TWO YEARS IN UPPER INDIA:

BY

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ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

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PREFACE.

THE Author has had a two-fold object in view in preparing this volume. He has aimed at making it a manual of general information, for those who have not time or opportunity to consult larger works; and a book of reference, for those who wish to study the earlier history of the Missions, of which it was his privilege to be a pioneer.

He has endeavored, therefore, to present a portion of the invaluable materials, which are found in the writings of Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Malcolm, Elphinstone, and other authors, and at the same time to give the results of his own observation, during a journey extending to Lahor, the capital of the late kingdom of the Sikhs, and a residence of some months in the Himalaya mountains; interweaving these with the thread of his own narrative.

The Author's compensation for this work, a percentage on its sales, is devoted to the support of the Missions which are treated of in these pages.

NEW YORK, August, 1850.

THE Map accompanying this book has been engraved to show the Missionary Stations in India, nearly all of which are designated. They are printed in Roman letter, thus: Lahor ◉. Other places, of which but few are inserted, are printed in Italic, as *Ajmeer* o.

Sir William Jones's system has been commonly followed in writing Hindu names. It suits well the native orthography; but the English reader should note that it requires the short *a* to be pronounced like *u*, or like the last *a* in America; and the long *i*, like *ee*, or like *i* in Machine. Thus Panjáb is pronounced as if written Punjab; Ranjít, Runjeet; Pandit, Pundit, &c.

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TWO YEARS IN UPPER INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA.

Parting with friends—The voyage ; a Sabbath—Madeira ; beautiful sight ; Romanist religion—Winds and weather ; storm off the Cape—Sand Heads ; Sagor ; Natives—Scenery on the Hoogley—Reach Calcutta.

On Wednesday, the 29th of May, 1833, we left Philadelphia to join the ship Star, lying in the Delaware near New Castle, bound to Calcutta. Our company consisted of the Rev. William Reed, myself, and our wives. A few near relatives and friends went with us to New Castle, to see us embark. The afternoon was dark and rainy ; but if we had been superstitiously inclined, we could not long have indulged forebodings of evil, for before sunset the heavy clouds of the western sky parted, and the sun shone out clearly, painting a splendid rainbow in the departing showers—a bright omen, we trusted, that God, who is ever faithful to his promise, would

graciously vouchsafe to us his protection. Early next morning we went on board.

I do not propose to give a minute sketch of the incidents of our way, and I therefore forbear attempting to describe our last parting, as we supposed, and as it proved to some of our number, with the friends who had accompanied us. When we looked on a father, a brother, and other friends, going from our vessel in their little boat to the shore, and saw their faces not less pale than our own with deep emotion, we could hardly believe that the hour of parting at death itself would be more trying. These separations can be fully understood only by those who have met with them. In one respect they are peculiarly painful; they are not relieved by the prospect of soon meeting again. Other persons leave homes and friends not less beloved; but they do not expect to spend all their days in a foreign country. Commonly their absence extends but to a few years. The evening of life, at any rate, and its noon also, they hope to spend at home amongst their early friends. This hope is rarely enjoyed by those who go abroad as missionaries. Their duties cannot be readily laid aside, nor often transferred to other laborers. The longer they live among the heathen, if their spirit and deportment have been worthy of their object, the greater will be their influence over them, and the stronger the reasons for remaining amongst them. The considerations of health and longer life, especially when their field of labor is within the tropics; the happy results of intercourse

with their friends and the churches; and other reasons, would probably render it expedient for them to return to their native country on a visit, after a period of ten or twelve years; but the work to which they have consecrated themselves is a work for life, and one from which they cannot withdraw, so long as they can be usefully employed in it. They require, therefore, that faith which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." This will keep them from being unduly "mindful of that country from whence they came out;" and it will cheer them with the hope of "a better country, that is, an heavenly."

Our voyage was not marked by any occurrence of special interest. Vessels in the East India trade commonly carry out little freight, and having plenty of room, and being well found, they afford comfortable accommodations. The length of the voyage depends on the time of the year, speed of the ship, and other common contingencies; four months may be stated as an average time of making the passage. In so long a voyage the time often passes tediously, and many persons give way to indolent habits and to impatience, if not to worse traits of temper; but if the weather permits, as during much of the way it will, the passenger has much time for reading and writing, and the missionary will endeavor to improve this long season of leisure as a Sabbath, invaluable for its rest from the excitement and distraction of leaving his friends and country, and not less to be prized as a time of thoughtful preparation for the

new course of life, on whose active duties he is soon to enter. With a few chosen books at hand, much time for reflection and devotional duties, and frequent conversations with his companions, it will be greatly his own fault if the voyage do not prove one of the best spent periods of his life. So we trust it was to us. Sea-sickness, the most disagreeable of all complaints, was in due time succeeded by excellent health, excepting to one of our number, whose hope of enjoying good health seemed to depend on her living in a milder climate. We all enjoyed good spirits, and were able to make a good use of our time.

Departing from the usual route, we reached the island of Madeira on the 24th of June. We made the island on Sunday, and were becalmed within a few miles of the shore, the winds having agreed to keep the Sabbath, as one of the ladies remarked, and we were thus spared the confusion of going into port on that holy day. Seldom had we seen a more beautiful sight, than when looking from the decks of our ship at the side of the green mountain island opposite to us. The summits were lost in the clouds, but the lower parts of the island were covered with terraced vineyards, and dotted over with cottages that seemed the abodes of innocence and contentment. The day happened to be one of the chief Romanist festivals, and in the evening lights were kindled in a thousand cottages, and the churches were completely brilliant in the general illumination. A magic scene appeared to have been

spread before us, filled with the beauty of nature in her fairest dress by daylight, and changed at even-tide into the splendor of another world.

We spent three weeks very pleasantly at the quinta, or country-seat, of an English merchant, just above Funchal, the chief town, while our ship was discharging and receiving freight. During this time we were often reminded by the ignorance and poverty of the people, the absence of enterprise, the crowds of beggars, the numbers of churches with no sermons preached in them, the multitudes of priests in their peculiar garb, that the dark pall of the Roman religion was spread over the island. If an American would know what the legitimate influence of that religion really is, let him visit a country where it prevails without a rival; where its character is neither elevated nor modified by the presence of purer forms of Christianity; where Romanism, with its monks, and nuns, and many ringing bells, and innumerable outward solemnities, has banished the free and pure religion of the heart and its thousand temporal benefits.

Leaving Madeira on the 13th of July, we took the north-east trade winds shortly afterwards, and soon got down towards the equator, where the patience of the sailors, and passengers too, was tried with light and variable winds, calms, and little progress. After entering the south-east trade winds on the other side of the line, we had again delightful sailing. These trade winds are supposed to be caused by the colder air of the higher latitudes,

which rushes down to supply the place of the air that, after becoming heated and expanded, ascends from the latitudes near the equator. Blowing steadily from one quarter, always strong enough to carry a ship from seven to ten miles an hour, almost without a sail having to be changed, and being of a pleasant temperature, it is not strange that these winds should be so eagerly desired by sailors. In a few weeks we had run over several thousand miles, the dashing foam from the sides of our ship being like music to our ears. Now was the time for the men to overhaul the sails and rigging of the ship, and to prepare for rougher weather. On Sundays, our public worship, always performed through the kindness of our worthy Captain, when the weather permitted, could now be conducted with a composure hardly less than if we had been in church at home.

Our Sabbath services were well attended, and a Bible class lesson before the mast on Sunday afternoons seemed to interest the men. What results may have followed our ministrations, the great day will disclose. We could not but feel convinced that religious services on ship-board are commonly undertaken at a great disadvantage. The sailors are divided into two companies, called the larboard and starboard watches, and have four hour turns of duty at night, and four and two hour turns in the day-time, requiring therefore much of the day to make up the loss of sleep at night, and having always plenty of work when awake, so that they have little leisure for receiving instruction. It must

be added, that too commonly they have but little inclination to attend to religious things. But when the officers of a ship will permit efforts to be made for their benefit,—and permission should always be respectfully and discreetly asked, and prudently used when granted—then should missionaries be willing gladly to avail themselves of the opportunity of giving religious instruction to those who so greatly need it. Repeated instances have been known in which such endeavors, faithfully and wisely made, have been attended with the greatest encouragement.

Our own party had morning and evening prayers in the captain's cabin, attended usually by the officers, and a weekly service amongst ourselves for the study of the Scriptures. The greater part of the book of Acts was thus brought under review, with particular reference to its missionary instruction; and these times of social religious duty we found to be peculiarly pleasant and valuable.

Our fine trade winds at length failed us, and after a while we got to the latitude of the Cape. For several weeks we were making our "easting," that is, sailing eastwards, in a direct course, as the degrees of longitude there are short. We were now in the midst of the southern winter; the weather was cold, damp, and most uncomfortable; the wind often very high, and the sea rough and tempestuous. We could read but little, and that with no satisfaction. Returning sea-sickness, occasionally, made our situation the more disagreeable.

Several heavy gales came on, one of which was the strongest the captain had seen for many years. It continued for three days, and those were days of intense anxiety. It was considered extremely uncertain whether we should be able to resist the violence of the gale, and we endeavored to prepare our minds for the worst. Blessed be God, our minds were kept in peace, but it was distressing to witness the anxiety that prevailed amongst some of our ship's company. By the good hand of God upon us, however, we were kept from harm and brought out of all our distresses, and with thankful hearts we endeavored to consecrate ourselves anew to the service of Him, whose protection we had so manifestly enjoyed. The weather became more pleasant soon after our course was directed to the north. Passing rapidly through the trade winds again, we found the eastern seas, near and under the equator, as hard to cross as the same latitudes in the Atlantic, on account of light baffling winds, and frequent calms. The rest of the voyage was up the Bay of Bengal, consuming nearly a month, as the winds were now unfavorable. On the 11th of October, we descried the pilot vessel, anchored always off the Sand Heads, far out of sight of land, and in a few hours we took a pilot on board. In a short time we succeeded in beating through the dangerous channels at the mouth of the Hoogley, and before night we cast anchor in the waters of that river, the most sacred outlet of the Ganges.

We were now near the island of Sagor; which

Hamilton described in 1828, as "a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Hindus, on account of the great sanctity arising from its situation at the junction of the holiest branch of the Ganges with the ocean. Many sacrifices are in consequence here annually performed, of aged persons of both sexes, which are voluntary, and of children, which of course are involuntary, the periods fixed for their celebration being the full moon in November and January." This horrible custom was soon afterwards suppressed by the British. The island is but partially cultivated and inhabited.

The anchor was hardly down before two or three boatloads of native fishermen climbed up over the bulwarks of the Star, and we had the offer of their marketing and their services to aid in getting up the river, with such a chattering of their almost inarticulate words as seemed not unlike the speech of a troop of monkeys. They were of small, light, and active frame, dark complexion, agreeable and lively expression, but with no appearance of intelligence, and evidently very poor. Their coming on board was a common thing to our officers and other passengers, who had made several visits to Calcutta, but to us they were objects of extreme interest. These were the people whom we had come to make acquainted with the true God and eternal life. But how hard to believe that such poor, almost naked, miserable looking beings should ever become intelligent and refined Christians! Again, as often before and oftener since, we had to rely on the revealed

promise of God, and the assurance of his power and infinite grace.

When we were opposite Kedgeree, an English station about one hundred miles below Calcutta, where letters by ship are received and forwarded, we despatched some of our letters to Calcutta, with a request that a boat might be sent down for us, as it was very desirable that my wife, whose health had become greatly impaired, should escape from the noise of working the ship by frequent tacking up the narrow channel of the river. Vessels going to Calcutta during the cold season are often a week in getting up the river, and they are as long in coming down during the rainy season, and *vice versâ*.

On the second day we had the pleasure of meeting the Rev. G. Pearce, a Baptist missionary, and the Rev. M. Winslow, one of our countrymen, to both of whom we soon became much attached. They had kindly come down in a small boat to receive us, and accompany us up the river. We left the Star in the afternoon with every feeling of gratitude to our kind Captain and to Dr. Huffnagle, the surgeon, for their constant and valuable attention to our comfort, and of kind regard for the other passengers, but with no regret at making our escape from the confinement and the now almost intolerable noise of the vessel. Our boatmen pulled along cheerily with the rapid tide; and when the tide turned, they dropped their anchor, which was but a basket with stones in it, and wrapping themselves each in a long

sheet of coarse muslin, they were soon fast asleep. Before morning we were again under weigh, and when the day broke we were but a few miles from Garden Reach, below Calcutta.

Our boat people kept close to the shore, and the banks were so low that we could easily see some distance in the country back from the river. The cocoa, palm, and other trees, which to us were as strange as they were beautiful, were of the greenest foliage, with fragrant creeping plants climbing through their branches, and many of them were laden with fruit, and shining with brilliant flowers. Strange birds were flying from tree to tree, and from little cottages, planted thickly under their overspreading branches, the people were coming forth to begin their daily labors—men going to the fields, or casting their nets, and women coming to the river, filling their earthen water vessels, placing them on their heads, and returning to their homes. The whole was a beautiful scene, novel in the highest degree, almost like a picture of some fancy-land, and yet full of life and freshness. And when the air came laden and fragrant with the scent of the earth and its rich vegetation, so different from the close smell of a ship four months at sea, it was in the highest degree reviving and exhilarating. My poor wife, ever passionately fond of country scenes, but now too enfeebled to bear excitement with safety, was quite overcome before we reached the end of our sail. Passing the stately European mansions on Garden Reach, and the East India Company's

Botanical Garden, and Bishop's College on the opposite side of the river, we were soon in the midst of increasing multitudes of boats, and the din of many sounds, until presently we swept under the walls of Fort William and were in full view of Government House. Landing at one of the *ghats* or stairs, we were soon received with the greatest kindness by the Rev. W. H. Pearce and his estimable wife. In a few days we were joined by our missionary companions, who came up with the ship, and we took pleasure in praising the Lord for his goodness in bringing us to our desired haven.

CHAPTER II.

INDIA AND THE HINDUS.

Extent of the country—Soil, and productions—Population—Appearance of the people—Houses—Civilization—Caste.

We had been instructed by the Missionary Society* to make inquiries on arriving at Calcutta, as to the most eligible sphere of missionary labor. The Upper Provinces of India, it was supposed, might be such a sphere, but we were at liberty to select our field of labor in any other part of the East that should appear more inviting. We at once proceeded to fulfil this part of our commission. Having previously examined various works treating of India, our aim now was to obtain information partly by observing ourselves the state of things, but chiefly from intercourse with intelligent gentlemen who had long resided in the country. And we were peculiarly favored in meeting with several Christian friends, who had extensive and accurate information

* The Western Foreign Missionary Society. This Society was afterwards merged in the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. For an account of these institutions, see a volume by the Rev. Dr. Green: "Presbyterian Missions," published by W. S. Martien, Philadelphia, 1838.

at command, the results of many years' observation, and who had also every disposition to promote our views. I may mention particularly our kind host, the Rev. W. H. Pearce, who has since entered into his rest, a devoted Baptist missionary, long the efficient superintendent of the most extensive printing establishment in India, and one of the best men I have ever known; the Rev. Dr. Marshman, venerable for many years of missionary life, as well as for most extensive knowledge and unquestioned talent; the Rev. M. Winslow, our respected countryman, of the Ceylon mission, then at Calcutta waiting for a passage home for his health; the Rev. Dr. Duff, the able and eloquent Scotch missionary; and a gentleman who occupied a distinguished place in the Civil Service. The information we received from these two gentlemen last referred to was highly valuable; the former had been making special inquiries concerning the part of the country which we had more particularly in view, and the latter had himself resided for a number of years in the Upper Provinces, and being a man of acknowledged talent and liberal views, and moreover able to appreciate the missionary movements of the Church of Christ, his information was extremely useful to us.

Before giving an account of the considerations which induced our final decision, it may not be out of place to give some general notices of the country and people, which may aid the reader in understanding the importance of our mission. I ought, however, in fairness to mention that none of the gentlemen, to

whose names I have taken the liberty of referring, can be held responsible for the following views, as I shall make use of information received and conclusions formed at a later period of my acquaintance with India, than pertains to this stage of the narrative. It is, however, but a slight sketch that can here be given. Many able and learned volumes have been written on these subjects, which the reader who desires to see more satisfactory statements will of course consult.

India is an extensive country, lying between lat. 8° and 35° N. and long. 67° and 92° E. Its boundaries are the Bay of Bengal and Burmah on the east, the Himalaya mountains on the entire north-east, the river Indus and the Arabian Sea on the north-west and west. These inclose an area of one million three hundred thousand square miles, running nearly to a point on the south, in the Indian ocean, being a territory nearly one third larger than that of these United States. The word India, as often used, includes the countries further east; but I shall employ it agreeably to the common usage of late years, as the name of the territory whose boundaries have just been given. The Vindya mountains or hills extend from the western side almost to the Ganges, in the parallels of latitude from 23° to 25°. South of this range the country is called the Deckan, and sometimes Peninsular India; the country to the north of these hills is called Hindustan, though this title is sometimes

given to the whole country; and not improperly, for it literally means *the abode of the Hindus.*

The greater part of this country possesses a soil of great fertility, particularly the immense plains watered by the Ganges and its tributaries, embracing, perhaps, four hundred thousand square miles. These plains, for the most part of extremely rich, loamy, and alluvial soil, are amongst the most fertile and densely inhabited regions of the earth. The more remote of the north-western provinces, often called the Upper Provinces, or Upper India, become rather dry and sandy, with a sparser population, and towards the lower Indus there is an extensive sandy desert. What is called Central India, is said to be an elevated, broken, and rather sterile and thinly inhabited country. Along the western coast of the southern part, or Peninsular India, there is a continuous range of hills, rising sometimes to the height of six thousand feet, and another, but lower range, along the eastern side, about one hundred miles back from the sea; between these mountainous ranges, and also between them and the sea, the soil is good, and supports a large population.

