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**ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION,**  
**TO THE**  
**INDIAN OCEAN.**

**With Historical and Philosophical Observations.**

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## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

**T**HE peculiar irritability of minds, employed in the cultivation of the fine arts, has been long observed and satisfactorily explained. Of this tormenting quality, the offspring and companion of Vanity, the votaries of verse are known to have their full allotment. So important do the transactions of their understandings appear in their own eyes, that they often indulge us with an account of the accident, which struck the first spark from their imagination; and then regularly proceed to inform us how by degrees, under the flattering encouragement of friends, and the accumulation of materials, it was cherished into a blaze, fit to be exhibited to the public eye. Nor is Statius the only versifier, who has been at the pains to tell us how soon a number of indifferent lines may be strung together.

One may frequently observe much the same sort of Vanity in those, whom experience has not yet taught, how little men are disposed to sympathize with their equals in the ordinary occurrences of life. Children, for instance, often attempt to excite an interest in their own favour by a recital of their escapes from danger or disease. But the stratagem seldom succeeds. They find among their play-fellows many who have equally suffered from fevers and broken bones. Nor is it now so uncommon to be a writer of verse or prose, that any one should think it worth his while to tell how he became one. And, if ever there could have been hopes of propitiating the reader by these confidential communications, it is to be feared that the charm has long since lost its power.

In spite of considerations so discouraging, I think it necessary to mention in a few words the occasion of the following lines. They originated in a stratagem, which, if not entirely innocent, can be charged only with the guilt of presumption. In order to impose upon a few of their common acquaintance, the writer, in a few passages at least, attempted to assume the style of the most elegant of modern poets; and thought he was encouraged, by some degree of success, to extend his design, he cannot build much hope upon so slender a foundation. He is too sensible of the difference between a hasty recital and a cool perusal, and between the effect of the same composition in manuscript and in print: nor can he forget the power of an

( iv . )

illustrious name to disarm censure. But perhaps even by professing so far a design to imitate, he shall not escape the charge of plagiarism. For, are there not imitations of older poets? Some he knows there are; and there are possibly others of which he is ignorant. Having formerly, like other young persons, delighted in works of imagination, he passed a long interval with little intercourse with the favourites of his youth, and cannot now always distinguish between the suggestions of memory and invention.

Having never written twice as many lines as the following pages contain, he is not a little surprized to find himself an artificer in rhyme. To this confession or apology, he begs leave to add, that the following verses were not only written, but nearly printed before the appearance of *the Economy of Vegetation* and the third edition of *the Loves of the Plants*; a fact of which he could easily produce evidence, if it were necessary. He could not therefore transplant any of the Graces with which the more recent productions of this great poet and philosopher abound. Neither would he have attempted it, for imitation carried too far, becomes contemptibly puerile.

The intelligent critic will probably censure the profusion of notes. They were chiefly written with a view to diffuse more widely a knowledge of old and new Hindoo literature, which although sufficiently familiar to the learned, is but just reaching the circle of ordinary readers. When the imagination is once enamoured of any object, no pains will be spared to investigate it thoroughly: and upon this principle a person who possesses, like the author of the Botanic Garden, a store of images and a command of language, sufficient to constitute a poet, may entitle himself to public gratitude, by offering to those, who feel oppressed by the burden of life, some engaging pursuit, and he may add a new interest to the existence of others.—If it were wished that a boy should apply himself earnestly to the study of English history, it might be proper, among other indirect inducements, to carry him to the representation of some of Shakespeare's plays. It is excited Fancy that has worked so many miracles in art and science; and one may lament, both for the sake of knowledge and humanity, that some attention is not paid to this truth in education.—For several of the sentiments in the annexed *observations* the author will not offer a vain apology. He foresees that they will be warmly disapproved. But it is an happy circumstance in the constitution of the human mind, that we can find in truth, or, if you please, in deliberate opinions, a compensation for that antipathy which the avowal often excites. The ancients have said, and the moderns have re-

peated.

( V. )

peated, that Virtue to be loved, needs only to be seen. The history of mankind shews that the exact contrary holds with regard to Truth. No art can so set her off that she shall not, on her first appearance, excite almost universal abhorrence. It is well for us, that she improves upon acquaintance !

Something will occur in the notes concerning the character of Alexander, which has so often been an object of contemplation to the Philosopher and Historian : and I might quote from Mr. Barthelemi's admired work an elaborate portrait of my Hero. But I think he may be delineated in a very narrow compass, and of him, as of other great men, I should think it sufficient to say that his mind was discriminated by *exquisite sensibility*. By whatever object they were touched, the springs of his nature bent deeply inwards, but they immediately rebounded with equal energy into action. Hence one may explain his passionate excesses ; that independance of mind, which would not blindly submit even to an Aristotle ; and those extraordinary projects by which he sometimes aspired to praise according to the false standard of excellence then established, as well as those equally magnificent designs, which exceeded the comprehension of his age. Thus, His genius was doubtless, great. But his birth and times determined its mode of exertion.

It is, in my opinion, nothing extraordinary, that so young a man should form such mighty enterprizes. Youth has always been the season of enlarged conceptions and great discoveries. Even in the severer sciences it might be shewn by a large induction of particulars that the youthful faculties are best calculated to form original and just combinations. The history of Newton, Locke, Boerhaave, Linnæus, Lavoisier with that of almost all other great discoverers, and founders of sciences and systems proves that the most noble and most beneficial discoveries have been made, and the largest comprehension of thought displayed, by men that had not yet attained the middle of life ; and frequently by those who were only not boys. Great political changes also have been commonly effected in the world by young men, or at least in consequence of plans framed early in life.—Without attending to the course of our own thoughts, we may easily be led, when we hear of the different faculties of the mind, to imagine that these faculties are fixed to different parts of the mind, as the organs of sense are to different parts of the head : and we may conceive our several faculties to be in vigour at different periods of life. So much misapprehension do arbitrary distinctions and illusive metaphors occasion ! A little reflection, however, will easily convince us of the unity of the intellectual principle : We shall be sensible

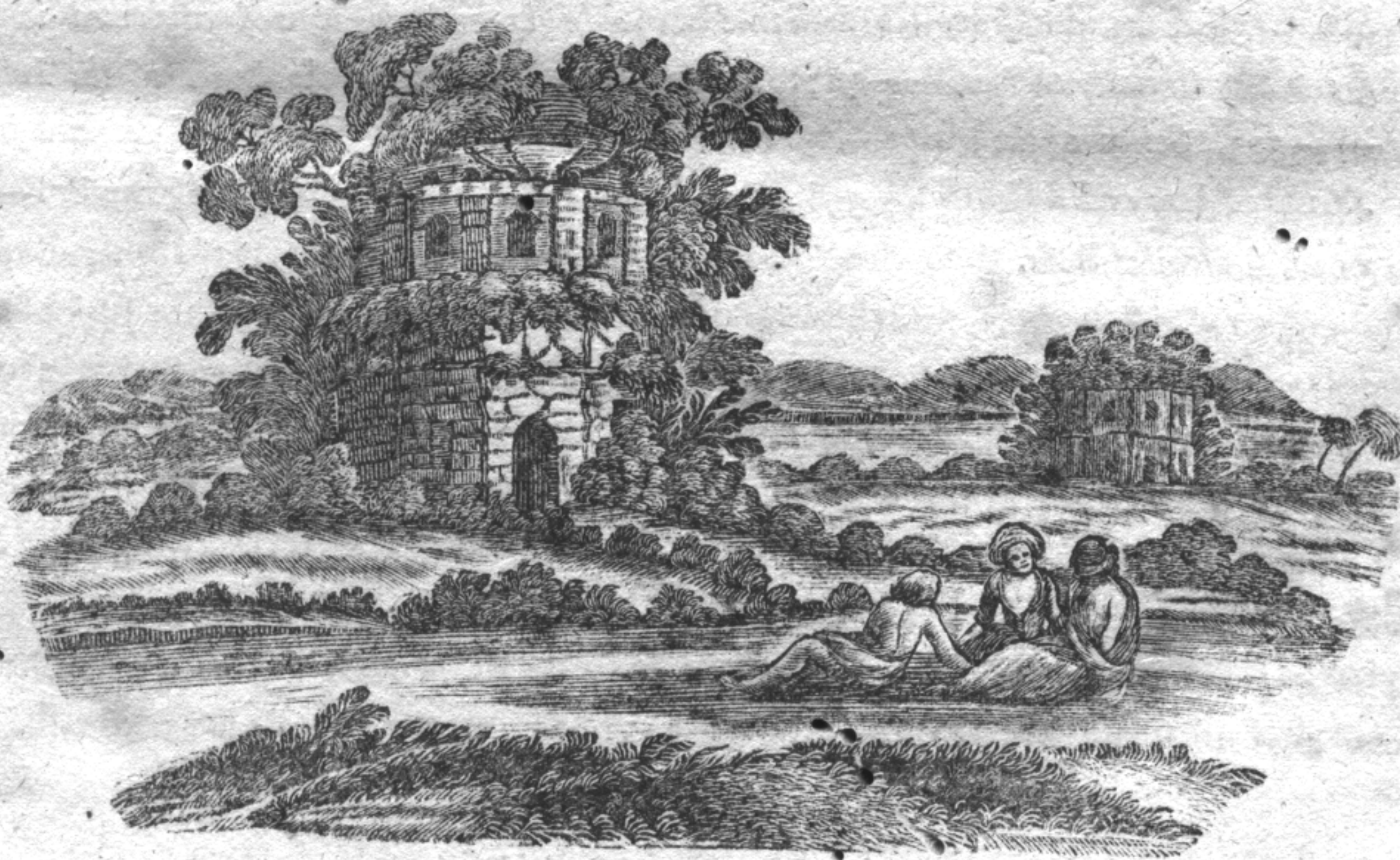
ble that its different operations, as they are called, are carried on almost at the same instant, or follow each other in the most rapid succession, and are for ever intermingling. A mind, vigorous in imagining, is also vigorous in judging. Probably in the most abstruse researches of science as much imagination is exerted as in the highest flights of poetry; and in the latter we judge and compare as much as in the former. It seems too, perfectly indifferent to the power, by which we combine ideas, what sort of ideas it has to combine; and I will venture at the risque of ridicule, to conjecture that, had the circumstances of their lives been mutually exchanged, Homer might have been the greatest of geometricians, and Newton the chief of poets.—Some favourites of Nature indeed long retain the vigour of their faculties as we see some persons long retaining the most obvious attributes of youth. But perhaps many of those productions which have been exhibited to the public eye at a mature or an advanced age, were planned and partly executed at an early period of life. Nor is there any occasion to suppose that the decay of the intellectual organ is other than very gradual like that of the moving and sentient parts of our frame; and perhaps when we come to be well acquainted with the laws of human nature even the slow progress of intellectual decay may be retarded. If it be objected that the Judgment must improve by exercise and the accumulation of materials, (and this is equally true of the Imagination) it should be remembered that many minds are thoroughly well disciplined by reflection at the age of five-and-twenty or thirty, and even earlier. And if this advantage is at present confined to a few, where does the fault lie, but in those institutions, which by every direct and indirect means, counteract the designs of creative wisdom, and check the improvement of the individual, and, by consequence, of the species?

These reflections will not, I hope, be so misunderstood as if all young men were asserted to be superior, in their intellectual powers, to all their seniors: I only assign a few, out of many reasons, which biography and psychology present, for supposing the *acme* of mental, to be nearly contemporary with that of corporeal vigour. They may animate the industry, without increasing the presumption, of youth. In a larger treatise something might be added to their precision, with little limitation of their extent. They will, in the mean time, be very differently received by readers of different ages.

The engravings in the following pages will be praised or excused when it is known that they are the performance of an uneducated and uninstructed artist, if  
such

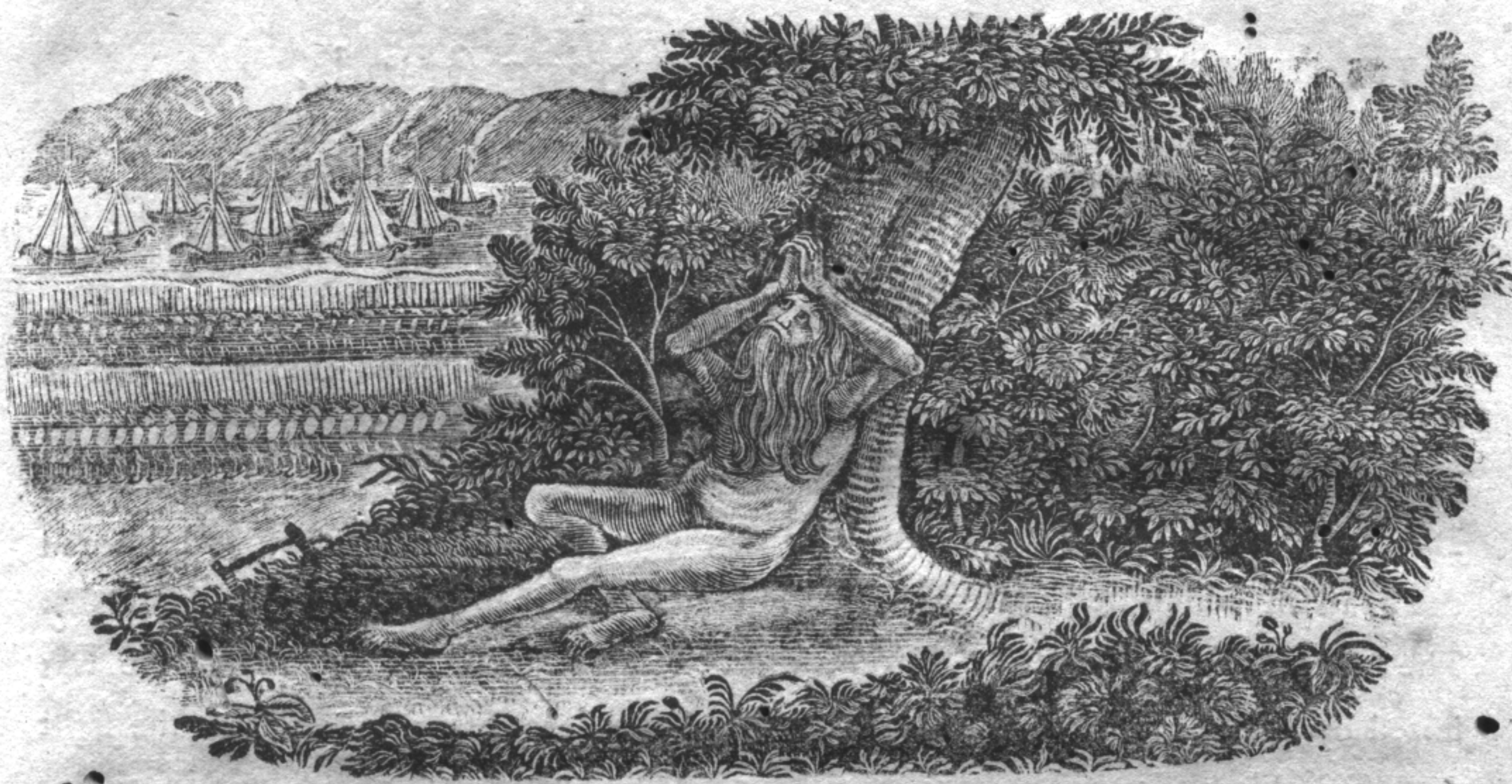
such an application be not a profanation of the term, in a remote village. All the assistance he received was from the example of Mr. Bewick's most masterly engravings on wood. The designs would have been better, if he could have made himself more perfectly acquainted with the *costume* of Nature in India.—The first may give those who have not seen Mr. Rennel's maps, an idea of the *Sunderbunds*.—The second was suggested by one of Mr. Daniel's views of Calcutta, which the engraver had not before him. Vegetation is the great enemy of buildings in India; and this view shews with what vigour Nature carries on her eternal war against Art in that sultry climate.—That in p. 1. refers to lines 69—72;—the Pagoda at the end of the verses is not one of the celebrated edifices of that name. It is from Calcutta.—A French work on the religious ceremonies of all nations furnished the engraving in p. 49. The brutalized Faquir in front, is, I believe, faithfully copied.—The Tiger (p. 64.) bears Indian rockets on his back.—The triple figure is an Hindoo Deity. It is taken from Mr. Nichbuhr, who copied it from the wonderful antient sculptures in the excavations of the isle Elephanta.

In spite of some deficiencies in the typographical apparatus, and some unfavourable circumstances besides, the following pages are not ill printed. The *compositor* was a young woman in the same village. I know not if women be commonly engaged in printing, but their nimble and delicate fingers seem extremely well adapted to the office of compositor; and it will be readily granted that employment for females is among the greatest desiderata of society.



## A R G U M E N T.

*Verse 1. Of the Vessels; and disposition of the land forces.—13. Progress of the fleet.  
—41. Progress of the armies and effect of their march on the Natives and Animals.  
—83. Objects that occurred during this progress; of the Bore and tide.—  
109. Alexander expresses the emotion excited by the scenes then immediately before him,  
or those he had lately beheld.—205. Sympathy of the Troops on board, and arrival  
near one of the mouths of the Indus.—227. Digression on the qualities and designs  
of Alexander; on the effects of his premature death; on the calamities brought upon  
India by more inhuman invaders in later ages: by mercantile tyranny, by slaughter, and  
famine. —325. Pernicious effect of martial poetry on the imagination and conduct of  
men in antient and in the middle ages;—prostitution of poetry to flatter despots;—cabinet  
of a despot—wish that poetry may hereafter be employed to worthier purposes.—401.  
Return of Alexander from the Indian Ocean—he is encouraged and confirmed in his  
great commercial schemes.—417. Triumphant March from the banks of the Indus.  
—425. Songs of the troops—and enumeration of the insults Greece had received from  
Asiatic robbers and despots.—496. Compleat vengeance only taken by Alexander.—  
511. Arrival at Susa.*



**N**OW the new LORD of PERSIA's wide domain  
Down fierce HYDASPES seeks the INDIAN Main;

*Alexander's expedition.* After his defeat at Arbela, the feeble Darius was seized by a party of his own Satraps and Officers. Bessus, who was at the head of the conspiracy, assumed the title of King of Persia, took the name of Artaxerxes and seems to have made preparations for opposing Alexander. The speed and vigilance however of the Grecian General frustrated his designs; and the conspirators, finding themselves so hard pressed that they could not carry off the captive monarch, murdered him, and flying left his body behind. This atrocious act served but to stimulate Alexander. It is pleasing to trace him, as he is hurried along by a generous

B

High

High on the leading prow the Conqueror stands,  
Eyes purer skies, and marks diverging strands.

indignation in pursuit of the assassins, first in an Easterly and then in a Northern direction, through the heart of Asia. Bazaernes was delivered up by the Indians on the west of the Indus and executed. The fear of being pursued into their deserts induced the Scythians to send the head of Spitamenes; Satibarzanes was killed in battle. And it was in vain that Bessus crossed the great ridge of Hindoo Kho, the Indian Caucasus, laid waste the country at the foot of the mountains, and burned the boats in which he had transported himself and his followers across the Oxus. The indefatigable avenger of Darius followed close upon his footsteps.<sup>2</sup> He was seized by Ptolemy not far from the banks of the Jaxartes or Sihon. At the sight of Bessus, Alexander stopped his chariot and asked, why he had first put in chains and afterwards murdered his Sovereign, who was also his friend and benefactor. The villainy of courtiers is equalled only by their meanness. "It was not my act merely, replied the culprit: all who were about Darius were concerned. We hoped by this means to make our peace with Alexander." (Arrian. B. III.) By such a defence he passed sentence upon himself.—On repassing the mountains, Alexander moved directly eastward. During his progress along the skirts of India, he had gathered such information as probably revived many pleasing ideas that were slumbering in his breast. It is reasonable to conjecture that his mind had dwelled upon those remote regions with peculiar complacency from his earliest youth; for the reports at this period current among the Greeks concerning India, consisted of some genuine information mixed with a large proportion of fable and unauthorized tradition. Tales of this romantic cast are admirably calculated to inflame a susceptible imagination. In every age the effect of such a misty and magnified view of distant objects has been powerfully felt. We may recollect in what golden colours the unexplored countries of America exhibited themselves to European imaginations about the time of Raleigh's expedition: and we may thus conceive some

A thou-

A thousand sails attendant catch the wind,  
And yet a thousand press the wave behind;  
Two Veteran hosts, outstretched on either hand,  
Wide wave their wings and sweep the trembling land.

faint idea of the feelings and expectations with which such a man as Alexander must have entered India. Strabo (B. XV.) confirms these reflections.

V. 2. *Fierce Hydaspes.* The five great rivers of the PANJAB or province of LAHORE are precipitated from different parts of the lofty and extensive ridge of Himalah, Insaus, or the *snowy* mountains. They soon attain a considerable bulk: their vast rapidity shews the great declivity of the countries at the foot of this chain. The natives demolished a bridge of boats, thrown by Nadir Shah across the Acesines, by rolling large trees into the stream. (Abdul-Kurreem, Memoirs p. 3.) The ~~same~~ writer compares the Sind (Indus) to a deadly snake, on account both of its winding course and rapid current. Mr. Forster, July 10th, 1783, found this river very rapid and turbulent, though it was not agitated by any wind: It was three quarters of a mile broad 20 miles above Attock. The water was extremely cold and turbid; it was therefore affected by the rains and melted snows. The Hydaspes and Acesines as we shall find below, rush together with prodigious impetuosity, and with such danger to navigators that some of Alexander's large ships were lost, many vessels damaged and the whole fleet thrown into consternation. The Hydaspes becomes navigable a few miles below its most remote source. After traversing the happy valley of Cashmere, it cuts its way through deep ranges of mountains: where it hurries along with such rapidity that the stoutest elephant cannot preserve his footing in it. (Rennel, Memoir 2nd ed. p. 99.)

