so far from cheering or helping, are criticizing them, and amusing themselves, gathering money and hastening home to enjoy it—that some 400 missionaries should not have reclaimed the 120 millions of India, when above 20,000 ministers are considered so inadequate for the due instruction of the 20 millions of Christian England, that Pastoral aid, and Scripture Readers, and City mission Societies are necessary to help them.

"The 2nd of April 1802, was a day of joy and sorrow" in the house of a respectable citizen of Schorndorf, in Wurtemburg. In the morning a little daughter died, and in the evening a son was born, the third of seven. This was John James Weitbrecht, the future missionary in Bengal. There was nothing of particular note to distinguish his early years, during which he seemed to exhibit many engaging qualities, but less of mental gifts and talents than others of the family appeared to possess. The father had been educated for the ministry, though he did not enter it; but his education enabled him to provide better instruction for his children than ordinary tradesmen of his class; and amongst other things he accustomed his sons to converse, and sometimes correspond, with him and with each other in Latin. In one of the son's letters to his own son, in after years, as given in the memoir, he says that at eleven years of age he was able to read Ovid and Virgil, and converse fluently with his brothers in that language.

His mother was a pious woman: but he lost her almost before he could fully appreciate her value. A second mother, however, who was a step-mother only in name, seems fully to have supplied her place, and to have exercised a happy influence for good upon the mind of her adopted family; so that very early in his life strong religious impressions appear to have been made on the mind of John. They were renewed and deepened again at the season of confirmation, which in Germany always takes place in the fourteenth year. "With tears of repentance and joy," he afterwards said of himself, "I then renewed my baptismal covenant in the ordinance of confirmation." His tears again flowed, but for another cause, at his seventeenth year, when his father died :—

> "Around the sick couch of our dying parent stood weeping the sorrowing mother and nine children, of whom the youngest was but a year old. This grief was heavy, indeed, and once more drove me to the Saviour, not at first for myself, but for the preservation of my father's earthly life. The prayer was not granted, and the hour of his dissolution rapidly approached. Then my heart was lifted up, the weak faith became strong, and I was enabled to say, "Lord, if thou wilt take away our father, surely, Thou wilt, according to Thine own gracious promise, be our Father and Supporter." And thus it was: the earthly parent was called home, and the Heavenly One continued to lead me, through varied and painful experiences—among them very weak health—into the full knowledge and love of God." (p. 7.)

He had been put to learn his father's business after he had completed his fourteenth year. What that business was is not mentioned, we believe, in the memoir, but we know not why it should be concealed. Who thinks the less of Carey when it is known that he had been for years a shoe-maker,* or of Morrison, that he was a boot-tree maker, of Henry Martyn, when it is heard that his father was a Cornish miner, of David Brown, because he was the son of a poor Yorkshire farmer, or who will think the less of John James Weitbrecht, on learning that his paternal trade was that of a baker? A year after his father's death, finding his health suffering, he abandoned this first employment for another; we are not told what. This business led him "in due time" to Stuttgard, where, through the ministry of "the sainted Holfacker," he became thoroughly awakened and enlightened in soul, and to use his own words, "the blessed hour arrived when he was to find Christ, and to be united to Him to be separated no more." It was on Good Friday 1824, and at the Lord's Holy Table, that, as he believed, the work of grace was sealed upon his soul.

The desire he had for some time felt to devote himself to missionary work, then became more earnest and lively; and the rather that his couisn Pfander (who was long an able Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Agra, and just now in the present year has been deputed to open a New mission amongst the Affghan and other tribes about Peshawar) and another friend had taken that step. He waited however in faith and prayer during eighteen months, for an indication of the Divine will: and then offered himself to the Basle Missionary Society; and was at once accepted and admitted to the missionary seminary at that place, at the close of 1825.