The climate is, during most of the year, extremely warm; and for three or four months, heavy rains fall almost incessantly. Thus with a good soil, great heat, and plenty of moisture for a long time in each year, the fertility of a large part of the land is almost unbounded, and vegetation is exceedingly rapid in its growth. Cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, opium, indigo, rice, and various small grains, are the pro-

ductions of the lower, central, and peninsular provinces; these are not all grown in the same districts, but all may be met with. Further to the north, wheat and the hardier grains are common. Among the fruits are the cocoa-nut, the banana, the mango, the guava, &c.

The people are numerous, almost beyond the belief of one who has been brought up in a newly settled country; the whole number is commonly stated at about one hundred and fifty millions. When it is recollected that some large districts are very thinly inhabited, it will be perceived that a very dense population is thrown into the remaining, though still the much larger provinces. Thus in Bengal, a province not larger than the states of New York and Pennsylvania, the number of inhabitants is estimated at thirty millions.

The complexion of the Hindus varies from that of the coal black laborers under the burning sun in the fields, to the olive-color of the wealthy babus, or the beautiful brunette of the lady of the Zennana. Their features are commonly very regular and pleasing; their hair always dark. In their bodily frame the natives of the lower provinces are slight and feeble, and they are of a timid, effeminate disposition; but towards the north-west you find a hardier, bolder race, amongst whom you often meet with noble-looking men of a proud, military bearing, wearing always full beards, which add greatly to their fierce appearance.

They live commonly in very poor houses, made

of bamboo wicker-work, or of clay walls dried in the sun, some ten or twelve feet high, and twelve or fourteen square, without windows; fire-places are not needed. These dwellings are often divided by a basket-work partition, to provide an inner abode for the female members of the family. Often a close hedge or mud wall screens the back yard. Their houses are nearly always destitute of what we should call furniture, having neither chairs, tables, nor other heavy articles, but merely a low rude bedstead, a mat or two to sit on like tailors on the clay floor, and a few simple cooking utensils. This description applies chiefly to the houses of the common people. The wealthy and the great live in much larger and more costly edifices. The Hindus are never found living in houses standing by themselves, like farm-houses in this country, but always in villages, if not in larger towns and cities.

The natives of India are by no means an uncivilized people, though they have made little progress in the higher attainments of western civilization. They have, however, a complete division of labor, with regular employment, established usages, and settled opinions concerning the subjects with which they are acquainted. The mass of the people cultivate the ground, though many are herdsmen, boatmen, fishermen, barbers, &c. Blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, brass-workers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, jewellers, and a few other mechanics, may be found in all the large cities. Multitudes are priests, and not a few are beggars, either from necessity or

from religious error. In a few branches of industry they have attained great excellence, as the Dacca fine muslins and the Cashmere fabrics bear witness; but most of their manufactures are of a coarse quality, and their labor in the fields is performed with the rudest implements. An observer witnesses no signs of improvement in their industry or skill. They are, and have been for centuries, almost stationary in their position. They wear the same white muslins, and have the same fondness for showy processions, that Alexander the Great witnessed on the banks of the Indus, four centuries before the time of our Saviour. Doubtless they then ploughed the ground with a similar sharp pointed stick, and rowed their boats with oars projecting far out over the water, and had their few horses shod by an itinerant blacksmith, carrying his stock of tools tied up in an apron.

How are we to account for this wonderfully permanent character of everything Indian? It may be owing partly to the denseness of the population; for in countries where the inhabitants are extremely numerous, and the means of subsistence scarcely equal to their support, changes are made with great difficulty. Other causes may have their influence. I cannot doubt that much should be ascribed to the system of *Caste*, which is universally prevalent. This peculiar system was and continues to be primarily a religious institution, but it has become interwoven with the social and civil institutions of the

country, and indeed with the entire life of the Hindus. It effectually stereotypes the state of things with which it has become connected. Any general change would be fatal to its power.

Originally there were but four castes. The Brahman, formed from the mouth of Brahma, one of the Hindu deities, to expound his laws, stands at the highest point of human elevation; the gods themselves are hardly his superiors; all rulers who are not of his own order, are far below his rank; and for the most atrocious crimes his life, under the native law, cannot be taken from him. Then follows the Kshatriya, formed from the arms of Brahma, to protect the Brahmans in their spiritual duties. The noble looking Raj-puts of the western provinces are generally Kshatriyas, and are in great numbers found in the native regiments of the East India Company, where they make capital soldiers. Below them are the Vaissyas, created from the belly of their deity, and much inferior to the two higher classes. They are the ryots or farmers, a simple minded, regular, peaceful body of people, minding chiefly their own business, sharing more largely in the quiet blessings of life, and less in its turmoils, than any other class of people. Still lower are the Sudras, formed to be servants to the Brahmans from the feet of their god. Thus does this system exalt the Brahman tribe, and degrade all the other classes of the people. It was probably introduced to promote and perpetuate the power of the priestly class, as the various monastic

institutions are made subsidiary to the power and elevation of the Roman ecclesiastics above the common people.

It would seem that the original features of this institution have, in the progress of many centuries, become greatly changed. It would now be a difficult task to determine a Hindu's employment, or even his relative standing among his countrymen, by his relation to these general divisions of the system. Numerous sub-divisions of caste have occurred, and many mixed castes exist, though new sects are now seldom or never formed. Perhaps few subjects are more embarrassing than the formation and rules of these mixed classes; I shall not attempt to describe them. It will be sufficient to note that while the original classification still exists as the basis of all the existing varieties, and in a great measure determines their rank, still these smaller divisions have landmarks of their own, and their usages are tenaciously adhered to by their respective members. At the present day every occupation is allotted to a distinct sect. A person of one caste never eats with one of a different caste, nor are marriage connexions formed between them. The system is hereditary, and so is commonly the occupation; the son of a farmer being commonly a farmer, the son of a shop-keeper a shop-keeper.

I have already mentioned the strong grasp of this system on its subjects; no departure from its usages will be tolerated. There can be no change but by falling, no rising to a higher class, nor transition from

one to another; and the transgression of the smallest ceremonial would precipitate even a Brahman to the bottom of society. Provision is made, however, for restoring those who have fallen to their former standing. Liberal presents and bountiful feasts to the Brahmans have great efficacy in expiating the offence incurred by a departure from the usages of this system, if the penitent transgressor will but walk more strictly for the future. It would be a departure from the usages of caste to adopt any improvement in any kind of employment; and the violation of these usages would be instantly visited with the severest punishment—the loss of property, of reputation, of employment, and even the hope of obtaining from the nearest relation the cold charity bestowed on common beggars by the hand of strangers.

Here is one great difficulty preventing the conversion of this people to Christianity. To receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in company with other communicants, would be a violation of caste, unless the officiating minister and all the communicants were of the same caste; and the same difficulty is apparent as to other Christian duties. Nor is it less a hinderance to all improvement in the temporal affairs of the people. It is a heavy weight crushing down the spirit of enterprise, even though enterprise in that land is goaded on by necessity, and quickened by the keenest appetite of covetousness. It raises a wall around the Hindu, which he never dreams of climbing over or throwing down. He concludes that such is his fate. "Hamara dastur

hai," "it is our custom," is his resigned, passive reply to every proposal of a change. Surely this dreadful system shall not always bind down the minds of the people of India. Its very weight and bondage will conduce the sooner to its being thrown off, when the people begin to see its many direful evils. And other considerations, which cannot here be introduced, serve to show that the day is drawing nigh when this master-piece of the great spiritual adversary's invention to enslave the minds of men, shall be broken into a thousand fragments, and it shall be known on the pages of history as one of the almost incredible things of former ages.

CHAPTER III.

THE HINDUS—CONTINUED.

Poverty of the People; how accounted for—Literature—Religion.

From the account already given of their houses and style of living, it will be easily inferred that the Hindus are generally a very poor people. There are a few persons of large wealth, chiefly merchants, bankers, and farmers of the government revenue from landed property; but most of the people are extremely poor. They live on two scanty vegetable meals a day, clothe themselves with the coarsest cotton fabrics, and lodge in hovels such as have been described. In the part of the country through which I travelled, which contains two thirds of the population of India, the common rate of wages for laboring men was from two and a half to four rupees a month, or from one dollar and twenty-five cents to two dollars. This was their entire compensation, as they received neither clothes nor board in addition; and moreover they had no Sabbaths, those blessed days of rest to the poor man.

This poverty is not owing to indolence, for they are an industrious, though not an energetic people; nor is it owing to want of thrift, for no people know

better how to make a few coppers buy a good supply of food. Nor is it owing, as it appears to me, to the oppressive government of their present rulers. It must be admitted, however, that the Hindus are losers under their present government in one important matter, though it is difficult to form an accurate opinion of their disadvantage. The revenues of the East India Company and the income of their servants, are not all spent in India; nor does Commerce restore to the Hindus what they lose by this constant drain of their pecuniary means. Their former rulers lived and died amongst them, and though their exactions might have been ruinous to individuals, yet they did not diminish the amount of money in circulation among the people at large; what one man was deprived of, another enjoyed—it may have been most iniquitously; yet the money was still kept in India. The British succeeded the Mohammedans as the rulers of India, and they have greatly improved the condition of the common people; but they may not have sufficiently changed the general system of their predecessors, so as to allow to the cultivators of the soil a larger subsistence from their labors. The amount of taxation, of every kind, under the East India Company, has been stated at considerably less than one dollar on the average to each Hindu—a sum which does not appear excessive, and which, poor as the mass of the people are, probably would not be burdensome if it were returned through other channels, as is the case in nearly all other countries, to the people at large. About £3,500,000, or nearly

seventeen millions of dollars, it is stated, are annually remitted to England, being rather more than one sixth of the whole amount of taxes paid to the British by the Hindus. It may also be questioned whether the manner of administering the government of India is not too purely foreign and English; and some might doubt whether it is sufficiently responsible, not to the Hindus, who are certainly incapable at present of governing themselves, on any enlightened and enlarged views of polity, but to the British people; for India must now be regarded as a dependency of the British Empire.

The British government of India is attended with its disadvantages, no doubt; but it secures to every man the possession of his property, the protection from illegal violence of his person and his family, and the redress of his grievances, so far as that can be effected amongst so corrupt a people. In one word, it is a government of Law, conferring blessings which were unknown under Hindu and Mohammedan rule. Then the wealthy studiously concealed their wealth, and clad themselves in the dress of the poor. Then no man's wife or daughter was secure from insult, and it could hardly be said that any man's life was safe. Lawless despotism reigned over the land, which was the more galling because in the hands of numerous and constantly changing rajahs and nabobs. Perhaps one of the most satisfactory pooofs of the good influence of British rule in India is found in the fact often witnessed, that whenever a district or town, that previously belonged to a native

king or chief, comes under the authority of the British, immediately the natives remove into it, and the number of its inhabitants largely increases. Such was the case at Lodiana, where I was settled, and at other places that came under my own observation. The population of Lodiana in 1834 was some twenty thousand souls, who were subject to an old Sikh chief. He died in that year, leaving no heirs, and his possessions fell to the British as the paramount power. Immediately the number of the inhabitants began to increase, until they reached eighty thousand in a few years.

The great body of the Hindus were always, under every variety of government, a very poor people. Their present poverty, therefore, is no new thing. Nor are famines, and the lamentable loss of life thereby, new dispensations in that country. Perhaps, also, in a country of which many provinces contain a population so densely overgrown, it could hardly be otherwise than that most of its inhabitants would be compelled to live on short allowances. The means of subsistence are not proportioned to the number of mouths to be supplied. And this natural evil has no doubt been made worse by the selfishness of commerce, in exporting to other countries large quantities of rice for the provision of people who can afford to pay a better price for their bread. But the main cause of Hindu poverty and suffering, in my judgment, is the intolerable burden of their religious system, with its countless hosts of unprofitable priests and faquirs; its multitude of beggars, earning reli-

gious merit, not urged by necessity to seek for alms; its numerous long, expensive, and painful pilgrimages to holy shrines and places, involving thousands of families every year in utter ruin; its incessant draining of the hard-earned gains of every laboring man and woman to satisfy the exactions of the Brahmans for priestly services, in ways and for occasions as numerous as the hours of every man's life, and with a rigor of superstition incredible to those who have not themselves been not merely witnesses but students of its enormity; and, perhaps, more than all, the apathetic, death-like influence of caste, withering and destroying all enterprise, improvement, and hope of bettering their condition.

The literature of the Indians is very peculiar in its character, nor is it easy to form an accurate opinion of its value. Mr. Colebrooke has given a general outline or analysis of their writings in the Asiatic Researches, which presents them in a sufficiently favorable light. From this paper a few particulars may be quoted. There are six proper Shastras, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is said to be comprehended. These are the Veda, Upaveda, Vedanga, Purana, Dherma, and Dersana, The four Vedas, the fountain of all knowledge, treat of works, faith, and worship. Some of these are of very ancient origin, being written in Sanscrit so obscure and concise that modern scholars with difficulty understand them. They are of great extent, consisting of two thousand sections, with many hun-

dred branches in various divisions and sub-divisions. The Tantra, Mantra, and other incantations, which are very numerous, belong to this class. The commentaries on the Vedas are said to be innumerable. The Upavedas, or sub-scriptures, are deduced from the Vedas, and treat of medicine, music, archery, under which the whole art of war is included, architecture, &c. Mr. Colebrooke says, that the medical books contain much useful information concerning the virtues of Indian roots and plants. The medical practice of the Hindus does not deserve the name of a regular science. Three of the six Vedangas treat of grammar, a fourth of the obscure words in the Vedas, a fifth of religious ceremonies, and another of the whole range of mathematics. The Sanscrit prosody is said to be easy and beautiful, containing all the measures of the Greeks. Astronomical works in the Sanscrit are very numerous, seventy-nine of them being specified in one list. Subordinate to these general classes are the three last mentioned of the proper Shastras, containing the poems, the body of law, and the philosophical treatises. The Rámáyana and the Mahábhárat are the principal poems; the former is "a complete epic poem on one continued, interesting, and heroic action;" the latter is superior in its reputation for holiness. The eighteen Puranas, of which the Bhágawat, or life of Krishna, is the last, "contain ancient traditions, embellished by poetry, or disguised by fables." The system of Law consists of many tracts in high estimation, of which the most celebrated is the Code of Menu, on

which there are numerous commentaries. The Dersana, or Philosophical writings, are also very numerous, and are explained by many commentators. The Vedanta is considered analogous to the Platonic, the first Nyá ya to the Peripatetic, and other classes to corresponding Greek schools. Besides the Shastras, or sacred writings, there are books for the use of the Sudras, or lowest and far the most numerous class of the Hindus; but the paper from which these notices are quoted, does not give a satisfactory account of them, nor have I elsewhere met with a description of them. The longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of these Shastras. The Puranas alone are said to contain nearly five hundred thousand stanzas, with a million more, probably, in the other works mentioned.

All these writings are regarded as sacred. Not only the biographies of their gods, but their works on law, astronomy, and other subjects, are considered of divine authority.

Extensive as are the writings of the Hindus, there are comparatively few learned men amongst them, and they are by no means correct general scholars; and their acquirements are seldom of much practical value. Their studies have the effect of disciplining their faculties, so that they are often acute and ready reasoners. The great body of the people, however, are ignorant in the extreme. They are debased alike by their religion and their poverty. Their religion has no days of instruction, their temples have no preachers, and their poverty leaves no time

for the cultivation of the mind. Besides these causes of ignorance is another more universal and powerful, the degraded condition of the female sex. Prevented both by their religion and their social usages from acquiring the simplest elements of written knowledge, never seen in the schools, neither honored nor cherished by their parents, brothers, or husbands, they can impart but little valuable knowledge to their offspring. The mothers throughout the land being thus unfitted for their high office as the earliest teachers, the children grow up in a great measure untaught and vicious; and the time of youth, the only season of leisure to most Hindus, passes away without instruction, discipline, or improvement.

The religion of the Hindus is a very large subject; to do it justice would require a volume. I shall endeavor to present merely a few notices and remarks of a general character concerning it.

It is supposed that about one seventh part of the Hindus are followers of the false prophet. Their faith is like that of their sect everywhere, and their practice differs but little from that of their heathen countrymen. They are hardly less superstitious, nor at all less addicted to immoral practices. Amongst the pagan Hindus there is a considerable diversity of sects, whose religious tenets are various and often contradictory. The Budhists and the Jains hold opinions that are irreconcilable with the Brahmanical forms of belief. The votaries of the

latter constitute the much larger part of the people.

According to their belief, "the great deity Brahm remains in obscurity, and superstition is never allowed to profane his name, which is always kept clear of fiction. Three energies, however, the creating, preserving, and destroying, are embodied under the names of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, to each of whom a female or passive energy is attached. These have all human forms, diversified by the imagination in various ways; and as the two last are supposed to have descended many times, each avatar or incarnation furnishes a distinct deity, to whom worship is addressed. Of the three specified, Brahma alone has no incarnations, and is never worshipped. Besides these three principal gods there is a whole pantheon of minor deities. The sea, the winds, the heavens, the elements, the sun, moon, and stars, every river, fountain, and stream, is either a deity in itself, or has a divinity presiding over it, nothing being done without the intervention of supernatural power. Descending still lower, there are myriads of demi-gods of a most extraordinary description, and numerous beyond the powers of calculation. A little red paint smeared over a stone, a lump of clay, or the stump of a tree, converts it into a god, worshipped by the lower classes, and saluted by the upper with much apparent devotion."

This extract from Hamilton's Gazetteer presents a succinct sketch of the objects of worship among the greater part of the Hindus. Some writers enu-

merate seventeen principal deities; the whole number, composed of all the classes, is often stated at three hundred and thirty millions, which, we may suppose, is a large number intended to convey the idea of infinity. It is, however, doubtless true that in India the gods are more numerous than their worshippers.