V. 3—8. The troops had so severely suffered from the rains that all the influence of their general could not prevail upon them to advance beyond the Hyphasis, the

The, ferried Phalanx TERROR stalks beside,  
 And shakes o'er blazing helms his crested pride;      10  
 While VICTORY, still companion of his way,  
 Sounds her loud trump and flaunts her banners gay.

By moss-grown cliffs, where infant fountains weep;  
 Where cataracts thunder down the shattered steep;

most easterly river of the Panjab. On the farther bank of this river he erected 12 large altars to mark the limit of his expedition. His enterprising genius, after this disappointment, was obliged to direct itself towards a new object. He had already stationed a body of troops on the Hydaspes with orders to provide a fleet. This fleet he destined to explore, first the rivers and afterwards the coasts of the Indian Ocean westward from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian gulph. On his return to the banks of the Hydaspes he found that about 2,000 vessels had been built or collected. One third of the army, which altogether consisted of 120,000 men, was placed on board this fleet. Another third was directed to attend the movements of the fleet on the right, and the remainder on the left hand of the river. "The conduct of this expedition (Robertson's *Antient India* p. 17.) was committed to Nearchus, an Officer equal to that important trust. But as Alexander was ambitious of fame of every kind, and fond of engaging in new and splendid undertakings, he himself accompanied Nearchus in his navigation down the river. This armament was indeed so great and magnificent as deserved to be commanded by the Conqueror of Asia." In a modern historian the phrase "*Conqueror of Asia*" will appear somewhat strong. To the motives of Alexander Dr. Robertson might safely have added ardent curiosity. He stands honourably distinguished among Conquerors by his eager thirst as well as liberal encouragement of science; and in his character "the romantic traveller is blended with the adventurous soldier."

Where

Where from the rocky pier and stream-worn cave 15  
 Umbrageous forests span the lurid wave,  
 Swift-gliding galleys trace the mazy way,  
 Their clamours mingle, and their state display.  
 Forth from their secret glooms and rugged foil,  
 The voice of Uproar calls the Sons of spoil; 20

V. 13 &c. Arrian's account of this extraordinary naval procession is as follows. "Orders were given as to the distances which the baggage and horse transports and the war-vessels were to observe, lest they should run foul of each other. The quickest sailors were not allowed to outstrip the rest. And the noise of the rowing exceeded any thing ever heard before, partly from the multitude of vessels propelled together, partly from the number of boatswains (keleustai) who gave the word for the stroke and the pause, and partly from the shouts uttered by the rowers the instant they struck the stream. And the banks being frequently higher than the ships and confining the sound, returned it from side to side greatly increased: which effect was enhanced, wherever there were woods on each side, both by the solitude and echoes. And the barbarous spectators were so surprized at the sight of horses on board, for no such sight had ever been beheld in the country of the Indians, that they followed to a great distance. And wherever the shouts of the rowers and the sound of the oars reached the Indians, that had submitted to Alexander, these also crowded to the banks of the river and followed, singing in concert after their barbarous manner."... "Where the Hydaspes and the Acesines meet, they form one very narrow river in place of two; and the current becomes rapid from its confinement, and there are prodigious whirlpools from the recoil of the stream; and the water foams and roars exceedingly, so that the sound is heard to a great distance." He adds, that though they were apprized of these particulars, the rowers suspended their oars, and the keleustai were struck dumb by astonishment; many vessels were damaged, two sunk &c. B. VI.

Far o'er acclaiming shores the bounding throngs  
 Attend the triumph with barbaric songs,  
 Or, spent with haste, on wreaths of prostrate grass  
 Recumbent, watch the long procession pass;  
 Admiring much, as varied barks succeed, 25  
 But most the wonder of the wafted speed.

—The line flows on, by many a palmy isle,  
 Round jutting capes, down many a deep defile,  
 Where rifted mountains o'er the lost array  
 Fling their vast shadows, and exclude the day: 30  
 While Echo, listening from her dripping cave,  
 Mocks the shrill cry, dashed oar, and rippling wave.

—Now, quick emerging, o'er the wondering vale  
 Peeps the proud beak, and gleams the illumined sail—  
 —Now sudden horror chills the jocund course— 35  
 Impetuous rivers clash with headlong force—  
 Dire seeths the foam, and loud the surges roar;  
 The deafened Bands suspend the uplifted oar;

Back reels the flood—devouring eddies curl—  
 And foundering keels revolve with dizzy whirl. 40

FROM distant heights, the Shepherd's awe-struck gaze  
 War's pomp terrific, pacing flow, surveys;  
 O'er his strained bosom, billowy passions roll  
 Their adverse tides, and poise his struggling soul.  
 "Quick, quick avert thy fascinated sight; 45  
 "To safer climes oh speed thy instant flight."  
 Thus Danger warns—in vain—the potent charm  
 Roots his fixed foot and grasps his rigid arm.  
 —So when dark volumes of the labouring storm  
 Sail flow o'er earth, and day's bright arch deform, 50  
 Swift floods of flame when skies unfolding pour,  
 And onward rolls the long explosive roar,  
 Pale, sad, transfixed, the gasping Wanderer stands,  
 Refrains his swimming head and powerless hands :

Yet,

Yet, ere he sinks, with mild reviving glow 55  
 Back to the seats of sense his spirits flow;  
 Then breaks thy gloom, Despair; Hope's streaming light  
 Scareth the gaunt forms that cross thy troubled night;  
 And Fancy, fallying mid the wild career,  
 Bids Wonder ope the close-pressed lids of Fear. 60

WITH deep-felt tread the founding march disturbs  
 The dark recesses of the matted herbs;  
 Uncoiling Serpents rear the towery crest,  
 Point the dire hiss, and swell the speckled breast;

\* V. 63—67. The Serpents of this district were accounted very formidable. Aristotle (on Animals. Francofurti p. 255.) mentions one species so venomous, that for his bite alone there is no remedy. The same author (p. 254.) lays it down as a general character of the wild beasts of Asia, that they are more savage than in any other quarter of the globe. Modern experience of the dauntless ferocity of the Tiger of Bengal seems to give some countenance to this opinion. The number of these animals and the depredations they commit, will perhaps appear incredible. In one year in Dinagepour\* alone 10,000 rupees were paid for tygers; the Company's reward for destroying a tyger is 10 rupees. I can add on the authority of two Gentlemen, well qualified to judge, that probably not fewer than 5 or 6,000 natives are annually destroyed in Bengal by tygers. The bite of serpents proves fatal to a great number.—Arrian (Amst. 1668. p. 538—9.) having mentioned

Through

\*One of the 8 districts of Bengal and Bahar.

Swift, Terror's arm lays low the hideous heads, - 65  
 The venom'd monsters dart to distant beds;  
 Aghast the Tyger and the Lion quake,  
 Shrink from their bulk and crouch within the brake

Through quivering foliage steely lustres glance;  
 With kindling eye-ball from his holy trance, 70  
 Behold! the soul-abstracted FAQUIR start,  
 And human feelings touch his palsied heart.

the size, swiftness, and variegated colours of the serpents, adds that the Greek Physicians had not discovered any remedy for their bite; the Indians however knew a remedy; Alexander therefore retained about him the best Indian Physicians; and caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that whoever was bitten by a serpent, should repair to the King's tent.

V. 71. *Faquir*. The Faquirs or devotees of India rank under several different classes, each distinguished by its peculiar title and object: as the Sinaffee or Braminical pilgrim, who cuts and shaves all the hair from his head, burns his *braminical* thread, and clothing himself in two red cloths, and taking a bamboo staff of his own height in his right hand and an earthen pot in his left, forsakes his wife and children; the Ban Perust is one who after 50 years of age devotes himself to the service of God in the desert. The Catry-Patry-Pandarams do not fly the face of man, but by engaging to maintain a perpetual silence, they at once renounce the great cha-

—And you, mild tenants of the peaceful shore,  
Which ne'er Invader's step profaned before,

characteristic attribute of rational nature, and the best comfort of life—the mutual interchange of sentiment. Their mode of soliciting alms is by striking together the palms of their hands at the doors of houses. But voluntary tortures, far exceeding in severity these examples of mortification, are among the most familiar spectacles to the observers of Hindoo manners, nor has any of the various modes of superstition given rise to sufferings so horrible to conceive as those, which some of these fanatics inflict upon themselves; such as keeping the eyes all day long fixed upon the Sun—an East Indian Sun!—Clasping the hands over the head, till the arms wither, and the muscles and joints are become incapable of motion: clenching the fist till the nails grow through the back of the hands. Sometimes they embrace the opportunity of being crushed to death under the wheels of the chariots of their idols, when these enormous structures are moved along by hundreds of hands at their festivals. One of these victims of fanaticism burned himself to death in the presence of Alexander and his officers. —Mr. Sonnerat has figured one, whose cheeks are perforated with a rod of iron, which also passes through his tongue; on the projecting ends is fixed another piece of iron, bent like an horse-shoe, and hanging down under his chin. Has the emulation of vanity or elegance in Europe contrived more variations of dress, or this brutal spirit of devotion, of practices at once ridiculous and horrible? I will add, from the same Mr. Sonnerat, a specimen of occasional piety, which may vie with the habitual penances of the Faquir. When an Hindoo desires to shew his sense of gratitude towards the Goddess Mariatala, two hooks are passed through the skin and muscles of his back. The hooks are appended to one end of a lever, which rests upon an upright piece about 20 feet high. The votary is hoisted up into the air by depressing the opposite end of the lever. In general he bears in one hand a sabre and in the other a shield; during his elevation he imitates the gestures of a man engaged in combat. Whatever may be his feelings, he must ap-

Who

Who bask secure amid your funny glades, 75  
 Or ply the loom beneath your scented shades,

pear cheerful and alert, under penalty of expulsion from his cast, which is a very uncommon event. This edifying exercise is, as doubtless it ought to be, performed before an admiring concourse of spectators, principally composed of ladies, who in all countries dispute the palm of devotion with the rougher sex, and in most, for very obvious reasons, bear it away. (See Sonnerat *Voyage aux Indes* l. 244. pl. 66.) See also at the end some reflections on the torpid indolence (*faineantise*) of the Asiatics.

V. 74. The expeditions of Hercules and Bacchus into India are to be ranked among those fables, with which nations fill up the void of their early history. They were accordingly long since rejected by the good sense of Strabo as fabulous. Under Darius Hystaspes a naval expedition down the Indus—not by way of the Hydaspes—is said by Herodotus to have been accomplished by Scylax. This expedition, however, is not mentioned by Nearchus, Aristobulus, Arrian or Ptolemy (Robertson p. 187.) In a speech in which Alexander vehemently reproaches the Macedonians, he asserts that no one ever crossed the Indus before except Bacchus, and that no one had ever led an army through the desert Gedrosia (Arrian. B. VII). Though the silence of the writers abovementioned may appear remarkable, yet there does not seem to be any contradiction between them and Herodotus. Scylax did not cross, he only navigated the Indus. He had no design of conquest; and I do not see any reason for imagining that the subsequent conquests of Darius extended beyond, or to the East of, that river. (Compare Rennel *Introd.* p. 22. 23.)

V. 76. In Hindostan the weaver early in the morning sets up his loom under the shadow of a tree, and takes it down in the evening. The fine muslins are wrought within doors; the thread, of which they are made, is too delicate to be exposed to

How throbbed each gentle breast with wild alarms,  
As o'er you burst the startling blaze of arms?—

the agitation of the air. But near manufacturing villages, it is not uncommon to see groves, full of looms employed in the weaving of coarser cloths.—(See Sketches relating to the Hindoos. p. 32.)

V. 77. *gentle breasts*. In the whole course of his marches in India, from Caucasus to Moultan, Alexander experienced the natives to be a brave and hardy race; all we know concerning them at present impresses the same idea. A spirit of rapine, which civilization gradually softens into independance, is natural to men inhabiting countries rugged with mountains and abounding in fastnesses. I venture here to suppose that in the Delta of the Indus, as in that of the Ganges, the character of the natives is soft and gentle. Most authors, transcribing one another with scrupulous fidelity, give us to understand that this wildness of character co-extends with the religion of Brimha, and is its effect. This representation betrays ignorance both of history and of human nature. Christians themselves are not more bloodthirsty and rapacious, than the Raipoots, Mahrattas, and other Gentoo tribes. The comparison of religious codes, with the history of nations professing obedience to them, will demonstrate that till the mind is prepared, precepts are of small avail; and surely their value has at all times been excessively over-rated. The art of humanizing the mind doubtless in great measure consists in making it feel the full force of moral obligation; but precepts are little calculated to produce this salutary effect; and I hardly know any thing but arithmetic that can be tolerably taught by dry rules. Those who undertake to educate children and convert *heathens* are seldom sensible of this important truth. If well apprehended, it will induce the philosopher to look out for more efficacious causes of the unoffending manners of some Hindoo tribes than precepts however just, and sentiments however beautiful, contained in their sacred books. I leave the reflecting reader to develope these ideas and to apply the principle to

—Roused

—Roused mid the silence of their lone retreats,  
Your RAJAHS haste from forest-cinctured seats, 80

other cases. Let him also consider if it would not be prudent to ascertain the effect completely, before we attempt to specify the cause? Does this gentleness of manners flow from equity or imbecillity of mind? Depravity, we know, does not always walk with the dagger in her hand: and it is almost a reproach to the abject slaves of despotism that they are incapable of a courageous crime. I see as deep stains of guilt upon the Gentoo rulers as upon our European potentates and statesmen. I have learned with sorrow but without surprize, that too many of the poorer class in Bengal are fraudulent, false and venal—Gentooes as well as Mahometans. In every climate alike a dependant differs little from a corrupted soul. It by no means, however, follows that we should withdraw our pity from an unhappy people, degraded by oppression; but rather that every one contribute his utmost to banish slavery and despotism of every species from the face of the earth. The moral character of the Hindoos can never begin to improve, if it needs improvement, till the last hour of their merciless tyrants from Europe shall arrive. And then perhaps they will only experience a change of tyrants.

V. 80. *forest-cinctured seats.* In the part of India, so improperly called the Peninsula, the residence of those Rajahs or feudal Chiefs, whose possessions are situated in woody or hilly tracts, is frequently encompassed by an impenetrable thicket of bamboos and other thorny plants. This ring is sometimes not less than 4 miles in breadth. The roads are flanked on each side with plantations, from which the enemy may be annoyed during his approach: thus Bush-fighting is not peculiar to the new continent. Man is every where what circumstances make him. The roads are traced in a very serpentine direction and are intersected with many barriers. How much every thing is calculated in this manner for defence, the following quotation may serve to shew.

Spice

Spice, gold, and gems, and fine-wrought fabrics bring,  
And soothe with gifts out-spread the Stranger-King.

“ On our arrival before the town of Shevigerry, the Polygar Rajah retired to the thickets, near 4 miles deep, in front of his *Comby*, which they cover and defend. He manned the whole extent of a strong embarkment, that separates the wood and open country, . . . . . and mustered 8 or 9,000 men in arms. . . . . Finding that they *trifled with our proposals*, the line was ordered under arms on the morning following. . . . . It commenced by the Europeans and 4 battalions of Seapoys, moving against the embarkment which covers the wood. The Polygars, in full force, opposed us, but our troops —nained with their firelocks shouldered under a heavy fire, until they approached the embarkment; where they gave a general discharge and rushed upon the enemy. By the vigour of this advance, we got possession of the summit, and the Polygars took post on the verge of the adjoining wood, disputing every step with great loss on both sides. As we found the *Comby* could not be penetrated in front, we proceeded to cut a road through impenetrable thickets for 3 miles to the base of the hill that bounds the *Comby* on the west. We continued to cut our way under an unabating fire from 8,000 Polygars” (did those who were killed and wounded during the *great loss* rise like Falstaff, and fall to again?). . . . .  
 . . . . “ Before sunset we had opened a passage entirely to the mountain; it is extremely high, rocky and in many places perpendicular.” Sometimes within the circular thicket there is an area many miles in circumference, in the centre of which is the town. (See Fullarton’s *View of the English Interests in India*, a book which ought to bear a very different title p. 128. &c. and *Sketches* p. 102. &c.)

V. 81. At Tatta or Pattala, at the head of the Delta, the ancients purchased spices, gems, silks, cottons, black-pepper—More easterly emporiums furnished pearls, ivory and a few articles beside. *Sindon*, fine linen, is supposed to have derived its name from *Sindus* or *Indus*. Arrian, whom one always quotes in preference to the undistinguishing compiler, Diodorus, or the exaggerating rhetorician,

THE

THE glowing HERO—while responsive shores  
 Ring to the labour of unnumbered oars,  
 While with slow pace, his long-protracted train .85  
 Toils up the steep, expands along the plain;  
 While Tribes of tawnier hue and lighter drefs  
 Submissive awe, by suppliant figns exprefs,  
 And Patriarchs hoar, and Chiefs of manly prime  
 Bend to the Warrior of the Western clime; 99  
 From the fcaured groves as plumes unknown arife,  
 Strange notes refound, and glance more vivid dies;

Curtius, fpeaks of the extreme whitenefs of the Indian *linen*, as he calls it, unlefs as he very properly adds, the blacknefs of complexion of the Indians makes it appear whiter than it really is. (p. 530.)—As to Gold, of the 20 Perfian Satrapies under Darius Hyftafpes, India alone paid its tribute in this metal, the reft in filver—the rivers of the Panjab were auriferous, particularly the Eastern branches of the Indus (Rennel XXV.)—There was an antient fable, that ants as big as foxes threw up gold, along with the foil. Nearchus feems to have given fome countenance to this account, and Megafthenes ftill more. Arrian laughs at it as well as Strabo, who adds, that the ants were reported to defend the treasure with great refolution, and fometimes to kill both men and horfes in the conteft. But what if fome curious piece of Natural Hiftory fhould be thus difguifed? Nearchus *faw* the fkins of thefe ants; a testimony too exprefs, and a witnefs too refpectable, to be flightly rejected.

V. 82—86. *Tribes*. Hiftorians inform us that as the armament advanced, the tribes on either fide were compelled or perfuaded to fubmit.

As

As stems of ranker growth and gaudier flowers  
 Entwine wild fragrance round unfading bowers,  
 And Giant trunks outstretch their mightier shoots, 95  
 Spread ampler leaves, and tempt with fairer fruits;  
 As to their dark pavilions, terror-chaced,  
 Grim tyrants of the forest, growling, haste;  
 In swift succession as before his eyes  
 A new Creation's crowded wonders rise— 100  
 —And now, his nodding prows triumphant dance  
 O'er swelling waves, on Indus' broad expanse;

V. 101. *Tide and Bore.* The Bore is "the sudden influx of the tide, in a body of water, elevated above the common surface of the sea" (Rennel XXV). Alexander and his troops, says Arrian, were not a little astonished, when the ebb left their vessels aground; but they were still much more astonished, when they were lifted again by the waves, rushing upon them in a great body. *This affection of the great sea*, as that historian terms it, equally surprized and terrified Cæsar and his troops, to whom it was unknown; and surely nothing could be more capable of inspiring terror, till the law of the reciprocation of the tide was discovered. It belongs to philosophy to disarm Nature as well as Superstition of her terrors. The reader will recollect that in the Mediteranean the tides are scarce perceptible, and for a long time were actually not perceived. On account of their small proficiency in physiological knowledge, the ancients were incapable of perceiving phenomena much more strik-

With

With eye astonished now he marks the tide  
 Propel its curly foam, now flow subside;  
 Now lifts, with startled ear, the angry BORE 105  
 His whelming wave urge on, and boisterous roar—  
 —Long mute, long fixed by Extacy's controul,  
 Pours forth at last the fervour of his soul.

“ HAIL, Thou unnamed of Greece! Thou sportive .  
 God!

“ Controller of the flood! whose changeful nod 110  
 “ Now rolls thy living liquids o'er the strand,  
 “ Now calls them reflux from thy lawns of sand,  
 “ Who now, with arm upreared and murmurs hoarse,  
 “ Full in mid stream impellest their furious course;

ing than these inconsiderable movements of the waters. In many respects the ancients had not much more use of their senses, than infants have of their muscles. Physical science, by exercising and directing the senses, never fails to render them more acute. (For the Tides and Bore see Robertson p. 188. and Renel ub. sup.)

D

“ THEE

“ THEE I invoke! thy name, thy nature say: 115

“ Oh! grant thy presence to the eye of Day!

“ So shall thy censurs blaze, thy temples rise,

“ And Nations offer rightful sacrifice.