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* We have always considered it one of the best anecdotes we have of missionary life in India, that Carey, when dining one day at Government House, heard Colonel or General somebody, who was also at the table, and who understood that Carey was a guest, ask "Where is that shoemaker?" when the missionary, who was close by, immediately replied, with dignified composure, "I am here, sir; but you do me too much honour, I was not a shoemaker, I was only a cobbler." We perceive, however, from what is stated in the life of that distingushed missionary, that the anecdote is scarcely likely to be authentic, for a letter or statement of Carey's own is quoted, in which he says that he was considered a good workman, and that his master kept in his shop, as a favourable specimen of good work, a pair of shoes made by him. Carey was no boaster.

The history of his residence there affords most pleasing and satisfactory evidence of his felt superiority, if not in talent, at least in maturity and weight of character, to most of his fellow-students; over whom, indeed, his early education, as well as perhaps his more mature age, gave him some advantage. One of them says:—

> "He did, indeed, exercise a very blessed influence upon my whole being; for I was not only young in years but in Christian experience, having entered the Christian Church not long before. The old Adam was still strong in me, and much in Christianity was new to me. He watched over me with motherly tenderness,—sometimes, faithfully bringing my inconsistencies before me; and then when he saw me overwhelmed by a deep sense of my sinfulness, he comforted and encouraged me, kneeled down beside me, and united with me in beseeching Divine strength and grace to help me on. He loved me for that Saviour's sake, in whom we were both one, and who was "*all and in all*" to him." (p. 11.)

After about three years' residence in the Basle institution,* during almost two of which he attended lectures with the theological class in the University of that place, in which he also matriculated, he was selected with one or two others for the Church Missionary Society, and proceeded to London, where he arrived towards the end of December 1828, and took up his abode at the Society's missionary institution at Islington.

He was at first intended for the Abyssinian Mission, and was set to learn the Tigree language from a boy of that country, who had been brought to England : but the youth proved a very fractious and unprofitable pupil-teacher, and the design was abandoned : so also was a subsequent one of sending Mr. Weitbrecht to West Africa, after he had commenced learning the Susoo, another tongue of the sons of Ham, and at the same time Arabic from the distinguished Professor Lee. After circumstances had led to an alteration of this design also, at length,—with his own consent,—India was fixed upon as his future sphere.

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* "The missionary seminary there was established in 1817, after the fall of Napoleon, as a suitable token of gratitude to God for the deliverance of Germany from the yoke of France. Basle, in Switzerland, was chosen for its locality, partly because it was supposed that such an institution would there encounter less opposition from the secular power than in Germany, and partly because many of the men who founded it, were inhabitants of that rich commercial city, then, as now, distinguished for the piety of its ministers and of many of their hearers. It also forms the connecting link between Switzerland and South-Western Germany, and is admirably adapted to be the centre of a missionary society intended to unite Christians of the two countries. An intimate connection has existed for many years between this seminary and the Church Missionary Society, and an annual supply of students have usually been sent to London to complete, in the Church Missionary College at Islington, their preparation for the stations to which they are destined.

The expense of his education is paid by the English Church Missionary Society to the College at Basle, for every student supplied to the ranks of their laborers from that institution." (p. 8.)

From his arrival in this country in the beginning of 1831, to the close of his earthly course, his life was divided into three distinct periods : the first, ending with his departure for Europe, for restoration of health in December 1841, was devoted to preparing himself by study of the Vernacular languages for efficient work among the people, and to organizing the schools and other departments of the Burdwan Mission. In it, too, he was married in March 1834, to Mrs. Higgs, then the widow of a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, to whom we are indebted for the present memoir, and of whom we need say no more, as she is well known in India.* The next embraces the period of his visit to Europe, from whence he returned to India again in November 1844. But, though brief, it was perhaps one of the most useful portions of his Missionary life in the amount of interest regarding Missions amongst the heathen, which he was enabled to excite in Europe. The third period covers the time of his last residence and labours in India, and extends to the time of his death, on March 1st, 1852. His ministry, during this last period of his Indian life, seems to have been to give an impulse to itinerant preaching in Bengal, when it had become too little practised (at least by the Church Missionaries) in consequence, partly of so much attention and labour being required for the instruction of the large native flocks which had professed Christianity, chiefly in the Kishnaghur district. He had also to exhibit the Missionary character mature amongst his brethren, and last of all, to die, as it were, in their presence, in the calm assurance of faith in an all-sufficient Saviour.

