



tries, observes a lively writer*, the Saracens poured forth like those torrents which bear along with them the germs of vegetation, to scatter them in distant lands. The banks of the Oxus, and the borders of the African desert, at this day, equally attest the indefatigable industry of the primitive Saracens; or of their ingenious and emulous pupils, the Moors. But in no part of their empire, did the agricultural spirit of the Arabs more decisively manifest itself, or make more rapid and persevering advances, than in the Spanish peninsula; the point of communication with western Christendom.

What is here affirmed of husbandry, may be asserted with equal justice of the progress of Arabian improvement, in all its branches; namely, that, while it owed its rise, to the Saracens of Asia, it was carried to its perfection, in the Arab kingdom of Spain. This circumstance bears the marks of a dispensation eminently providential: for, to adopt the judicious remark of a reflecting and impartial historian, its geographical position erected this kingdom into a model for the neighbouring states; and ensured and facilitated the dissemination, throughout Christian Europe, of the lights of Arabian civilization.

The developement of agricultural industry in

* M. De Choiseul D'Aillecourt.



Spain, may be dated from the period of the original conquest and settlement. Under the emirs, its progress was occasionally impeded by the civil feuds, incident to an unsettled form of government, in a remote province; but under the glorious domestic dynasty of the Ommiades, and especially during the long and prosperous reigns of Abderahman III., and Alhakem II. *, the art of husbandry attained a height of perfection, before unknown, and (unless we may except Holland and the Netherlands) since unparalleled in Europe.

The process of irrigation is the first great requisite in agriculture, to improve the fertility, or increase the produce, of the soil. The Spanish Arabs carried on this process to so unlimited an extent, that they may be said to have created a new era in the history of European husbandry. They gave artificial direction to the courses of springs and rivers; collected their waters in spacious reservoirs; or conducted them, by canals, into the heart of every district. Spain, at this day, abounds with the vestiges and monuments of Arabian industry; in the provinces of Granada and Valentia, particularly, the modern traveller is reminded, at every step, of the agri-

* For the reigns, and patriotic labours, of these illustrious princes, see Des Marliès.



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cultural skill and enterprize of this indefatigable people; insomuch, that even the pride of the indolent Spaniard is subdued into the confession, that, for the entire of the artificial works still remaining, in the best cultivated districts of the peninsula, Spain stands indebted to the Moors.³

During a wise and splendid reign of fifty years, Abderahman, justly entitled the Great, while he occupied himself in the incessant study and employment of every means, that could create and perpetuate the prosperity of a great nation, directed his daily cares to perfect the already matured proficiency of his subjects in the agricultural art. Applying the ample revenues of the prince for the wise encouragement of the people, this illustrious patriot, at the royal expence, multiplied canals, reservoirs, and aqueducts, wherever the enterprize of the cultivators could be furthered by such artificial aids. The most useful plants and fruit-trees of Asia and Africa were mingled with the products of Europe in the royal gardens,—at once the nurseries and models of the national improvement in cultivation. By these means, many valuable exotics were naturalized; while the introduction of two articles of oriental growth, the cotton plant, and the sugar-cane, first gave that impulse to European art and luxury, and to the spirit, consequently, of commercial enterprize, which issued



eventually, under the Christian powers, who replaced the Saracens in Spain and Portugal, in the opening of a maritime communication between the remotest regions of the old, and in the discovery and settlement of a new, world.

The progress of agricultural industry, thus happily advanced during the long reign of Abderahman, was conducted to its height by his son and successor Alhakem; in whose caliphate, new water-courses every where fertilized the most barren plains. Nor did his beneficial enterprizes here terminate: for while cultivation scaled the sides of mountains, almost to the summit, their bowels were successfully explored for rich and productive mines; and amber, coral, and pearl fisheries, were established along the coasts. So that it became proverbial of this illustrious benefactor of Spain and Europe, that he had transformed the lance and the sword into ploughshares; and metamorphosed the Saracens, from a band of fierce and restless warriors, into a race of peaceful and industrious husbandmen and shepherds.

Among the various articles of produce, which authors have enumerated, as introduced and naturalized, about this period, by the Spanish Arabs, may be noticed, rice, sesame, saffron, henna, ginger, myrrh, the pistachio, the palm-



tree, the banana ; to these may be added, more permanent and staple accessions, the olive, the orange, and, perhaps, the vine.*

The cotton-plant and the sugar-cane, claim a separate mention : for the history of these important fruits of the Saracenic industry in Spain, is integrally connected with the commerce and colonization of the new world. The passage of the sugar-cane, in particular, from Granada to Madeira, and from Madeira to the West Indies, is an authenticated fact, so pregnant in its consequences, that it has changed the history of commerce. Among the native commodities, either now first discovered, or, for the first time since the dominion of the Romans, restored to light, — pearls, ambergris, sulphur, mercury, tin, iron, form a rich catalogue of materials for export or manufacture.