“ Our Western Main thou scornest—Benumbing Sleep

“ With leaden sceptre quells that sluggish Deep.” 120

So spake the Monarch, and with arms outspread,

Bowed to the Power unknown his radiant head;

Musing he bends, as though beneath the wave

He saw revealed the Godhead's chrystal cave;

Then, slow with sweeping eye, from shore to shore 125

The twinkling mads of waters measures o'er;

Now, with uplifted brow, pursues the gale,

Whose playful pinion fans the panting vale;

Marks giant harvests wave, or grassy dells

Wind their soft lap around the copse-crowned swells; 130

Now o'er the forest's closely-tufted head

He longs with airy step aloft to tread;

O'er

O'er chequered shades where whispering branches play,

On Nature's yielding couch his limbs to lay :

Now starts, with infant eagerness, to chace 135

The bright-plumed rivals of the insect race.

—Soft, soothing scenes! you lulled to short repose

An heart, where ever-restless ardour glows,

The calm you breathe could still the Victor's mind,

Though soaring hopes perturb, and wreaths fresh-twined :

—On the green sod, awhile his eye-balls rest; 141

Joy's genial tide pervades his rising breast;

And hark! his tongue the bland emotions owns,

And warbles Gratulation's dulcet tones.

“ Ye Fields for ever fair, Thou, mighty stream! 145

“ Bright Regions! blest beyond the Muse's dream!

V. 145. &c. “ In every step of his progress, says Dr. Robertson, objects no less striking than new presented themselves to Alexander. The magnitude of the Indus, even after he had seen the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, must have filled him •

D

“ Thou

- “ Thou, fruitful womb of ever-teeming Earth!  
 “ Ye fostering skies, that rear each beauteous birth!  
 “ Trees, that aloft uprear your stately height!  
 “ Whose sombre branches shed a noontide night! 150  
 “ Groves, that for ever wear the smile of spring!  
 “ Gay birds, that wave the many-tinted wing!  
 “ Of Reptiles, Fishes, Brutes stupendous forms!  
 “ And Ye, of nameless Insects glittering swarms!  
 —“ Sons of soft toil, whose shuttle Beauty throws, 155  
 “ Whose tints the Graces’ earnest hands dispose,  
 “ Whose guileless bosom Care avoids and Crime,  
 “ Gay as your groves and cloudless as your clime!  
 “ Primæval Piles, that rose in massive pride,  
 “ Ere Western Art her first, faint effort tried! 160

with surprise. No Country he had hitherto visited was so populous and well cultivated, or abounded in so many valuable productions of Art and Nature.” The Panjab produces wine, sugars, and cotton, which last supplied the manufactures of the province. It has also wonderfully productive salt mines. \*Arrian tells us that the Indus is the only river besides the Nile that produces Crocodiles; the ancient writers insist upon its abundance of fishes.

Ye

“ Ye Brachmans old, whom purer æras bore,

“ Ere Western Science lisped her infant lore !

“ How will your wonders flush the Athenian Sage?

“ How ray with glory my historic page? ”

“ NE’ER—though the series of my martial toils. ” 165

“ Has led my footsteps o’er a thousand foils—

“ Ne’er through my breast has equal transport streamed,

“ Ne’er on these eyes such pure effulgence beamed.

“ How mean thy vale, O Temple! ah how vain

“ The boast, Euphrates, of thy boundless plain! ” 170

“ How fade the glories of the favoured tide,

“ Whose waves beneath my rising bulwarks glide ! ”

“ Nor Fancy now, with lingering fondness strays

“ O’er those fair fields, where sparkling Pharphar plays;

“ Where his smooth state reflects Damascus’ towers, 175  
 “ Or pleased Orontes, mid his whispering bowers,  
 “ Hears Syrian Virgins pour the thrilling strain,  
 “ Breathe the warm sigh, and soothe the tender pain.”

“ Ye blooms, that proud display the glowing hue,  
 “ And sip the beverage of ambrosial dew !  
 “ Skies, that the Seasons bind in lasting peace,  
 “ And bid the discord of the rivals cease,

V. 175—8. The softness of Syrian manners; and the beauty and fertility of many districts in Syria are universally known. The environs of Antioch, particularly

——— that sweet grove

Of Daphne by Orontes———

did not acquire their full celebrity, till afterwards, during the reign of the Macedonian kings of Syria. One may however fairly presume, that not only the permanent beauties of situation, but those more perishable productions of nature, which so richly adorned it, existed in the time of Alexander. Mr. Gibbon will give the reader an idea of this spot and of the fables belonging to it; for this, like every other spot, in any way remarkably distinguished by Nature had its appropriate fables, and the mythology of the Greeks is almost always of an agreeable cast.

Save

“ Save Winters, ruthless soul—HE drives afar  
 “ O’er blasted realms his tempest-shaken car—  
 “ And you, where Day’spring’s freshest glances shine,  
 “ Fair Gardens, planted by an hand divine! . 186  
 “ SHE, at whose call the clime remote appears,  
 “ Who spreads Existence through departed years—  
 “ Oft shall HER hand before my charmed sight,  
 “ Your smiling semblance hold, and colours bright; 190  
 —“ And Fancy still, mid Night’s inspiring shades,  
 “ With fond illusion rove among your glades.  
 —“ Pause! vagrant Airs, whose wings afar diffuse  
 “ The floating fragrance of your balmy dews,  
 “ A moment pause! then, gently flitting, bear 195  
 “ Wide o’er Elyfian lands the vow I swear.  
 —“ When every clime shall see my flag unfurled,  
 “ And boundless Commerce mix a cultured world,

“ From mad misrule reclaimed, and brutal strife,

“ Trained to the soft civilities of life,

200

and Boileau in France, have amused themselves with representing Alexander as a mere madman. And without doubt it was much more obvious, considering only his military expeditions and passionate excesses, to bring the matter to this simple issue, than to enter into his extensive schemes and discern the policy of his arrangements. Montesquieu has contributed towards the vindication of his character. “ Alexander, says he, formed the design of uniting the Indies to the Western nations by a maritime commerce, as he had already united them by the colonies he established by land.” (B. XXI. ch. 7.) Montesquieu however denies that he built Alexandria with commercial views; as Lucretius denies the eye to be made for seeing. Full justice has since been done to Alexander by one endowed with all the talents Montesquieu possessed, and all he wanted, towards forming a compleat philosopher. “ When you have reflected that Alexander in the fiery season of pleasure, and in the very delirium of victory, built more cities than all the other Conquerors of Asia have destroyed, when you consider that it is a young man who changes the commerce of the world, you will be surprized to find Boileau treating him, first as a madman and then as an highwayman, and proposing to La Reine, as lieutenant of the police, sometimes to confine and sometimes to hang him. This proposal could not have been admitted either according to the custom of Paris or the law of nations. Alexander would have pleaded that, having been elected, at Corinth, Captain General of Greece, and in this capacity having it in charge to avenge his country of all the invasions of the Persians, he did no more than his duty in destroying their empire: and that having always joined magnanimity to the most signal courage, having respected the wife and daughters of Darius, who were his prisoners, he did not on any account deserve confinement or the gallows, and that at all events he appealed from the said Monsieur La Reine's sentence to the tribunal of the whole world.

When

“ When Home’s dear ties shall fix each roaming horde,  
 “ And Earth shall kneel before her Grecian Lord,  
 “ Here shall my arms be hung—in this retreat  
 “ My age repose—here fix it’s silent feat.”

Here closed his lips—still spake his glistening eye, 205  
 Still Admiration heaved her deep-drawn sigh;

Rollin pretends that Alexander took the famous city of Tyre purely to serve the Jews, who did not love the Tyrians. It is nevertheless probable that he had some other reasons, as it was by no means the part of a wise general to leave Tyre, mistress of the sea, when he was about to attack Egypt.” See other passages (*art. Alexandre Dict. Philosophique*) of Voltaire, who has written history with the sagacity of Locke and the humanity of Fenelon, and been calumniated accordingly. Diodorus Siculus speaks of memorandums of Alexander, found after his death, for consolidating the union of his subjects. He built cities, says Montesquieu, and would not suffer the Ichthyophagi to live upon fish, being desirous that the maritime countries should be inhabited by civilized nations. His liberal policy in the treatment of his conquered subjects, in opposition to the advice of Aristotle, is justly commended by Dr. Robertson.—Now consider that the ancients were scarce so far advanced in political œconomy as in natural philosophy; remember also that the Greeks looked upon the barbarians, that is, all but themselves, just as Slave-merchants and West-India planters look upon Negroes; and then determine what must have been the originality of Alexander’s genius, the enlargement of his conceptions, and the equity of his mind, whenever ambition did not interfere with the latter quality.

Around the foul-wrapt Chief—in crowded rings  
 His kindling warriors press—the destined Kings,  
 Of mighty states—They catch the Monarch's fire:  
 Their gestures, soon, the train remote inspire;      210  
 From foul to foul triumphant ardours run,  
 And all partake the bliss of Philip's son;  
 At first low murmurs creep; at length the bands  
 Ope their glad lips and smite their joyous hands,  
 The land and waters pour exulting cries,      215  
 And pealing shouts assail the Indian Skies—  
 —He, from applauding myriads loud acclaim,  
 Accepts the omen of immortal fame,  
 And feels assuaged, in that enraptured hour,  
 His ardent thirst of Glory and of Power.      220

V. 208. *destined kings.* The names and history of those chiefs, whose ambition and abilities the premature death of Alexander brought into action, are abundantly known. Several of them were present on this expedition.

And

And now the Hoſts, on India's ſultry verge,  
 See ſmooth-ſpread ſhores receive the failing Surge;  
 Hoarſe round his ſinuouſ ſweep of marſhy bounds  
 Hear Ocean murmur ſtorm-portending ſounds,  
 Or roar, impatient, from his wave-worn cells, 225  
 Loud o'er the lands, where liſtning Plenty dwells.

V. 223. *marſhy bounds.* At the lower extremity both of the Ganges and Indus we find a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, curiouſly interſecting conſiderable tracts of land. The breadth of the Bengal *Sunderbunds* is 180 miles. Major Rennel has laid down this ſingular aſſemblage of wood and water on a large ſcale in his Bengal Atlas No. XX. The paſſages through the *Sunderbunds*, obſerves the ſame excellent geographer (p. 363.), afford both a grand and a curious ſpectacle; a navigation of more than 200 miles through a foreſt, divided into numberleſs iſlands by a continued labyrinth of channels, ſo various in point of width, that a veſſel has at one time her maſts almoſt entangled in the trees; and at another, ſails uninterruptedly on a capacious river, beautifully ſkirt with woods, and affording a viſta of many miles each way. The water is every where ſalt; and the whole extent of the foreſt abandoned to wild beaſts, ſo that the ſhore is ſeldom viſited, but in caſes of neceſſity. In theſe foreſts, the wood-cutters and ſalt-makers exerciſe their “dreadful trade” at the perpetual riſque of life; for the tygers not only appear on the margin in queſt of prey, but often, in the night time, ſwim to the boats that lie at anchor in the middle of the channel. The proceſs of nature, in the formation of land by alluvion, does not ſeem to have gone ſo far at the mouth of the Indus. The dry parts of the iſlands are covered only with brush-wood, the remainder, by much the largeſt portion, conſiſts of noiſome ſwamps, and muddy lakes.

To HER scared eye, as Fate's dark leaves disclose  
 The ghastly characters of India's woes,  
 Thy parting sail, O King, the pensive Muse  
 With many a sigh, down Indus' stream, pursues. 230

—Large was thy thought, and liberal was thy soul,  
 Nor stooped thy glance beneath bright Honour's goal;  
 Beyond the Sage's amplest grasp, thy mind  
 Embraced the mighty mass of human kind,  
 And spurned, with firm disdain, the barbarous rule, 235  
 Framed by the Founder of the subtle School.—

Where awful History, mid the dome of Fame,  
 Awards the Tyrant's and the Conqueror's shame,  
 Humanity's mild voice, still raised for THEE,  
 Abates the rigour of her stern decree. 240

For Sympathy could melt that feeling breast,  
 And vanquished realms thy healing mercy blest;  
 On agonizing woe and captive fear,  
 Thy pity dropped the warm balsamic tear:—

Thy

And each soft deed, through many a distant age, 245  
 Shall swell the canvas, and bedew the Stage.

Lo! in redundant current, Commerce pours,  
 Obedient to thy call, her Eastern stores;  
 And still, though Plague and Rapine range the land,  
 Her spicy bale perfumes thy chosen strand. 250  
 And oh! had years matured the fair design,  
 Of which thy Genius traced the wondrous line;  
 Had GENERAL CONCORD, from her finished fane,  
 Shed her pure light, and breathed her strains humane,  
 Man's varied race, from far-dissevered lands, 255  
 Her courts had thronged, and pledged discoloured hands;  
 Her shrines had witnessed varying voices blend  
 The vow, and in the stranger hail the friend;  
 Stern Scythia's clans had cast their rage aside,  
 Unsocial Greece renounced her scornful pride; 260

V. 260. *Unsocial Greece*. If the reader has not conceived a proper detestation of the

And long, beneath thy star's protecting ray,  
 Had bloomed the regions of the rising day;  
 With keen awakened sense, the listening child  
 Still on his mother's fearless bosom smiled,  
 As, deep concealed o'er-arching shades among,      265  
 Content had caroled blithe his chearing song.  
 And still, from far, the swarm of plunderers loured,  
 Eyed the fair fruits, and but in thought devoured.

brutal institutions of Sparta, let him read the ingenious Mr. De Pau's *recherches sur les Grecs*, or even the strictures upon these researches by the candid Heyne, who has the learning, without the narrowness, of pedantry (Comment. Gottingens. Vol. ix. if my memory does not fail me.) Athens had philosophers, and was very little the better. Their disdain of barbarians and their inhuman ideas, particularly those of Aristotle, on slavery are well known. Their contentious philosophy however only produced a waste of genius with some illiberality of sentiment. Had wealth, power, and titles been unhappily annexed to the doctrines of any sect, the history of these subtleties might have rivalled the horrors of our dogmatical theology. When to its ordinary objects of desire, ambition associates the tempting claim of authority over opinion, it becomes capable, we see, of converting the most incomprehensible nonsense into the most deadly of weapons.

And

But Earth's fond Hopes, how blasted in their bloom!  
 How feels a World convulsed thy fated doom! 270  
 What mingling sounds of woe and outrage rise!  
 How wild the eddying dust of Ruin flies!  
 See frantic Chiefs the Master's pile deface,  
 Dash down his walls, and shake the deep-laid base!

V. 269. Immediately upon Alexander's death, society was thrown into the most dreadful convulsions; the most bloody dissensions broke out among his generals. The Macedonians have been compared to those swarms of emigrating rats, the pest of the North, which, after ravaging whole countries, at last for want of subsistence fall upon and devour one another. The face of the known world was covered with confusion. The republics preserved only a vain appearance of liberty, which left the inconveniences without the advantages of that form of government. Turbulence took the place of strength, factions multiplied, and became irreconcilable. But the whole contention was for the choice of tyrants. Whether the Seleucidæ, the Lagidæ &c. should have the preference. "To whom shall garlands be decreed, and whose statues shall be demolished?" Such was the subject of every deliberation. And so busy was Servility, one moment in erecting, and the next in demolishing statues, that it became the practice to saw off an old head, and place upon the trunk the effigies of a new tyrant. Nor was the world ravaged only by a Ptolemy, a Cassander, an Antigonus, an Eumenes, characters which still shone with a lustre borrowed from Alexander, but a crowd of petty usurpers perpetually sprung up, and different countries became the prey of the first adventurer, who invaded them. See the admirable treatise, *De la felicité publique*, Bouillon, 1776. T. I. ch. 8.

Mourn,

Mourn, India, mourn—the womb of future Time 275  
 Teems with the fruit of each portentous crime.  
 The Crescent onward leads consuming hosts,  
 And Carnage dogs the Cross along thy coasts;  
 From Christian strands, the Rage accursed of gain  
 Wafts all the Furies in her baleful train: 280  
 Their eye-ball strained, impatient of the way,  
 They snuff, with nostril broad, the distant prey.  
 —And now, the Rout pollutes the hallowed shore,  
 That nursed young Art, and infant Science bore.  
 Fierce, in the van, her firebrand Warfare waves, 285  
 Dire, at her heels, the cry of hell-hounds raves;  
 Roused by the yell, the Greedy and the Bold  
 Start to the savage chace of blood and gold.

In vain steep Gwalior rears his towers on high,  
 In vain thy walls, dread Nature, touch the Sky. 290

V. 289. *Gwalior*. This astonishing fortress is situated on a rock of about 4 miles  
 O'er

O'er towers and mountains Slaughter's torrent rolls

No force resists it, and no mound controuls.

in length, but narrow, and unequal in breadth: the area at top is nearly flat. The sides are so steep as to appear almost perpendicular, for the rock has been scarped away, where it was not naturally so steep. The height above the plain is from 200 to 300 feet. The rampart follows the edge of the précipice. The only approach is by steps winding along the side of the rock; and this is guarded as well by a wall and bastions as by seven stone gate-ways, placed at certain distances from each other. The area contains noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells and cultivated fields, so that it is a little district within itself. (Rennel. 234). It was taken by the English in 1780. The rock Aornus, described by Alexander's historians, is another of these strong Asiatic holds. The situation of Dellam-cotta, of which a slight view is subjoined to the advertisement, is thus described.—The Southernmost ridge of the Bootan mountains, rises near a mile and half perpendicular above the plains of Bengal; it attains this elevation within 15 miles of horizontal distance. From the summit, the astonished traveller looks back on the plains, as on an extensive Ocean beneath him. There are not many passes through this ridge: Dellam-cotta, which commands the principal, was taken by storm by Capt. I. Jones in 1773, an exploit which induced the natives of Thibet to sue for peace. The road between Bengal and Tassafudon lies chiefly over the summits of stupendous mountains, or craggy precipices. Between Tassafudon and Paridrong, is a chain of mountains still higher. They are visible from the plains of Bengal, at the distance of 150 miles, and are generally covered with snow (Rennel 302. and Bengal Atlas No. 17. Hodges Views in India Nos. I. II. and III.)

V. 291. &c. In consequence of the difference of colour, customs, religious creed or rather title of their religion, the European Soldiers have little or no fellow-feeling with the natives of these regions; and they will, of course, take every opportunity

F

Alike

Alike on prostrate foes and plighted friends

The ceaseless fury of the blade descends.

of giving a loose to their rapacity, cruelty and caprice. Of this a late Madras newspaper affords a recent instance of unquestionable authenticity; here are the words in which Gen. Abercrombie expresses his just indignation at some shocking enormities of this nature:

“ Since the Commander in Chief has had the honour of being at the head of the  
 “ Bombay army, there is nothing which has given him so much uneasiness, and that  
 “ he has so much reason to be displeased at, as the reports that have been made of  
 “ the licentious behaviour of some of the soldiers and followers of the advanced  
 “ corps.”

“ Plundering the women and children of defenceless villages must in every coun-  
 “ try be a discredit to the Commander, and dishonour to the troops; but in the  
 “ present instance he feels it materially injurious to himself and disgraceful to his  
 “ army.

“ The villages that have been plundered and burnt belonging to one of the most  
 “ active, gallant and steady allies the Company have” (the Corgar Rajah?) “ an ally  
 “ who has invited us to his Country, without whose aid we could not have ad-  
 “ vanced so far, or proceed any farther.

“ The villages that have been destroyed too were left defenceless, from a confi-  
 “ dence of security in our protection, and from a zeal in the owners to advance and  
 “ engage the common enemy.

“ The General is sorry to remark that at the time they were rejoicing at the bril-  
 “ liant victory which they gained, the news must have reached them that their ha-  
 “ bitations were in flames and their families dispersed, and that the outrage had  
 “ been committed, not by the enemy, but by those whom they invited into their  
 “ country and considered as their friends.—March 2, 1791.” See observations  
 at the end.

—One heap unites the subject and the king.— 295

On female helplessness the ruffians spring;

The still Zenana's sacred glooms profane;

The shrieking inmates clasp their seats in vain;

No rescuer hears the shrill, distressful cry

And Death's cold hand has closed each pitying eye; 300

Whelmed by Despair's deep wave, the quivering throngs

Endure all Rapine's and all Insult's wrongs.

On the meek race each plague of guilt is poured;

Gaunt Famine gleans the relics of the sword:

V. 304. *Famine.* "When the effects of the scarcity became more and more visible, the natives complained to the Nabob.... that the English had engrossed all the rice.... This complaint was laid before the president and council by the Nabob's minister who resides in Calcutta; but the interest of the Gentlemen concerned was too powerful at the board; so that the complaint was only laughed at and thrown out." It is probable these gentlemen were thoroughly convinced of the futility of the principle, that the consent of the people governed is necessary to constitute a just government, and therefore very consistently disregarded their complaints.

"By the time the famine had been about a fortnight over the land, we were greatly affected at Calcutta; many thousands falling daily in the streets and fields, whose bodies, mangled by jackalls, dogs and vultures, in that hot season when at best the air is very infectious, made us dread the consequences of a plague. We

For food their fruitless cries thy infants raise, 305

The gasping parents choak thy spacious ways:

“ had 100 people employed upon the Cutchevry list, on the company’s account,  
 “ with coolys, sledges and bearers, to carry the dead, and throw them into the  
 “ river Ganges. I have counted from my bed-chamber window in the Morning  
 “ when I got up, forty dead bodies lying within twenty yards of the wall, besides  
 “ many hundreds lying in the agonies of death for want, bending double, with their  
 “ stomachs quite close contracted to their back bones.” -I have sent my servant to  
 “ desire those who had strength to remove farther off: whilst the poor creatures look-  
 “ ing up with arms extended, have cried out, Baba, Baba, my father, my father, this  
 “ affliction comes from the hand of your countrymen, and I am come here to die, if  
 “ it please God, in your presence. I cannot move, do what you will with me.”