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* Mrs. Weitbrecht's family name was Edwards, and her native place London. She came to the East, in the first instance, we believe, in an educational capacity, and was married to Mr. Higgs at Malacca, or in the Straits. She was soon left a widow, however, her husband dying on his return to Bengal ; and not long after Mr. Weitbrecht made her acquaintance in Calcutta. These particulars are not mentioned in the Memoir. Mr. Weitbrecht left her, at her second widowhood, with five children ; the eldest of whom, a fine lad of about sixteen, she has had to mourn the loss of since his lamented father's death. Two boys and two girls still remain.

We must (though with real reluctance) abandon our intention of giving a brief sketch of each of these periods, illustrated and enlivened by extracts from the memoir itself, as our share of space is already more than exhausted. To do so, however, is the less necessary in this country, not only because he was so well known to many of our readers; but because also two brief memorial sketches of his history were published in Calcutta shortly after his decease,—one in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, for April and May 1852, afterwards republished separately; and the other, somewhat more extended, some months later, as an Introduction to the volume of Sermons before alluded to. But we have no hesitation in commending to the reader, who wishes to see a valuable Christian and Missionary character well, though not artistically pourtrayed, the memoir of the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht. To the serious Christian reader, who desires to have his own spirit warmed and cheered and soothed by the out-flowings of a kindred soul, we can promise much enjoyment from the perusal of the volume. Indeed, we would venture to suggest that, in case yet another impression should be called for,—or indeed, whether it shall be called for or not,—an edition smaller in size should be prepared, omitting much of the laudatory, and most of the unnecessary and less useful portions of the work, and leaving its subject to speak more exculsively for himself by his own letters, journals, &c. The work would thus become more readable, and consequently more acceptable and useful to a large class of readers; and, we think, would take a respectable place amongst the standard Religious biography of the day.

In conclusion, we will only say that the value of the Church Missionary Society, with which we have coupled the name of Weitbrecht, and to which he was sincerely attached, appears incidentally in the course of the narrative; not only in its deciding on India as the field of labour for a man so well qualified naturally for such a sphere; but by the ample liberty and sufficiency of means it allowed him (as indeed it does to all its Missionaries) for the prosecution of those departments of Missionary labour, for which he felt himself called and fitted. At first he gave himself to arranging and consolidating the little Mission at Burdwan. As he became familiar with the language and the people, he commenced itinerant preaching at intervals of a year. Further on, in his Indian experience, he began to give some time to translation and the preparation of hymns and little works in Bengali, chiefly for children ; and last of all, he purposed devoting his matured powers to a more continuous and exclusive course of preaching through the towns and villages of Bengal; and "he did well that it was in his heart," though the Lord, to whom he had given himself anew for this work, did not allow him to carry it fully out. For each and all of this different departments or sorts of work, the Society with which he was connected, gave him full liberty, and aided him in every way it could by its sanction, by counsel, and by pecuniary supplies.

And if it could be proved that the Society's efforts for the conversion of India's idolatrous population had been utterly futile and thrown away,—" that not one solitary native soul had been converted to Christianity and to God " through her instrumentality ;—if it could be shown that it had done nothing whatever for India's good, more than sending into it such faithful servants of God as Weitbrecht, Wybrow, and others still living whom we could name, the debt of India's European population would be very great for the benefits conferred on it through their ministry. And if that Society had done no other service to the cause of evangelical religion and active earnest zeal and devotedness in the work of God throughout the world, its having been the cause of the publication of such memoirs as that of Weitbrecht now before us, and of Henry Watson Fox some few years ago, to mention nothing else, must of itself be judged a service of incalculable value, a value which will be duly estimated in that day when " there shall be time no longer, " and when the interests of human souls and of Eternity shall stand forth in a vastness and a grandeur unspeakable, beside which the worth of the temporal concerns which now fill and agitate the minds of men will appear to be " less than nothing and vanity."