The Spanish caliphs, accordingly, early extended their paternal cares, from the successful encouragement of agricultural industry, to awaken the kindred spirit of commerce and manufacture. Manufactures and commerce had already made large strides, under the fostering protection of Abderahman III. ; whose merchant ships, constructed at the charge of the sovereign, trans-

* Not, of course, by its introduction, but by its restored and improved cultivation : hence, not improbably, the vineyards of France, as well as those of modern Spain and Portugal.



ported, in the tenth century, the products of Spain, into the ports of Egypt and Syria: it was reserved for the second Alhakem, to perfect these promising beginnings, by the construction of numerous roads and bridges, and by the creation, at convenient stations, of commodious inns⁴; improvements, which enlarged and multiplied the facilities of foreign commerce, by laying open fresh and general facilities of internal communication.

The progress of MANUFACTURES, like that of agriculture, kept pace with the career of Saracen conquest and colonization. The various branches of manufacturing industry, acquired in the Greek and Persian empires, passed, with the Arab artisans, into Africa, where they quickly spread and flourished, in the hands of the ingenious Moors: from Africa, again, they were transplanted into Spain, where, like the art of husbandry, already treated of, they also attained their greatest height of perfection. The principal manufactures, introduced or cherished by the Ommiadan princes, consisted in the art of tanning or preparing leather; in the processes of weaving cotton, flax, and hemp; and, above all, in the fabrication of cloths, silk stuffs, and military arms. The manufactories of cloth and steel were, chiefly, in the hands of the Spanish Arabs; the industry

and ingenuity of the Moorish settlers secured to them a monopoly of all the other arts. The cloths of Murcia, fabricated from the native wool, the cotton paper of Salibah, and the silk stuffs of Lisbon, Almeria, and Granada, rose into universal estimation. Such, indeed, was the perfection to which the Moorish artisans carried the processes of weaving and dyeing silks, that the silk-cloths of Granada became celebrated throughout the east, from whence this branch of manufacture had been originally imported; — insomuch that they proved a lucrative source of commerce, with the ports of Asia Minor and Egypt; and even in the market of Constantinople. To the ancient and important art of working metals, the Arabs of Spain contributed the valuable inventions of carving and incrusting, and, especially, that of damasking or enamelling, steel: in an age, when war formed almost the exclusive occupation of the surrounding nations, the inimitable temper of the Spanish steel drew the almost exclusive demand of three continents to these manufactories, for the supply of offensive and defensive arms.

The state of things here faithfully represented, after original authorities*, supposes, for its growth and maintenance, a state of more than

* Des Marès, *passim*.

ordinary domestic tranquillity. The tranquillity of Spain, accordingly, was secured, under the Omniades, by the introduction of a species of control until then unknown in Europe; that of an effective system of national police.⁵

Amidst these various internal and external sources and safeguards of the public prosperity, the principles of taxation became practically understood and applied; and the productiveness of the national revenue was proportionably augmented. A tax of one-tenth was imposed on the produce of land; and the ports of the peninsula were subjected to regular import and export duties. The general prosperity of the nation, at this period, may be estimated by the fact, that Abderahman III. drew, from the single kingdom of Saracen Spain, a revenue of about six millions sterling; "a sum," remarks Mr. Gibbon, "which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs."

The ascertained influence of Mahometanism on the advancement of industry, in all its leading branches, may be taken as the index to its beneficial effects on COMMERCE. For proficiency in domestic arts and labours, is the natural and sure introduction to foreign speculations; and the people which begins with being industrious, will

infallibly end in becoming commercial. In their primitive state, the natives of the Arabian deserts, with the exception of some few tribes bordering on the Red Sea, could not attain the condition of a sea-faring people.* The Saracens, however, in all ages, by a native propensity, were commercial. Inland commerce was the immemorial occupation of the aboriginal Bedoweens. Their camels, they significantly entitled ships of the desert, and land-ships. Carriers of the ancient world, under the successive empires of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, the commerce of the East, especially that between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, was still conducted by the wandering sons of Ishmael.

When conquerors of the East, the Saracens extended, with the growing extent of their empire, their unchangeable national character and customs. Sanctioned and enjoined by the Koran itself, and incorporated with that fundamental law of Mahometanism, the pilgrimage to Mecca, their spirit of inland commerce propagated itself with the conquests and creed of the primitive Mussulmans, to the shores of the Caspian, and to the straits of Gibraltar. The first great effect

* The straits of Babelmandel (*Bab-al-Mandeb, the gate of tears*) owe their name to the notion prevalent among the ante-Mahometan Arabs, that the adventurous voyagers who once passed them, never returned.