“ At this time we could not touch fish, the river was so full of carcases.”.....

....“ After one had sucked the bones quite dry, and thrown them away, I have  
 “ seen another take them up, sand and all upon them, and do the same, and so by a  
 “ third, and so on.

.....I cannot help, although with the greatest reverence, enquiring from our nobility and gentry who are so strenuous for punishing the perfidious French, till they have amply atoned for all their crimes, particularly from the R. H. L. North, who has expatiated upon that idea with so much energy and eloquence, whether these facts are true? and if true, what atonement either the British nation, or the British government have offered to the manes of these victims, or to their surviving friends and relations? The marked passages are from Ann. Regist. 1771. p. 205. the others from Thomas Day, the premature loss of whose genius, spirit and virtue the friends of mankind will long lament.—A remark, similar to the last, is suggested by obvious circumstances. We have heard loud exclamations against Tippoo Sultan. And assuredly Humanity must shudder at some of his actions. But how few have been the despots to whom this reflection will not apply; and if a wise and just tribunal were to decide between the Mysorean Tyrant

War,

Wan, shrivell'd shapes, in lifeless langour laid,  
 Nor Morning's ray they bless, nor Evening's shade!  
 Where silent heaps abide their lingering fate,  
 And Pride disgusted spurns them from her gate, 310  
 " Oh, Father, grant," the un murmuring victims cry,  
 " 'Tis all we ask—this little space to die."—  
 Meanwhile the Buryer, with unheeding tread,  
 Crushes the dying, as he drags the dead.  
 —E'en now, inflamed with ravenous thirst of spoil, 315  
 Wide-wasting legions scour thy hapless soil.  
 I hear, I hear the ravaged nations groan,  
 Their sigh unpitied, and despairing moan.  
 I see the sufferers open their failing eyes,  
 And seek the bolt of Justice in the skies. 320  
 In quivering gore his beak the Vulture dips,  
 The gluttoned Panther licks his blood-stained lips,

and the person who has declaimed most vehemently against him, which would be  
 condemned as the most atrocious enemy of his species? But now as of old—

Clodius accusat mœchos, Catilina Cethegos.

O'er

Wide o'er thy realms funereal horror reigns,  
And bones unburied whiten o'er thy plains.

O Thou! whose magic tones of bursting song 325  
Rude Nature hush'd, and charmed the savage throng—  
—But ah! the Warrior raised thy youthful flame,  
For him thy hand unbarred the gates of Fame:

V. 324. *Martial poetry.* 325. The spirit of antient poetry must undoubtedly have contributed to pervert the moral sentiments of mankind, by establishing a false standard of excellence. The fascinating power of the *Iliad*, we are told, induced Alexander to regard Achilles as a model; and the choice could not but debase his own superior character. It may be worth while to consider whether, in consequence of the present absurd mode of education, a similar pernicious influence is not still exerted upon the ardour of the youthful mind. We know what impressions the Roman poets and historians leave in favour of the Roman people, who surely are not more amiable, though they were more audacious and successful, depredators than the people of Algiers. For my part I conceive that *liberal* education, as we see it conducted, pretty much resembles a practice common among sportsmen, who, by way of encouraging them to the chase, besmear the dewlaps of young hounds with the blood of the first animal they assist in running down.

Whenever, therefore, it shall become the business of instruction to inculcate just sentiments, the spirit of a great part of the antient poetry will become disgusting; just as we read some antient tragedies, at present, with worse than indifference, on account of their absurd and perverted morality.

Each

Each softening Art and gentler Virtue pined;  
 Vain were their charms; nor moved the martial mind.

Again from Night ere radiant Science broke, 332  
 While Nature groaned beneath her feudal yoke,  
 Thy fires revive; thy soul-impelling breath,  
 With zeal misguided, swells the trump of death.  
 Dire howls the din along the waste of life, 225  
 As spurious Honour wakes insatiate Strife,  
 And Madness bellows o'er his mangled foe,  
 And Folly hails the Tourney's brutal show.  
 —With oozing wounds all faint, by toils oppressed,  
 At length the nations sink to servile rest; 340  
 High o'er the ruins Giant Robbers tower,  
 And grasp, with crimson hand, tyrannic power;  
 For them thy lyre was strung to venal praise,  
 Soft toned the chords, but abject flowed the lays:

Bland

Bland from thy lips, the vocal poison stole, 345

Lulled Guilt's sharp pangs, benumbed the freeborn soul:

No more dread visions haunt the Oppressor's night;

Inebriate crowds adore his sacred right,

Kiss the red scourge, outstretch their willing hands,

In torture smile, and bless the galling bands.— 350

Now—while on high a purer morning breaks,

Gleams with mild light, and rays its ruddy streaks,

Through torpid minds while kindling ardours dart,

And Terror vibrates to the Tyrant's heart;

—Oh skilled to win! adorn a worthier theme, 355

And bid the tear for harrassed myriads stream;

Redeem the mischiefs of thy thoughtless youth,

And tune to thy sweet notes the lore of truth.—

With Freedom's crayon, on the patriot scroll,

Pourtray the passions of the Despot's soul: 360

V. 360. *the Despot's soul.* It would well become poetry, philosophy, and all the powers propitious to mankind, to correct the prevailing ideas respecting the

O'er

O'er War's wild fury, Empire's fatal thirst,  
 Of grief indignant pour the warning burst—  
 So shall the Nations' long delusions end,  
 So Peace o'er Earth her fostering wing extend—  
 “ First o'er his breast dark fumes of vengeance rise, 365  
 “ Foul as the Typhon's terrors blot the skies;  
 “ As dread Contagion, from her bone-strewed cell,  
 “ Aims the keen arrow, dipt in poison fell,  
 “ So, deep immured, amid his dark divan,  
 “ Devising evil, sits the Foe of Man; 370

powerful. We may be sure that the world will ever continue to be, as it has been heretofore, wasted by the unbridled passions of its rulers, till they are judged according to the plain rules and feelings of morality. As long as Nations shall indiscriminately offer to every Sovereign the richest incense of flattery, they must expect to be frequently and severely admonished, how wantonly they toss out of their hands the most effectual, yet the gentlest, curb upon propensities, so apt to arise in the minds of individuals, whose crimes and follies are visited upon guiltless millions. And, indeed, what motive or restraint is left to him, who is taught to believe, that Public Opinion will obsequiously attend upon his footsteps, whatever path he pursues, and in whose ears *Regum Optime!* is for ever ringing? Perpetual abuse, one might have hoped, would have brought this, as it has done so many other cant phrases, into disrepute. And if it be true that Sovereigns have seldom had heart or head to desire the applause, or dread the tardy vengeance, of history, this will be a strong additional reason, why men should think, before they shout.

“ The mandate issues, and unchained by Hate,  
 “ Commissioned Murder moves in guilty State,  
 “ And strews, with impious arm, the human wreck  
 “ O’er heaven-loved realms, which Peace and Plenty deck.  
 “ With courtier glance, meanwhile, a fawning ring 375  
 “ Of Priests and Nobles eyes the vengeful king,  
 “ Lifts the shrill horn proclaim the spreading ill,  
 “ And hymns, to Flattery’s harp, his SOVEREIGN WILL.  
 “ Secure the Coward, on his distant throne,  
 “ Smiles as the smitten fink, the tortured groan. 380

“ As when of old, prophetic rage possessed  
 “ The sacred Maid, and struggled in her breast  
 “ With foamy lip awhile, and fiery glare,  
 “ With visage flushed, and wild diverging hair,  
 “ She owns the fury of the o’er-powering God, 385  
 “ Then sinks, exhausted, on the clay-cold sod:  
 “ Such

“ Such the fierce tossings of Ambition’s dream;

“ Thy fever, Glory, Conquest’s frantic scheme;

“ So war-spent Nations pine in scorned decay,

“ Or fall Invasion’s unresisting prey.” 390

Thus clear the gathered films of mortal fight,

Thus shed, benignant Muse, thy kindly light.—

And see! Philanthropy unfolds her charms,

And wooes thy footsteps to her tender arms?

• Oh fly, embrace the heaven-descended guest, 395

And in the union let mankind be blest.

—Yet, ere the splendours of the dawning Age,

A dearer theme, thy fond regard engage,

A little on the GREEK’s bold progress trace,

And bid the strain respire thy winning grace. 400

Now, from the Indian Main, returning flow,

His white-winged galleys upwards point the prow,

Thy scenes, Futurity, before him lie,  
 Tinge' his warm cheek, and fill his musing eye;  
 And, quick intruding, many a mingling scheme. 405  
 Plays o'er his thought, and weaves his wakeful dream;  
 " With idle wing no more," he deems, " the breeze  
 " Shall brush yon lone expanse of desert seas;  
 " Soon crossing barks shall gleam with sidelong sail,  
 " Mount the broad billow, and perfume the gale." 410  
 Thus o'er untraversed waves and trackless sands  
 As on she bears with ever-bounteous hands  
 Thy treasures, Ganges, to the strands of Nile,  
 Delighted Fancy prompts the unconscious smile;  
 Poured from her urn, soft streams of feeling flow, 415  
 Diffusing purer bliss than palms bestow.

From the broad deck the placid Chief descends,  
 To Persia's plains his course triumphant bends;  
 And

And oft with joy-illumined mien surveys  
 Their fair extent, and oft the march delays; 420  
 And dreadfuls now of force or ambushed wile,  
 Relaxing hosts the weary way beguile;  
 Sweet breathes the Dorian mood, and Grecian songs  
 Rehearse the heartfelt tale of Grecia's wrongs: 424  
 "At Eve's calm hour" they tell, "how sayage yells  
 "Her hallowed groves alarmed, and peaceful dells;  
 "With ruffian gripe how Asian rovers tore  
 "The struggling virgin from her natal shore;  
 "Stripped the rich mantle from her sunny rocks,  
 "Strewed o'er the thymy turf her browsing flocks, 430  
 "In spires ascending through the waste of night  
 "From shrieking hamlets reared the ghastly light;"

V. 422—423. *Relaxing files and Grecian songs.* According to an account quoted by Arrian (p. 432.), Alexander caused two cars to be joined together, upon which he with his friends reclined to the sound of Music during the march through Carmania: the army, crowned with garlands and sporting, followed; the Carmanians every where offering by the way both provisions and luxuries.

“Stamped.

“ Stamped with wild foot o’er Autumn’s amber pride,  
 “ Her powerless Gods and passive States defied;  
 “ Passive too long, till Insult’s maddening sting      435  
 “ Transpierced the bosom of the Spartan King.  
 “ Then keen Revenge, and Honour breathing high,  
 “ Lift every breast, and flash from every eye,  
 “ The willing matron gives her youth to bleed,  
 “ The plighted virgin prompts her lover’s speed;      440  
 “ Through waste dispeopled realms till Silence reigns  
 “ And flighted Ceres flies the forrowing plains.

“ Yet what avails, that armed in Virtue’s cause,  
 “ Valour’s strong arm the blade of Justice draws?  
 “ That Grecia’s galleys, o’er the darkened Main,      445  
 “ Her thronging nations waft, and Hero-train?  
 “ That fiery Youth combines with wily Age,  
 “ And Nestor’s counsels guide Pelides’ rage?

“ Too

“ Too long, thou darling of the Muse, in vain  
“ Thy prowess thundered o’er Scamander’s plain; 450  
“ With Fate in vain maternal fondness strove;  
“ In vain the Goddess seeks the throne of Jove,  
“ In suppliant woe outspreads her softened charms,  
“ And sheaths her Boy in heavenly-tempered arms.  
“ Lo! Coward Fraud conspires thy early doom, • 455  
“ And yon unshaken turrets mock thy tomb.  
“ Each mightiest comrade lays his helmet low,  
“ And falling Troy inflicts the deadlier blow.

“ Twice with a whirlwind’s rage the Eastern World  
“ Against the shores of shrinking Greece is hurled:—  
“ Sworn with the Despot’s scorn of human kind, 361  
“ From power obdurate, and from flattery blind;  
—“ While boundless Empires bend the adoring knee,  
—“ Shall you insulting corner dare be free?”

“ Darius

- “ Darius cries, convokes his gorgeous bands, 465  
 “ Equips his navies, and exhausts his lands.  
 “ His courtier-bards preluding praises breathe,  
 “ And for his brows prepare the Victor’s wreath:  
 —“ Those reeking brows, thou baffled Tyrant, hide;  
 “ Rife, filken Satraps, soothe his wounded pride; 470  
 “ For Freedom’s spear has gored his vaunting hofts,  
 “ And Havoc dogs them to his slave-trod coasts.  
 —“ With grim delight the Power of carnage mounts.  
 “ His scythed car, his gaudy victims counts; 474  
 “ Wide o’er rude steeps, fair plains and plashy meads,  
 “ His spreading swarms as furious Xerxes leads,  
 “ And bids his streamers to the Skies displayed,  
 “ O’er Earth and Ocean wave their awful shade.  
 “ Then shares the haughtier Son the Sire’s disgrace,  
 “ And decks with richer palms an hated race. 480  
 “ The rock unmoved of SPARTA’S SAVIOUR-BAND  
 “ Checks the rude storm on Malea’s narrow strand;  
 “ Thy

“ Thy Genius, Greece, wide o’er Platœa’s plain  
“ Spreads his bright plumes, and numbers o’er the slain,  
“ Then lifts his wreathed front, and smites his shield,  
“ And calls his Heroes to the foreign-field: 486  
“ No Hero heard; no Patriot Chieftain rose  
“ To roll swift Vengeance o’er his country’s foes;  
—“ Her torch o’er Greece infernal Discord shakes,  
“ Strains her wild eye, and rouses all her snakes; 490  
“ In vain joint Honour binds, joint toils endear!  
“ Their hostile banners kindred Nations rear;  
“ Nor Prudence checks, nor Nature’s cry withstands;  
“ Each in a Sister’s blood embrues her hands,  
“ Far round her venom’d breath the Fury spreads, 495  
“ And rears a direr crest of Hydra-heads.

“ What new-born glory, from the brightening sky  
“ Descends serene, and clears the clouded eye!

H\*

“ And

- “ And hark! with muttered curses Discord flies,  
“ Scared Peace returns, and guilty Rancour dies; 500  
“ He comes! the Youth! deputed from above,  
“ Rejoins the wide-rent bonds of Grecian love,  
“ With pious arms appeases yon sad ghosts,  
“ Whose pale troops flit along her moaning coasts.  
“ The new Pelides Persia's pride o'erwhelms! 505  
“ And Asia trembles through her thousand realms!  
“ Bards of my Country! wake the slumbering lyre,  
“ And wing the song with his own Homer's fire;  
“ Behold! his bright-eyed dawn of martial days  
“ Of old renown obscures the noon-tide blaze.” 510

So streamed the strains, till high imperial towers  
Spring from the bosom of enclasping bowers.

Then

Then to the clamours of barbarian tongues  
 Yields the glad symphony, and choral songs;  
 With zeal impatient as they hail from far, 515  
 High towering mid the hosts, the Conqueror's car.  
 Still from her crowded gates the CITY-train  
 Gush struggling on, and deluge o'er the plain,  
 Where streamers chequer o'er the martial blaze  
 With wildly-devions eye at first they gaze, 520  
 And Joy and Wonder mix their throbbing tides;  
 At length the tumult of the soul subsides;  
 Then with collected thought, and steadier glance,  
 They mark the leaders of the war advance,  
 With reverent awe survey the sons of fame, 525  
 And busy whispers buzz each honoured name.  
 As nearer now the car-imperial draws,  
 Hushed Expectation holds her stillest pause;  
 And, as the world's young Victor passes by,  
 The pageant kindles Hope's prophetic eye; 530

Fair mid the sunny plain of future years  
 The glittering structure of his Fame appears,  
 In bright gradation loftier splendours rise  
 Till the proud Summit pierce his kindred skies.

Its penfile garlands now the ringing arch 335  
 Shakes o'er the footsteps of the closing march.  
 With long resounding tones and waving hands  
 The Chiefs dismiss the quick succeeding bands;  
 And crowds officious lead each weary guest,  
 Where Silence guards the shadowy bowers of Rest; 540  
 On turgid filk his limbs the Veteran throws,  
 And owns the grateful numbness of repose;  
 Or, mid the luxury of parting pain,  
 With unfelt ardours fires the listening train.

Flushed

Flushed by the tale, they hail the Soldier blest, 545  
 Spurn dastard sloth, and hate ignoble rest,  
 Fierce burns the rapture; quick the warrior-flame  
 Darts through each throbbing heart and glowing frame;  
 And nerves unstrung the ponderous faulchion wield,  
 And trembling arms essay the massive shield, 550  
 And little bosoms pant for martial toils,  
 Pierce the stern foe, and strip his blood-stained spoils.

The feast resounds in Susa's stately halls,  
 And gorgeous trophies deck her echoing walls;  
 From horns reversed as Plenty pours her hoard, 555  
 And piles his blessings on the Vintage board:  
 With mellow lustre, on each festive mien,  
 The light of Pleasure's sparkling glance is seen;

To

To kindled breasts applauding hymns restore  
Each high design that swelled the soul before, 560  
And Beauty's smile, the Warrior's dearest meed,  
Repays the past, and prompts the future deed.





I.

1. *Observations on the Hindoo austerities and on ceremonious devotion; and*
2. *On the indolence of the Asiatic character.*

THE antient historians have preserved an anecdote, which seems to me extremely well calculated to shew the spirit of the Hindoo devotees. PORUS, king, as he styled himself, of six hundred kings, was induced by the reputation of the Roman name, to send an Embassy to Augustus Cæsar. To prevent misapprehension, the reader must observe that the Hindoos did not, at this period, live to the age of 100,000 years as in the Suttée Yogue, when their stature also reached 21 cubits; nor of 10,000 years, as during the Tirtah Yogue, nor so long as in the Dwapaav Yogue, when the duration of life was almost contracted to the paltry span of Methusalem. They were now—for it was the Collee Yogue, or iron age—reduced to the ordinary dimensions of life and stature. Hence the reader will conclude, that

H

this

this King Porus was not the celebrated adversary of Alexander, though he might be one of his descendants. The Monarch of the East professes for the Monarch of the West that tender regard, which potentates, perfect strangers to each other, so naturally felt and so warmly avowed, as well in antient as in modern times. After exhibiting their presents, which consisted of an *Hermes*, or a man born without arms, whom Strabo, the geographer saw, several snakes, a serpent 10 cubits long, a fresh-water tortoise of 3 cubits, a partridge larger than a vulture and some tigers, an animal which the Romans are then said to have beheld for the first time; the ambassadors, we may suppose, took their leave in good order, charged with many fair professions from the Emperor to his swarthy brother. On their way home they passed through Athens, even then, perhaps, the brightest eye of the world, however tarnished might be its lustre. Here one of the train caused a tall and handsome funeral pile to be erected, upon which, being first duly anointed and otherwise properly equipped, he took his seat with great composure. We may conclude, since the contrary is not related, that as long as the smoke suffered him to be seen, he betrayed no symptom of human frailty. On his monument there was engraved this inscription. **HERE LIES ZARMENOCHEGAS, THE INDIAN, WHO PUT HIMSELF TO DEATH ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY.**(a).

Now, What could be the motive that prompted this action? What ideas occupied the mind of this volunteer victim? He might, equally, one would suppose, have enjoyed at home the simple satisfaction of broiling alive, either before his departure or after his return. Was it to barter his temporal sufferings for an eternal recompense? could he really suppose that an all-wise Being was to be duped into so disadvantageous a bargain? or, according to the *candour* of Strabo's stoical interpretation, had he in view to prevent a reverse of prosperous fortune, or to escape from present afflictions? But why then pitch upon this theatre of elegance and philosophy? Why, but to be conspicuous? For my part, I cannot help fancying Saint Zarmenochegas looking around from his combustible throne, in a firm persuasion that the public eye was intent upon an example of fortitude, unprecedented in the Western world. This is a comfortable idea, and has sustained many a martyr in the hour of his extremity. In every kind of theatre, as much depends on the spectators as upon the actors.

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(a) Strabo (p. 1084. B. XV). Dion Cassius calls him Zarmarus. The modern geographer and historian has every day to lament the inaccuracy of the antients with regard to barbarous names.

Such is, I suppose, the original principle of the austerities of Faquirs, Bonzes, Talapcins, Pillar-saints, Flagellants, Monks and public Penitents of all denominations. That exemplary tormentor of himself, Simeon Stylites I dare say, acknowledged the full recompense of his weather-beaten existence, in the summons which called him to be the arbitrator between an Emperor and a Patriarch. If our ladies were grossly superstitious enough to offer the premium of their respect and attendance, I doubt not but their irresistible influence would very soon people our woods and wastes with Faquirs and Pillar-saints. The different sorts of devotees may, perhaps, be discriminated in some degree by the livery of the climate, and their numbers may depend on the productive powers of the soil; otherwise their practices are purely the effect of moral causes; and when these causes operate, it is pretty much a matter of chance what particular form the practices assume.