The metaphysical among the educated classes will describe their religion as a pure theism, explaining away what seems contrary to the divine unity in the number of gods and goddesses, and putting a spiritual construction on what is gross in the actual prevalence of idolatry; and they will express many just views of the character of God. Others hold such notions as are but atheism, and others more numerous are pantheists; while the mass of the people, incapable of refined speculations, are neither more nor less than idolaters, worshipping "lords many and gods many."

If we look now at the common observances of religion, and the degree of attention given to its worship, we must consider the Hindus a highly religious people. Nothing is undertaken, no event occurs, hardly an hour passes, without the performance of religious services. These are sometimes very simple, perhaps merely the reverent lifting of the folded hands to the forehead; sometimes, very difficult and expensive, such as prayers and fastings, repeated bathings, pilgrimages, painful self inflictions, gifts of flowers, rice, and money, sacrifices of goats, bullocks, and formerly of human life.

The birth of a child, giving his name, marriage, engaging in business, making a journey, sickness, death, funeral rites, and a thousand other things, are the occasions for performing religious ceremonies; and as the Brahmans alone can officiate, and are always paid for their services according to the utmost measure of the votary's means, they are extremely watchful to prevent any omission or neglect of ritual duty. It has been well ascertained that the rite of the suttee, or self-immolation, was strongly urged in many cases on poor widows by these priests, who were instigated by the mercenary motive of sharing in the presents, which were always made by surviving friends on such occasions.

There are numerous religious buildings, or temples, of a great variety in their structure and size, which are only places of prayer and ritual solemnities, and not of religious instruction. There are no regular days of rest and religious teaching, but numerous festivals are observed. These differ in length from a few hours to several weeks; they are professedly observed by the followers of the god in whose honor they are held, but other sects often unite in their celebration; and they are usually accompanied with great frivolity and dissipation.

Without going more at length into an account of this religion, I would now notice its defects and faults. It gives no correct revelation of the character and will of God. It provides no atonement for sin, nor any motives nor means of purifying the fountains of thought and affection in our depraved

nature. It imposes no restraint on the wickedness of men. It yields no support nor any consolation in the time of sickness, calamity, and bereavement. It sheds no light on the grave,—opens no door of hope beyond the tomb. It is thus a religion of darkness,—cheerless, gloomy, full of despair to the soul of a sinful man.

It is, moreover, worse than all this. We have seen its oppressive influence on the temporal condition of the people. Besides this, it is most demoralizing. It authorizes the commission of various crimes, amongst which, to certain classes, that of remorseless murder; see, for proof, the work published by the British India Government, concerning Thuggee.* The gods and goddesses are the exemplars of every vice and crime. Their history is often outrageously shocking to every pure mind, and so is their worship. Abandoned women are a part of the establishment connected with many temples; dissolute priests abound, and their sacred character

* "Ramasseeana, or a Vocabulary of the peculiar language used by the Thugs, with an Introduction and Appendix descriptive of the system pursued by that Fraternity, and of the measures which have been adopted by the Supreme Government of India for its Suppression: Calcutta, 1836."

Of this work a distinguished civilian in India has remarked, "It contains, I think, the most complete exposure that has ever been made of the evils of idolatry. Nothing which the missionaries ever alleged against it is so conclusive as this. Thuggee is a religious system, and the Thugs practise murder, just as Christians do charity, in obedience to the will of their God."

enables them to become more depraved than vile men of other classes. Polygamy prevails, though checked by the poverty of the people ; and it is lawful, because the gods have many wives. A priest has been known to have sixty wives, married for their dower, and for gratifying his own base passions. Poor woman is degraded to a very low degree ; her religion never inspires her mind with pure aims, nor gives her an honorable standing, nor opens to her a better prospect hereafter. Truth, uprightness, and confidence are seldom found in business transactions. It is almost impossible to ascertain the merits of cases brought before the English judges, so unscrupulous and utterly false are the witnesses. Partners in the same shop often have their separate locks, to prevent one entering unless the others are also present. These things, and many such like things, in themselves most evil, and not the less evil because flowing fairly from fallen human nature, are the more dreadful, because they are the offspring of religion, the imitation by men of the character and conduct of their gods!

I am well aware that many writers have spoken more favorably of the Hindus, but I would ask the reader to distinguish between things that differ. There is much in the manners of a Hindu, especially in his respectful deference to his superiors (and all Europeans are immeasurably his superiors, or so regarded by him) that is certainly very prepossessing and pleasing. There is also amongst themselves

commonly the entire absence) of rude and violent conduct, and between persons of the same station in life, there is a beautiful courteousness of manner. Their habits of living, moreover, are remarkably simple, temperate, and regular; and there is often a touching regard for their relations. And yet these things have their contraries, especially the one last mentioned, for you often see the aged and sick exposed to death on the banks of the Ganges, or most cruelly neglected at home. But still, there is much to admire in the manners of the Hindus, and much also in their character as it appears to a superficial observer, especially if he survey them from an elevated position. It gives me pleasure to admit, also, that there are men who evince a praiseworthy regard to their engagements. And yet I fully agree with those writers who represent the Hindu character in darker shades. The favorable traits just mentioned have misled amiable religious men, whose knowledge of the native character, as it appears among the natives, was but limited; and these same things may have convinced men, not themselves acquainted with the evil of the human heart, nor of its sinfulness before God, that the Hindus are already an excellent, if not a virtuous people. But the reader of these pages, I trust, will form his opinion of the statements brought under his notice, by the unerring standard of the Divine oracles. And in their light, I fear not to claim for these millions of heathen, his most sincere compassion. No people more greatly

need the enlightening, purifying, and saving influences of the religion of the Bible.

I now return to the mission, undertaken with the humble hope of promoting the best interests of this people, by making known to them the gospel of the grace of God.

CHAPTER IV.

CHOICE OF A MISSIONARY FIELD.

North-western provinces; reasons for the choice of—Educational movement—Authorities friendly—Arrival timely—Missionary co-operation.

After carefully weighing the information we had received, Mr. Reed and myself were clear in our conviction that the north-western provinces presented the best field of labor for the commencement of our efforts. They contain a numerous and hardy population, with a better climate than the lower provinces; and there is a ready access to the lower ranges of the Himalaya mountains, in case of the failure of health. They were then, and they continue to be, in a great measure unoccupied by the missionary institutions of other bodies of Christians. And their position connects them with other countries in which no efforts have yet been made to introduce the Christian religion. The Sikhs, to whom our attention at first was specially directed, are a distinct people, neither Mohammedans nor Pagans in their religion, though their manner of life differs but little from that of the pagan Hindus. They inhabit chiefly the Panjáb, but many of their chiefs

live on the south side of the Sutlej under British protection. The territories of the latter are called the Protected Sikh States. Though a part of the Scriptures had been translated into their language, the Gurmukhí, by the Serampore Society, no missionary establishment had ever been formed for their benefit. It was deemed, moreover, highly important to choose a large field, and one sufficiently removed from the missions of other Societies, so that there might be ample room for extended efforts.

These general considerations appeared of sufficient weight to authorize our deciding on this part of the country. We were aware that it would require a tedious journey and considerable expense to reach any given point in it; but we considered that these were disadvantages which some missionaries would have to surmount, if the means of grace should ever be established among those destitute people. We had the happiness of finding that our choice was highly approved by our Calcutta advisers, amongst whom we had the privilege now of consulting with the Rev. Dr. Corrie, who afterwards became Bishop of Madras. He was absent in the Upper Provinces on our arrival, where he had been for many years stationed as a Chaplain, but had now returned; and we accounted it no small favor to be allowed to see so much of one who was not less beloved for his amiable and pure character as a gentleman, than revered and venerated for his excellence and faithfulness as a Christian minister.

Besides the general reasons mentioned above,

there was just at that time a movement to promote the spread of the English language and learning in some of the important cities in the Upper Provinces. English Colleges had been established by the government at Agra and Delhi; and instruction of a similar kind was wanted at some other places, one of which was Lodiana. This was the frontier post then occupied by the British on the north-west, a town of some twenty thousand or twenty-five thousand people, with the prospect of a large increase. It contained a number of Afghans and Cashmerians in addition to Sikhs and Hindus. The Afghans were from one thousand to two thousand in number. They were chiefly the retainers of two exiled kings, who, after a variety of sad fortunes, one of them having been cruelly deprived of his sight, had taken refuge under the protection of the British. For nearly twenty years these ex-kings had been living at Lodiana, receiving a large annual pension from the generosity of the East India Company. The younger of them was afterwards on the throne of Caubul, so various are the changes of Eastern politics! The Cashmerians were more numerous. They had been driven from their homes by a famine and by the oppression of the Sikhs, to whom their beautiful valley was in subjection. Several thousands of them were now following their various operations, chiefly that of weaving, at Lodiana. From these classes, and from the Hindus, a number of scholars could be procured to attend an English school. Some of the Sikh chiefs, also, were anxious to have their sons

acquainted with English; and an Afghan chief, living west of the Indus, had actually sent his son to the care of the Political Agent at Lodiana for the same purpose—an event so singular amongst the people of that part of the world, that he received credit, I presume, for being influenced by a desire to acquire political knowledge for his own use, rather than the instructions of a school for his son. This desire of an English education was not confined to Lodiana, but existed at Amballa and other places in the north-western provinces. It was understood that the government had under consideration the question of extending their educational system so as to embrace Amballa and Lodiana, both in the Protected Sikh States. It was indeed highly probable that some secular institution of learning would soon be formed at one or both of these cities.

Our Calcutta advisers rightly deemed it of great importance, that in the first efforts to be made, the Christian religion should not be divorced from education, as is unhappily the case in the government Colleges and most of the schools for English learning in India; the influence of such seminaries, therefore, only tending to the overthrow of the existing religion of the country, without at all introducing the Christian faith in its stead. And they and ourselves both considered it advisable to connect our proceedings, in the first instance, if possible, with this Educational movement. Having decided on these provinces as our sphere of duty, it seemed extremely desirable to enter on our vocation, by taking

the lead in the efforts for the instruction of the people; thus gaining effectual access to the minds of influential classes, without awakening their religious prejudices, which were represented as peculiarly strong in provinces so lately brought under British rule. The same consideration, though with diminished force, applied to our intercourse at first with the English gentlemen in charge of the government of the Upper Provinces. Education was common ground for them and ourselves to stand on, until they could become acquainted with our views and plans of proceeding. For it should be remembered, that we were the first American missionaries who had attempted to form stations in Upper India, and our character, object, and mode of proceedings were all to be developed. If favorable impressions should be made by the pioneers of our enterprise, it would greatly conduce to the comfort and success of both themselves and their future associates. Indeed, in the Protected Sikh States almost everything depended, in the first efforts, on the friendly countenance of the political agents and other English gentlemen. In these circumstances, the kind offices of the gentleman in the Civil Service, to whom I have referred as one of our friendly advisers, were invaluable. He was one of the most able and successful supporters of the change of policy in the Government patronage of education, whereby the antiquated and cumbrous systems of oriental error were made to give place to the liberal and useful branches of European knowledge; and the educational movement in

the north-west had already found in him a warm and efficient advocate. His official and friendly relations, moreover, with the officers of the government in the Sikh States, as well as his position in the Cabinet, to use our Washington phrase, were precisely those which rendered his cordial advocacy of our object of the greatest service. We should have been blind, indeed, not to have seen and recognised in these things the kind interposition of Him, in whose cause we were engaged, and who thus gave us favor in the sight of his servants, the rulers of the land.

This extended account will not be considered too long, when the reader adverts to the apprehension which existed amongst many persons in our own country, as to our reception by the British authorities. They had feared that difficulties might be interposed to prevent our proceeding to the interior. Some of our countrymen, twenty years before, had been required by the men then in office to withdraw from the territories of the East India Company. And so little was known at home of the favorable change in the administration of the India government, and of the liberal and enlightened policy of Lord W. C. Bentinck, the Governor General at the time of our arrival, that it was considered doubtful by some of our best informed men whether we would be allowed to form a settlement in the interior. In England there is often much complaint, by those connected with India affairs, of the want of information and the apathy of the community at large in regard to every-

thing in India. In the United States, for obvious reasons, there is still less information and interest concerning such matters; but "the times of this ignorance," we may hope, are passing away, to be succeeded by a lively concern, especially amongst religious people, in everything affecting the welfare of so large a portion of the human family. Our misapprehensions and misgivings as to being allowed to proceed into the interior of the country were entirely without foundation. We obtained the full permission of the Governor General in Council to proceed to the places we had mentioned in a petition, in which we had stated concisely but clearly our object, and requested liberty to reside in the north-western provinces. It was considered advisable in the first instance to send up such a petition, in order to preclude all suspicion as to our character and plans, and to remove any possible hinderance from the path of those who should follow us. For the favorable presenting of this paper, we were indebted to the gentleman whose kindness I have already spoken of. We can now look to a missionary home in India with no more apprehension on this point than we should contemplate a removal from one of our own States to another.

I should not dismiss this point, without mentioning the view impressed on my mind by Lord William Bentinck's administration of the Supreme Government in India. It was his high honor to suppress the horrible rite of the suttee, to encourage the study of useful knowledge in the government colleges, to

abolish the odious and oppressive system of transit-duties, and to manifest a steady regard to the principle, itself not more benevolent than true, that the present rulers of India have been intrusted with the power to control the destinies of its myriads of people, only in order to promote their best advance in knowledge and general improvement. And it would be extremely ungrateful in me not to acknowledge at the same time our obligations to Lady William Bentinck, for her Christian favor towards our object. Her influence was given to promote it with a kindness worthy of herself, and in a manner the most considerate and effective.

Our arrival in India appeared now to be most seasonable. If we had arrived at Calcutta at an earlier period, the special providences which seemed to open a door before us at Lodiana had not then occurred, and we should probably have been led to choose some other part of the country as the scene of our labors. If we had arrived one year later, we should doubtless have found the ground pre-occupied; some secular institution of learning would have so completely blocked up the way, that it might not have appeared practicable to form a religious establishment. We could not doubt that we were under the guidance of Him who orders all things according to the counsel of his will, and who ever goes before his people, disposing their way so as to promote their best usefulness and his own highest glory.

Nor could we fail to acknowledge with gratitude the kind and Christian reception extended to us by our English missionary brethren. The Calcutta and Serampore missionaries, and those whom we afterwards met at other places, of every denomination, not only gave us a cordial welcome as co-laborers with themselves, but cheerfully granted us every information and advice, often greatly needed by persons so inexperienced as we were, and always valuable from their long acquaintance with the country and people. The remembrance of much pleasant Christian intercourse with them, often awakens many tender and sacred feelings. There is surely something as delightful as it is singular in the bond of brotherhood, which unites all the sincere followers of Christ. Here were Englishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, and Americans, Episcopalians, Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians, dwelling together in Christian charity; laboring together, not perhaps with perfect harmony of views, for that is reserved for a better state, but with mutual confidence and esteem; not laying aside their respective peculiarities, but so strongly animated by a common spirit and a common aim, that their various differences did not prevent their respecting each other, and seeking each other's highest usefulness. May this spirit of forbearance and of love ever dwell in the hearts of all missionaries and all Christian people!

In the review, therefore, of the many favorable circumstances under which our missionary course

was commenced in India, it were not only blindness, but ingratitude, not to recognise the hand of God in thus prospering our way. And the persuasion that His presence and blessing were indeed with us, proved our support and our ground of hope in many dark and trying hours.

CHAPTER V.

EVENTS AT CALCUTTA.

Death of Mrs. Lowrie—Decision to remain at Calcutta till the rainy season—Study of the language—Missionary efforts, three kinds—Mr. Reed's illness and return.

It was but a few weeks after our arrival at Calcutta that we were called to bow in submission to the will of God, in what was to me a very distressing dispensation. My wife's health was by no means firm on leaving the United States, but her medical advisers thought her going to a warmer and less changeable climate would prove a means of restoring her strength. During the voyage, however, she became gradually weaker, and before we reached Calcutta, it was apparent that her days would soon be numbered. She was herself the first to perceive the true nature of her illness; she calmly prepared herself for its fatal result; and she endeavored to prepare our minds for the hour of parting. Never have I known any person in similar circumstances, whose mind was kept more perfectly in peace, and whose prevailing desire was stronger "to depart and to be with Christ." With a blessed Christian hope, she departed this life on the 21st November. It is

not expedient to give an extended notice here of one who was greatly beloved. Her former pastor, the Rev. A. G. Fairchild, D.D., was kind enough to prepare a small volume of her memoirs, which has met with much acceptance, having passed through several editions, and which, there is reason to believe, has rendered good service to the cause to which she had devoted her life. Her remains now rest in the Scottish Burial Ground, Calcutta.

I have forborne to speak of my own feelings in this time of deep affliction. There are dispensations in the lives of most men, whose desolating severity no language can describe. There are hours of cold despair, which nature could not long endure. The blessed Gospel is our best and our only real solace in such times of trial. The support of our holy religion was graciously vouchsafed, as I trust, to myself and my companions in this bereavement; and though the early removal of one who appeared so well fitted for usefulness was a dark event, we were assured that we should sorrow not as those who have no hope, that we should weep only for ourselves and for the heathen, and that we should know hereafter, as we could believe now, that infinite kindness and wisdom had been displayed in our calamity.