of Mahometanism, on the history of commercial enterprize, was, therefore, that of opening what had remained closed since the decline of the Roman empire, and had never, under the sway of imperial Rome herself, been so extensively or effectually opened, — one grand continued route for inland commerce, connecting the remotest extremities of Asia and Europe. As they progressively became masters of the ports and islands, which command the navigation of the Mediterranean sea, or the Indian Ocean, the bold and imitative genius of the Saracens promptly exchanged the practice of inland commerce, for the more adventurous pursuits of naval enterprize.* So rapid and successful was their progress on this new element, that, while, in the west, they acquired, and maintained, for two whole centuries, the exclusive empire of the Mediterranean†; in the east, and to the south, the skill and persevering energy of the Arab navigators

* The commerce of Spain, it must here be remarked, began with the *Jewish* colonists; and remained in the hands of the Jews for several ages: the fact is a highly interesting one; for it marks a providential connection, of universal benefit to mankind, between the dispersed family of Isaac, and the victorious descendants of Ishmael. See Des Marès, tom. i. pp. 470, 471.

† “Rogatu Michaëlis Imperatoris, conati *Veneti* classe barbaros ex Insulâ [Siciliâ] pellere, sed frustra, cum longe majores essent navales copiae Saracenorum.” Thes. Sic. tom. ii. p. 232. ap. Græv. et Gronov. Antiq.



extended commerce, geographical science, and Mahometanism, along coasts hitherto unfrequented, or into countries before unexplored.*

On the side of Europe, the fleets of Egypt and Syria, of Barbary and Spain, visited, during the darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries, alternately in peace and war, the coasts and harbours of Greece and Italy. The neighbourhood of the Saracen kingdom of Sicily, while it roused the slumbering energies of the Italians, by the presence of danger, and the necessity of self-defence, appears to have acted, not less beneficially, on the commercial spirit of the Venetians and Lombards. The yet infant prosperity of the Italian republics, eventually matured and developed by the crusades, derived constant aids and encouragements from their intercourse with the Saracens; whether the enterprizes of the latter operated on their avarice, or on their fears.

In the opposite quarter of the globe, voyaging far beyond the term of their original conquests, the Arabs gradually erected a new kind of empire on an unexampled scale. They extended their geographical discoveries, and established

* "In a short time, they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation; and brought many of the most precious commodities of the east, directly from the countries which produced them." Robertson's *Historical Disquisition on India*, p. 100.



regular commercial stations along the eastern coast of Africa, as far as Madagascar, and the country of the Caffres. Such, again, was the spirit of adventure, in their coasting voyages round the peninsula of India, that, so early as the eighth century, the Arabs had penetrated into the Chinese seas, and possessed a flourishing factory at Canton. The progress of their language, and, to a great degree, that of their religion, corresponded with the extension of their commerce in the East, which actually united, by a continued chain of factories and settlements, Ormuz and Canton; the Persian Gulph with the Chinese Ocean. In the course of these commercial voyages, by a singular concurrence of circumstances, Christianity itself was introduced, under the shield of Mahometanism, both in India and China. By long practice and experience on these coasts, encouraged in adventuring more to sea, Mahometan commerce in the Indian Ocean carried its enterprizes as far as the Maldives and Moluccas. But, on this element, their ignorance of the mariner's compass, and their consequent deficiency in nautical skill, confined the adventures of the Saracens, with rare and limited exceptions, to the neighbourhood of the coasts: so, however, was it providentially ordered by Him "who hath determined unto all nations of



men, the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," that just at the point where the commercial enterprize of Mahometanism stopped short, that of Christianity, borrowing only to excel, stepped in to replace it.

After this condensed survey of the influences of Mahometanism on agriculture, manufactures, and commerce*, we may now briefly examine the other side of the parallel: namely, the influences of Christianity, from the period of the Crusades inclusive, when it became, peculiarly, the providential reviver of the arts of peace, upon the same great branches of human industry. One observation it will be expedient to premise, in representing the facts belonging to this part of the argument. The reader will hold in mind, that, when we speak of the direct influences of Christianity, in the social action of the crusades, we still speak, in point of fact, of the indirect influences of Mahometanism: the distinction amounts only to this, that the original

* The effects, treated of under these several heads, are properly ascribed, in the text, to the influence of *the religion of the Saracens*. "Le Koran," says M. Oelsner, "recommande le commerce, l'agriculture, et l'industrie manufacturielle, comme des occupations agréables à Dieu, et comme méritoires. Il en résulte, un grand respect pour l'état de négociant, et pour la personne de celui qui l'exerce; le libre passage des marchandises au milieu des armées; et la sûreté des grands chemins." *Effets de la Religion de Mohamm.* p. 220. Compare D'Ohsson, tom. iv. p. 196. and Chardin, vol. iv. p. 266.



Saracen holy war imported with it, *directly*, the arts and civilization of Mahometan Asia, into the west of Europe; while the subsequent reaction of the Christian crusades introduced Mahometan arts and civilization, *indirectly*, throughout the European continent.