It is, I think, easy to trace these wild extravagances gradually, swindling, into the common manœuvres of devotion. And, if there are cases to which this supposition does not apply, still both the one and the other are the offspring of a common parent—vanity recommending herself to the admiration of minds, that entertain unworthy notions of the Supreme Being. It has been said that a law which should oblige the Gentoo widows to burn themselves in the presence of their chambermaid alone, could the knowledge of the fact at the same time be confined to the witness, would effectually check these demonstrations of conjugal tenderness. Few persons, I suppose, by themselves would go through the various postures of what is called, but is not piety, as few would pronounce an animated oration, unless for exercise, to the walls of an apartment. It is not therefore to the eye of heaven, but of the world that these ceremonies are addressed. “Yes, and very properly for the sake of example.” I am much afraid this vague phrase will shelter every absurdity alike. The various genuflexions, inclinations, prostrations, supinations, which any man or set of men may choose to recommend as indications of proper respect to the deity, are just as much the result of taste or caprice as the varieties of dress: And do we not daily see the pageantry which attracted the veneration of a savage or superstitious age, degenerating into a contemptible farce? The processions of guilds, monks, and universities were once respectable shows. Besides, it is not easy to conceive, only I ought to recommend to my neighbour by hypocritical grimace what I feel, in my own case, to be insignificant. And such is the narrowness of human capacity, that in any matter it refuses to admit more than one or a few points as essential. The whole stress, therefore, of example and precept ought to be directed to points

really essential. Hence superstitious observances as well as dogmas weaken or destroy the sense of moral obligation; it is so easy and often so convenient to substitute the phrases of a creed, and the manœuvres of a rubrick in the place of heartfelt piety and active virtue! In religions overloaded with priests, there is another abundant source of forms and ceremonies; for, unless they cut out work for themselves, the profane sagacity of the laity will soon discover, that there can be no reason for maintaining a numerous order in idleness, though it be even for the glory of God. The Priesthood, for the sake of sustaining the credit of their functions, necessarily insist upon the importance of ceremonies and dogmas. To establish a multiplicity of observances, that many hands may seem requisite to perform the labour of the Lord, is indeed the great secret of Priest-craft. As it is more and more divulged, it will, like the publication of other secrets, lessen the credit of the performance; and it may not, perhaps, be long before it is generally perceived that the interests of virtue and piety no more enjoin states to maintain a set of men for the purpose of reading prolix prayers and practising fanciful ceremonies, than for that of howling at midnight for the souls of the departed. As to the great object of public instruction, it must be attempted, if we would effectually attain it, by means very different from church establishments. The wheat of morality will otherwise be in danger of suffocation from the tares of theology.

So ostentatious is the spirit of devotion, and so strongly do these other principles co-operate with it, that neither evident propriety, nor injunctions, expressly laid down by the very founders of religion, have been able to prevent or correct vain repetitions and pharisaical length of liturgies. And yet, if it be asked, which is it that you distrust in the Deity whom you address, his equity, or his intelligence, that you cry to him so long and so loud? a satisfactory answer does not seem extremely obvious.

This train of thought naturally terminates in a melancholy reflection. I know not whether it be for millions, or only for tens of thousands of years, that pious Brachmans and Brahmins have been commenting the Bedes of the Shaster. Go into a public library in Europe, you will see innumerable volumes, from the gigantic Folio to the dwarfish duodecimo, marshalled under the Banner of THEOLOGY. Theology means the science of God, or of things appertaining to God. Now what has been the fruit of these immense labours? what knowledge of God have they either produced or disseminated? Observe the practice, and attend to the conversation of mankind. You will not find one in many thousands, who entertains for the  
Supreme

Supreme Being, so rational a respect as for a mere mortal of sense and virtue. A man of understanding, should he be able to refrain from laughter, would be offended at any application similar to our ordinary modes of propitiating and supplicating the Omniscient Deity, as at an insult offered to his judgment or integrity. And they are, in fact, derived from those times, when the imagination of men had placed in heaven a phantom revengeful, capricious, and unprincipled, like themselves. Were it possible to doubt the infallibility of our Doctors, one might suspect that the study of divine things has hitherto been conducted as preposterously as that of human things before Bacon. It is scarce for want of sermons and dissertations, that men entertain these degrading notions. Is it then that the masses of theology contain nothing luminous? and that they partake of the nature of clouds rather than stars, and intercept instead of giving light? for I will not suppose that lay minds are incapable of receiving the divine light. For I cannot consent to give up the greater part of our species, as incurably stupid, till every different mode of instruction shall have been essayed in vain: and it is easy to imagine modes that have not yet been tried.

In all moral disquisitions it must carefully be remembered, that human actions may be compared to bodies propelled by an infinite variety of forces, operating in all directions; of these forces it is sufficient to trace the principal and prevailing; otherwise I might have mentioned indolence among the generating causes of Monks and Faquirs. There have always in every country existed numbers who prefer penury and idleness to industry with her horn of plenty. Numbers also would assume the tonsure or the staff, from mere blind imitation. Numbers also, in the simplicity of their heart, would believe their mortification and penance to be really acceptable to God. The reader may, if he chooses, apply these considerations to religious forms also; but should it suit his inclination or interest more, he may indulge his indignation at an attempt however weak, to expel from the consciences of men, those vile intruders, which have usurped the place of universal charity of thought and action; and he may point the artillery of heaven at that temerity, which dares to question the sanctifying virtue of forms and phrases.—“*Ces hommes sont donc bien devots,*” *dira le lecteur? Oni, sans etre meilleurs.* Says a late philosophical traveller of the natives of Syria and Egypt. Did these Orientals attach any sort of merit to their observances, I should have thought it very high praise, if he could have remarked of them generally.—*Oni, sans en etre plus mechans.* I know indeed, and God forbid that I should insinuate any thing to the contrary, that in all countries

there

there are individuals, who scrupulously observe, whatever their priests have prescribed under the title of devotion, without any apparent diminution of their social virtues. But the comprehension of mind and general justness of intellect, necessary to this equal association of discordant qualities, are far from being common; and then devotion stands partly or altogether in the place of the social virtues.

2. Few, perhaps, of the austerities, which the Hindoo devotees endure, will present themselves to our imaginations in such forbidding colours, as the continued torpor of mind and body in which they seem to wear away their wearisome existence. Nor is there any thing in the contrast, which the character of the Asiatic, compared with that of the European exhibits, and which may be traced through all the minutiae of dress and behaviour, so striking as the habitual indolence and indifference of the former. It is perhaps superfluous to illustrate a point so generally admitted by examples; but I have two or three before me which are not likely to occur to every reader, though they appear to be worthy of notice.—

- During the residence of Mr. Niebuhr at Beit-el-Fakih in Arabia Felix, almost the whole town was destroyed by fire. In that hot climate, during the season of drought, the houses or huts burned with the violence of dried furze. Yet no outcry or lamentation was heard in the streets; “when we condoled with them on their calamity, they replied; “it is the will of God.” A poor man of letters (Fakih), after he had put his scanty furniture in a place of safety, came to us, and, with the greatest unconcern, pointed out, when the conflagration reached his own house. What an Arab loses on such occasions is indeed a trifle, compared with the loss of an European. He can secure his furniture by taking it on his back: and his hut is replaced with little cost and trouble. Nevertheless to a poor man the loss is still considerable.” (Niebuhr Reise, I. p. 355.) —The term “*Opadhee*” in the Sanscrit language has no European Synonym. It expresses “a kind of obstinately stupid lethargy, or perverse absence of mind, in which the will is not altogether passive. It seems to be a weakness peculiar to Asia: for we cannot find a term by which to express the precise idea in the European languages; it operates somewhat like the violent impulse of fear, under which men will utter falsehoods totally incompatible with each other, and utterly contrary to their own opinion, knowledge, and conviction; and it may be added also, their inclination and intention. A very remarkable instance of this temporary frenzy happened lately at Calcutta, where a man, not an idiot, swore upon a trial, that he was no kind of relation to his own brother who was then in court, and who had constantly supported him

him from his infancy; and that he lived in a house by himself, for which he paid the rent from his own pocket, when it was proved that he was not worth a rupee, and when the person, in whose house he had always resided, stood at the bar close to him." See the observations of Mr. Halhed, or perhaps, as one may infer from Mr. Halhed's, the modest insinuations of Mr. Hastings, in the elegant and philosophical preface to the code of Gentoo laws (p. xlix).

As far as one may judge from this account, it would have been better to translate *OPADHEE* *infatuation* than *folly*.—It appears from the concise view of the Hindoo Cyclopædia, for which the world is indebted to the same gentlemen, that their psychology enumerates three modes of existence, 1. to be awake. 2. to be asleep. 3. to be absorbed in a state of unconsciousness—in a kind of trance, as if the human mind was as liable to this mixed and middle condition, as to either of the others. (ib. p. xxxiv).

Montesquieu imputes this habitual listlessness to the relaxing power of an hot climate. And his shallow, but specious theory, has been eagerly adopted; for there are multitudes who desire to possess, or to be thought to possess, an insight into human nature without the trouble of observation and reflection. The theory of Montesquieu has indeed been amply refuted both by Voltaire and Volney. But superstition has laid her interdict upon the immortal works of Voltaire; and she cannot but regard those of Volney with an evil eye. Besides these philosophers have by no means exhausted the subject, and attention is, on every account, due to the opinions and facts of such writers as Mr. Halhed and Mr. Hastings: nor is it a matter of small consequence to entertain just ideas on this point.

It may, in the first place, be observed, that the courts of Great Britain present instances of infatuation, as remarkable as that of Bengal. There occurred one in particular at the spring assizes of 1792, for the county of Salop, which perhaps deserves to be preserved as a document towards the history of the human understanding, and as a problem for the solution of philosophers. A woman accused a person of throwing her maliciously into the river Severn, from a great height. Her own evidence most completely acquitted him. For she either attested glaring falsehoods and contradictions, or else a succession of miracles had been wrought in her favour, a supposition, according to which a court of justice ought seldom to decide. What deserves attention is, that you could not easily refer her conduct or her evidence to any denomination of ordinary motives. It was not confusion or terror; it was not idiotism, or insanity under any common shape. She was cool, collected, and seem-

ed to have full possession of her mind. A false accusation implies malice undoubtedly; but it was allied with a species of infatuation or wrongheadedness, equal at least to the Asiatic example; similar in its operation to another cause, which, according to the Italian poet, *fa tradir and traveder ciascuno*; as if the organs were moved by a foreign agent and the will of the individual superseded, as in witch-craft or enchantment.

By taking into the account what we may daily see at home, it will be evident that the Asiatic *faineantise* is at most but a higher term in the general series of human indolence; and this is perhaps too large a concession. Even in the flourishing countries of Europe, where there is so much to stimulate, and so little to check activity, we see instances of that torpid indolence, which takes no concern in the affairs of this world; and which sometimes, without actual incapacity, borrowing something from insanity and something from idiotism, constitutes an unhappy compound of inert perverseness; such characters seldom move but at the suggestion of malice, entertain no suspicion of their own inferiority and ignorance, adopt the most circuitous means to attain the simplest ends, feel no charm in Art or Nature, no obligation in truth or virtue, and are whatever an Hindoo deprecates, when he entreats Brama the Supreme God, his Son Burmha or Brimha, Narrayna the spirit of God, or Brimha, and Sheevah, Vistnou, the Three in One, to deliver him from Opadhee.

If we enlarge our views to more extensive considerations, we shall find that a sultry climate is by no means an efficient cause of indolence. From Japan to Syria, in Phœnicia, in Egypt, in Arabia, in Assyria, in Persia, in Hindostan, in China, and in the Japanese islands, where Thunberg, the successor of Linneus, could hardly discover a weed in the corn fields—such is the industry of the cultivators of the land—human activity either has been, or is practised under every form of sudden effort, or continued labour. Mr. Townshend, a traveller so judicious in every thing that concerns political economy, alone furnishes facts enough to shew the futility of this opinion. I will content myself with referring to his account of Catalonian industry; but a passage relating to a more torrid region, deserves to be quoted. “When it is considered that those vineyards (those near Malaga) are on the declivity of hills, inclined towards the scorching sun, it may be readily conceived that the labour is severe; . . . . . the peasants of no country upon earth are more patient of heat, of hunger, and of thirst, or capable of greater exertions, than this very people who have been accused of indolence. For my part, from what I have observed, and have been able to collect, I am satisfied, that if the Spaniards of the interior provinces

vinces are unemployed, it is to be attributed neither to the climate, nor to their constitutions, but either to the *neglects*" (*neglect* is not the proper term) "of government, or to other accidental causes already noticed and explained" (Journey through Spain, III, 28.). Warmth is indeed the great animating principle of nature; and we may borrow even from our own climate some illustration of this important doctrine, for the warmest part of our year is the period, during which not only most labour is actually performed, but that in which there is the greatest disposition to labour. If the reader find a refutation of this latter assertion in his own feelings during the dog days, let him pause a moment, and consider whether his own effeminaey or debauchery be not the cause of his oppression, rather than the temperature of the atmosphere. If he should object that no conclusion will hold from the temperate to the torrid zone, let him recollect that our feelings depend upon habit, and not upon any positive temperature. A native of Africa can bask in the sun upon the sands of the desert of Barca. Last of all, let him consider whether an order of things which should have established, in the relation between the temperature of the fairest regions of the globe, and the constitution of the human frame, a degradation of the human character, would have been entitled either to his admiration or his gratitude.

What then are the real causes of an indisputable phenomenon? 1. The ready supply of the most urgent necessities in the fertility of the countries in question. Doubtless, energy of character both in nations and individuals is originally determined by their wants, and the urgency of the feelings arising from them. Could we stretch forth our hands and grasp every thing we desire, we should not often change our place, and but seldom perhaps our posture. We should pass our lives with few desires and as little enjoyment.

Lest there should seem here any thing inconsistent with the conclusion of the paragraph before the last, it will be necessary to offer a consideration of some importance in the history of mankind. Our most antient historical documents agree in placing the original stock of the human race in those countries, where our necessities are fewest and most easily supplied. The helpless condition of man, before he could have acquired power from knowledge, and prudence from experience, required such a nursery. Here the species would go on increasing, till it equalled the natural and spontaneous resources of the soil. Very simple arts would afford new supplies in great abundance. By degrees societies would be formed, and great empires established. This order of things would have secured all the happiness of which man seems

seems capable, a perpetual and unlimited extension of desires and gratifications, a boundless activity of mind and body: But in this promising progress he was arrested by the rise of monarchies and hierarchies: and it appears that he is every where doomed to learn the value of his natural rights by long experience of the sufferings which attend their privation or infringement. The energy of human nature being repressed on all sides by the tyranny of priests and despots, the primitive nations sunk into langour; that activity, which had arisen in the progress of society, continued from habit, rather than from any generous impulse of the mind; and it could find no field of exertion, but in the arts of frivolity and corruption. In the mean time, other nations were more slowly formed in less fortunate climates; and then the former, having endured all the evils of domestic servitude, became subject to the relentless oppression of foreign tyrants. One reflection consoles us, while we contemplate the past or present calamities of Asia. The posterity of the oppressed will at last, receive from the posterity of their oppressors the doctrines and the example of freedom; Faquirs and Bramins, indolence and servitude, whether of mind or body, will at length disappear from the face of Hindostan.

In these reflections I have anticipated the other comprehensive causes of Asiatic indolence, viz. temporal and ecclesiastical despotism. The great source of activity lies in the mind: the idiots, the faineans, and the savages of every quarter of the globe equally exemplify this truth. It is indifferent whether the organs of thought be imperfect, the habit not acquired, or the faculty suppressed. These causes will only be more or less extensive in their operation.

## II.

### *Observations on the manufactures of the Hindoos.*

THE reasoning of Dr. Robertson in the cause, which has carried the ornamental wares of India to so great a degree of perfection, does not seem better calculated, than his palliative statement of the conduct of the Spaniards towards the native Americans, to console the friends of humanity. Fortunately, however, the principle on which he proceeds, as well as his inference, are liable to weighty objections. He deduces the proficiency of the Hindoos in weaving, embroidery and such arts, from a particular regulation in their laws. In deducing this inference, he advances a singular opinion on the spirit of those laws: “The object, he tells us, of the first Indian legislators, was to employ the most effectual means of providing  
“ for

“ for the subsistence, the security, and *happiness* of all the members of the communi-  
 “ ty, over which they presided. *With this view* they set apart certain *rac̃s* of men  
 “ for each of the professions and arts necessary in a well-ordered society, and ap-  
 “ pointed the exercise of them to be transmitted from father to son in successi-  
 “ on (p. 260).” He adds, that this system will be found more effectually to attain  
 the end in view than may at first sight be supposed. He allows, indeed, that such a  
 regulation must, at times, check genius and repress talents. He has, however, a  
 saving clause. For, says he, the arrangements of civil government are made, not  
 for what is extraordinary, but what is common; not for the few, but the many.  
 Notwithstanding our boasted advances in the science of politics, the author of these  
 discoveries might reasonably expect that they would astonish us. Why did he not  
 propose the introduction of regulations in the same spirit here? Since the majority  
 of every nation consists not of what is extraordinary, but what is common, not of  
 the few, but the many, one would think the analogy ought to hold in some degree  
 throughout: especially as we are told (p. 261,) that “ the early distribution of  
 “ the people into classes attached to particular kinds of labour, secured such abun-  
 “ dance of the more common and useful commodities, as not only supplied their  
 “ own wants, but ministered to the countries around them.” I know not what  
 more a nation can want as the basis of its prosperity. Perhaps, however, the dou-  
 ble and triple crops, which the soil is capable of producing in the same year, may  
 claim a small share of what is here exclusively ascribed to political regulations.  
 Perhaps, there is an energy in nature and in man, which Despotism itself finds it  
 difficult to stifle. Where has Dr. Robertson discovered the indications of those  
 pure motives, which he ascribes to the Hindoo legislators? The high authority,  
 for instance, and exclusive privileges of the Brahmins—which do they betray? the  
 liberal spirit of legislators holding in view the happiness of a whole community, or  
 selfish craft, abusing the pernicious influence of superstition? Is it to attain the sa-  
 cred end of general felicity, that no individual of this cast can be put to death for  
 any, the most enormous crime? that the property of a Brahmin is considered as too  
 sacred to fall into profane hands? that a sovereign is liable to be deposed for flight-  
 ing the remonstrances of a Brahmin? was it humanity that dictated such laws as  
 these? “ If a Sooder (such is the denomination of the lowest and most numerous  
 of the 4 casts) give much and frequent molestation to a Brahmin, the magistrate  
 shall instantly put him to death.—If a Sooder sits upon the carpet of a Brahmin, in  
 that case, the magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his buttock, shall banish him

the kingdom; or else, he shall cut off his buttock (Gentoo Code, p. 207.).” Was it a desire of promoting the welfare of society, or of rendering Brahmins of importance, that life was condemned by the Indian laws to be harrassed by a constant succession of minute superstitious observances? Is not this the perpetual burden of their odious song “there are now fresh ceremonies to be performed, and presents given to the Brahmins—(Sketches, p. 257).” Of the many similar systems of priest-craft, which History presents to our indignation, if no memorials relative to their fabrication had been preserved, their spirit would have betrayed their origin. Nor let the morality of the Hindoo system be adduced in praise or in excuse of the framers of its laws. The founder of every superstition has invariably attempted to ennoble that base material, by the addition of the best morality he could make or find.

I cannot but conjecture that Dr. Robertson, who does not often write from the fund of his own reflections, has followed the translator of the Gentoo code, pp. 54, 55, and 63. And, acute and ingenious as the writer of that preface most assuredly is, his remarks sometimes betray the weakness, to which translators are liable. He praises the Brahmins for moderation in resigning the executive power to another cast; but it is natural for a priesthood, to seek to invest itself in this manner with an air of greater sanctity.

It has been a very common practice with the priesthood to withdraw themselves from worldly affairs; just as according to Milton

“ Oft amidst  
 “ Thick clouds and dark, doth Heaven’s all-ruling Sire  
 “ Choose to reside, his glory unobscured,  
 “ And with the Majesty of darkness round  
 “ Covers his throne”——

Nor is there a shadow of moderation in this conduct, since they retain the power of censuring and even of deposing the civil magistrate.

“ Whatever order the Brahmins shall issue, conformably to the Shaster, the magistrate shall take his measures accordingly.” (Code, p. cxvii). Observe that the Brahmins are the depositaries and interpreters of the Shaster, that a Sooder is liable to a very severe punishment for reading or listening to the Beids; and to death, for getting them by heart. (p. 261—2). A Brahmin is polluted by eating with his Sovereign! Exemplary self-denial! that of the Chief Druid in his contest with Caractacus, is not more praise-worthy;——

“ Pam

“ I am a Priest, a servant of the Gods,  
 “ Thou art a King, a Sovereign o’er frail man,  
 “ Such Service is above such Sovereignty.”