A week or two before this mournful event, it had been agreed that Mr. and Mrs. Reed should proceed alone to the station we had concluded to occupy, and they had made some progress in their prepara-

tion for the journey. But on further reflection it was thought better to delay their departure. It was now evident that Mrs. Lowrie could not linger long amongst us, and they, with the kindest consideration of our feelings, did not wish to leave us alone in the approaching hour of death. Besides this it was urged by our friends in Calcutta that the river at that season was low, and the winds adverse, so that it would be a very tedious and difficult voyage to ascend it. And as the hot winds would prevail in the upper provinces before they could finish the land part of their route, it was deemed better to postpone their journey. It was therefore finally concluded that they should remain at Calcutta until the next rainy season, and then I could proceed with them; in the meantime we could prosecute the study of the native language. If they had gone agreeably to our first decision, I have often endeavored to imagine what would probably have been the subsequent history of our mission. It has been well remarked, that "we do not know what are the small, nor what the great events of our lives;" sometimes those which appear smallest are yet attended with the gravest consequences. If Mr. Reed had proceeded, possibly his valuable life might have been greatly prolonged; and yet the journey, instead of proving beneficial, might have rendered his days fewer in number. One thing has seemed not improbable, if he had proceeded with his wife as his only companion, that, owing to the length of the journey, and the difficulty of making it with so little acquaintance

with the people and their ways as we then possessed, which would of course have been much more serious to a married man than to one who had but himself to provide for, my excellent associate might have been induced to stop at some of the many important places much nearer Calcutta, which were not less in want of missionary services than Lodiana, and other places, in the far northwest. I am sure he would have been strongly urged to occupy some of these stations. Thus it might easily have happened, not to say that it probably would, that the missionary efforts of our Church in India would have been undertaken under widely different circumstances from what eventually occurred. Nor have I any doubt, having now the history of nearly seventeen years to confirm the opinion, that our first position was on many accounts preferable to any other, as a point from which to commence our efforts. Other cities had a larger population, and could be reached in less time, and at less expense, but at no other could more favorable introducing influences have been enjoyed; at no other could our position have been more distinctly marked, nor our character and object more accurately estimated by the foreign residents of the Upper Provinces; at no other were we less likely to find ourselves laboring "in another man's line of things made ready to our hand," or to occupy ground that other bodies of Christians would shortly cultivate; and, not to insist on the important consideration of health, no other place could be more eligible in its relations to other and not less

dark regions of the earth, in its facilities for acquiring a number of the languages chiefly spoken in those parts, and in the access afforded to people whose character, if brought under Christian influences, and whose geographical situation, would better enable them to spread far and wide the knowledge of the true religion.

After my companions had relinquished the plan of proceeding immediately up the country, we agreed to take a house for the next seven months in Howrah, across the Hoogley from Calcutta; and our plan was to devote our attention to the character and usages of the people, the best plans of missionary labor amongst them, having at that city almost every plan under our view, and particularly to the acquisition of the native language. As soon as the requisite arrangements were made we procured a native teacher, and commenced studying the language. This must be the first and highest duty of the newly arrived missionary. Without this knowledge he will probably become discontented in his work, and he assuredly cannot be useful in the highest degree. It is a very unsatisfactory plan to depend on interpreters, and it is never adopted by missionaries in India, unless for a short time while they are learning the language themselves. This study must engage the main labor indeed of every missionary, until he is able to speak the language with ease. And it will be well for him if he have the advice and aid of missionary associates, already acquainted with the particular dialect which he undertakes to ac-

quire. For want of this aid, we met with considerable embarrassment; our Calcutta missionary friends speaking the Bengálí, and not the up-country dialects, and our Hindustáni teacher being able to give us little more assistance than to teach us the true pronunciation. In this study, however, almost everything depends on one's own efforts. And while a close and patient attention should be given to books, such as grammars, dictionaries, and approved authors, it is not less necessary to mingle freely with the people, and thus acquire a practical readiness of speech, and of hearing too, for the natives utter their words very rapidly and almost inarticulately. Study and practice must go hand in hand. If a missionary would feel completely at home as a ready Hindu speaker, he must spend much of his time exclusively among the natives, while he cannot become an accurate and thorough scholar without long continued study of the best authors, and without habits of composition in writing the language. A mistake to which one is liable, and by which we were hindered in our progress, is often that of being too purely students. One of the missionaries now in India has presented this point graphically in a paragraph, which fully supports this suggestion. "Many appear to have commenced with the idea that they must stick to their books, and attempt little or nothing until they are masters of the language. Perhaps they start out when they think they can talk pretty well; of course they are disappointed, and somewhat discouraged by their failure.

They slip back into their study, and at once jump to the resolution of the fool in the Greek fable, that he would never venture into the water again until he had learned to swim. Those who have acted on the other principle have uniformly, I believe, become the earliest and best preachers in the native language."

While we were thus employed, we did not neglect to make ourselves acquainted with the plans of labor adopted by the missionaries in Calcutta. We enjoyed capital opportunities of profiting by their experience, and as the result of our inquiries, I insert an extract from our letter to the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. E. P. Swift, D.D., under date of April 24th, 1834. The views given below have been supported by later and longer experience.

"Perhaps the direct efforts of missionaries may be reduced to three classes; *Preaching the Gospel* to many or few, as opportunity occurs, and in whatever way circumstances permit; *Preparation of Books*, including especially the translation of the Sacred Scriptures and the distribution of them; and *the Establishment and Superintendence of Schools*. A single missionary may engage more or less in all these ways of doing good, if he have the requisite talents, health, and grace; but probably his labors would, in ordinary circumstances, be more efficient, if devoted chiefly to one of these departments. All these modes are open to our choice. As to the first, we have been able to hear of only one missionary

that has ever gone among the Sikhs, or into the Protected Sikh States; and he went only on a short tour, and was not acquainted with the language principally spoken. In regard to the second, the only books in the Panjabí dialect are a translation of some parts of the Bible, and a small grammar of the language, both said to be very defective; at least, we have not yet heard of any other books, such as a Missionary Society would prepare, nor indeed of any kind. And as to schools, we believe there is not, and never has been one, under European or Christian direction, among the Sikhs. There is one at Sabathu among the Hill people, not under missionary direction, nor of high order, which succeeds well. The native schools throughout the country are of no value in any point of view, except as to the mere rudiments of reading and writing; and even these are taught to very few.

"We have, therefore, Dear Brother, the entire field before us, unoccupied, unattempted. It is indeed an inspiring thought, that our Society has the prospect of beginning all that shall yet be done in communicating the blessings of science and religion to millions. May the Lord still prepare the way and prosper the efforts you make!

"It has been a matter of anxious thought what should be the system of education to which we should give the preference. As to preaching, and in respect to books, it is but little we can do until we have learned the language. . . . .But to superintend a native school, we mean one taught by native teachers,

and in the native language, a slighter acquaintance with the language is required, than is necessary in preaching. In teaching an English school, the missionary might begin almost immediately after his location. Some diversity of sentiment exists as to the prominence which should be given to education in English. . . . .Our great object should be to train up, by God's blessing and grace, a race of native preachers. To the former object, though to a certain extent it should, and we hope will, receive our attention, our number is quite inadequate. It must, indeed, be manifest, that the Church cannot send forth a sufficient number of missionaries to educate the entire population in a proper manner. The men suitable in qualifications and circumstances are not to be had. Moreover, it would be at a vast expense of money, of time, and of life, that such a plan could be carried into execution. But all concur, that the best method is to train up native preachers, by sending forth a sufficient number of persons to conduct the system by which they are to be educated.

"Persuaded that yourself and the Committee will fully accord with these views, though so imperfectly presented, we proceed to mention directly, but briefly, the considerations which induce us to think, that English education should be made prominent. Here it will be recollected, that our chief object in education is to prepare native ministers, who should be possessed of all the knowledge necessary to understand, explain, and enforce the meaning of the Sacred Volume. Any other kind of ministers would be of little ser-

vice. But this knowledge does not exist in their language. Shall we then endeavor to translate all the store of English Theology into Panjabí; or shall we educate young men in the English language, and spread before them the vast treasures of our Biblical, Systematic, and Practical Works? The former plan is much the most expensive of the two, and much the least practicable. All the missionaries in India could not accomplish the former, though aided by the funds of all the existing Missionary Societies. The latter plan is simple, and, with the Divine blessing, may be carried into effect by a few individuals. It is indeed only applying to a heathen land the principles recognised by our beloved Church concerning our ministers, though with greatly increased force of application in a heathen land. English will become to this country, what the Latin was to our forefathers—the learned language of the people. And it is worthy of special notice by every observer of Providence in this land, that just at the time when many natives are wishing to acquire a knowledge of the English language, the Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, as if by common consent, are beginning to be laid on the shelf. The former contains all that is good, though with much that is bad; the latter contain almost unmixed evil. So far as there is any experience on this subject, it decidedly confirms this statement. We may further mention, concerning this matter, that, in addition to its being the only way of preparing suitable ministers, this kind of effort does not prevent the missionary from preaching, or pre-

paring books, according to the measure of his time and talents; while it seems peculiarly recommended to our notice in this land, where Europeans and Americans cannot engage in preaching the Gospel, or perhaps in any kind of duty, but at considerable hazard, exposure, and brevity of life. It is hardly necessary to explain, that we do not entertain the sentiments expressed above, to the exclusion of wishes and purposes for both common and female education; but we think it expedient to present them thus at length, because it is probable this will be our first kind of labor, as we can commence soon after we reach the scene of operation. We think we shall possess encouraging prospects as to both the other kinds of instruction."

During the latter part of the cold season, Mr. Reed was subject at times to a slight cough, though, as his general health was good, it gave us but little alarm. After some weeks, however, it assumed such a marked character as to awaken our serious concern, and medical advice was obtained, which, though not of a decided kind, by no means removed our fears. In the course of a few weeks longer, it became evident that his disease was consumption. No means was left untried to avert the disease, but it was all in vain; his strength gradually declined, and at length all hope of a final recovery was abandoned. Mr. Reed himself was of the opinion that his illness might prove a very protracted one; some of his relations had suffered under the same complaint for years,

enjoying during much of the time such a degree of strength as fitted them for attending to their usual business. And his medical attendant encouraged this view of his case, which seemed the more probable, as but one lobe of the lungs was supposed to be affected. Still his weakness was so great as to unfit him for usefulness in a new mission, where everything was to be established; and the expense of living was much greater than it would be amongst his friends; while the degree of comfort, bodily and mental, was far less. After much consideration, and many fervent prayers for direction from on high, we were satisfied that it was advisable for him to return home. This was an exceedingly trying decision to himself, and not less so to his excellent wife. But they considered that this seemed to be the Lord's will, and under the same principles, and I believe with a greater sacrifice of feeling than they had made on leaving the United States, they now prepared for their voyage homeward. Our house in Howrah was given up, and Mr. and Mrs. Pearce again kindly received our afflicted friends as their guests. Passages were taken for them in the ship Edward, for Philadelphia; a few more weeks soon passed away, and on the 23d of July they went on board. The ship had been delayed in her departure, and during the last week or two, Mr. Reed seemed to become feebler every day, so that we were inclined to doubt about his attempting so long a voyage. His kind medical adviser, however, still recommended the change, and all the arrangements having been

completed, they did not deem it expedient to remain. Thus was our little company a second time visited with most severe dispensations. The general prospects of our mission continued to be favorable, but what with bereavement, the loss of my companions, and my own health far from good, the long and solitary journey to Lodiana appeared to me exceedingly disheartening. My own discouragements, however, were light when compared with my beloved missionary brother's mournful lot. His hopes were all disappointed, his plans all set aside, his fervent desire of usefulness to those poor heathens not granted—I do not say, not accepted nor rewarded. For He, whose eye saw his servant's purpose to assist in building the spiritual temple, would in his case, as in that of David, accept the desire and vouchsafe a gracious reward. It is not what our hands perform that chiefly receives his favor, but what our hearts, influenced by his grace, devise and desire to accomplish. And if this dispensation appeared as dark as it was severe to us all, yet we were assured that what we knew not then we should know hereafter, and that we should yet praise God for all his dispensations towards ourselves and towards his cause. Thus in faith we parted, no more to meet on earth, but with a firm hope of meeting in a better world.

Nearly a year afterwards I heard of the death of Mr. Reed, on the 12th of August, about three weeks after leaving Calcutta. He continued to enjoy a calm and steady peace until the last, and then resigned his spirit into his Saviour's arms. He was

a man of respectable talents, great perseverance, and excellent judgment. These traits, united with the perfect sincerity of his Christian character, and the entire devotion of all his powers and aims to his Lord's service, would have made him a most valuable minister of the gospel either at home or abroad, and seemed to fit him for eminent service in the missionary field. But the Master whom he served had work for him in a higher sphere of duty and enjoyment.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY TO LODIANA.

Native boats—Serampore—Dangers of "tracking"—Numerous towns —Boat wrecked—Berhampore—Moorshedabad.

WHILE my missionary companions were preparing for their voyage by sea, I had been getting ready for a hardly less tedious voyage up the Ganges; and shortly after our parting on the Edward, I went on board a native boat. While they were going down the river, oppressed, I doubt not, with deeply sorrowful feelings, I was slowly making my way up the same river with no other companions than natives, and with a journey of twelve hundred miles before me, amongst a strange and heathen people. Under these circumstances, and at other times, I was made to feel that the trials of missionary life are often chiefly those of the mind. It is not the privation of the comforts of home, nor the outward hardships of his lot in his new sphere of life, but it is mainly the separation from friends, the loss of social and Christian privileges, the thoughts and longings of the mind for what must be foregone; the thousand visions of the imagination, by day and by night, of what is far

distant and never again to be seen—it is chiefly these things that are trying to bear. But trials can be supported with cheerfulness, if we are in the path of duty. I could not look in any direction without seeing multitudes of people "without God, and without hope in the world," through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. I could not receive the Sacred Scriptures as the guide of my own faith, and the means of my own hope of eternal life, without at the same time believing a knowledge of them to be equally necessary to the dark-minded people around me; nor could I doubt the solemn obligation resting on all Christians, to use all proper means for making known the glad tidings of salvation to every creature. Here then was a work to be done, of the most sacred character, by which the weightiest interests of the souls of men would be affected; and if the Saviour's spirit, not less than his command, but moved me to take part in that work, surely I could not doubt that all temporal and earthly sacrifices should readily be made, in order to fidelity and success in so holy a calling. These were the circumstances, of all others, in which a minister of the Gospel might humbly hope for the fulfilment of our Lord's promise, "Lo, I am with you always."—I could not hesitate, therefore, to go forward.

There are three modes of travelling in India: by the rivers in boats, or on land with tents, or in palankeens. Before the introduction of steamers, which are but partially used, however, on the India rivers, the only mode of expeditious travelling was in

a palankeen, carried by men, having relays stationed, by a previous arrangement, at certain stages, usually about ten miles apart. If the traveller takes his rest in his palankeen, and proceeds by night as well as by day, he may make about one hundred miles in the twenty-four hours. It is a very irksome way of travelling, and if he have much luggage, which he wishes to keep under his eye, this mode cannot be chosen. Travelling with tents, during the cold season, is a pleasant way of making a journey, though a tedious one. From ten to fifteen miles a day is the usual distance of each stage. I determined to proceed by the river in the kind of boat commonly taken by European travellers, called a budgerow; and at the recommendation of others, I procured a smaller boat to accompany the budgerow, chiefly as a freight boat, but to serve also as the kitchen of our party. This smaller boat proved unnecessary and inconvenient, while it added to the expense. These boats are of a half round bottom, without a keel, rather wide towards the stern, and tapering to a point in front. They have a cabin over the after-part, with a flat roof, on which the boatmen sleep at night, and work the boat much of the time by day, particularly in poling or sailing. A single mast stands nearly in the centre of the boat, just forward of the cabin; and oars are fastened to the long narrowing deck before the mast, but are seldom used. They carry no ballast, and the lading is so placed as to be above the water-line; being thus top-heavy, there is constant danger of being overturned.

These remarks will aid the reader in understanding some accounts of this river journey, which were made after reaching its end, from rough notes taken down on the way.

July 25, 1834.—Having engaged a twelve-oared budgerow, and another native boat for the servants to cook on, and for part of the luggage, I had expected to start early this morning on the journey to Lodiana. Bishop Heber speaks of "two hours' squabbling" with the boat people, when he was setting out on his tour of visitation. I found some trouble both with the budgerow people and the freight or cook-boatmen. The former refused to prepare their meals on the boat, insisting on being permitted to cook on the budgerow—which, from the nature of the ingredients used by them, and from the smoke, would have been very disagreeable. After they found that this point could not be gained, which, however, they did not yield until the matter was carried before the agents from whom I had hired the boats, then the people of the other boat set up a great jabbering about the place in their boat which should be assigned to the budgerow people for cooking. The ostensible ground of the difficulty in both cases was the fear of losing caste; which was merely a pretext, the true reason being a regard to their own convenience. The evils of caste in this country are visible in a thousand forms. Here is an example. Each caste must cook by itself and eat by itself. We have now three places for cooking on the freight boat; one for me, at which also the servants cook; and one each

for the crews of the two boats. One thing was obvious in these disputes, that mild firmness in our intercourse with these poor natives is quite important. I believe they entertain more respect for me now, than if I had yielded to all their demands. We started with the tide; but made no progress, as the wind was strongly against us, and were obliged to "come to," after two or three hours of hard work.

July 26.—We started again with the tide about three P. M., but did not make much progress, mooring a few miles above Chitpur—five or six miles' distance. The boatmen seem a strong, active set of young men; and are thus far disposed to be very obliging. But they are very ready to take every opportunity of imposing on the ignorance or weakness of the "Sahib." Two incidents of this kind occurred to-day. In the afternoon, the Manjhí or headman, came with great respect to ask for twenty rupees, to be repaid at Cawnpore. He knew very well that his wages were to be paid by the agents, not by me, and therefore wished me to lend him the money. But I happened to know, that if he got possession of any sum, however small, I should have much trouble, and little hope of getting it back again; and so declined granting his request. Soon after, one of the men came to beg a rupee, telling me that it was *dustúrí*, customary. Again I happened to know better. It is recommended to make them occasionally a present of a basket of fish, which gratifies them more than the money paid for the fish.

July 27.—We started early, hoping to reach Se-

rampore by sun-rise. Serampore is a small Danish settlement, about fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the opposite side of the Hoogley. It has more of a European appearance than most towns in India, and stretches nearly a mile along the river's bank, but is of no great breadth. Everything now wears the aspect of decay; though formerly it was a place of considerable importance.