Under the rule of her barbarian conquerors, the art of HUSBANDRY was nearly lost in Europe. The northern tribes held the labours of the field in contempt. The pride of these savage warriors accounted tillage a mean and servile employment, wholly unworthy of their care: agricultural pursuits, accordingly, abandoned to the rude industry of serfs and boors, fell into a state of general disrepute and decline. The evil spread from the North, with the progress of the barbarians, over the countries of the South and West. In the west of Europe, as we have already seen, it received its first great counter-action from the genius of Mahometanism; by the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy, and the establishment of the victorious Saracens in Spain. Almost from the epoch of its conquest by the Saracens, to that of the Crusades, Mahometan Spain afforded an example and a model to Christian Europe, of agricultural industry and improvement.* Its position, however, was too insulated,

* The Kitab al Felahat, or Book of Agriculture, by Abu Zacharia Iahia of Seville, is a splendid monument of the agricultural science of the



and the obstacles to intercourse with the adjoining nations too many and inveterate, for the example of Spain to become, to any considerable extent, imitated or even known in Europe. The social influences of Mahometanism, therefore, must have rested inoperative beyond the term of its conquests, had not Christianity, through the instrumentality of the crusades, providentially interposed for their diffusion.

The effects of the crusades on agriculture, if they appear to have been less direct than their other beneficial influences, were not less general or fruitful. At home, the holy wars operated, gradually, to relax the iron grasp of the feudal tyranny, and to slacken the bonds which attached the serf, as a burthen, rather than an improver, to the soil: abroad, they acted progressively on the minds of the feudal lords, through the sure medium of self-interest, by the practical experience they afforded of the advantages arising to the eastern countries, with which the crusaders now first became acquainted, from their superior cultivation. Besides the comparative freedom attained during the absence of the great proprietors, the peasant, too, had acquired an enhanced value, from the

Spanish Saracens. The sumptuous edition of this great work, from the royal press, at the expence of the royal library, of Madrid, 1802, in two volumes folio, accompanied by a Spanish version, would do honour to the literary spirit of any age or country.



unexampled dearth of population, which the expeditions to Palestine had occasioned throughout Europe. Be the causes, however, what they might, the providential result is certain. The return of the princes and nobles from the Holy Land was marked by a growing amelioration in the condition of the serfs; and an increasing attention to the culture and improvement of the soil.* In some states, privileges were now granted to the agricultural classes, by the crown; in others, they were received under the protection of the free cities, a new kind of power, itself the offspring of the crusades. In Holland and the Low Countries, especially, industry, under the wing of commerce, made early and extraordinary progress. The processes of draining and embankment, most probably imported by the crusades from the East, were here carried to a surprising extent and perfection. The dams, and dykes, and canals of the Netherlands, rivalled, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

* Let it not be forgotten, that the church took the lead in this, as in most of the advances of the times: the clergy were the great agriculturists of the middle ages. "Along the Rhine," observes a modern writer, "from Switzerland to the Netherlands, the success of the labours of the clergy, in fertilizing the soil, is recorded in history." The abbey and monastery lands served as models and encouragements to lay agriculturists: under these auspices, the noxious swamp and the barren waste were converted into fertile gardens; and a system of cultivation was thus introduced, which, in every stage, is traceable to the direct or indirect agency of Christianity.



the drains, reservoirs, and aqueducts of Spain. Thus, by the joint instrumentality of the original Saracenic, and the subsequent Christian holy wars, Europe was supplied with two great schools of husbandry, in the West, and in the North.

At this conjuncture, by an indirect effect of the crusades, a movement took place which disseminated the agricultural skill and industry of the Netherlands over the entire North. The waste of population, caused by the continued action of the holy wars, fell no where so heavily as in the regions of lower Germany: the country was actually denuded of its inhabitants. Into these parts, the Flemings and Hollanders, invited by a soil and climate congenial to their habits, poured their surplus population. The new colonists formed settlements at the mouths of the Meuse, the Scheld, and the Rhine; occupied that of the Elbe, so early as A.D. 1106; thence extended themselves into Saxony and Thuringia, and through the entire of the countries situated on the shores of the Baltic; until, having at length passed the Vistula, they colonized Ducal Prussia. The scale of the colonization, thus carried on by the self-directed industry of the Flemish peasantry, may be judged of by the fact, that, at the present day, in many parts of Germany, *Hollander* is a term synonymous with *farmer*. By these extensive emigrations, among



the most important indirect effects of the holy wars, the seeds of future civilization were sown in these inhospitable climates; and the regions of the bleak and barren North were providentially converted into the granary of Europe.