The translator thinks, the penalties for theft committed by the Brahmin tribe leave them but a slender satisfaction in their exemption from capital punishment. But who does not perceive that such severities are an immediate consequence of their corporation spirit, which will always rage against crimes derogatory to the body? Mr. Halhed even believes that the exemption from capital punishment itself “ is really founded upon a *reverential regard to the sanctity of their function and character*, rather than upon the *unjust preference of self-interested partiality*.” I see not wherein the meaning of these two phrases differs.—The subject would supply many more observations; but these would be too many, if to expose wolves, whenever they appear in sheep’s cloathing, were not a duty more sacred than the functions of the Brahmins: if there were not danger, lest the false views, presented by a popular writer should spread or perpetuate pernicious prejudices. Dr. Robertson, having, as we have seen, passed his sentence of unmerited panegyric upon the general tenour of the Hindoo laws, and endeavoured to defend that particular provision, by which the son is devoted to the occupation of the father, proceeds to the application of his principle. “ The human mind bends to the law of necessity, and acquiesces in established institutions.” A most encouraging maxim for oppressors! Provided their vexations do not produce a general mortality or suicide, they may it seems, be continued without any great harm. But do the fetters of Indian policy impede the operations of the hands and of the understanding? and in proportion as they shackle industry, diminish happiness? This is the only question worth consideration. Let us hear how our historian goes on to illustrate it. “ An Indian knows the functions, to which he is destined by his birth, . . . ; from his earliest years, he is trained to the habit of doing with ease and pleasure that which he must continue to do through life. To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection, conspicuous in many of the Indian manufactures.” Now, in order to shew the imperfection of this account, it is necessary to observe, that beyond the mere necessity of procuring sustenance, men are impelled by two distinct general motives to employ themselves. One is the eager desire of fame or wealth: this motive is felt in commercial states; it is felt also powerfully by the philosopher as well as the merchant; and it adds to mere present occupation the animating ardour of hope. This only deserves the title of activity and exertion. The other motive is of a much more languid

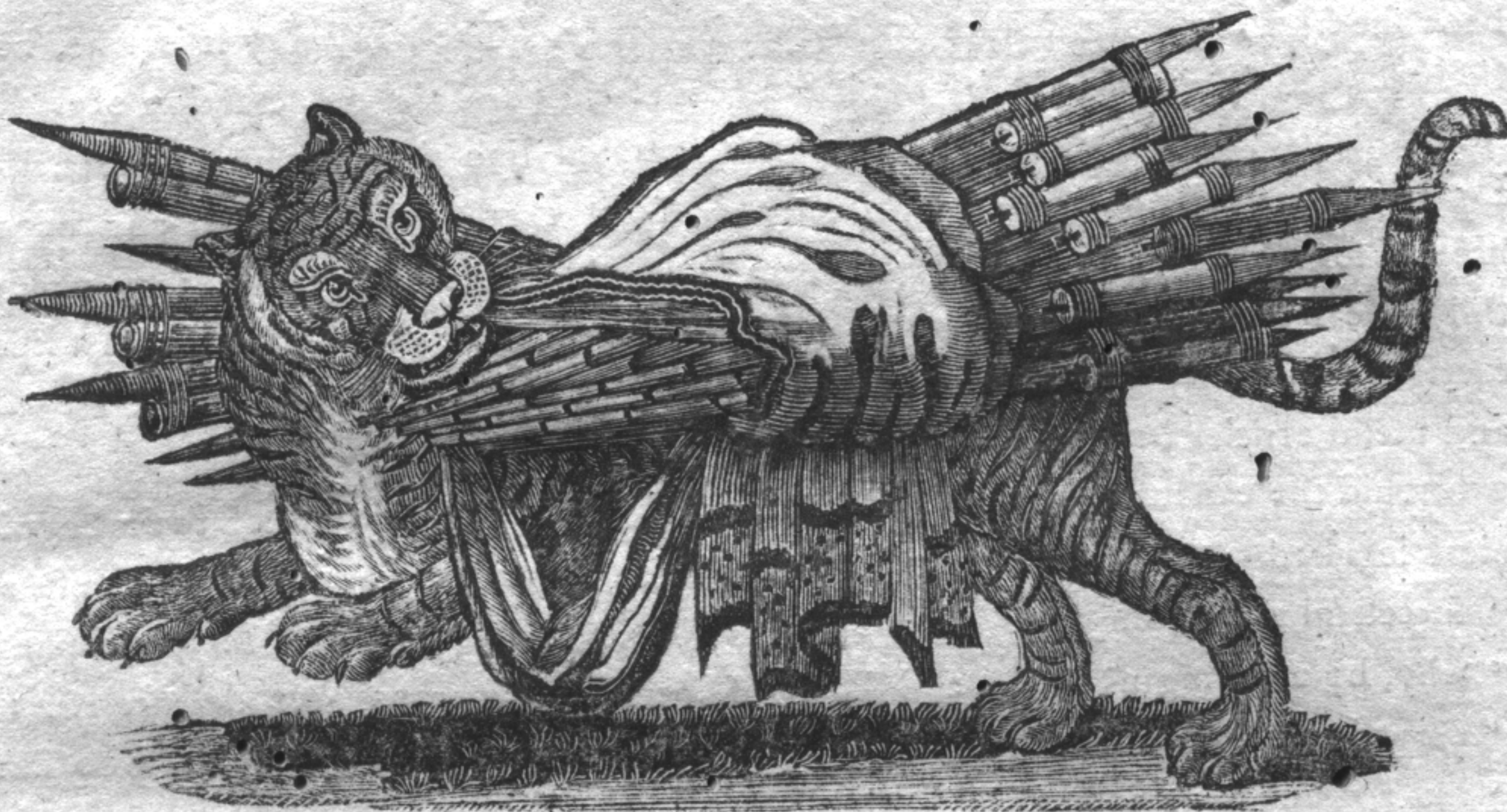
guid and sluggish complexion, and afforts very well with that lethargic indolence, which is supposed to characterize the Asiatic disposition. Those who are under its independant influence are conscious of none of those sensations, which the Italians design, when they say a pursuit is followed *con amore*. They look not beyond the present moment. They wish only to escape from the vacancy of their own minds. They employ themselves upon toys of nice and difficult execution. Almost every museum has to exhibit some device of useless curiosity, fabricated by the hand of the criminal or the captive. Nuns and monks, who properly rank under the denomination of prisoners, and who have no object of existence, nothing to do but *kill time*, excel in such devices and in the manufacture of frivolous ornaments. This *labor ineptiarum*, this sort of trifling dexterity, if favoured by circumstances, will naturally flourish most in countries where but a comparatively small portion of labour is necessary to secure subsistence. Here much leisure will be enjoyed, and the hands will be at liberty to execute the suggestions of the fancy. In such countries either a despot may erect sepulchral pyramids, that his corpse may enjoy the distinction of putrifying in slate, a fanatical people may be led to consecrate the most stupendous monuments to superstition, or individuals may apply themselves to the most exquisite works of the loom or the needle, taking but little note of the time they employ. The first known invaders of India found the natives in possession of their elegant arts; and among the Greeks and Romans, as Dr. Robertson has acutely observed, there could be no extensive demand for cotton cloths. The manufactures were not therefore originally, nor very early in any considerable degree, encouraged by external traffick: nor was there, perhaps, any great activity of internal barter.

This kind of elegant industry will arise, in certain situations, where these causes have little operation;—for I do not pretend to say that they never had any sort of influence in India—The islands in the Southern Hemisphere afford a remarkable example in point. Every person must have seen articles, conceived and executed with the utmost elegance, by the natives of those islands. Some of their female ornaments, to say nothing of their canoes, nets, cordage, would do honour to the taste of the most ingenious of our European Belles. We are frequently astonished at the labour bestowed by our forefathers on their carvings, and on the construction and decorations of their massive monkish piles. This is universal where there is an excess of manual power above the demands of necessary labour, during the period which precedes the activity of profitable commerce. The Indian manufactures, therefore, when we ascend to their ultimate cause, appear to have been

been the fruit of plenty, leisure and a sportive fancy. Their Industry it is true, has been limited in its objects by the institution of casts and the perpetuation of trades in families; and this restriction may have operated like the division of labour in conferring dexterity. But if the legislators had not exerted that wisdom and beneficence, for which the historian gives them so much unnecessary credit, they would still have fabricated delicate wares in equal abundance, and by virtue of a freer exertion of genius, their manufactures would have extended to a thousand elegant and useful articles besides.

Should the exhausted patience of afflicted millions at last demand of their braminical legislators; "why deprive us of those sensations, which the self-applause of successful genius inspires? why rob us of hope, the common patrimony of man? why, by arresting us in the childhood of society, deliver us over, defenceless, to an uninterrupted succession of oppressors, who had not even a Despot's, who had but a plunderer's interest in us?"

Dr. Robertson will perhaps kindly attempt to console them, by saying, that "the human mind bends to the law of necessity." I know not, if they would be more benefited by his attentions than a man about to be suspended at the gallows, or stretched upon the wheel. But I know that it is grateful to oppose writers, who are led, by whatever motives, to palliate the crimes of the most cruel enemies of mankind; and I feel it difficult altogether to repress the warmth which so great an interest inspires.



## III.

*Conjectures on explosive compositions.*

“IT will no doubt strike the reader with wonder, to find a prohibition of fire-  
 “arms in records of such unfathomable antiquity; and he will probably from  
 “hence renew the suspicion which has been deemed absurd, that Alexander the  
 “Great did absolutely meet with some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage  
 “in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China  
 “as well as in Hindostan, far beyond all periods of investigation.—The word fire-  
 “arms is literally in Sanscrit *Agnee-after*, a weapon of fire: they describe the first  
 “species of it to have been a kind of dart or arrow tipped with fire, and discharged  
 “upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of  
 “this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several  
 “darts or streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kind-  
 “led, could not be extinguished (b). But this kind of *Agnee-after* is now lost.—  
 “Cannon in the Sanscrit idiom is called *Shet Agnee*, or the weapon that kills an

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(b) “It seems exactly to agree with the *Feu Gregeois* of the Crusades.”

“ hundred men at once. . . . . The Pooran Shasters,” (the historical part of their scriptures) “ ascribe the invention of these destructive weapons to Bee-shookerma, who is related to have forged all the weapons for the war which was maintained in the Sutte Jogue between Dewta and Oosoor, or the good and bad spirits, for the space of one hundred years.” Such is the translator’s commentary upon a passage of the Gentoo code which prohibits war from being waged “ with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any other kind of fire-arms.

The circumstance in the history of the middle ages, which, as the translator justly observes, bears some resemblance to this passage, must, I should suppose, solicit the curiosity of every reader; though no writer will afford him any considerable gratification. Yet, by the application of modern science, the principal circumstances, relating to this curious invention, may perhaps be elucidated with some degree of precision, and all regret on account of our ignorance of the rest be dissipated. The authorities, which have been collected by the industry of Ducange, if criticized with minuteness, would furnish a treatise of some bulk: The following observations are all that seem to me to be essential, and, all of course that can be properly introduced into a popular essay.

The liquid, inextinguishable, maritime, Greek fire is said to have delayed the fate of the Greek empire; and from the latter end of the seventh to the middle of the fourteenth century, great effects are ascribed to it by the writers, who have recorded the transactions of those dark and calamitous ages.

We cannot however reasonably expect genuine information from any quarter. The Byzantine receipts are justly suspected of deliberate falsehood. The Greeks had a very strong interest in preserving the secret, and this interest was strengthened by superstitious motives. In the relation of the most obvious phenomena, by terrified spectators, circumstances are introduced which cannot possibly be admitted as matters of fact. These and other such considerations afford a strong inducement to prefer the probabilities arising from our present knowledge of chemistry to the testimony of fear and interest, of which the former inevitably would be confused and exaggerated, while the latter was partial and calculated to mislead.

From the concurrence of the witnesses, which so far there is nothing to invalidate, we may conclude, that it could burn without the access of atmospheric air and was occasionally explosive, and that it had a power of motion within itself. It is said to have traversed the air with the report of thunder, and is sometimes compared to a

whirlwind on account of its violence. Oil, bitumens, wax, pitch entered into its composition. But no combination of mere inflammable materials can possibly produce effects, nearly resembling the pieces in some of our artificial fire-works, and which amount, as I imagine, to an hissing noise, with occasional explosions and reports. But though sand, vinegar and other saline liquids would extinguish it, it is related to have burned under water. Here utter ignorance renders me sceptical, or else I must impute to the ancients the want of power to observe the most evident phenomena; and indeed persons unacquainted as they were with natural philosophy, even so much as in our time, has imperceptibly made its way even to those who never professedly paid any attention to it, will always be found incompetent reporters of such phenomena. I shall therefore embrace that alternative which is most flattering to my vanity, and believe in opposition to testimony, that, all circumstances being alike, the Greek fire would no more burn under water, than under vinegar or sand. The error in the observation may, I think, be accounted for. From the oiliness of its composition one may infer, that it was at once lighter than water and immixable with that liquid. It was very much used in sea engagements. It is therefore obvious to suppose that it might have floated and continued to burn for a time on the surface of so dense a medium. As to any particular contrivance for enabling it to burn under water, such as we see in water-rockets, I conceive this to be entirely out of the question.

One may therefore venture confidently to assert that, besides oils and resins, mentioned by Anna Comena and other writers, the Greek fire must have contained nitre, or some equivalent ingredient. I am much inclined to suppose that the whole secret consisted in the admixture of this material. We know from the Roman history that the Alchemists had been extremely busy long before this period. They perhaps had become acquainted with this remarkable substance, and with some of its effects in mixture. I find no indication of the time or the manner, in which nitre became an article of commerce or of experiment: whether it was first imported from the East, or discovered within the precincts of the Roman world.

Calliureus, according to one historian, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, and according to another, in Heliopolis in Egypt, is said to have taught the Greeks how to compound and manage this species of fire-arms. It is however utterly incredible that one man should both have discovered the composition and conceived the application. So many combinations exceed the powers of any single mind, how-

ever

ever stimulated. Where our information is both so scanty and inconsistent, it is surely allowable to hazard a conjecture. It may be supposed that the rapid progress of the Arabian arms, sharpened the ingenuity of the Greeks; and that in the urgency of need, a lucky thought drew forth this compound from the caverns of Alchemy, where it had perhaps long been known as exhibiting a spectacle to idle admiration. It is possible that, during this eventful period, when the most distant things and persons were thrown into collision, the natives of Constantinople might acquire abundant supplies of nitre, or become acquainted with the Indian mixtures of nitre and combustibles. When Amrou had added Egypt to the provinces of the Caliph Omar, the commerce between Europe and India was obliged to seek a different channel. The silks of China were transported by a tedious journey of 100 days to the Oxus, and after traversing the Caspian sea, ascended the river Cyrus. From the Cyrus the cargo was conveyed to the Phasis, and then along the Euxine, by Constantinople. The wares of India were also conveyed over land to the Oxus or the Caspian. One may suspect that the merchants, having their attention awakened to these objects, would eagerly convey to their trembling countrymen, any new means of defence. In the interval that took place between the conquest of Egypt and the two sieges of Constantinople, it is probable that several inhabitants of the latter city must have traversed the interior parts of Asia for the sake of exploring or arranging the new route. But it would be imprudent to lay any stress upon a conjecture that has no other foundation than possibility arising from the commercial relations between such remote countries.

The existence of rockets and fire-works in India long before Alexander, seems perfectly well established; and yet that neither he nor Megasthenes, who penetrated so much further eastward, should have introduced so striking an invention into Europe. Had the younger Porus known that the Western world was unacquainted with phenomena, which are amusing, when no longer new, and so much astonish those who behold them for the first time, he would have thought a bundle of sky-rockets the most acceptable present he could have offered to Augustus. It is remarkable that the vanity of the ambassadors did not impart to the Romans some idea of this wonder of India.

Upon the whole, I consider it as probable, that the Greek fire was an invention originally due to the Grecian Alchemists: and as certain, since it burned independently of the atmosphere, that it contained oxygene, or that substance which in the state of an elastic fluid, has been called *dephlogisticated air*. Competent judges will,

I think, admit this principle must have been supplied by nitre. For what equivalent substance was so likely to be known? Or, shall we give them credit for having possessed some salt or calx, with which we are unacquainted?

Thus the invention of gunpowder is reduced to the common law of human discoveries, which are always progressive, and generally slowly progressive. It is not extraordinary that between the end of the seventh and the middle of the fourteenth century nitre, if frequently compounded with other inflammable substances, should at last be mixed in such proportions with sulphur and charcoal as to be capable of exploding suddenly; nor that an accident in the fiery workshops of the Alchemists, should produce the explosion. Then the Greek fire retreated before a superior engine of destruction, and the receipt for its composition, being refused, was at length lost. The invention of gunpowder, whatever is its precise date, was not long posterior to the last crusade, when the Greek fire was in the hands of the Saracens, and its effects proved so terrible to the senses, or the imagination, of those Western Barbarians, who invaded the Holy Land, as that barren and rocky district of Syria is called. After this period, it obtains but little, if any, notice from history.

#### IV.

##### *Antiquity of the Hindoos.*

THE Hindoos, Chinese and Tartars lay claim to an antiquity, which equally surprises and scandalizes the followers of the Jewish mythology. By a very natural, but pernicious error, all these nations ascribe to their remote ancestors long life, uninterrupted happiness, and unsullied innocence. According to the fabulous doctrine of Hindostan, the Principle of truth, or sole omnipotent God, produced a being called Burmha for the creation of all beings. He had, first, himself formed the earth, heavens, water, fire and air. Then Burmha, the agent of Supreme Power, created the Brahmin(c), from his mouth—the Chehterce, or magistrate and soldier, from his arms,—the Bice, or merchant and husbandman, from his belly,—

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(c) All Priests are Brahmins, but all Brahmins are not Priests. The Brahmin Cast, being allowed to marry, multiplied beyond the demands of their superstition, however encumbered with ceremonies.

and the Sooder, or servile cast, from his feet. For some time after the creation of the world, there was neither magistrate nor punishment; and no man was guilty of injustice or oppression, or of any other crime. The successive degeneration of mankind took place, as follows:

The Suttee Jogue, or pure age, lasted - - - 3,200,000 years.

Human life - - - - - 100,000

Human stature was - - - - - 21 cubits

The Tirtah Jogue, when  $\frac{2}{3}$  of men were depraved - 2,400,000

Human life - - - - - 10,000

The Dwapaar Jogue, when  $\frac{1}{2}$  of men were depraved 1,600,000

Human life - - - - - 1,000

The Collee Jogue, when all men are lessened, will last 400,000

Human life does not exceed - - - - - 100

At the expiration of the Collee Jogue, another Suttee Jogue is to commence and so on—

Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo:

O—Redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna—

The happiest, surely, and most philosophical turn, ever given to a fable of this sort! For, it should be observed that retribution is not forgotten, though Burmha has not been so inexorable, as to damn sinners everlastingly.

According to the Chinese 130 millions of years elapsed before the first dynasty, I neglect some fractions, which do not affect the sum total, more than so many miles do the distance between the earth and the sun.

Tien-hoam-ti (august family of Heaven) reigned - 1,800,000 years

Ti-hoam-chi (august family of earth) - - - 1,800,000 also

Yu or Tigu, the founder of the first dynasty, reigned 2198 years before our æra. One day as his mother was walking out, she was struck by a star and became pregnant. Prodigies always attend the birth or conception of all the remarkable Chinese characters; but this sort of credulity by no means distinguishes this people from the rest of the world. To disseminate the knowledge of their traditions may, however, have a very happy moral effect, if Chinese, Hindoos and Europeans, by comparing their several mythologies, should trace them to their common parent, the human imagination, or if they should respectfully allow each other to cherish their several creeds undisturbed by the rage of persecution, or the ambition of proselytism, a species of humanity which indeed, the Asiatics both profess and practice.

Dr. Pallas,

Dr. Pallas, whose observations take in a wider range of physical and moral objects than those of perhaps any other traveller, and whose travels it is a reproach to our language not to possess, gives a curious account of the mythology and religious ceremonies of the Calmuck Tartars. These Tartars acknowledge the supremacy of the Dulai Lama. According to their doctrine, there originally existed a space, or chaos extending in breadth and depth 6,116,000 of their miles. In this space clouds of the colour of gold collected, and discharged rain enough to form a boundless ocean. There arose, by degrees, upon this sea, a scum, like cream upon milk; out of which men and all living creatures, as also their inferior divinities were produced. Then storms burst from ten quarters of the sky over the sea, by which there was formed a pillar in the firmament above, that descended below the bottom of the primitive sea. They estimate the circumference of the pillar at several thousand miles. All the inhabited worlds, as also the sun revolve round this pillar . . . . . which has 4 sides, one of the colour of silver, another azure blue, a third of gold, and a fourth of a dark red. When the silver side is illuminated, we have day-break, when the blue, it is towards mid-day, when the golden, it is high noon, when the sun moves towards the dark-red side, we have the red evening sky, till at last it disappears behind this pillar, and then night comes on.

Immediately after the origin of our world, men lived to be 80,000 years old. They were full of righteousness, nourished with invisible gifts of grace, and had the wonderful talent of ascending up into heaven. In this age the metempsychosis was general; at present it is a privilege confined to the priests and the aristocracy. The thousand Burchans, or saints adored by the Kalmuchs, ascended to heaven during this age.

An unhappy period followed. The earth brought forth a certain herb, that had the taste of honey: and there came a gluttonous man, and tasted of this herb, and made it known to others. Hence all their ancient sanctity and the power of rising up to heaven disappeared from among men: the duration of life began to shorten, and their gigantic size to diminish . . . . .

After men had long fed upon this plant, it began to fail; then they took to a sort of butter of the earth; and then of a kind of flag; which at last also disappeared, and now all the virtues took their departure from the earth, and all manner of crimes were introduced. They began to cultivate the ground; and set over them the most prudent to divide the land and other goods, and at last became Chan.