The Serampore Baptists are known among all the churches, as the earliest missionaries to this part of India, and as formerly extensively engaged in translating and publishing the Scriptures. It is anything but agreeable to have to add, that the operations of this Society seem to be on the decline, as well as the town in which its head-quarters are established. It is ascribed partly to the want of funds. At Serampore there are three European ministers, including Dr. Marshman; and there are some other Europeans connected with the press. The former are occupied partly with a kind of College, to prepare young men for the missionary service. There is a fine college edifice, and a good collection of books; but not many students. A number of the missionaries employed by this Society received their instruction here. If I have been correctly informed, the greater part of the Serampore missionaries, at the subordinate stations, are East-Indians; good men, and, from their intimate knowledge of the native language, and their ability to endure the heat of the climate, well adapted for usefulness. I saw but two of these missionaries, who appeared to be excellent

men. Their usefulness, however, would be greatly promoted by their spending some time in a Christian country, such as England or the United States, while pursuing their studies. It is difficult for those who have been born and brought up in a heathen country, even though under the best auspices, to form those clear and enlarged conceptions of the nature and advantages of Christianity, and of civilization in general, which a residence in a Christian land would almost certainly afford opportunities of forming. I do not mean to say, that some of the missionaries of this class are not equal or superior to some European missionaries; but only that the former would be much benefited by enjoying the advantages of the latter. One of the Church Society's missionaries is an East-Indian, who had the advantages of a residence for some time in England; and he is now regarded as one of the most efficient missionaries in the Presidency. The Serampore missionaries have English services on the Sabbath, at two or three European stations not many miles distant; and they have also the superintendence and direction of the various branches of the Serampore mission. Dr. Marshman is now an aged man. He is almost the only aged missionary I know, and stands like a venerable oak in the forest.

On the opposite side of the river is Barrackpore, a large Military Village, where the native soldiers (called Sepoys, from the word Sipahi—a soldier) attached to the Presidency-Division of the army, have their quarters. Sepoys form much the great-

est part of the British army in India. They are always commanded by English officers, and make excellent soldiers. At Barrackpore, the Governor-General has a country residence. There is a small church also, and a chaplain.

July 28.—We started again in the clear moonlight about three o'clock A. M., and in the early part of the afternoon reached Chinsurah, twenty-two miles by water. The boatmen "tracked" a good part of the way, that is, six or seven men went on shore, and, pulling with a long rope, drew the boat along at the rate of about two miles an hour. It is hard work; as the poor fellows have to cross nullahs, or arms of the river, frequently so deep as to require them to swim, and to walk often knee-deep in mud, all the time exposed to a hot sun. They relieve each other every hour by twos; that is, two of the men from on board the boat take the place of two who have been longest on shore. To keep their rope from becoming entangled by the bushes, and from dragging heavily through the water, they make it fast, about fifteen feet above the deck, to the mast. As a considerable part of the vessel in the water is before the mast to which the rope is attached, and as the rudder is too small to be of much use, when the current happens to be very strong, there is great danger that the prow will be forced to one side or to the other; and then there is still greater danger that the boat will be pulled by the men at the rope on its "beam-ends," as the sailors say, on its side, and go down to the bottom. I describe the process

minutely; for my most frequent dangers, and some of the greatest, were from this source. In many places, the current dashes along with immense force at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. The "trackers," bent almost to the ground, strain every muscle to pull the boat. The prow suddenly veers from the right direction; the boat is already half on its side; all on board sing out as loudly as possible to the men on shore to slacken the rope; and, if they hear in time, all may be well enough; but if not, the danger is very imminent that everything will be lost, except the lives of the reckless boat-people, who seem to be an almost amphibious race. It would be no easy matter to drown one of them. When the wind is not favorable, "tracking" is the common mode of getting along; as they hardly ever make use of their long awkward oars. Of course, it is a very tedious mode of travelling. When the wind is favorable, they spread sail, contriving to fasten two or three sails, one above another, to the single mast in the centre of the boat. A strong wind will carry the boat against the current from twenty to thirty miles a day; the distance varying as the channel may accord with the direction of the wind. From June to October, the wind usually blows from the south-east, though not without intervals of contrary winds, or of no wind at all. From October to March, the wind is from the north-west.

A few miles above Serampore is Chandernagore, a French settlement. The town is not very large, and is not prosperous; though formerly it was a

place of some importance. The tri-colored flag was flying, and guns were fired every half hour, the day I passed—I suppose in commemoration of the "three days' revolution" in 1830. Chinsurah was originally a Dutch settlement. It is not a place of much commerce now. The situation of these three foreign settlements—Serampore, Chandernagore, and Chinsurah—until recently, in the midst of the British territory, is rather singular. They are regarded by the English authorities, I believe, as islands, and the same general policy is pursued towards them that would be pursued towards Danish, French, and Dutch Islands in the ocean. Each place has its own Governor appointed by its respective king. But since Calcutta has engrossed the commerce of this part of India, the duties of these Governors are chiefly to administer the local government of their respective towns, a very insignificant sphere of operation. At Chinsurah there is one missionary under the London Missionary Society, who has the charge of several schools.

July 29.—We started about five o'clock, and after toiling hard for twelve hours, most of the time at the rope, the men moored at a small village of fifteen or twenty cottages. This village is in the midst of the jungle, or waste, uncultivated land; which is here covered chiefly with tall, rank grass. The people are cowherds; and not one of them can read. By way of excuse, one of them told me they were Bengalís, and there were no Bengalí books. He was probably ignorant enough not to know any

better. We made about twenty miles. The banks of the river are becoming higher, and I even saw an elevation like a very low hill. Cocoa-nut trees are not numerous. Heretofore, the banks of the river, when not cultivated, are covered with a very dense, luxurious growth of underwood, among which the cocoa-nut, raising its tall straight trunk without limb or leaf, except the tuft of long leaves at the top, forms a very prominent object.

I saw a few English-looking houses to-day, occupied by indigo-planters; and passed one large church, much like some of the churches in Madeira. It was at Bandell, an old Portuguese town, where, it is said, there is also a monastery. Hoogley is close by Bandell, and is an ancient native town, where formerly the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danes, had each a factory. In 1632, the first serious quarrels between the Moguls and Europeans occurred at this town. The Portuguese lost sixty-four large ships (in one of which were two thousand persons, who, with all their property, were blown up), fifty grabs, and nearly two hundred sloops. The river at that time must have been more favorable for navigation than it is at present. Such a fleet could not now come thus far up the river. The town of Hoogley is still large and populous; and is prosperous, being the seat of considerable native trade. It is an important place for a missionary station, especially if it could be occupied by a well educated *native* missionary.

July 30.—We started at five, and at ten were not

more than fifteen minutes' walk from the place whence we set out, though we had made several miles. The river makes a remarkable bend at this place. We stopped for the night at Culna, a large and prosperous native town. The Church Missionary Society support a Catechist at this place, who has charge of a school; but he was not at home. By a large town, I mean a town of several thousand inhabitants. It is extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of native population; but Culna probably contains ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. As usual, I took some tracts to distribute during my walk on shore. It is, however, but a very small proportion of these people who are able to read; perhaps not one person out of fifty. I gave three tracts this evening to different persons, who were very willing to receive them. One of the men, a Brahman, soon came to me for another tract, telling me he had given the first one to his "brother," the common phrase for friend.

July 31.—Our boats were moored this evening just below the junction of the Bhagirathí and Jellinghí rivers—branches of the Ganges, which here unite and form the Hoogley. I find here another budgerow, and numerous native boats, all waiting for a change of wind. On the opposite side of the river is Nuddea, a native town of some size, which was formerly the seat of considerable Brahmanical learning; though, at present, few traces of it are said to remain. The district of the same name, in 1802, contained, in a territory of about three thou-

sand square miles, upwards of eight hundred thousand people. It is supposed the number is now much greater. In the adjoining district of Burdwan, the population amounted to six hundred persons, on the average, to a square mile.

August 5.—For two or three days, including the last date, the wind was quite unfavorable; so that we were obliged to lie to, without attempting to make any progress. On Sunday the wind increased to a violent gale, causing large waves on the river, which is here deep and broad. We were unfortunately moored to the lee-shore; so that the wind both dashed the boats against the shore, and the waves against the boats. It soon became evident that we should have difficulty to save the boats from being wrecked. In the other budgerow were a gentleman, his wife, and their children. The lady becoming alarmed, insisted on leaving the boat, and it was well they did so, for it sank under the fury of the waves in a few minutes after they left it. A number of native vessels, and my freight boat, in which were some large boxes of things, shared the same fate. I had most of the valuable articles taken out of the budgerow, and with great difficulty it was just saved; but as the rain was pouring down in torrents, and the wind was very high, the books were much injured, the other articles also damaged more or less, and I got, of course, after three hours' hard work in the rain, completely tired and wet.

An English family happened to reside in the

neighborhood, who received us kindly, and provided dry clothing, &c.—This was one of two special circumstances, deserving sincere gratitude. The prejudices of the natives prevent their receiving foreigners into their houses, and there are very few English families in this section of the country—not one in every twenty miles. The exposure might have proved injurious, if it had been necessary to remain unsheltered, in wet clothes, during the dreadful stormy night which succeeded. The other cause of thankfulness was that the gale did not come on during the night, as in that case everything would have been lost, and probably our lives also. The gale was very general, and occasioned great loss of property, and the loss of many lives. I hope to recover the greater part of my pecuniary loss from the Insurance Office.

Travelling on this river is, almost at every season of the year, attended with danger. The boats, even those for the accommodation of English people, as budgerows and pinnaces, are awkwardly built on a more awkward model, at least the former; the boatmen are unskilful and reckless; during the rains, though you have usually a fine wind, yet you must stem a strong current; at other times you are in danger from north-westers, &c. Every year many boats are lost. I have heard of two budgerows being entirely lost since I left, and I have several times seen that it was the almost direct power of an Almighty hand that saved mine from the same fate,

when rapid currents, contrary wind, miserably managed sails, and inefficient boatmen, seemed almost to make certain such a result.

August 6 *and* 7.—We arrived at Cutwa on the evening of the 6th, and were detained near that town all the next day by contrary winds. Cutwa is a native town of some size, about seventy-five miles direct distance from Calcutta. There is a Baptist missionary here, Mr. Carey, a son of the late Rev. Dr. Carey. There is a school under the care of Mrs. Carey, and a small church of native converts.

August 9.—We reached Berhampore in time to spend the Sabbath among Christians—a great privilege. This town consists of two parts, as do the most of the towns where the English have stations; the one for European residents, the other for natives. These two classes are seldom found dwelling together, or in the same street. The reason is, that their mode of living, kind of houses, customs, &c., are so widely different, that each class finds it more convenient to have quarters of its own. I mention this circumstance, because I am inclined to think it has some bearing on the usefulness of missionaries. Dwelling usually in the same parts of the station with their countrymen, they are perhaps too much identified with them; and less opportunity is afforded to the natives to profit by their example, silently operating under continued observation. There is probably, however, less truth in this remark at Berhampore than at most stations, as the missionaries reside near the native part of the town. In general,

also, it should be stated, that the missionaries have really little choice about the matter; as it is seldom practicable to obtain a house in the native part of the town which would afford any accommodation for an English family. Indeed, if it were practicable, it might in many cases be inexpedient, owing to the danger of injury to health from the crowded, dirty, narrow streets, which characterize most native towns. Yet, where a house at all suitable and eligible could be procured, the advantages of intercourse and of example would be greater, and should never be overlooked. Berhampore is a military station, where, in addition to a regiment of Sepoys, there is a regiment of European soldiers, probably eight hundred or one thousand men.

The London Missionary Society has two missionaries at this place; who find employment in the native town, which is not very large, and in tours through the towns and villages in the country around. They have two or three schools, partly under the care of their wives, for teaching the elementary branches of the native language; and there is a small orphan asylum. One of the missionaries has an English service, on Sabbath evening, in a neat chapel. There are no native converts at present, or at most but two or three. This mission was commenced about ten or twelve years ago.—On Sabbath, I went with the Rev. Mr. Hill into the bazar, whither he usually goes every day to make known the Gospel. A *bazar* corresponds to the streets of our cities and towns occupied by stores and shops. The part of the

building next to the street is a kind of open shop, in which various commodities, commonly of but little aggregate value, are exposed to sale. During business hours, the bazars are generally full of people, buying and selling. Mr. Hill took his station at one side of one of the principal streets, under the shade of a house; and, addressing a native who seemed to have little to do, he began to read a tract aloud. Seeing a "Sahib" thus employed, numbers of those who were passing to and fro, stopped to listen, until we were surrounded by forty or fifty people—men, women of the lower classes, and boys. Some stopped for a few minutes, and then pursued their way. Others stayed longer, and some continued all the time. Some seemed to listen from curiosity; some with seriousness; all respectfully. After reading a few pages, Mr. Hill made a short address, to which occasionally some gave assent; and then he distributed a small bundle of tracts, which all seemed very eager to obtain. Several were disappointed. The scene was one of much interest to me.

August 12.—After receiving much kindness from the missionary brethren and other Christian friends, I started from Berhampore and reached Moorshedabad. This city was formerly the capital of Bengal; and is still a very large place, stretching five or six miles along the east shore of the river. It is, however, greatly on the decline. Multitudes of the mud hovels are going to ruin, a process which in this climate is very rapid, where the materials are so perishable. There are few good buildings in Moor-

shedabad, and scarcely any now building. A very extensive palace, which is now building for the nabob, is almost the only new public edifice I saw. There are a number of temples and mosques; but they wear the aspect of neglect and decay. The nabob of Bengal, who resides here, receives a large pension from the Company, instead of the sovereignty to which, under native rule, he would have been heir. He is said to be a young man of exceedingly dissipated habits; so that his influence amongst his countrymen is very injurious. He takes little interest in political matters, and is anxious apparently to live only a luxurious, sensual life.

Moorshedabad is the seat of considerable native trade; and, in this neighborhood, it is said a greater amount of silk is woven into different fabrics than at any other place. It is also the head-quarters of a circuit court; but the magistrates reside at Berhampore, nine miles below. The London Missionary Society has recently sent a Catechist to this place; but no particular results are yet manifest from his efforts. The missionaries at Berhampore occasionally visit it. It seems to require much greater attention from the Christian world than it has yet received. But this is too true of many cities in India. A large proportion of the people of this place are Mussulmans.

August 16.—Our progress has been very slow, owing to light winds, which afforded little aid in stemming the rapid current of the river. While slowly toiling along this afternoon, two of the nabob's pleasure boats passed us. They are of a singular

structure, very long, very narrow, built almost on the model of a large Indian canoe; but with very high prow and stern, which were richly ornamented. A highly finished awning was spread over the middle of the boats, affording a screen for two or three persons from the sun. The rest of the boats, fore and aft, was occupied by rowers, to the number of thirty or forty to each boat. These rowers kept admirable time; as they lifted their paddles out of the water, quickly performed a circuit with them through the air, raising them above their heads, and then all at the same moment striking them into the water again; thus propelling the boat seven or eight miles an hour against the current. They formed a great contrast to the awkward budgerow, slowly moving along the shore.

To-day I passed Jungipore, the greatest silk station of the East India Company. Hamilton remarks, that "the buildings were erected here in 1773, and in 1803 about three hundred thousand persons were employed. They use the Italian method of spinning. The mulberry tree is the oriental; it is dwarfish, and the leaves but indifferent; to which is attributed a degeneracy in the breeds that have been introduced from foreign countries."

August 17, *Lord's Day.*—We lay to, at a native village, a short distance above Jungipore. A number of people, hearing that there was a "Padre Sahib" who gave away tracts, came to ask for them; and one was given probably to nearly every person in the town who was able to read. A Brahman set

the example, though at first evidently at the expense of some struggles between his pride and his curiosity; but afterwards he brought others of the same caste. It is a cause of thankfulness that they are willing to receive and to read our religious books. Some very pleasing boys interested me much. They belonged to families of the higher classes; had fine, animated, intelligent countenances; and were much gratified by a tract to each one; which they read with great fluency, and which they forthwith ran to show to their parents. They reminded me of some of my former Sunday School scholars. Would that these heathen boys were as highly favored!

From this place there is a distant view of the Raj-mahal Hills, the sight of which was very grateful to the eye, wearied with the sameness of the dead level country of Bengal. From this village our next day's sail was over what Bishop Heber would call "a miserable drowned country." Frequently nothing was to be seen in any direction but water, with the exception of an occasional village or slightly elevated ground, and perhaps the tops of a few straggling trees. In such places the current is very slow; as its force is lost in the dispersion of the overflowing waters. The water of the Ganges, and of course, of all its outlets, is extremely muddy. The clayey sediment held in solution during the rainy season is very large. Much of this sediment is deposited on the land which is overflowed, and forms a very rich manure. After the waters subside, and under a hot sun, in this soil the extensive crops of rice and *dal*

luxuriate with great delight, at least to the owners. We made fast, for the night, to a tree in the midst of the waters, and found, the next morning, that the river had subsided a little during the night.

CHAPTER VII.

VOYAGE ON THE GANGES CONTINUED.

The great Ganges—Raj-mahal Hills—Mussulmans and Hindus compared—Anecdote of Caste—Danger from a gale—Bhagulpore—Spirit of lying—Native boatmen—Monghir—Patna—Dinapore.

August 19.—After passing through a narrow channel, with lofty trees on each shore, and then for a few miles through an open country, we entered on the Burra Gunga of the natives, the main branch of the Ganges. The river is here, at this season of the year, from three to four miles wide, and presents truly a grand appearance. The idea of irresistible power is strongly impressed on the mind of the observer. The mighty river rolls along in majesty, rapidly, but tranquilly, as if regardless of all the world besides. It is one of God's greatest works; and the innumerable native boats, which are seen sailing close by the shore, render the contrast between his works and the works of man very striking.