While, through the crusades, Christianity was indirectly instrumental in bringing about this great revolution in the north of Europe, the progress of agriculture was more directly advanced in an opposite quarter, by the united instrumentality of Mahometanism and Christianity. In Sicily, the store-house of ancient Rome, the art of husbandry, preserved and cherished, from the period of its conquest in the ninth century, by the Arab colonists from Africa and Andalusia, passed, in the eleventh, into the hands of the enterprising and ingenious Normans. The silk-worm and the sugar-cane, which we have seen flourishing, at an earlier period, under the dynasty of the Ommiades, in Spain, were cultivated with equal success in Sicily, in the twelfth century, under the dominion of its Norman rulers. The industry and arts of Sicily found a ready access to Italy, through the Norman kingdom of Salerno. Christianity thus appears, through the re-action of the crusades, importing, and naturalizing in the South of Europe, those staple products of the East, which Mahometanism, by the action of the pri-



mitive Saracen sacred war, had introduced and naturalized in the West. In Sicily and Italy, as in Spain, it may here be remarked, progress in like arts of agricultural industry prepared the way for the prosperous establishment of the same branches of manufacture.

The influences of the crusades on the MANUFACTURES of Europe, and the connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their respective effects on the creation or revival of the several branches of manufacturing industry, are more sensible and immediate, than any we have been able to observe, in tracing the modern progress of European agriculture.

Silk stuffs, cloths, and military arms, constituted the chief branches of manufacture, which the Saracens, about the ninth and following centuries, had introduced into Spain ; and these very branches, the crusades, at a later period, transported from Greece and Asia, to become the charter manufactures of catholic Europe.

Silk manufactories were first established, in the year 1140, by Roger, King of Sicily ; who settled round him, at Palermo, a colony of expert silk-weavers, whom he brought with him as captives, out of the principal cities of Greece, where the art was then at its height. From Sicily, the silk manufacture passed quickly into Italy : where it soon became the com-



mon pursuit of the rival Italian states; and one of the chief sources of their growing wealth and prosperity. The process of silk-weaving gave birth, at the same time, to the auxiliary arts of dyeing, and embroidering on gold and silver; which seem no where to have been carried to greater perfection than in the cities of Italy. The knowledge of the principal dyes, such as saffron, indigo, &c., which accompanied the Saracens into Spain, about this period passed into other parts of Europe, in the train of the crusades; and when, in process of time, the silk manufacture emigrated into climates less suited for the management of the silk-worm, the raw material of Sicily and Italy supplied, as they still in great part supply, the manufactories of France and England.

The origin of the cloth manufacture in the Netherlands, the counterpart of another great branch of Saracenic industry in Spain, has been also satisfactorily traced to the direct influences of the holy wars. Manufactories of woollen stuffs and cloths, and of tissues fabricated from camel's hair, had long existed and flourished in the eastern empire of the Saracens. At the period of the crusades, the cities of Syria and Phœnicia possessed numerous establishments of this kind: from these the crusa-



ders appear to have imported, first the articles, and then the arts themselves, into Europe. The cities of Flanders, of Artois, Hainault, and Brabant, early took the lead in the various departments of the woollen manufacture, which the European nations had thus learnt and adopted, from the Arab manufactories in the east. In the year 1300, the Arras tapestries were already celebrated: and, before the expiration of the fourteenth century, the copy had so surpassed the original, the Christian industry had so excelled the Mahometan, that, in the year 1396, a present of a suit of Arras hangings procured, from the imperious Bajazet, the release of the Count de Nivernois, and the other French princes, then his captives.*

The art of preparing and tempering steel, and the manufacture of military arms and armour, was a third great branch of Saracenic industry: this, in an age when war and chivalry were the universal passion and pursuit, naturally called forth the study and imitation of the Europeans, here most sensitively alive to the superior skill of the Arabs. The Italians appear to have engaged first, in this important and lucrative manufacture; of which Italy soon rendered itself the great seat. Before the termination of the crusades, the temper

* Made prisoners after the battle of Nicopolis.



of the Milan steel competed with the hitherto unrivalled fabrics of Damascus and Toledo; and its famous plate and mail armour had attained a celebrity, which long secured to Milan a monopoly, in this branch, of the custom of Europe.

Among the manufactures invented or restored by the Arabs, and conveyed from Asia to Europe, through the medium of the crusades, the arts of fabricating glass and paper claim special notice and acknowledgment. The celebrated glass-works of Tyre seem to be admitted without dispute, as the source and model of European proficiency in this curious art; which owed its first introduction to the Venetians, and from them was borrowed by other states. The history of paper has been less exactly ascertained; but there seems not a shadow of ground for questioning the general fact, that modern Europe is indebted for the communication, if not for the discovery, of this invaluable article, to the Arabs of Spain and Asia. In the annals of the Spanish Saracens, which have been recently explored and given to the world *, the cotton paper of Salibah is reckoned among their most esteemed manufactures. The probable invention of paper by the Arabians, and its certain introduction into Europe through the joint influences of the Ma-

* By M. Conde: see De Marlès, *ut sup.*



hometan and Christian holy wars, are circumstances which integrally connect Mahometanism with Christianity, in the history of the revival of letters; for, without the previous knowledge and use of paper, the art of printing itself would have been discovered in vain. *

The influences of Mahometanism on the history of modern COMMERCE have been sketched in a preceding topic. The parallel effects of Christianity, on this prolific source of social happiness and advancement, remain to be considered. In this department of the general analogy, one feature may be observed, of peculiar interest and importance: namely, that, precisely at the point where the commercial influences of Mahometanism terminate, those of Christianity begin.