During this long period of degradation, many of their Burchans have appeared upon

upon the earth, in order to mend mankind; their kind intentions were however of small avail. The obstinate race gradually became more and more wicked and short-lived: When the span was contracted to 100 years, *Shadshimmuni*, the last and greatest Burchan and founder of the present religion of the Lama, came down from heaven, and preached to sixty-one nations. Unfortunately each nation heard the doctrine with different organs and understood it in a different sense: Hence the variety of religions and languages.

I pass over their doctrine of a future state, of the Devil who is an extremely respectable personage, and of the privileges enjoyed by the souls of the priests over those of the laity. But I think it worth while to translate Dr. Pallas's account of their sabbatical institution.

"The Kalmucks celebrate three days every month, the 8th, 15th, and 30th, after the full moon. No devout Kalmuck eats any thing either of these three days, except milk and preparations of milk. They spend most of the day at the tent of their priest, whither they are summoned in the morning by drums and trumpets. The principal only and the learned enter the tent. The undistinguished multitude sits on the outside; the men and women drop a bead from their rosary, every time they pronounce certain six words with their eyes closed and repeat to themselves another short formula, which they have got by rote without understanding it. The priests perform their part in a very obstreperous manner. They besides hoist strips of cotton upon tall poles. On the strips are inscribed prayers in the Tangut language: it is their opinion that the fluttering of these prayers in the wind, is just as efficacious as the repetition of them would be" (*Pallas Reise*, I. 334. &c.).

It is remarkable that they have a spiritual language, not understood by the common people, as every priesthood has had, or would desire to have.

The comparison of these and other systems of mythology affords one general reflection. Their resemblance shews them to have been derived from that vanity, and those hopes, fears, and moral sentiments, which are common to all mankind; while their differences warrant us in concluding that they were not copied from one another. Reservoirs, hidden within the bowels of the earth, supply alike in every region of the globe, sources of fresh water to the necessities of man, though each particular water may receive a slight impregnation from the minerals with which it has come in contact: In like manner the imagination universally supplies fables to assuage the thirst of credulity. The happiness of our progenitors, of which these fables present so romantic an idea, charms our present wretchedness, as poverty

and

and neglect sustain themselves by looking back upon the splendor of an illustrious ancestor: we easily learn to derive a better consolation from the time to come than the past, by opposing to the disquieting consciousness of a frail and perishable existence here, the prospect of an immortal futurity. But in both these pictures though the outlines be similar, a difference of colouring will arise from a difference of climate, of surrounding objects, of accidents that have occurred to different tribes.

If we enquire for a moment concerning the subjects of the sacred writings of these ancient nations, we shall find them to be very miscellaneous: besides fables, they consist of laws, precepts, chronicles, and poetry or prophecy. Where there was a regular priesthood, as among the Hindoos, Chinese, Tartars, Egyptians and Jews, who exercised so horrible a tyranny over opinion, and in order to maintain their authority, guarded what knowledge they possessed with all the vigilance of jealousy, that sentiment of reverence, which the term *sacred* expresses, would attach itself to literature and science of every species. The first imperfect opinions concerning natural appearances, which are never true, and frequently directly opposite to the truth, would be sanctioned. Succeeding priests would neither dare nor desire to correct them. The mind would remain in eternal infancy; all accumulation of national as well as individual power would cease, for collective can only be the sum of single ability; and the state would be perpetually liable to all those dreadful evils, which hang over political imbecillity. The great reason why the genius of Greece soared so high and so rapidly was the absence of controul over thought; and the same cause must have essentially contributed to the vigour of Rome. Exactly in proportion to the existence of such controul, exactly in that proportion will man fall short of his capability, and fail to fulfil his high destination.

There is no occasion to refute these fables in any other way than to shew the strong tendency of the imagination to fabricate them. Nor indeed have we any other means of refuting them, unless we choose to oppose other fables to them. Nevertheless, the claim of the Hindoos to a very remote, though indefinite antiquity, remain unimpeached. In the first place, the system of subterranean Nature, which is beginning to be understood, and which exhibits, as well as the system of the heavens, an arrangement highly worthy of admiration, proves the earth to have existed for millions of years, perhaps of ages. For I cannot scruple to apply a rule, similar to one of Newton's rules for philosophising, to this subject and to take it for granted that the same causes operate in the same manner and in the same time now, as they ever did. Secondly, nothing in art opposes this result from nature. It has indeed  
been

been pretended that the small progress of mankind in arts and sciences argues the recent origin of the species. But where is the certain or even probable standard of this progress? How is it shewn that we must advance so far in such a time? It will cost us a considerable effort of abstraction to conceive the extreme slowness of the first steps. Some writers endeavour to escape from the insuperable objection to the system of a recent origin, which arises from the difficult formation of language, by the contrivance which clumsy poets employ to bring an ill-constructed plot to a conclusion; as if it were not a more worthy supposition to conceive that his Creator endowed man with a capacity to invent the means of conveying his thoughts by sounds, and as if language did not bear certain signs of its human origin and gradual advancement. But was man taught to write as well as to speak? If even the hardness of orthodoxy will not maintain this assertion, what period shall we allow for an attainment which the most civilized states in America had not reached?

The enquiries of the moderns have produced a particular proof of the great antiquity of Indian science; and this proof is of the most precise and determinate nature. It appears from the researches of the celebrated philosophical patriot, Mr. Baillý, that, 4894 years ago, the Hindoo astronomers had attained a degree of perfection in calculation, at which the European philosophers have but just arrived. The strictest scrutiny has served but to confirm the pretensions of the tables to this antiquity. There exists no reason to suppose that these tables could have been forged at any recent period, or at any period posterior to their date. Science has so much declined among the Brahmins in consequence of the evils attending foreign dominion, that they now are only able to use the tables empirically, and without understanding the principles on which they are constructed: and so perfect is their accuracy, that only the modern European astronomers would be equal to their fabrication(d).—How many thousands or tens of thousands of years will the reader allow a native of Christmas Sound, or even of Otaheite to make such an advance in science? He must either suppose the Hindoos to have been inspired astronomers, or else he must allow them time to invent language and letters, to make astronomical observations, cultivate the science of quantity, and combine the two

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(d) How does this proficiency in a laborious science agree with the indolence supposed to be natural to an hot Climate?

latter materials into this perfect astronomical edifice. Then let him add the period he may choose to assign for these purposes to almost 5000 years.

It deserves to be remarked that Mr. Bailly, having compared the Hindoo with the Tartar, Persian, and Greek systems, has found that the one could not be copied from the other. This independence of their science would afford a very strong presumption of the independence of their mythology, even if Sir W. Jones had offered any tolerable evidence of his hypothesis of the derivation of the Gods of Greece from the Gods of India.

Dr. Robertson speaks at large of the "early and high civilization" of the natives of India; and the writer of the preface to the Gentoo Code says "It is certain that these two nations (the Hindoos and Chinese) have been acquainted with letters from the *very earliest* period." These phrases are used with relation to other states, whose merchants from the first dawn of Western History are found importing the natural and artificial productions of India. All the observations, to which either commerce or conquest gave occasion, tend to confirm the pretensions of the Hindoos themselves. A society thoroughly regulated, the institution of casts, the minuteness of the provisions of their laws, which could only have arisen from long experience and multiplied relations, their public works, and their literature, have extorted from the historian whom I have so often quoted, this confession, "What now is in India, always was there;" an exaggeration undoubtedly, but at the same time one that is abundantly expressive. All these considerations afford as strong evidence as can be desired, and more precise than could be expected of the great antiquity of the Hindoos, and of the human race in general. We may be sure that the period, preceding monuments, must very far exceed the time that has elapsed since. The infancy of the species would very much surpass in proportional duration the infancy of the individual. And how distant is even yet the maturity of any part of the species?

It has been remarked that the number of Gentoo converts to Christianity has been too trifling to be noticed; and that the few proselytes have been almost universally *outcasts*, Chandalas, Parias, or men expelled from one of the 4 casts and held in a degree of contempt, of which nothing but the deadly animosity of rival sects in Europe can suggest to us an adequate conception. If missionaries and their employers had been capable of a short process of liberal reasoning, they must have anticipated the disappointment of their endeavours. In traditions of an age of innocence, of a fall, of incarnate deities, of a divine founder of their system, in the doctrine

doctrine of future retribution, in metaphysical dogmas, in pure maxims of morality, they already possess all that can be offered them. Pride, faith, and reason conspire to rear round their creed a Rampart impregnable to the attacks of a rival religion. Nor is there any appearance that the flower operations of philosophy will speedily undermine its authority, and the despotism of the Brahmins of India, the ultimate cause of all the calamities of a country so favoured by Nature.

The following quotations will furnish an idea of the Hindoo-doctrines, relative to the Deity, to piety and morality. They may be agreeable, and they may be useful as a lesson of diffidence and moderation to many readers. I know of nothing that would so much contribute to soften the hard heart of blind credulity, and to diffuse peace and good will among mankind, as a work which should exhibit an impartial comparison of the religious dogmas and morality of different nations; and we have lately acquired some precious materials for such a work.

The Supreme Being says: " I am the creator of all things, and all things proceed from me. Those who are endued with spiritual wisdom know this, and worship me."

" I am the soul, which is in the bodies of all things. I am the beginning and the end. I am time; I am all-grasping death; and I am the resurrection. I am the seed of all things in nature, and there is not any thing animate or inanimate without me."

" I am the mystic figure Oom, the Reek, the Sam, and the Yayoor Veds. I am the witness, the comforter, the asylum, the friend. I am generation, and dissolution: in me all things are repositied."

" The whole universe was spread abroad by me."

" The foolish are unacquainted with my supreme and divine nature. They are of vain hope, of vain endeavours, and void of reason; whilst those of true wisdom serve me in their hearts, undiverted by other gods."

" Those who worship other gods, worship me. I am in the sacrifice, in the spices, in the invocation, in the fire, and in the victim."

It is said to the Supreme Being: " Thou art the prime Creator—Eternal God! Thou art the Supreme! By thee the universe was spread abroad! Thou art Vayoo, the god of the winds; Agnee, the god of fire; Varoon, the god of the ocean, &c."

" Reverence be unto thee; again and again reverence, O thou, who art all in all! Great is thy power, and great thy glory! Thou art the father of all things;

“ wherefore I bow down, and with my body prostrate on the ground, crave thy  
 “ mercy. Lord, worthy to be adored! bear with me as a father with a son; a  
 “ friend with a friend; a lover with the beloved.”

Of piety the Deity says: “ They who delighting in the welfare of all nature,  
 “ serve me in my incorruptible, ineffable, and invisible form; omnipotent, incom-  
 “ prehensible, standing on high, fixed, and immoveable, with subdued passions, and  
 “ who are the same in all things, shall come unto me.

“ Those whose minds are attached to my invisible nature, have the greater la-  
 “ bour, because an invisible path is difficult to corporeal beings. Place thy heart  
 “ on me, and penetrate me with thy understanding, and thou shalt hereafter enter  
 “ unto me. But if thou shouldst be unable at once steadfastly to fix thy mind on  
 “ me, endeavour to find me by means of constant practice.

“ He, say servant, is dear to me, who is free from enmity; merciful, and exempt  
 “ from pride and selfishness; who is the same in pain and in pleasure; patient of  
 “ wrongs; contented; and whose mind is fixed on me alone.

“ He is my beloved, of whom mankind is not afraid, and who is not afraid of  
 “ mankind; who is unsolicitous about events; to whom praise and blame are as  
 “ one; who is of little speech; who is pleased with whatever cometh to pass; who  
 “ has no particular home, and is of a steady mind.”

Of good works, he says: “ Both the desertion and practice of works, are the  
 “ means of happiness. But of the two, the practice is to be distinguished above  
 “ the desertion.

“ The man, who, performing the duties of life, and quitting all interest in them,  
 “ placeth them upon Brahm, the supreme, is not tainted with sin, but remaineth  
 “ like the leaf of the lotus unaffected by the waters.

“ Let not the motive be in the event: be not one of those, whose motive for  
 “ action is in the hope of reward.

“ Let not thy life be spent in inaction: perform thy duty, and abandon all  
 “ thoughts of the consequence. The miserable and unhappy are so about the  
 “ event of things; but men, who are endued with true wisdom, are unmindful  
 “ of them.”

Of benevolent maxims this may serve as a specimen: “ Hospitality is command-  
 “ ed to be exercised even towards an enemy, when he cometh into thine house:  
 “ the tree doth not withdraw its shade even from the wood-cutter.

“ Good men extend their charity unto the vilest animals. The moon doth not withhold her light even from the cottage of the Chandala.

“ Is this one of us or is he a stranger?—Such is the reasoning of the ungenerous: but to those, by whom liberality is practised, the whole world is but as one family.”

Taken from the Baghvat-Geeta, an episode in an ancient Epic Poem, called *Mahabarat*; See Mr. Wilkins's translation of this episode: it is highly worthy of curiosity.

## V.

*On the complexion of the natives of hot countries, and the varieties of the human race.*

IT is said either by Arrian or Strabo, that the Indians are the blackest of all men, except the Ethiopians. And, from other expressions of the former writer, we may collect that the ancients had made this observation upon the natives of Sindy, as well as upon those of the more easterly districts of Hindostan.

The question concerning the varieties of mankind has seldom been approached without prejudice. It has generally been treated as subordinate to another question, which was already decided in a different manner in the minds of the disputants, who had therefore no other view than to obtain some confirmation of their pre-conceived opinions.

If it be considered purely and simply as a point of Natural History, we shall perhaps find ourselves enabled, by the modern progress of science to add something to former analogies and probabilities: but we shall fall so far short of cogent proof, that those whose views are not limited to the decision of this one question, may continue to accumulate words, on which ever side they shall judge most convenient.

Much depends on the ideas, of which the term *species* is made the sign. If those animals be said to belong to the same species, of which the progeny is fertile, experience has decided this once in favour of orthodoxy. But this definition is little better than an assumption of the disputed point: nor will Natural History ever instruct us, whether in hating, oppressing or butchering the inhabitants of another zone or hemisphere, the sin is committed against aliens or kindred. Though a colony of Negroes had been transported to Circassia, and a number of Circassians had

had been brought to occupy the place they had left, and though it had been found after a thousand generations, that a reciprocal change had taken place, this would prove nothing in favour of a common origin, but to those who had previously yielded to authority. Others might say; "It is true; man is every where the same, allowing for circumstances, but as we must judge of the past from the present, and suppose that he was always equally exposed to the power of accident, it would be necessary to plant many individuals of so tender a species, lest it should have become extinct before it had borne fruit; besides, if the earth was to be replenished, why choose precisely the most tedious method of effecting this purpose?" To considerations such as these, it might be answered that the guardian care of him who produced, could protect, his helpless creatures; and that an almighty arm could conduct them either over extensive oceans, or by way of those islands which are placed like so many stepping stones between the old and the new continents; and that the plan of unerring wisdom could never have been to people the earth as soon as possible, otherwise it would have been accomplished by the first effort of creative power. To this the objector might oppose a reply equally vague and inconclusive with the answer.

The naturalist, meanwhile discovers few direct probabilities on either side. Observation has certainly not ascertained any adequate power in climate to convert the varieties mutually; but if we consider how much more slowly the generations of men succeed each other than those of most other animals, we may reasonably suspect time to have been wanting to effect any considerable change, even if our nature were equally plastic. As to any instances of change, for certain changes are mentioned, it is either so slight and superficial, or the circumstances are so ambiguous, that no person accustomed accurately to compare conclusions with facts, can draw any inference from them.

The Hindoo offers to the physiologist a much more simple problem than the African. The former is but a discoloured European; and those naturalists who have attempted to reduce the human race to a few varieties, place them together<sup>(e)</sup>. The Negro has many different external characters besides the colour; and his internal differences, as we shall soon see, are perhaps more important than the external.

The colour of the Hindoo seems simply to depend on the heat and light of the climate. This appears not only, (as I have been informed by persons that have re-

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(e) As Blumenback de generis humani varietate nativa. Ed. 2nda. Goetting. 1781.

fixed in India) from the comparison of those who are carefully secluded from the direct rays of the sun with others; but a very probable cause may be assigned for the phenomenon. It has long been known that heat and light have separately and jointly the power of causing an extrication of elastic fluids from many different bodies. There are no experiments more curious in themselves or more important in their consequences, than those by which the effect of light in slowly disengaging oxygen air from vegetables has been discovered. Light has the same effect on other substances; it turns the combination of nitrous acid and silver black by disengaging oxygen air; and we need not wonder that an alteration of the composition of any body should change the relation of its particles to the particles of light, and consequently alter its colour.

These considerations led me to conjecture that the black complexion of certain races of men is owing to the discharge of the elastic fluid abovementioned, an operation I suppose owing to the power of the Sun in the countries they inhabit. I have sought for an opportunity of trying this conjecture by its proper test, but in some situations it is not easy to procure a Negro, who will submit to become the subject of experiment; and I have not succeeded to my wish. Something however I have attempted; and I relate it here that others more favourably situated may confirm or correct my opinion.

I put a lock of Negro's hair recently cut from his head, into a bottle full of oxygenated marine acid air, a substance which is well known to natural philosophers to have the power of discharging a great variety of colours. The hair in a short time became white with scarce any tinge of yellow.

At another time I prevailed upon a Negro to introduce his arm into a large jar full of the same elastic fluid, at the bottom of which there lay a small quantity of water impregnated with it. The back of the fore finger and part of the second lay in this water. Knowing the prodigious efficacy of this air, I desired the man to withdraw his arm as soon as he should be sensible of any pain. The skin was broken in several parts; and in about 12 minutes he complained that the fore places smarted. The arm being now withdrawn and examined, there appeared over its whole surface something of a greyish cast, like the colour of ointment of quicksilver. But the two fingers, where they had lain in the water, were remarkably changed. They had acquired very much the colour of white lead paint, but they did not retain this colour for many days. Some inflammation ensued, but it soon abated. It was however sufficiently evident that this would not have been the

safe, if the skin had been entire before the experiment: The man did not choose to risque any more pain.

If such experiments were to be repeated, it might be prudent to give the impregnated water a full trial, before the air is employed, which should be done with the utmost caution; and perhaps the water, from its action on the epidermis, will be more efficacious.

These experiments proceed upon this supposition; if the Negro's complexion be black, because the *rete mucosum* has too small a proportion of oxygen, it may be whitened by combining with it an additional quantity of this principle. It remains to be decided 1. how far this is true, and 2. whether if the skin can be bleached, whether it will retain the oxygen or continue in the habit of discharging it. It is not so obvious to make the converse of this experiment, but a careful consideration of the resources of chemistry would, I believe, furnish the European with the means of turning his skin black; and we know that by keeping the light excluded, it may be rendered more delicately white. It is possible that a prosecution of these ideas might found the *cosmetic art* upon fixed principles. In the mean time I may recall an analogous fact to the reader's memory. There are some animals, born black or dark-coloured, which after-wards, when they come to be covered with close hair, acquire a skin of the most delicate whiteness. Could an infant Negro be prevented from changing colour by any application to his skin?—May the extricated oxygen contribute to the foetor of the Negro's perspiration, as phosphorus, sulphur and other acidifiable bases acquire a strong smell from a certain proportion of oxygen?

By applying oxygenated muriatic gas to his skin, without much care or precaution, the European will find it to be turned yellower. This seems to be the effect of oxygen applied to most animal substances in large quantities; nitrous acid produces a deep yellow upon the skin and blood; (when mixed with blood, the taste also becomes intensely bitter; a fact which perhaps may afford some illustration of the biliary secretion.) It is no wonder that it should produce discolouration either in excess or defect.

CAMPER, who united taste and philosophy to nice anatomical skill, observes that the great painters have delineated black European men instead of negroes. Several anatomists on the continent, have bestowed much attention on the differences between the African and European. Dr. Soemmerring, one of the most accurate, has dissected a great number of Negroes; his observations have been extended even to the Fetus, and both in the hard and soft parts, he has pointed out many important distinctions.

distinctions. The angle, formed by a line drawn from the projection of the frontal bone above the nose, to the most projecting part of the upper jaw-bone, (Bonn expresses it, *a fronte ad nasi mucronem, aut ad commissuram labiorum*;) and another line, drawn through the meatus auditorius externus to the bottom of the nose, (*fundus nasi*) is much less in the Negro Skeleton, viz as  $70^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$ ;—in the antient ideal heads it is  $100^{\circ}$ ; and this is Campers test of beauty. The heads must be viewed in profile. There is less room for brain, not only on account of the truncation of the forehead, but also of the hind-head, and the compression of the sides, the parietal bones being smaller.—In the Asiatic, the cavity of the Cranium is still larger than in the European.—In and about the Eye, there are several little circumstances, in which the negro approaches more to the ape-kind: the choroid coat is covered with a darker and tougher mucus; the retina is firmer; the nose flatt, even in the fetus; yet the nostrils being broader, receive more odoriferous particles, and as they come almost over the mouth, this conformation indicates a closer connection between the organs of smell and taste. The ethmoidal bone is so constructed, as to afford the olfactory nerve greater expansion.—The bony compages, destined for the mastication of food, as well as for the protection of the organs of sense, is more firmly put together, and each separate bone is stronger. The temporal muscle makes a deeper impression on the side of the skull, and reaches higher up towards the sagittal suture. “The orbits,” says Bonn, speaking of a negro, “lie in the same vertical plane, *quod simiis proprium*.” The well known protuberance of the jaws, is the most obvious, and perhaps the most essential character of the negro’s head. Dr. Soemmerring was struck in three instances, by the strength of the lower jaw-bone, and by the smallness of its angle, which is occasioned by the breadth of that part; to which the prodigiously powerful masseter muscle is attached; “*fere ut in simus*” says he; yet he adds, that in a negro skeleton belonging to Dr. Blumenbach, the angle is  $130^{\circ}$ , i. e. about the usual size.—The nerves of smell and sight, as also the fifth pair, seemed to Dr. S. exceedingly large.—*Man* he moreover observes, has not (as so often supposed) the largest brain, in proportion to the weight of his body; birds, apes, and some small quadrupeds much exceed him; but in proportion to the size of his nerves, he has the largest brain. He adds, that probably, only a small portion of brain is necessary to maintain the animal functions; consequently, where there is most excess above this necessary quantity, there will be most intellectual power; thus suppose the optic nerve in any animal to contain six hundred fibres, and in another animal of half the size, three hundred equal fibres; let

the brain in the larger, weigh seven, and in the smaller five ounces; now reckon one ounce of brain to every hundred fibres, and the smaller animal will have twice as much superfluous brain to retain and combine ideas. The anatomist observes, that in this point of view, the negro's brain is smaller than that of the European. None of the negro subjects exhibited the smallest vestige of the Os intermaxillare, a bone occurring in all animals, man excepted.