The latter are little, feeble, and apparently in constant dread of the overwhelming power of the river in whose waters they venture to sail. Our boatmen seemed to feel themselves in the presence of one of the Gods of their countrymen; but being Mussul-

mans, they only poured out some water on the prow of the boat, and then repeated with double energy their usual prayer to "Allah, 'la, 'la 'la-h." I do not wonder that the ignorant mind of the heathen should become superstitious on beholding this vast body of waters.

This may be a proper place to introduce some notices of a river whose sacredness is so great in India, and whose fame is so widely spread through other lands. I take them chiefly from Hamilton. The course of the Ganges is on the southern side of the great Himalaya range of mountains. It has been traced to a short distance above the place of Hindu pilgrimage, Gangoutri. Two miles above this place is the "Cow's Mouth," about which the natives have various fables. It is merely a large stone in the middle of the river, of which a part projects above the water; and with the aid of a lively fancy, may be supposed to resemble the mouth of that sacred animal. The pilgrimage of Gangoutri is considered a great exertion of Hindu devotion; and is supposed to redeem the performer from troubles in this world, and to insure a happy transit through all the transmigrations that await him hereafter. After issuing from the mountains near Hurdwar, Lat. 29° 57′, Long. 78° 2′ East, to the conflux with the Jumna at Allahabad, the first large river that joins it, the bed of the Ganges is generally from a mile to one and a quarter wide. From hence its course becomes more winding, until after receiving the Gogra, the Soane,

and other smaller streams, its channel attains its full width, which in some parts is three miles across. When at the lowest, it is commonly about three fourths of a mile in width. During the rains, the width is of course greatly increased; as the Ganges rises about thirty-two feet, and the banks are low, and the country level for a great part of its course; so that the waters spread widely. The Ganges appears to owe its increase more to the melting of the snow and the rains on the mountains, than to the rains which fall on the plains; for it rises fifteen feet out of thirty-two by the latter end of June, and the rainy season does not fully begin in the most of the level countries until about that time.

About two hundred miles from the sea the Delta commences. The two most western branches, the Cossimbazar, or Bhagirathí, and Jellinghí rivers, unite and form the Hoogley, the only branch of the Ganges generally navigated by ships. That part of the Delta bordering on the sea is composed of a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, named the Sunderbunds, which, including the rivers that bound it, give an expansion of two hundred miles to the branches of the Ganges at its junction with the sea. Its whole length is fifteen hundred miles in a direct line; its actual length is much greater. By the latter end of July, all the lower parts of Bengal contiguous to the Ganges and Brahmaputra are overflowed, and form an inundation of more than one hundred miles in width, nothing appearing but villages and trees. At five hundred miles from the sea the channel is

thirty-nine feet deep when the river is at the lowest; which depth continues nearly to the sea; but the outlet of the main branch is obstructed by sand-bars In the dry season, the mean rate of motion of the current is less than three miles an hour; in the wet season, five or six; and, at some places, seven or eight. Taking the medium of the whole year, the quantity of the water discharged is nearly one hundred and eighty thousand feet per second of time.

It is only that part of the river which lies in a line between Gangoutri, where its feeble stream issues from the Himalaya snows, to Saugor Island below Calcutta, that is particularly sacred in the eyes of the Hindu. The Hoogley river, therefore, of Europeans is considered the true Ganges. Particular places are esteemed more eminently holy than the rest; and to these pilgrims resort from a distance, to perform their ablutions, and to obtain the water that is used in their ceremonies. The chief of these are the five Prayags, or holy junctions of rivers, of which Allahabad is the principal, and by way of distinction is named Prayag. Including these Prayags, there are nine especially holy places on this river.

Having a moderate wind, the boat-people were anxious to go on until a later hour than usual, there being moonlight, though obscured by passing clouds. Accordingly, we sailed along the edge of the river until after eight o'clock. The country seemed to be extensively covered with water; and where the

land was visible, it was so saturated with the rains that had fallen as to afford no firm ground for making the boat fast for the night—which is done by means of ropes attached to several stakes driven into the ground. At last, the men moored the boat at a place which they thought suitable. About midnight, I heard them making a great noise; and on going out, found that the fastenings were giving way, while the wind had become very high, and a densely black cloud was threatening a furious gale. No time was to be lost; and, with all hands hard at work, we got the boat moved a short distance and made fast at another place. If the giving way of the moorings had not been discovered in time, there would have been little hope of being saved. As it was, the danger was very great.

August 20.—We approached Raj-mahal. The range of hills which bear this name have been in sight for two or three days. They resemble some of the parallel ranges of the Alleghany Mountains, and their appearance is very beautiful. Their general direction is southward from this place, though inclining a good deal to the east. Their range above the town of Raj-mahal is quite to the westward of north. The river washes their base from a considerable distance above to this town; but soon afterwards its waters, as if wearied with the fruitless effort to remove these mountains, roll away in an easterly direction.

These hills are inhabited by a distinct race of people, called Paharis, which simply means hill-people.

They are supposed by many to be the aboriginal inhabitants. They have no idols, and pay a much greater regard to truth than the Hindus. Their mode of life is less refined; their language is different, and has not been reduced to writing. A Baptist missionary from Munghír has made one or two excursions among them; and speaks favorably of their candor and willingness to listen to his discourses concerning the true religion. Their number cannot be very great. Raj-mahal was formerly the residence of royalty, and some old palaces still remain, but in a state of great decay. The present town contains perhaps a few thousand inhabitants. The people begin to wear an appearance less effeminate than that which characterizes the Bengalís.

August 21.—We passed Sicly Gully and Pír Pontí —both of them places to which the attention of the traveller on this river is directed as possessing novelty, no small recommendation where everything is marked by sameness. The former was once a celebrated pass, commanding the entrance from Bahar into Bengal. It commands a fine view of the hills and of the river. Pír Pontí is the name given to a detached hill, on account of a Mussulman saint, Father or St. Pontí, who was buried there. There is also a small but rather neat Hindu temple to Maha Dev, about half way up the hill, which is conspicuous and pleasing in its appearance. It stands on a little knoll jutting out from the hill, while on each side, below and above, the deep green of the dense

woods contrasts strongly with the white walls of the temple.

It is very common, especially in towns of some size, to see the holy places of Hindus and Mussulmans thus immediately in contact. You see a temple at one corner, and a mosque at the next. But, in the smaller towns, it is more common to find each class distinct; either all Mussulmans or all Hindus. The average proportion of Hindus who are followers of Mohammed to those who are pagans, is said to be about one to ten. The further to the northwest we go, the larger does the proportion of Mussulmans become. In the "Upper Provinces," as they are termed, as Oude, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, &c., I understand that the more wealthy and intelligent inhabitants are generally Mussulmans. In the Western, or Rajput Provinces, Hinduism is said greatly to predominate. This is easily to be accounted for; as those regions were never so entirely subject to the rule of the Patan and Mogul conquerors as were the Upper Provinces. The two classes, in the Lower Provinces, resemble each other in ignorance, in vice, and rigid adherence to caste. They differ chiefly in their external mode of worship; though among the great mass of the people, their observances are, in both cases, an unintelligible round of ceremonies, alike unmeaning and useless. The two best things in the Hindu religion seem to be the ablutions, or rather bathings, and the prohibition of most kinds of animal food, regulations which are

certainly useful in a hot climate like this, as they secure a certain degree of cleanliness and of temperance. These are both wanting in the Mussulman system; yet custom secures the former, and poverty the latter. On the whole, I am disposed to think that there is not much difference between the two systems in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, in their effects on the morals or the minds of their votaries. Probably the Mussulman part of the community have some advantages over their neighbors in being permitted to keep fowls, &c. Small as this item is, it is a matter of considerable importance among a people so very poor, and so very densely settled.

It is rather singular to see the Mussulmans so tenacious of caste. My boat-people and servants are all Mussulmans; and yet I have to be as careful not to pollute their food by touching it in any way as if they were Hindus. A little terrier dog, given to me by a lady at Berhampore, and which is quite a favorite amongst the men, gave great offence one afternoon. Having swum from the shore, when he got on deck he very naturally shook off the water, and a drop or two fell on the servants' *chipatis*, flat cakes of bread, which they were just getting ready for their dinner. Forthwith, a clamor was raised; the little dog scampered off to the cabin; and the poor cakes of bread were forthwith pitched overboard by the men with much indignation.

The prevalence of caste among both pagan and Mohammedan Hindus serves to show that it is a

civil institution in some sense, though invented by the Brahmans as an essential part of their religious system. The Mussulmans doubtless retain in some degree the religious character of their heathen countrymen; and the civil institutions and social observances, as well as the literature of the people of this country, are all inseparably intervoven with their religion.

Leaving Pír Pontí, we sailed over a broad expanse of water, in order to get to the other side; for the boatmen on this river seldom steer their boats in the middle of the channel, but creep along close by the shore. At the place where we crossed, the river is probably three or four miles wide. While in the middle of the channel, a gale sprang up suddenly, and struck the boat on the foreside, coming partly in the same course as the current. We were carried obliquely down the current with fearful rapidity for two or three miles, until all at once we were "brought to" by being dashed violently against the low shore. The shock was so great that it was with difficulty I could keep on my feet; while chairs, books, plates, pitchers, glasses, were scattered over the cabin floor in great confusion. I felt extremely grateful to the kind Providence which preserved us. Often in such sudden gales, boats founder at once, and all on board perish.

The scenery on the south side of the river, in this place, is very beautiful. A low range of irregular hills stretches along for several miles, among which the eye is delighted to see some pretty little brooks

hastening to pay their tribute to the great river. How beautiful the Scripture language about "living water," that is, not standing pools, but running streams, than which there is no more refreshing and pleasing object in eastern countries. Their water is fresh and pure, ever flowing, and free to all, the poor and the rich; while in the tanks or pools, and in the cisterns or wells, the water is usually stagnant and extremely dirty; and frequently is accessible only to a limited number. God is our fountain of "living water," and Christ has promised his Holy Spirit to be as "rivers of living water." The allusion, we may suppose, is to the flowing streams that watered Palestine; the true meaning points to higher blessings than earth can afford.

On the opposite side of the river, the country is as flat and uninteresting as usual. Here, as elsewhere, large herds of buffaloes are to be seen grazing, under the care of a few poorly clad herdsmen. These animals are all of a dark color, a good deal larger than the common cow, with semicircular horns projecting backward along the neck, and not so crooked as those of a ram, though resembling them in other respects. The buffaloes in this country seem to take as much pleasure in wallowing in a pond of mud and water as the less honored swine. Frequently in passing along, a person may see the noses and horns of many hundreds of them sticking up out of the water, in which they delight to remain during the hot part of the day. They are used, as are cows, in ploughing, harrowing, and carrying burdens. Their

milk also is much used, but it is deemed a coarser fare than that of the cow.

August 22.—Above Bhagulpore, we left the main body of water to the left, and passed several miles up a channel that has been formed within a few years, and which is much more direct. It is now a large river, and will most probably become the highway of the Ganges in a few years. Such changes are constantly taking place. One of the greatest obstacles to the navigation of this river by steamboats, is the constant changing of the channel and the formation of new sand-bars, so that the most experienced pilot hardly knows where to guide his vessel; while the muddy nature of the water renders useless any effort to see his way.

Bhagulpore is an English civil station; that is, it is the residence of an English collector, judge, surgeon, and probably a few other officers, who collect the revenue of the district, and administer justice. Often the civil and military stations are at the same place; though frequently this is not the case. The town is not large, but presents a pleasing appearance at the distance of two or three miles; it contains a number of large houses, and the situation is rather elevated.

August 23.—A trifling incident attracted my notice, as affording an illustration of the spirit of lying which pervades, according to all testimony, the entire Hindu people. Our boat was moored to the bank, with several others, and many men were busy on the shore preparing their dinner. A fowl made its escape from the coop on one of the boats, and taking

its flight in a little circle before the people, happened to alight near an old grey-headed man, who was cleaving wood. A boy ran after this stray chicken to bring it back, when the old man ordered him off, roundly asserting that the fowl was his, and had escaped from his boat; though he was a Hindu, to whom it would have been worse than death to have eaten the unclean bird, for which he was so willing to tell a lie. The owner did not give up his right; but the incident seemed to be looked on as a matter of course.

August 25.—We have made little progress for several days, on account of strong current and no wind. We are now lying below Jangera, one of the few places of note on this river. It is remarkable for two large rocks which project out some distance into the river, and are distant from each other about one hundred yards. On the top of one is built a mosque, and on the other a temple. The former is now in ruins.

August 26.—At our place of mooring this evening, there were many native boats, and I counted nearly a hundred people belonging to them. Only one man among them all could read the tracts I offered, and he very imperfectly; and yet in each boat there are usually one or two respectable men. These boats are commonly laden with return cargoes of various native goods and wares from Calcutta to different places up the country. The head man of one of the boats came to tell me he had some English goods to sell. Feeling a curiosity to know of what

description they were, I went on board, and found a box of old Windsor soap and a cracked bottle of arrow-root. The rest of his cargo was entirely native. The chief articles in the native trade seem to be salt, rice, various kinds of pulse, cotton, coarse cotton fabrics, sugar, mustard, oil, &c. We frequently see boats laden with earthenware vessels; and less frequently now than lower down, many boats employed in carrying the indigo plant, which looks somewhat like long coarse grass, to the nearest factory. Many boats are filled with European stores for the various stations up the country. These boats are always hired, freighted, and insured by some mercantile house in Calcutta.

One is surprised at the lowness of the wages paid to the boatmen. It is indeed wonderful that they can live and support their families on such terms. The common wages are three rupees per month to the men, equal nearly to a dollar and a half of American money, and four rupees to the manjhí, or head man; out of which they must purchase their own food and clothing, and pay all their expenses of every kind; as they have no other means of support. And although these poor fellows work at a great disadvantage, on account of their very awkward boats, and still more rude means of propelling them; yet bating something for the irregular habits of heathen, I have scarcely ever seen harder working men. They are daily at work from sunrise to sunset, pulling, pushing, wading sometimes in mud, often in water above their waist, exposed all the time to an

intensely hot sun; and their only reward is a pittance which enables them to buy their rice to eat, and their tobacco or their opium to smoke in their huka, and perhaps once in six months, a piece of coarse cotton muslin, two or three yards long by three fourths of a yard wide, for a new suit of clothes. These boatmen deserve great commiseration. They are a peaceful, hard-working, and obliging race; but they are compelled to live nearly at the lowest point of human subsistence. Their minds are perfectly blank as to all elevating knowledge; their morals are what might be expected, where the heart is left utterly uninfluenced by the Gospel, and uncultivated by good agency of any kind; and their prospects as to the future world afford nothing whatever to support them under the hardships, or comfort them under the sorrows, of their existence in this life.

August 27.—We reached Munghír. For the last eight or ten miles, the river has been separated into various channels, so that, at the place where we were moored last night, the broadest was not more than a quarter of a mile wide. Just before reaching this town, the new iron steamboat, which was launched a few months ago at Calcutta, passed the budgerow, bound to Allahabad. This is said to be the second time a steamer has attempted to ascend any distance on the Ganges, and it is the first attempt to come so high as this place. I have already mentioned some of the difficulties attending the navigation of this river. This vessel moves at rather a slow rate against the current. But it is a small-sized boat,

and has in tow a baggage-boat, as large as the steamer itself.

Munghír presents a very pleasing appearance, as a person approaches it from the river. It stands on a kind of promontory, at the south-east extremity of an island formed by the river, and its situation is elevated—an advantage possessed by few Indian towns. It was formerly a place of considerable strength, in the wars between native kings ; and the extensive walls of the fort, which are yet remaining, must have proved almost impregnable to a native army. Its aspect now is more peaceful and more pleasing, as the fort has been allowed to go to decay, and some good looking European houses have been erected on the high knolls in its inclosure. The native town seems to be prospering, and the people are driving an active business in the various kinds of iron manufactures, for which this place has long been celebrated. Fowling-pieces, pistols, kettles, knives, &c., are made with great neatness, and at low prices, but are said to be apt to break, on account of the bad materials from which they are made.

There is a branch of the Baptist mission at this place, with two Baptist missionaries, and their families. One of them is actively employed in various efforts to extend the Gospel among the heathen, and has a small church of some twenty native converts. There is also an English service on Sundays, and on one or two evenings during the week. Munghír is two hundred and seventy-five miles by land from Calcutta, and probably four hundred miles by the river.

August 30.—A few miles below Bahar. We are fully entered into the great plain of Hindusthan, or Hindusthan proper. A pleasing range of hills, the Gorruckpore, were in sight the first two days after leaving Munghír. But now, we may bid farewell to hills for many hundred miles to come. The banks of the river have presented an almost continuous succession of villages; and the people are a hardier and more manly looking race than the Bengalís. The province of Bahar, which forms the western boundary of Bengal, is one of the largest in this Presidency. The soil is of a drier nature, and the climate is said to be more temperate than in Bengal, though the hot winds from the westward extend over part of this province. In some parts the proportion between the Mussulmans and Hindus is one of the former to three of the latter. The celebrated place of Hindu pilgrimage, Guya, is in the south part of this province, about fifty miles south from Patna. Formerly the East India Company collected an annual sum equal to eighty thousand dollars, from a small tax on each pilgrim. It derives its holiness from having been the birth-place of some of the gods. This is the chief region of the opium and saltpetre manufactures; and instead of the immense fields of rice which tire the eye in Bengal, we now begin to see wheat and barley. The town of Bahar, or Bar, is an old and ruinous looking place, but of considerable size, thirty-five miles south-east from Patna.