The Saracens, it has been stated, restored the ancient lines of communication, or established new routes, throughout Asia and Africa; which they had successfully explored to their inmost recesses. They filled, alike, the ports of the Mediterranean and of the Indian Ocean, with their merchant vessels; and touched, in their coasting voyages, now on the extremity of China, now almost on the point for doubling the Cape of Good Hope. But this was the sum and term of their progress: unacquainted with the use of the compass, with the art of

* Compare Introduction, pp. 48, 49.



tacking, or with the employment of more than a single mast, they never forsook the coasts: and added nothing, either to the capacities of tonnage, or to the science of navigation. These, on the other hand, were the very advances and improvements, which, in graduated succession, were made auxiliary to commerce, during the progress of the crusades.

From the moment in which the Adriatic and the Mediterranean became the established route for the expeditions to Palestine, we may date the rise of a new era in the history of *navigation*. The increased demand for shipping, to transport and supply the immense hosts of the crusaders, produced an increased supply of ships and seamen, in the Italian states; then the only naval powers of Christian Europe. The inadequacy of the vessels generally in use, for the purposes of their new destination, soon suggested to ship-owners the expediency of enlarging their tonnage, and induced the construction of vessels on a scale before unknown; the greatness of the profits stimulating the efforts and invention of Italian cupidity. Vessels of heavy burthen, at first mere clumsy expedients for the conveyance of troops and provisions, were gradually improved in their construction, and applied to the general purposes of commerce, in proportion as the Pisan,



Genoese, and Venetian carriers became sensible of the augmented profits thus to be secured. The ships now introduced, required, for their direction, a degree of power beyond that which had been hitherto known. The single mast, the only provision in use among the ancients, and down to the period of the crusades, was discarded; and vessels of two or three masts were soon generally employed. Sails were of course added, in proportion to the additional masts. In the management of these, the art of tacking was discovered; which gave to the navigator, heretofore at their mercy, the control and command of contrary winds. The boldness of the mariners grew with their improved skill and experience. The exigencies of the crusading armies created extraordinary emergencies, and called forth extraordinary exertions. Winter voyages, a practice unthought of by the Greeks and Romans*, and unattempted down to the age immediately preceding the crusades, passed, during the period of these expeditions, into general and familiar use. The invention, or application, of the mariner's compass completes the list of nautical improvements, which enable us legitimately to

* The relation of Saint Paul's voyage and shipwreck, Acts xxvii., is alone a sufficient comment on the state of navigation among the ancients: the attempt to pass, not into Italy, but merely from one port of Crete to another, was plainly little short of madness; compare, especially, verses 9. and 12.



derive the modern science of navigation, from the direct influences of the holy wars. By the providential ministry of these expeditions, the path of maritime enterprize and discovery was now happily cleared: when, in the fifteenth century, Christianity at length came forward to change the history of commerce, by carrying to its height that spirit of adventure, of which Mahometanism had barely laid the foundations.

The steps which conducted to this great consummation, are not the least remarkable among those manifold circumstances, which mark a providential connection between Christianity and Mahometanism, in their kindred effects on the social advancement of mankind. The first great voyages of discovery, which cemented together the old, and laid open a new, world*, originated, and were carried into effect, from Portugal and Spain; the only parts of Europe, which had formed integral members of the Saracenic empire. The seeds of commercial enterprize, which we have seen early sown in Spain and Portugal, during the dominion of the Saracens and Moors, — on the extinction of their power, in the fifteenth century, blossomed into fruits

* M. Oelsner does not hesitate to affirm, that the naval enterprize of the Saracens would have ante-dated, by centuries, even the discovery of America, had not their fleet been wrecked in a tempest, after clearing the straits of Gibraltar. See *Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* p. 221.



wholly unexpected, in the hands of the Christian Spaniards and Portuguese. After a few preliminary essays, boldly forsaking the coasts, they struck across the eastern and western oceans: and so just was the crisis, and so rapid the progress of adventure, that the same century which beheld the fall of the kingdom of Granada, the last Mahometan state in the west of Europe*, witnessed the discovery of India, by Vasco de Gama, and that of America, by Christopher Columbus.

The providential adjustment of the balance between the two religions, at this particular conjuncture, is, perhaps, one of the most striking arrangements for the production of a political equipoise, to be found throughout history, ancient or modern, sacred or profane. For, the erection of the Turkish empire in the east of Europe, which finally took place, at this momentous period, by the capture of Greece and Constantinople, was doubly counterbalanced in the opposite quarter, by the conquest of Granada, and by the erection of the Portuguese empire in India†, — a new and formidable bar-

* M. Heeren traces the fall of Granada, and the final expulsion of the Moors, to the agency of the crusades; which gave rise to the *military orders* of Spain and Portugal. See *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, p. 230.