I extract these particulars, solely for the sake of the curious and the speculative. I hope it is unnecessary to protest against all attempts to wrest them to a palliation of that criminal commerce, which is as disgraceful to a nation, as robbery and murder to an individual. At the time I am writing, it has been sentenced to abolition by one branch of our legislature; and another will not surely refuse to an innocent and oppressed people, that justice, which it is accustomed so impartially to administer in the last resort, to the natives of Great Britain. At all events, whatever differences of conformation, moral and physical causes may have given rise, they can never repeal the great law of sympathy, nor confer upon us the right of doing, that which we should be unwilling under the same circumstances to suffer.

## VI.

### *On the possessions of the British in Hindostan.*

THE very phrase "OUR FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN THE EAST," by appealing at once to our pride and avarice, prejudices a question which involves too great an interest both at home and abroad to be slightly dismissed. The influence of false analogy, which has misled mankind in every age and on every subject, is also clearly discernible here. We are ready to imagine that Bahar, Bengal, and Orissa are to the Nation at large, what an estate, situated in a distant county, is to an individual. It would be much nearer the truth, if we were to consider ourselves as mere nominal proprietors of an estate, which yields no rent, but of which we are obliged to keep the buildings and fences in repair.

These possessions undoubtedly enable ministers to enlist more recruits under the banners of Corruption; and they have enriched a number of private adventurers. These questionable advantages are all that seem to belong to the favourable side of the

the account. If we reckon up the disadvantages, we shall find them to press sensibly upon this country; already we shall see reason to apprehend a perpetually increasing burden; and upon India we shall find them weighing with a load that bears down present happiness and virtue; and together with indigenous oppression, totally crushing those powers, which his Maker implanted in Man, in order that he might gradually exalt himself towards the perfection of Superior Natures.

I. The commerce and manufactures of this country are not benefited by these possessions. This truth has been so amply demonstrated in general by the modern political philosophers, particularly by Dr. Adam Smith, that it must very soon be placed among those universally received maxims, which seem the self-evident dictates of common sense. The case of America, one would think, must instantly decide the question even for those, who are unwilling or unable to enter into speculations of any extent. From that country our traders derive their full profits; nor is there any demand upon the nation for keeping possession. Indirectly foreign territory is injurious to our trade, and will every day render us less able to stand the competition of other manufacturing countries: and it is capable of creating rivals in branches of trade, where none existed before.

II. Nor perpetual wars must increase our taxes perpetually.—Since the English have gained any considerable footing in India, there has been no secure or permanent peace. Those who are best acquainted with the country give us plainly to understand that there is no prospect of any such peace in India. Mr. Hastings, in his last speech before the Lords, insists upon the necessity of keeping an army in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and he adds that the resources in India can never be equal to the expences of a war in India. Captain Broome, whose opinion seems to be entitled to the highest respect, confirms this encouraging prospect. Speaking of the extreme distress of the Calcutta Presidency during the last war, he says, “ I see but one way of avoiding similar cases of difficulty, nor am I quite certain whether it would answer or not. It is that of permitting the government of India to draw bills on the Company in time of war and real distress, for the payment of which the BRITISH PARLIAMENT should become security.” (Broome's *Elucidations of the charges against Mr. Hastings*). That is, I suppose, upon a fair interpretation, that the Presidency should have unlimited credit upon the purse of every man in Britain.

If we consider the character of the surrounding people, a succession of wars with little interruption will appear inevitable. Polished states are ready enough to take

advantage of the distress of their neighbours. But the *levis Barbarorum fides* ought to have become long since proverbial. And the Mahrattas neither want cunning to perceive an advantage, nor pretexts to begin a quarrel. Perhaps however we shall go on exterminating nation after nation, till our victorious banners wave over the banks of the Indus, or, if necessary, even of the Euphrates. Another comfortable prospect for politicians and for men of humanity.

Possibly however, before we get quite so far, Fortune will serve us as she has served all the commercial Conquerors, our predecessors. And with Portugal, Spain and Holland, we may exhibit another melancholy example of that imbecillity, to which distant possessions and distant wars must inevitably reduce every state. Possibly in that forlorn condition, some future maritime power may conspire with some future military Despot, to dragoon us into proper submission to our superiors.

That the Nation pay the future and even the present expences of war in India, is I fear, too melancholy a truth. Nor is it probable, as was once hoped in the dispatches, that plunder enough will be found to pay the enormous charges of the campaigns. The opinion of English invincibility which Capt. Broome tells us, "is every day growing weaker," and considering our efforts, allies, and the tedious progress of the war, final success cannot again impress the natives with any great awe of us.

III. "But we shall derive a revenue from India soon." Doubtless, if a total revolution should take place in human nature, and if the same causes should cease to produce the same effects, together with a few other equally probable contingencies. If we are not shocked at the horrible injustice of such a project, we ought to be warned by the fate of the same prediction respecting America. I am sure our past experience of the Prophet ought not to inspire us with any confidence in the oracles he delivers.

IV. The late general interpositions in behalf of the Africans, bespeak the diffusion of a liberality, to which the people of every country have too long been strangers, and afford an example of disinterested virtue, that has hitherto been wanting to the annals of mankind. No such idea ever originated in a conclave or a cabinet; and it is entirely to be ascribed to the humane principles of the modern political philosophers, diffused partly by their writings, and partly by conversation(f). And one

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(f) Dr. Smith's treatise on the Wealth of Nations will alone convince any man, that it is not less the interest than the duty of every people to do as they would be done by.

may augur, that if ever a LAs CASAS or a CLARKSON shall arise in behalf of the Hindoos, his appeal to humanity will not be in vain: Though whatever might be the eloquence or the zeal of their advocate, he would never be able to discover and delineate all the evils that necessarily flow from subjection to so distant a state.

The deplorable condition of the human species has never more forcibly struck me than in reading various publications relative to the state of a considerable portion of Hindostan for some years past. The sufferings of Africans may have been as acute, but such numbers have not suffered. I wish I could excite the reader to reflect upon this subject by a few of the passages which have left this general impression upon my mind; and I wish still more earnestly that some person of wider information would offer to the public a summary view of all the facts, of which we have obtained possession, and apply to them the plain principles of morality.

The spirit of the Government is exactly stated in this passage. I cannot help commenting a little upon one striking absurdity which exists in the Bengal government. The Company require two millions sterling annually to be drawn from Bengal by way of investment, or to be sent to Madras and Bombay: Yet after all these exactions, they expect the country to flourish and wonder it does not. Neither the Directors nor the Managers seem to consider the difference that must unavoidably take place in the state of two countries governed on diametrically opposite principles. This kingdom is governed with an eye to its own prosperity and advantage. But Bengal is governed with an eye not to its own prosperity, but to the prosperity and advantage of Great Britain. It is in my opinion extremely absurd to expect the same effect from two causes so totally different." (Broome, p. 120). Let the intelligent or humane reader reflect upon this passage; he cannot have a more prolific text. I find in the same writer a distinct account of a transaction where injustice and oppression alternately put on the appearance of ridicule and horror. The company's servants interfered to prevent Sujah Dowla from enforcing a demand of five lacks of rupees upon the celebrated Cheyt Sing, his vassal. The interference of the company, observes the author, was unconstitutional, not in one instance only, but in every stage of the business. It is, he adds, reconcileable only to the *jus fortioris*: Their policy he proceeds, was not to serve Cheyt Sing, but to weaken the power of Sujah Dowla . . . . . their idea was *divide et impera*; and in effecting their views, they considered not the legality of the means. One is surprized to find him representing this conduct as justifiable, because " perfectly reconcileable to what they thought their duty, namely:

“namely to advance the interest of their masters.” I hope the reader’s morality will resist this doctrine of advancing a Master’s interest *per fas et nefas*. But this is a trifle in comparison with the remainder of the Oude transaction. The supreme council demanded, soon after the accession of Asoph Ul Dowla, the cession of Benares and Gazipour: upon what grounds Mr. Broome could never learn. Mr. Hastings remonstrated against the measure as a flagrant violation of a late treaty. The Council persisted and obtained the cession. The Court of Directors thought it a violation of the treaty too, but as they obtained 23 lacks of rupees additional revenue, they did not express much dissatisfaction; nor did they order restitution to be made. “Their demand,” says Mr. B. to whose narrative I scrupulously adhere, “is not justifiable by the law of nations, nor by the laws of the empire, nor by the plea of necessity..... Asoph Ul Dowla was robbed of provinces worth . . . a year.” This is not all; the Company, as Superior, make the demand which they had prevented the Superior immediately proceeding from enforcing. They demand from Cheyt Sing an increase of rent or tribute, for the nature of his tenure is doubted. Disputes, bloodshed and the expulsion of Cheyt Sing are the consequences. And having thus disposed of Cheyt Sing, Asoph Ul Dowla has gradually been reduced to dependance, for an army of the Company’s is maintained at his expence in his own dominions. Mr. Broome, p. 134. compares the encroachments on A. U. Dowla’s authority to the partition of Poland; and if it be condemned as immoral, he thinks the accusation will be against human nature, “as there is not, nor ever was, nor probably ever will be that state which would not take advantage of a weaker one” (p. 135). Would it not be much more accurate to say there is not, nor ever was, nor probably ever will be a Despot or a small governing Junta, who would not sacrifice the people of their own, or any other country to their avarice and ambition? I believe however this holds more universally of Juntos, as far as their power extends, than even of Despots, as the Triumvirs were more bloody than the Emperors. Mr. B.’s observation then is either not generally true of states where the will of the people has a preponderating influence, or it will not long be so.

Acts of gross injustice, involving provinces and states, do not affect the mind so sensibly as the recital of the sufferings of individuals; yet they must generally involve the ruin and distress of multitudes.—Of the famines that so frequently sweep thousands and tens of thousands from the face of India, I shall only say, that if not considered, it should seem they must be commonly aggravated by the European Strangers.

Strangers; since they will consume much, and produce nothing. If Mr. Hastings, by his exertions and foresight, once alleviated this calamity, his merit is probably as singular, as his talents.

Those who reserve their sympathy for the great, will read, with deep concern, Mr. B.'s account (p. 161. 162.) of the harsh treatment experienced by a lady of the highest rank in Bengal. She was not suspected or accused of any crime of misconduct. An inquisitor was sent to extort from her, an account of the sum she had expended in entertaining Mr. Hastings. "She hinted that there were courts of Justice at Calcutta to redress the injured, upon which the agent proposes to the board that the confinement of her servants should be in the Nābob's name, in order that he might avoid personal responsibility for the oppressions he was about to commit." One may imagine the tenderness with which ~~the~~ bulk of the people are treated, where authority to imprison the servants, ~~at~~ "absolute power over the person of a lady of the first rank," is delegated (as it would appear) contrary to the laws.

Mr. Bolts and Colonel Dow concur in their representation of the treatment the manufacturers frequently experience. "The assent of the poor weaver (Bolts *India Affairs*, 1772. p. 193. 194.) is in general not deemed necessary (to the bargain), for the Gomastahs (or agents), when employed in the Company's investment, frequently make them sign what they please, and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known that they ~~have~~ had it tied in their girdles, and they have been sent away with a flogging..... A number of these weavers are also generally registered in the books of the Company's Gomastahs, and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another like so many slaves, and subject to the roguery of every succeeding Gomastah..... The winders of raw silk have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk." Verelst, the very unsatisfactory answerer of Bolts, admits (*View*, p. 38. 1772.) the existence of the oppression, but charges Bolts with endeavouring to "prevent any effectual protection from being given to the natives." The protection on both sides, is such as cowering wolves afford to the lamb. Mr. Dow (p. 113.) asserts that the fruit of their labours is taken from the silk-winders, spinners and weavers at an arbitrary price.

I will only add to these examples of horrors, from which I have so often turned away in sorrow and disgust, that Colonel Fullarton(g) draws a most melancholy picture of the famine, and of the cruel method of collecting rents in the Carnatic; and I have been assured by persons acquainted with the manufacturing parts of the country that this oppression in detail has continued. And it cannot well be otherwise. It is in human nature that the insolence of office should be most severely exerted by those, whose discretionary power is confined to a few.

A people under a foreign commercial tyranny, can least of all people, attain an erect and independant mind, that base of all excellence. It is no more possible for them to advance in science or in virtue, than for the brutes who draw our ploughs and carts, to become rational. Some individuals will indeed be less severely flogged and more plentifully fed than others. And in this will consist the whole difference. ~~It is~~ strange ~~that~~ it is true, that men are but just beginning to feel that the natives of other countries and climates are human beings.

- Nor, when we see that Tyburn and Newgate have not repressed crimes here, can we hope that any dread of distant and uncertain punishment, will deter the wholesale or retail oppressors of the Hindoos.—It has been disputed whether the European or Mahometan governments were most favourable to the natives. If the question be concerning some Emperors, such as Acbar, or men much inferior to Acbar, there can exist no doubt: and it affords but little edification to dispute whether the Indians have suffered as severely under Europeans as under the worst of their domestic tyrants.

Possibly if we had a fair and full description of the administration of Tippoo Saib, it might appear that Asia will have to lament in him the loss of a great benefactor. We cannot found any safe judgment upon the facts reported by fear and hatred, and circulated for no other purpose than to render him odious. By such a selection, a Peter or a Frederic might be made to rank with the Neros or Caracallas. The imperfect relations we sometimes receive of his institutions, give us a glimpse

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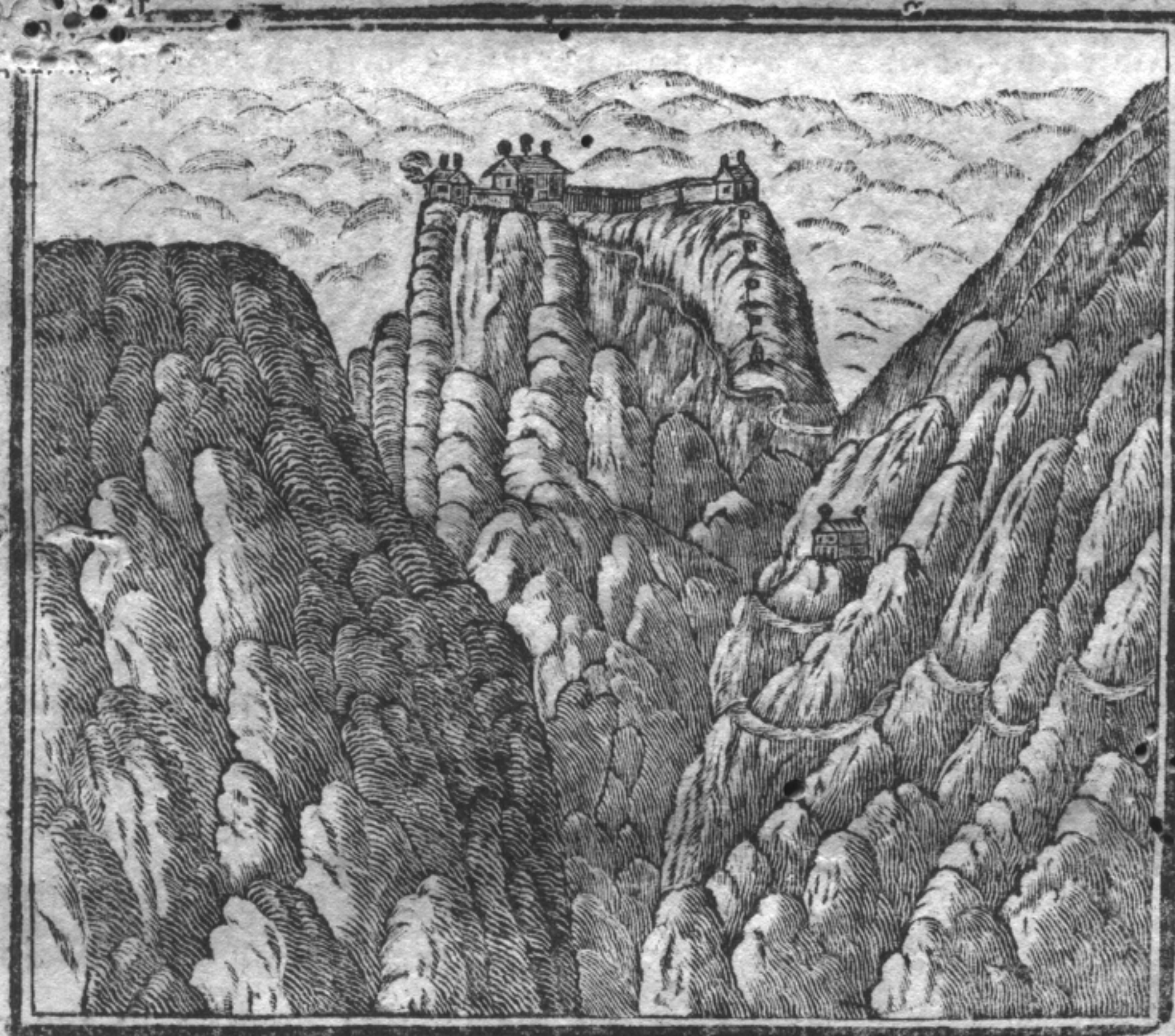
(g) It would be rendering a great service to humanity, to extricate the more recent facts relating to the treatment of the natives from the mass of parliamentary investigations. Rhetorical exaggeration has done much mischief during these discussions. For it is a very common fallacy with the defenders of abuses to take advantage from some slight inaccuracy, or the too high flights of an Orator's imagination. If they can make it probable that oppression has not been exactly carried on, according to the statement, they infer that the whole account is false.

of a Despot, who being deeply sensible of the inseparable connection between his own interest and the improvement of his people, has the will and the ability to introduce unknown arts among them, and to animate them to industry. In the present most unequal contest, there has appeared none of that disaffection, which when such an opportunity was afforded, would be shewn by an oppressed people against one of those inhuman monsters, that have at times been the scourge of the East and of the West. In the estimation of a Despot it is true, the life of a man is of small estimation; and if this observation is more particularly true of Asiatic Despots, it is only because their power is more uncontrolled. Let us therefore join in execrating despotism in all its forms and degrees, whether mercantile or monarchical, but if we would be at all equitable, we cannot wonder, that an Asiatic despot should as little respect the lives and persons of Europeans as of Asiatics: though doubtless every state ought to protect its citizens against his capricious or deliberate cruelties.

Both as a Man and as an Englishman one may therefore lament the loss of territory in India as an heavy calamity. The insane shouts of a deluded populace soon cease, and the burlesque gravity of a gazette is speedily forgotten. Nor do I see what the splendid victories of an Albuquerque or an Olive leave behind them but weakness or ruin to their respective countries. And indeed as to bold enterprises and successful stratagems in war, every nation can equally boast of them: and none therefore derive from them any credit to itself. Should the promised revenue ever arrive, and that without wringing out the blood of the natives, the example of Spain affords no favourable omen of its effects. The melancholy decline of Portugal, and Holland as well as of Spain, has at least been principally effected by the drain of foreign possessions, and the debilitating efforts occasioned by distant wars; must not England, if she treads in their footsteps, arrive at the same fate? Or shall we vainly flatter ourselves that Commerce can be so doatingly fond of one particular country, that no outrage shall expel her? She and her attendant Prosperity have never yet fixed their residence long in the tents of the rapacious and the bloodthirsty. There would have been an inexcusable blemish in the constitution of the things of this world, if they could long have remained in such a situation.

Nor let the cause of a few individuals, in place and out of place, be confounded with the cause of the people at large. However contrary to the general welfare, they will continue their efforts to retain and extend foreign possessions, until avarice and ambition shall cease to be insatiable passions.

It would be curious to investigate, how far the sudden fortunes imported from India into England differ, and how far they agree, in their operation with that sudden influx of wealth which ruined Spain. One visible effect is the great increase of menial servants, which is not only pernicious as it augments the unproductive proportion of the community; but inasmuch as the conversation, idleness, and gaudy finery tends powerfully to corrupt the lower orders of citizens. And however rapidly their numbers have increased, the increase of their profligacy has I am afraid, been much more rapid.



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