September 1.—Having had a fine wind, and the course of the river being very direct from Bar, I

reached Patna this morning—about three hundred and seventy miles by land, and five hundred or five hundred and fifty by water, from Calcutta. The appearance of this city from the river is certainly superior to that of most India towns I have yet seen. It is built chiefly along one street, on the south bank of the river, which is here more than usually elevated above the water; and many of the houses are quite large, constructed of brick, and abutting on the river. Yet a nearer view shows that many of the buildings are going to ruin, while scarcely any of them are in a better style than is often seen in Hindu buildings elsewhere. The population is variously estimated. Probably it is not less than one hundred and fifty thousand. The number is so large that the city extends six or seven miles along the river; though in no part is the width more than one half or three fourths of a mile. Among the manufactures of this city, a kind of cloth resembling diaper and damask linens, and wax candles, are of most note in other parts of India. The East India Company have some of their depots for opium at this place; of which article, as of salt, they retain the monopoly.

There are two missionaries at Patna; one a very devoted, interesting gentleman of fortune, who is not in connexion with any society; the other a Baptist. Neither of them has been very long here, and they have not as yet had the privilege of seeing any converts from among the Heathen. The Sikhs have a place of worship at Patna of considerable repute. It would be interesting to ascertain how this solitary

branch of that religion was planted so far from the parent stock. After staying a few hours with a kind Christian family to whom I had letters, and where I had the additional pleasure of meeting the former mentioned missionary, I started again in the afternoon, and made a few miles, mooring for the night opposite Bankípur.

September 2.—Passing Bankípur, where the civil servants of the Company, engaged in administering justice and collecting the revenue, chiefly reside, and then passing Díghah, I stopped between the latter place and Dínapore, and spent the rest of the day with another Baptist missionary who is stationed at this place. Here I enjoyed the satisfaction of much Christian intercourse with this family, and the other Baptist missionary, who had come to spend the day with them. These brethren, in addition to their duties among the Heathen in preaching or talking to them and distributing tracts, have each an English service attended by some of the Europeans or others who speak English. Patna, Bankípur, Díghah, and Dínapore, form an almost continuous city of twelve or fifteen miles in length. Díghah is a considerable village, and Dínapore, the scene of Henry Martyn's pious labors, is one of the largest military stations; it has also a native population of probably fifteen or twenty thousand. There is usually a King's regiment, a Company's regiment, and a large artillery detachment of European soldiers, at this post, who have fine substantial barracks. The church also makes a good appearance. With the chaplain

I did not become acquainted. From all I have heard, religious matters are in a condition but little if any better than when the faithful Martyn was here, or than is described in the Journal of Bishop Heber.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY TO LODIANA CONTINUED.

Rivers and towns—Attar of Roses—Danger from falling banks—Benares—Allahabad, example of fatal superstition—Review of the river journey—Dák travelling—Agra—Delhi—Arrive at Lodiana.

September 3.—This morning, there was a fine breeze which raised quite a sea in the broad expanse of water over which we sailed. The river is here several miles wide at this season. In the course of to-day's sail, we passed the mouths of three large rivers which enter the Ganges; the Gunduk, which is said to take its rise in Thibet, and in whose waters the stricter Hindus are forbidden to bathe; the Gogra, also from the Himalaya mountains, after a course of five hundred miles; and the Soane, from the south, after an equally long journey. But, owing to the lowness of the banks, and the extent to which the waters are spread over the face of the country, I could not distinguish the places where their streams unite with the great river.

About twenty miles above Dínapore, we passed Chaprah, a fine looking native town, of some thirty thousand inhabitants, situated on the north bank of the river. It is the capital of the district of Saran,

in the province of Bahar, and is the residence of an English magistrate, a collector, and probably a surgeon. This town presents many advantages as a situation for a mission family. The district of which it is the chief town contains twenty-five hundred square miles, and its population in 1801 was estimated by the Governor-General from revenue statistics at one million two hundred thousand souls. Probably, the number at present is not less than a million and a half.

September 4.—In the evening, we reached Buxar, where there is a dismantled fort, the situation of which completely commands the river, contracted here to little more than a quarter of a mile in width. Buxar is one of the stations for invalid soldiers; of whom there is always a considerable number under proper officers. It is also one of the places where the Company have an establishment for rearing horses for the cavalry. The native town is quite large, and chiefly composed of Mussulmans.

September 5.—We passed to-day the mouth of the Karamnasa river, said to be a small winding stream. For the reason which prevented my seeing the place of junction of the Soane, I did not enjoy the gratification of seeing that of this river with the Ganges. The banks of the Ganges are now higher, the trees fewer, and the innumerable villages more uniformly characterized by having a tope or grove of mango trees in their immediate vicinity.

September 8.—On the evening of the sixth, I reached Ghazeepore and spent the Sunday with the

chaplain, a pious, amiable, and excellent man; in whose family I had the pleasure of meeting two or three officers, connected with the military at this station. This is both a military and a civil station. As there is usually a regiment of European soldiers in the barracks, there is a chaplain and a church. But for the service of the natives, amounting to many thousands, perhaps fifty thousand, there is neither missionary nor any kind of agency employed. This is an important station for a mission family; as there are no missionaries nearer than Benares, which is forty miles distant, while the population of this district is as dense as usual. The town is considered one of the most healthy in India, which I should think very probable from the high open ground on which it stands. Of the native inhabitants rather a large portion are Mussulmans; but in the country they do not average more than one eighth of the people. The character of the people of this town is rather unfavorably noted. They are spoken of as lawless and ready for acts of violence.

The country around is extensively covered with rose bushes, which are cultivated for the purpose of manufacturing rose water, and the famous attar of roses. To produce a quantity of the latter equal in weight to rather less than half an ounce, it is said that twenty thousand grown roses are required, and the price of that quantity is about fifty dollars. The attar is obtained by skimming off the oil, which is found on the surface of the rose water after being exposed all night to the open air.

To-day, we got under sail again; but the wind being very light, and the current very strong, the men were soon obliged to go on shore with the rope. We were to-day frequently exposed to one of the greatest dangers of travelling on this river. The banks are often high, crumbling, and ready to fall into the water. By the tow rope the boat is dragged close to the bank, whilst the heavy tramp of the men in pulling, and the rubbing of the rope on the edge of the bank, frequently detach large masses of ground. The danger is, that they may fall on the top of the poor boat; in which case it would almost certainly founder. This afternoon, the risk appeared so great that I thought it best to leave the boat and walk some miles. The sun was covered with clouds, so that I did not experience the evil influence which invariably attends exposure to his rays at this season of the year.

September 9.—We passed a Conductor's fleet of boats, some thirty or forty, carrying military stores to different stations of the army. We passed also the native town of Seidpur, a place of some business. No incidents of much interest occured.

September 11.—We reached the far-famed city, Benares. The appearance of this city is certainly very fine, as one approaches it on the river. It stands on a high bank, perhaps thirty feet above the water, on the inner side of the crescent, or semi-circular sweep, which the river here makes of some three or four miles; so that, at one glance, a person can see the entire river view of the city. This view

is quite singular, without anything to resemble it, much less to rival it. The houses are built close to the edges of the bank. Numerous temples stand also on the same eminence, while many ghats, or landing places, of stone steps, leading from the water up to the top of the bank, some of them very large, are covered with crowds of worshippers bathing or washing in the holy river.

But it is in the city itself that a person sees how entirely it is "given to idolatry." The streets are so narrow that neither carriage nor horse can enter them; at least, it is not expedient to attempt penetrating them on horseback; and, in a carriage, it is not practicable. As the houses are very high, never less than two stories, but more frequently five or six, there is an air of gloomy seriousness, befitting the holy place of such a religion. At every corner and turn, the eye sees temples and pagodas, of all sizes, and of every kind of structure. In the streets many fat, lazy, tame Brahmany bulls are walking about at their leisure; and beggars, and devotees, and Brahmans, are not less numerous. The walls of the houses often present rude paintings of the different gods and goddesses, with their various transformations and exploits, their many arms and weapons; and, in the raised narrow projections, at the doors of the houses, and in the inner corners of streets, are sitting numerous persons, selling flowers and beads for the accommodation of the multitude of worshippers. In the temples there are always numerous Brahmans; some reading in loud, chanting

tones, the shasters; others, besmearing an obscene image with oil, and decorating it with flowers; others, pouring libations of holy water from the Ganges on the idols, and on different places in the temple; while not unfrequently a crowd of holy beggars, looking like demons through chalk and cow-dung, make a person almost deaf with their incessant repetition of Ram! Ram! Ram!

Benares is held as sacred for ten miles round, but particular places in it are accounted peculiarly holy. One visit to this city secures for the pilgrim a sure admission into heaven. Many resort here from all parts of India, to finish their days; and so great is the fame of its holiness that many Rajahs have vakils residing here, to perform for them the requisite ceremonies and ablutions. It is said that within this city are a million of images of an obscene image. If true, or even near the truth, this estimate conveys a mournful idea of the state of morals. The mosque built by Aurengzebe is the highest edifice, the minarets being upwards of two hundred feet high. It was built to mortify the Hindus, and is erected on the site of one of their most holy temples. The view from the top is very extensive and interesting.

Among the various buildings of some interest is an old Observatory, where may be seen a large gnomon of stone and some other instruments. Benares is not merely the Jerusalem of the Hindus; it is also their Athens. There are many private schools in which Sanscrit is studied under learned Brahman Pandits, who are supported by native

princes and other wealthy Hindus. There is also a Hindu College, in which are taught the various branches of Hindu learning, not excepting astrology, nor the astronomy of Ptolemy, nor the geography which teaches that the earth is supported by the tortoise "chakwa," and that mount Meru, standing in the centre of the vast plain which forms the earth's surface, supports the seven heavens. It is said to have eight or ten professors, and about two hundred students. The superintendent is an European.

The population has been estimated at upwards of five hundred thousand; but many suppose that it does not exceed three hundred thousand. At particular festivals the concourse is great beyond any computation. The European residents live in Secrole, one of the suburbs, about three miles distant from the chief part of the city. There is also a regiment of sepoys stationed there, and a chaplain.

There are seven missionaries at this city; three of the Church Society, and one superintendent of a large English and Persian school, founded by a wealthy native, but committed to the management of that Society; three of the London Missionary Society, who have a small chapel and stated service in the city; and one of the Serampore Baptist Society, who resides in the city, and has a room in his own house fitted for a chapel. Usually these brethren go every day to the city, and talk with the people, and give religious books and tracts to those who they think will make a good use of them.

Though they have not yet had any conversions, they all say that they are heard with more attention and seriousness now than a few years ago.

Of the journey above Benares, I will give some notices from letters written at different places. From Benares, passing Chunar, Mirzapore, and other native towns, I reached Allahabad on the 23d of September. From a letter written on the next day to the Secretary of the Society, the following extract is taken :

"The junction of the Ganges and Jumna, you know, is regarded by the Hindus as one of the most holy places in the sacred river. As the Jumna is not an object of worship, I hardly know how the opinion has originated that the goddess Gunga, or Ganges, should derive an accession of holiness from her union with that river. Nor is there anything in the natural scenery of the place peculiarly impressive. The country is level on both sides, though not so flat as in Bengal, and the two rivers unite without occasioning, even at this season when both are much swollen, any great noise or large waves. We behold with interest two large rivers flowing together, but apart from that, there is not so much to excite ideas of power in the junction of these rivers as of the Alleghany and Monongahela.

"Till a few years ago it was quite common for the deluded worshippers, many of them, to drown themselves at this place, supposing that thereby the possession of heaven was rendered certain. The boat, in which they were accustomed to go to the proper

place to take their departure, came at last into the possession of an old woman, some time before the English authorities interfered to put a stop to the custom, and she "by that craft had her wealth." Of course she did not relish a change which would take away her income, and earnestly contended that people had a right to drown themselves if they pleased. The magistrate was firm, and while he did not directly oppose the custom, he informed all concerned that he would punish with death any who should, in any way, be accessary to their destruction. This simple measure brought the custom to an end. This occurred but a few years ago. I could not but feel sad at heart while sailing over the place where many of our fellow creatures 'rushed unbidden' into the presence of their final Judge, hoping to secure his favor by an act of sin, assured of heaven while on the way to a widely different destiny. And though the practice no longer exists, yet the creed does in all its blighting influence. Oh, soon may the knowledge of the true way of happiness be spread amongst this people! Incidents like these sacrifices, and like the swinging by hooks inserted in the muscles of the back, of which I saw an example last spring, would seem to show that the promptings of natural conscience are very strong, even where great ignorance exists. However much may be ascribed to motives of vainglory in the applause of men, and to the influence of stupefying doses of opium, yet the foundation of these customs lies much deeper. Their origin and continued

existence show that the witness which God has created in the bosom of every man (see Acts xiv. 17, compared with Rom. i. 20), still performs its duty. Such proofs of the power of natural conscience should encourage missionaries in their addresses to the heathen, to make pointed appeals to it."

From Cawnpore, where the river part of the journey was ended on the 9th of October, a letter was sent to the same gentleman, of which a part is annexed:

"A journey on this river affords to those who can speak the language many opportunities of usefulness to the natives. Villages are thickly studded along the banks; many boats are often moored at the same place with yours; generally during daylight, and often at night too, the people live in the open air, and are very willing to listen to your instructions, and to receive your books, I distributed a good many tracts, and at times under circumstances which greatly affected my mind. On one Sabbath, a venerable aged Brahman, the chief man in the village where the boat was lying to, came to ask for a tract. He could not read himself, but said he would get his little grandson to read it for him, and he listened with much attention while I read a few pages. In coming up this river, a person should have some Bengalí, and as many Hinduí and Hindustání tracts as he can obtain, and also separate books of the sacred Scriptures.

"A journey of this kind affords much leisure for

personal improvement. The time is hardly ever less than two months and a half, often three months, during which but little occurs to prevent close application to reading, writing, &c. Few visits or calls to pay or to receive, few newspapers to spend the morning over, few objects of interest in the scenery around: the danger is rather that of having too much, than too little time for study. There is something also in this kind of life to promote the improvement of the heart in piety. Certainly the presence of so many visible dangers, and the preserving care of the Lord, often too obvious to be overlooked, 'in perils of waters—in perils by the heathen,' should call forth unfeigned gratitude, no less than humble confidence in the providence and grace of God.

"There are few objects of interest to be seen in a journey on this river. The Raj-mahal, and the Gorruckpore Hills, and the city of Benares, appeared to me more interesting than anything else—the former, by reminding me of our 'lovely native land;' the latter, because so perfectly unique, for I suppose it would be difficult to find another city with so many features peculiar to itself. In general, the country is very level, the banks of the river low and monotonous in appearance, the river itself as muddy as high rivers usually are, and less impetuous, and apparently quite unconscious of its divine character, and equally regardless of the worship it receives. As to the native villages and towns, when you have seen one, you have seen a specimen of

nearly all. The great part of the houses are low mud cottages, with two low doors, and covered with thatch coming so low down in front as to form a sort of veranda, or open portico. Usually a great many low shady trees are found in their villages, and one or two large peepul trees. Around the foot of one of these a clay platform is erected, and there, under the wide spreading branches, in the afternoon, you may see most of the respectable villagers smoking their hukas, and probably discussing the politics and news of the village. These are the places where a missionary should take his station, and direct their thoughts to heavenly themes. If he were prudent and kind in his manner, he would hardly ever fail to obtain a patient and respectful hearing.

"One is much struck with the good taste these people have displayed in choosing the sites of their temples. These, in the country and in villages, are commonly small four, six, or eight sided buildings, of brick, covered with plaster, about ten or twelve feet high, surmounted by a dome and a short spire. They have seldom any other furniture than the idol, or emblems peculiar to the particular deity worshipped, though these are frequently of the most indecent description—too much so to be named openly, much less described. I have often admired the situation of the temples. Where there happens to be a high, bold bank to the river, you will very often see one of these small buildings standing, white and conspicuous, in the midst of two or three small

trees of little more than its own height. At other times you see them in low places, under an over-spreading peepul, close by the water's edge, with a flight of steps leading down into the water. Perhaps a fine grove of open, round-topped trees, may form a back view of peculiar beauty. These Hindu places of worship, however, furnish nothing to improve either the intellect or the heart. Every association, every thought awakened by the great majority of heathen temples, is demoralizing and ruinous to the soul. They furnish occasionally a place for the reading of shastras, which, in many cases, neither reader nor hearer understands. But even this is seldom done; there is no stated assembling of the people to receive instruction; there is neither scribe nor teacher; neither book nor manuscript. The worshippers, after saying over by rote some dry names of gods, sprinkling a little water, and offering, perhaps, a few flowers to the idol, and if followers of Shiva, daubing his face with some mud, not forgetting sundry ablutions in the Ganges, when the temple is near it, then go away as ignorant as they came, and more depraved.

"I ought to notice one other feature of a journey on this river—the intercourse with missionaries. At Serampore, Chinsurah, Cutwa, Berhampore, Monghyr, Patna, Digah, Benares, and Buxar, there are missionaries, either of the Baptist, London, or Church Societies. It is necessary to stop at most of these places to obtain provisions, and the Christian kindness of these good people is very refreshing, while a

knowledge of their plans and operations and experience will be of great service. Everywhere it will be found that God regards the kind of heart with which he is served more than the kind of missionary organization. Here are the agents of voluntary and ecclesiastical societies; all have been blessed, and the former certainly not more than the latter. But all can labor in love, and there is room and need for all, and for many more."

From Cawnpore to Lodiana I proceeded by dák, travelling in a palanquin. From other letters a few notices are here inserted of this part of the journey:

Delhi, October 27.—"At Cawnpore, I made a new disposal of my goods and chattels; putting them on three hackeries, or rude carts, of three oxen each. The distance thence to Lodiana is about five hundred miles; and the expense of transporting them will be considerably less than in the United States by a similar or land conveyance. As for myself, I had to decide on travelling by dák. In this manner one goes along, night and day, at the rate of four miles an hour.