† It is highly interesting to find the *Portuguese voyages of discovery*, among the ascertained fruits of the germinant influences of the crusades.



rier against the incessant efforts of the Ottomans towards universal dominion.*

But it is with the general results of the great epoch of maritime adventure, that we are more properly and especially concerned; for these first laid open the only unexplored field, for carrying to its completion the grand prophetic conflict between Mahometanism and Christianity. It has been already noticed, that, just at the point where the maritime progress of the Arabs ter-

M. Heeren has shown, that the expeditions of Don Henry were fitted out by the liberality of that military order, of which the illustrious Infant was Grand Master: — “ Il ne faut pas négliger de remarquer, qu'en ce dernier pays, (Portugal,) ce furent sur-tout *les richesses de l'ordre du Christ, qui fournirent à son grand-maître, Henri, dit le Navigateur, les moyens de faire ces grandes expéditions, et ces découvertes, qui, en montrant aux flottes le chemin des Grandes-Indes, firent une révolution dans le commerce et dans la politique de l'Europe.*” *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, note, pp. 231, 232.*

* Perhaps, in no part of modern history, is the unity of the divine plan more conspicuous, than in the *sameness* of instrumentality raised up, at an interval of nearly five centuries, to check the destroying progress of the Turks, in opposite hemispheres. It has been elsewhere proved, (see sect xi.) that the Turkish whirlwind was averted from the eastern frontier of Europe, wholly by the direct action of the crusades. It now further appears, that, from these holy wars arose, indirectly, the discoveries and empire of the Portuguese, in India. But to this great revolution in the destinies of the east, in the unbiassed judgment of the Abbé Raynal, who is followed by Dr. Robertson, Europe was indebted, a second time, for her deliverance from Turkish bondage. — “ It is,” says Dr. R., “ to the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese prosecuted their conquests, and established their dominion there, *that Europe has been indebted, for its preservation from the most illiberal and humiliating servitude, that ever oppressed polished nations.*” *Hist. Disquisit. on India, p. 189.*; for the author's grounds and proofs of his conclusion, compare pp. 190—93.



minated, it was met and encountered by the rival progress of the Christian powers of Europe. After the final cessation of the crusades, the opposed religions thus came anew into hostile collision, on their opposite courses of discovery : and an Arab settlement was the first object which presented itself to the Portuguese, on doubling the Cape of Good Hope !

By the Portuguese voyages of discovery, Christianity was now brought into the only untried point of contact, with Mahometanism ; Isaac was introduced to the only untrodden scene of conflict, with Ishmael, in the remotest extremities of the East. The Mahometan conquests and settlements in India, until now undisturbed, were, at length, visited and subdued by a new race of crusaders ; by the naval powers of Europe. The conflict at this period began, indeed, in the thirst of gain ; but it was conducted by the Portuguese, in the true spirit of persecution : the career of Lusitanian bigotry in India, was a deteriorated revival of the holy wars.* Arabia, the primitive seat of the family of Ishmael, which, during the crusades, was assailed and violated on its western frontier, by the over-land expeditions of Christian Europe, — had now to sustain a severer storm, on its eastern frontier, from the victorious

* For *Roman Catholic* testimony on this subject, see "L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse," as cited in final note.



fleets, and merciless fanaticism of Portugal; sweeping, at the same moment, the whole line of its Indian colonies, and the entire circuit of its coasts, — extending along the Persian Gulph, the Arabian, and the Red Seas. The persecution of Mahometanism in India, especially on the Malabar coast, by the Portuguese, and the unheard-of barbarities practised by this Christian people, for the conversion of their unhappy victims, are spoken of with horror and amazement by native writers.* The Inquisition of Goa† filled up whatever was wanting in the antichristian cruelty of the Portuguese soldiery and sailors. No where, in a word, during the most barbarous period of the crusades, does the retributive vengeance of Papal Rome appear to have fallen more heavily on the disciples of Mahomet, than, in the fifteenth and following centuries, in the Arab settlements on the coasts of India.

To the commercial empire of Portugal in the East, succeeded those of rival European powers. The Dutch, the Danes, the French, the British,

* See Narrative of Zeireddien, ap. *Asiat. Research*, vol. v.

† The author well remembers the impression made upon his mind, in childhood, by the perusal of “*L’Histoire de l’Inquisition de Goa* ;” which, strange to say, was put into his hands by a zealous French Roman Catholic : it was an impression never to be effaced.



have, in their turns, conducted this last great eastern struggle between the hostile faiths : and, beneath their successive political assaults, Mahometanism, long supreme in India, is lowered from the height of empire, and, at this day, is visibly depressed and declining. Under these providential circumstances, the ascendancy of Great Britain, the first foundress of a pure episcopacy in Hindostan, would seem, so far as short-sighted man may anticipate, providentially reserved to realize that glorious prospect, which now, apparently, begins to unfold : to make subjugated Islamism, after the conversion of its numerous professors throughout her vast Indian possessions *, the grand instrumental means, for

* For a happy illustration of the fitness of Church-of-England Christianity to win its way among Mahometans, the author is indebted to a learned and valued friend ; to whom, when in Turkey, the incident which he is about to mention occurred. Were that friend at present within reach, his permission would be sought, for confirming, by the authority of his name, the following most interesting anecdote.

The Rev. ———, when a traveller in the Levant, was asked by a Turk, Whether he crossed himself *on the breast*, or *on the forehead* ? On ———'s replying that he did neither ; that it was not the practice of the church to which he belonged ; — the Mussulman could not conceal his pleasure and surprize, on learning that he conversed with a Christian, who belonged *neither to the Romish, nor to the Greek church*. The nature of the feeling will easily be understood, when we recall to mind the persecutions, which Mahometanism has, for so many ages, inflicted on the latter church, and suffered from the former. But the church of England stands clear on both grounds ; and the favourable consequences may prove inestimable for the cause of the Gospel.



erecting, when the fore-appointed period shall arrive, the triumphant banner of the Cross, on the ruins of Paganism in its eastern strong-holds ; in its first and its latest seat of empire.

It is a well-ascertained fact, that the preparatory influences of Mahometanism, towards bringing about in India this eventual consummation, have been long discernible in the rise of a sect of theists among the native Hindu idolaters⁶: a phenomenon palpably connected with the reiterated diffusion of the fundamental principle of the Mahometan faith, through Hindostan, by the arms of its successive Mussulman conquerors, the Saracens, the Turks, and the Moguls. This auxiliary provision seems providentially ordered, and most happily disposed, for the final reduction of India to the yoke of the Gospel. Mahometanism, it should be observed, though, in certain points of its character, a real middle term between Christianity and Paganism, is, nevertheless, essentially, a non-conducting medium: its inherent bigotry, its substantive superstition, its strong outworks of ritual observances, its immemorial prejudices, its spirit of proselytism, its pride of universal dominion, — are inherent obstacles, which must all tend to bar its immediate coadjutorship. But a theism distinct from Mahometanism, though



emanating from it, is wholly free from these counteracting tendencies.

Nor do the preparatory influences of the faith of Mahomet, on the natives of the Indian peninsula, terminate here. Besides its direct and undoubted agency, in propagating, beyond the limits of its own pale, the doctrine of the divine Unity, Mahometanism, in those districts of India where it has been the prevailing power, has invariably loosened the bonds of Hindu Paganism, by lowering the prejudices of caste. In Bengal, for example, where the Mahometans are numerous, the distinctions of caste are far less rigidly enforced, and less scrupulously observed, than in the interior of the peninsula, where there are comparatively few disciples of the Koran.⁷

In the mean time, while its influences, direct and indirect, have been instrumental in effecting these salutary changes, the Mahometan religion itself, under the British rule in India, is observed to be now in a very declining state⁸: not in numerical strength, — for there has been no sensible decrease in numbers, — but in spiritual power. Throughout the greater part of British India, the zeal, once its chief characteristic, is nearly extinct; the enthusiasm, formerly its animating spirit, has almost expired. This general



decline is said to be perceptible, in a growing neglect of the Mahometan ritual, of the fasts and daily prayers prescribed by the Koran; and seems, in a great degree, attributable to the indirect effects of our political administration. The wise, because discriminative toleration, extended by the British Government to her subjects of all religions, has naturally contributed to abate the spirit of intolerance, inherent in Mahometanism. That spirit of liberty, again, which characterizes all her institutions, has operated in India to unhinge the social links which bound the Mussulmans together, by rendering the lower orders independent of the higher; a process which has dissolved the control of religious, as well as of civil, subordination. Thus, by the twofold agency, under divine Providence, of her free and glorious constitution in church and state, the commercial rule of Great Britain in the East promises, eventually, to secure to her a palm beyond all earthly crowns; — the honour of one day leading forth the now enslaved and benighted nations of Asia, into the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel of Christ.⁹

SECTION XIII.*

ANALOGY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMETANISM,
IN THEIR INFLUENCES ON ARTS, SCIENCES, PHILO-
SOPHY, AND LITERATURE.

IN every age where they have appeared, and in every country where they have flourished, industry and commerce have been the parents of science and civilization. But at no period of the world has this connection been so signally exemplified, as during the term that elapsed between the eighth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era; between the establishment of the rival houses of Abbas and Ommiah, in the caliphates of Asia and Spain, and the general restoration of learning in Italy, and throughout Europe. What peculiarly characterizes this memorable period, as, in the progress of this work, there has been frequent occasion to intimate, is, that the whole process of improvement, social and intellectual, which has gained for it so just a celebrity, can be traced exclusively to the joint

* For the principal authorities consulted in this part of the work, see sect. xii. ad init. note *.