"At night a dák traveller presents a singular appearance. Foremost are the *petarrah walas*, or bundle-carriers; of whom I have three, each man walking along with a peculiar fast gait, and carrying two bundles of twenty-five pounds each, swung at the ends of a stick over his shoulder. Then comes the traveller in his palanquin, borne by four men, who at every step make a peculiar unpleasant sound, a

kind of grunt, by way of music; while four others run by their side; each set relieving the other about once in every five minutes. But the most singular appendage is the *mussálchí*, or torch bearer, who runs along beside, carrying a large torch, on which he pours oil every few minutes, making a fine light. Every ten or twelve miles, a fresh set of men are stationed. The chief difficulty in this mode of travelling is its irksomeness, from one's always lying in the same position. Persons who cannot sleep at night are seldom able to endure the fatigue; but I got along finely, sleeping as well as usual, until, at the end of their stages, the bearers would awake me for their *bakshish*, or usual present of a few anas. From Cawnpore to Agra, a distance of about one hundred and ninety miles was travelled in fifty hours; and from Agra to Delhi, one hundred and fifty miles in thirty-seven hours.

"Agra and Delhi are the two chief cities of Upper India; and are the richest in memorials of former greatness that I have ever seen. The Taj, at Agra, is a wonderfully chaste and beautiful monument to the favorite wife of a Moghul emperor. The main building stands on a white marble terrace or platform, and has four tall minarets or towers, of graceful structure, one at each corner of the terrace—all built of polished white marble. One side fronts on the river Jumna, and the entrance on the opposite side is through a beautiful garden. Perhaps the feature, which attracts chief attention in the interior of the Taj, is the mosaic work, or inlaying of carne-

lian, and other valuable stones, in the shape of flowers and vines, of great variety in figure and delicacy of coloring. Two richly finished tombs, in what might almost be called the cellar, but which have corresponding tombs in the chief apartments, directly above the lower ones, contain the only inhabitants of this wonderful edifice. Their glory has passed away; even their names are nearly forgotten; while as to their present condition, the multitude of extracts from the Koran, on the walls, inlaid, afford little ground of hope that they look back on their earthly splendor, or on the sepulchral state of their clay-tabernacles, with any rejoicing. The Taj was erected by Shah Jehan, in memory of Nur Nahal; and when he died his remains were entombed by her side.

"The fort at Agra, containing a palace and a mosque of white marble, is also well worth seeing; as are some other tombs. At Delhi, there are several mosques and public buildings of great interest, which are larger, but less highly finished, than those at Agra. The principal masjíd, or Mohammedan temple, in this city is built of a kind of freestone. These Mohammedan buildings,—the T'aj and mosques at Agra, and the mosques at Delhi,—are generally constructed on the same principles of architecture; which indeed seem to characterize all Mohammedan public buildings. You have a noble terrace, with perhaps some fine reservoirs of water. Then in the centre of the terrace stands the main building, surmounted invariably by one dome; sometimes by

more, with short gilded spires; while at two of the corners of the terrace, and sometimes at all the four, lofty minarets or towers arise, either of octagonal or circular form, and usually very lofty. At Benares, two are upwards of two hundred feet high; at Agra, the four of the Taj are about the same height, and perhaps some of the minarets here are nearly as lofty. They are generally surmounted by an open cupola.

I went through the palace in this city, in which all that remains of the former splendid Moghul royalty now resides. Some of the palaces, temples, mosques, and tombs are imposing; but there is always a strange combination, in these eastern countries, of greatness and meanness in the public buildings, as in other things. The great hall of audience, for example, with its large court, where suppliant kings and ambassadors formerly knelt, is the next in series to a stable yard, from which it is separated only by a single large gate! The throne, whence Aurengzebe gave laws to millions, is ascended by a dark narrow flight of rough stone steps; though there was another and better entrance to it, which is now walled up. The throne itself is now covered with defilement, while the hall of audience is lumbered up with old palanquins, worn out carriages, &c. The present Moghul Emperor has no authority out of the palace, and seems to care little about its interior appearance, provided he may have plenty to eat. The English treat him with a great show of respect; which is probably the reason that so little care is

given to keeping things in better order. If the palace were entirely theirs, there is little doubt that their liberal policy would secure the careful preservation of these remains of the former greatness of the Moghul dominion.

"The missionary here is Mr. Thompson; a good, intelligent, judicious man, of considerable enterprise, and much respected by the English people. He has been seventeen years at this city; speaks the language, of course, as it is his mother tongue, with perfect fluency; and is very diligent. The Lord has granted him to see some few converts from the heathen. He was once at Lodiana, and has travelled much on missionary tours in the Upper Provinces; I was therefore very glad to hear him say that he considered our field of labor the finest in India.

"I went about fourteen miles, all the way through ruins of the old city, to see the Kutab, an immense tower of two hundred and forty feet in height. The view from the top of it is fitted to awaken strange and painful emotions. For miles and miles around, you see scarcely anything but the ruins of former greatness. One dilapidated palace, or mosque, or tomb, after another, rises in the view, till you are almost oppressed at seeing such manifold evidences of the feebleness of man. The river Jumna terminates the view in one direction; and, though here but a narrow stream, it is a perpetual witness of the power of God in his works, who can preserve as well as create. * * *"

November 5.—"After leaving Kurnal, one hundred and twenty miles north of Delhi, I entered the territory of the Protected Sikh States. There is nothing, however, in the appearance of the towns, or in the state of cultivation, to show the traveller that he has left the Company's territory. Enjoying the protection of British influence, this region seems to enjoy the same peace and degree of prosperity that distinguish English from Native rule in these parts of the earth. But from Cawnpore, and especially from Delhi, it is easy to see that the inhabitants are a more energetic, warlike people, than those of the lower provinces. You meet many native travellers, armed with swords, spears, or matchlocks—sometimes with all these weapons. They are large, strongly built men, with full beards, commonly; and often look savage enough; but are in fact very peaceable, if not molested.

"Northward of Delhi, the soil for the most part is very sandy, and under only partial cultivation. There are few trees, except in the neighborhood of the towns. The inhabitants do not live, as we should say, 'in the country;' but nearly all dwell in large towns, which are mostly walled. This circumstance, in connexion with the common practice of carrying arms, indicates that the state of the country has formerly been very unsettled; which indeed was the case. But we may hope those days have passed away, and that the times of peace which have succeeded, will afford opportunity to introduce the peaceful reign of our Saviour."

I reached Lodiana, my post of missionary duty, on the 5th of November, 1834. This was nearly eighteen months after leaving Philadelphia. And it serves to show the manner in which distant places have been connected with each other, by the providence of Him who beholds all the nations of the earth at one view, that a messenger from churches in the western hemisphere, after traversing nearly seventeen thousand miles of the broad ocean, and penetrating thirteen hundred miles further towards the heart of Asia, should at last find his sphere of labor in a city unknown even by name to those by whom he was sent, when his journey was at first undertaken. Our neighbors are all our fellow men whom we can reach, directly or indirectly, to do them good; and Christian and Heathen nations are now so related to each other that the multitudes of those who are "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death," though living in distant lands and of a strange speech, may be effectively reached by the benevolence of their more favored brethren. We may offer to them the blessed gospel if we are so inclined.

CHAPTER IX.

EVENTS AT LODIANA.

Lodiana—Sickness—English Preaching—Importance of Schools—English School at Lodiana.

"LODIANA is the most remote of the English stations in India on the North West. It is situated on a small nalla, or creek, about five miles from the river Sutlej, which forms the eastern boundary of the Panjáb, and divides the territories under British influence from those of Ranjít Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs on the other side of the river. The present population of Lodiana is estimated at from twenty thousand to twenty-five thousand; and is on the increase. When the navigation of the Indus is freed from the present restraints, which will most probably be within another year, the town may be expected to increase considerably; as it will then become one of the marts of trade with countries down the Indus. It is now a place of considerable business intercourse with the countries westward. Few towns have so varied a population in people and language. There are two regiments of infantry, and one troop of horse artillery here, commanded, of course, by English officers; so that nearly a hun-

dred persons use the English language. There are probably two thousand five hundred people from Cashmere, who have found refuge here from the famine and oppression which have almost desolated their beautiful native valley. There are about one thousand Affghans, who speak Persian chiefly. The higher classes, of whatever nation, in this part of India pride themselves on speaking Persian. The Sikhs, who, both on this side of the Sutlej and on the other, form about one tenth of the population, speak and write (when they can write at all, which is seldom the case) the Gurmukhí or Panjábí dialect, which appears to be formed from the Hinduí.

"In regard to Lodiana, as a place for missionary operations, I still think it quite desirable to have a mission established here, of two families for the present; that is, of two married missionaries. One of them, in addition to the Hinduí, should possess a knowledge of the Panjábí. The other to Hindustání or Urdu should add Persian. After some time, perhaps one, two, or three years at the farthest, a press will most probably be nearly indispensable. At first, the missionaries will need to labor in a quiet way, avoiding professions of intention to convert the natives, but watching and improving the opportunities which I have no doubt will be constantly occurring for conversation, distribution of portions of the Scriptures, Tracts, &c.

"One thing has been much impressed on my mind —the importance of sending some person to make observation before a mission, of any size at least, is

resolved on. I find that actual observation has corrected and modified my views of this field of missionary labor in no small degree; as I shall now briefly describe: 1. The way does not seem to be yet open for direct efforts, as it is, for instance, in the lower provinces. The native chiefs on this side the Sutlej, and Ranjít Singh on the other side, have still the power to prevent an intercourse with their people. It is not probable that they would attempt to do it, if quiet, prudent measures were pursued. 2. The manner in which the population is distributed is quite different from what I expected to find, judging from other parts of India. The people chiefly dwell in large towns, often considerably distant from each other; while the intervening country is uninhabited. This circumstance may afford a better opportunity ultimately of making all the people acquainted with the gospel. 3. The proportion of those who embrace the religion of Mohammed is much larger than I had supposed, and they constitute the better classes of the people. The Sikhs form about the tenth or twelfth part of the people. The great majority of the rest are Mussulmans. There is less prospect of their conversion than of any class; yet 'the arm of the Lord is not shortened, that it cannot save.'"

The same letter, having been delayed some three weeks, conveyed the news of sickness, leading afterwards to an entire change in my course of life:

"What a change in a man's prospects and hopes

is sometimes effected by the events and the information of a few days! Since my last date, I have been ill with a severe attack of congestion of the liver. Through the favor of God, the means used have been attended with so much success that I am now able to sit up again, at least during part of the day. For about a week, I could neither read nor attend to anything; I had scarcely strength to rise from my bed. This was partly owing to the severe course of medicine which it was found necessary to prescribe. But I do not love to dwell on what has been severe, there has been so much goodness mingled with this illness. Though a stranger, I have received the kind treatment of friendship. I have especially cause for thankfulness in having had the services of a skilful and experienced surgeon. My mind too has been kept in peace; and now that I am getting better, I am glad to have a grateful heart, and to feel inclined to trust in the Lord with renewed confidence. . . . . The Doctor tells me, that my constitution will not suit this climate, and the sooner I return the better."

On recovering from the severe illness referred to in this letter, I took charge of a school for the education of native boys in English, and also of a school for the children of the Drummers, Serjeants, and Native soldiers, besides conducting public worship on the Lord's Day, attended by the English officers and others speaking our language.

This latter service was very well attended, and

was an important, and in the circumstances then existing, an appropriate sphere of duty. Where the Europeans at a station are disposed to attend on the ordinances and ministrations of religion, it is decidedly important to have these services established. Not to insist that their spiritual interests should never be neglected any more than those of other men, their official standing and their superior character give them every advantage for promoting the welfare of the natives, both by their own efforts directly, as representing our common religion, and by the countenance and co-operation which they can give to the missionary. There may be in some cases an impropriety in a missionary's undertaking such duties, especially where chaplains are already officiating; and in no case should missionaries turn aside from their proper vocation, in the hope of greater usefulness amongst the comparatively few Europeans at their station. Their work is a special one, and it is clearly defined by the commission under which they act: it must not be thrown into the shade by any other undertaking. As they have opportunity, however, they must do good unto all men; and the main difficulty will often be, to know how to give a due share of their time and labor to the numerous claims which are made on them. The greatest usefulness in the long run to the greatest number must be their aim. In my own instance, there could be no difficulty about giving a part of my time to this English service, as I had been constrained to relinquish the

study of the native language, by the slight prospect of being able to continue long in the country.

The English school had been set on foot by Captain now Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, the Political Agent, a few months before I reached Lodiana, and had been placed under one of his native clerks, with the design of transferring it to my care when I should arrive. Some fourteen or sixteen native boys had been in attendance. After a few weeks the number was increased to about fifty, of whom some were the sons of two or three native chiefs, and other respectable native gentlemen; some of them were Hindus, others Affghans, others Cashmerians, and a few Sikhs; speaking, amongst them, the Hinduí, Hindustání, Gurmukhí, Pushto, Persian, and Cashmerian languages. By giving two or three hours a day to the superintendence of the school, and with the valuable service of an Indo-British teacher, the progress of the scholars was very creditable to themselves, and gratifying to their generous patron, Captain Wade, and other European visitors.

Several of these youths evinced no ordinary degree of capacity, and most of them were of clever abilities. All were uniformly respectful in their behavior, and after a little training became studious and some of them earnest in their attention to their books. It was delightful to look on their animated faces, and see their eyes kindle as they received knowledge daily to which before they had been strangers. And when their confidence had been

gained, they appeared to regard me with mingled respect and affection, and to receive my instructions with apparently perfect faith. I advert to this, though at the risk of appearing to speak my own praise, for a special reason—to show how invaluable are the opportunities afforded to a missionary by such a school for promoting the great object of his mission. He has a most hopeful charge, a company of youths whose minds are as yet but partially under the influence of heathen opinions and associations. The influence of their families, out of school, is doubtless strongly unfavorable, but this weighty hinderance is perhaps more decidedly felt by adults than by children in India. And opportunities will occur every day of correcting the false views which prevail around them, and imparting clear and connected instruction concerning the Christian religion, while all the teaching of the missionary is enforced by his example, and rendered almost sacred in the eyes of the scholars by their high views of his character.

The importance of Christian schools becomes still more apparent when we recollect that the main hope of success in our endeavors to convert any heathen people, so far as the use of means is concerned, consists in preparing native agents who shall preach the gospel to their countrymen. These must be chosen and qualified, in heathen as in Christian countries, chiefly amongst the youth. Missionaries from foreign countries are indispensable in the first instance. It is theirs to sow the seed, to plant Chris-

tian institutions, to organize and train the army of native soldiers of the cross, and for a while to be the officers of "the sacramental host." All this they are now doing in India. But they labor under great disadvantages. Their numbers are too small; they are and ever must be regarded as foreigners, imperfectly acquainted with the language, the usages, and the habits of mental association of the people; they cannot live but at great expense, compared with the cost of supporting a native missionary; they are poorly fitted by their previous habits and by their having been brought up in colder countries, for resisting the insidious and too often fatal influence of the Indian climate: these and similar considerations will ever preclude the hope of the conversion of the Hindus by a purely foreign agency, and they show the necessity of directing our endeavors to the training of a native ministry, on whom must finally devolve the great work of evangelizing India. The limited experience of European missionaries in India would, it seems to me, fully support these views. Those missions and missionaries have been most successful, which employed the largest and best trained force of native assistants. And it is very satisfactory to know that within the last few years, these doctrines have been more fully recognised by missionary societies than formerly. We may indulge brighter hopes, therefore, of future success. Indeed it has always appeared to me surprising that objections should be made against missionaries having the charge of schools among the heathen—espe-

cially in India, where nearly all the native writings, no matter how erroneous, have a sacred character, and where all the instructions of the missionary, even concerning geography or astronomy, have a direct influence in overthrowing the great fabric of Hindu superstition. In every heathen country, the missionary's schools are his churches, the scholars his congregation, and every day is hallowed by him in communicating Christian knowledge. It cannot be contended that preaching the gospel, which is doubtless the one great object of the missionary's life, is to be restricted to the forms of stated public worship which have been matured in old Christian communities—to preaching elaborate sermons, for example, delivered from a pulpit to the people sitting below in pews. There could have been very little preaching of this kind in the Apostolic age, or in times of persecution afterwards. Divine truth may undoubtedly be preached without the presence of the forms which we so justly revere. It may be made known by a public and authorized person in many other ways. It may be taught by the gift of the Sacred Volume with a few words of kind advice; it may be proclaimed with a loud voice in the midst of the confused multitude, pressing madly after their idols; it may be preached to a few natives under the shade of a banyan tree, by the missionary's earnest talking with them; it may be announced in quietness and peace in the humble mission chapel, to a little company of patient hearers; and we should be thankful for all these ways of preaching good news to our

fellow men. Why should we feel less thankful that the gospel may be taught daily to children, teachably and hopefully waiting on the lips of well known and beloved instructors? If there have been schools in which a decided Christian influence has not been exerted, I am not their advocate; but when properly conducted, schools certainly afford most important facilities for advancing the object which the Church has in view in her missions to the heathen. At the same time, I am well aware that serious difficulties may often exist to hinder the usefulness of schools, and even to prevent their being taken under the missionary's care.

If I have dwelt too long on this topic, it has been only in part on account of its deep importance to the successful prosecution of the missionary work; I have also wished to secure the reader's greater interest in the school, with which our efforts among the natives at Lodiana were commenced. Its early history has given pleasing evidence of the favor of God towards our mission.

At first, however, there seemed to be no little uncertainty about its prospects, and whether indeed it should become a mission school. This may appear surprising to the reader who recollects the account given by Mr. Reed and myself in our letter to the Society, from which an extract has been given on a previous page; but that letter conveyed only the impressions made by the information we had then received. Now, I found that among the

Europeans in the Upper Provinces there was much apprehension about connecting religious instruction with the education of the natives; and some men, of liberal views too, were decidedly opposed to such a union, at least at this time. The general policy of the government colleges, in which the Christian religion is no more recognised than the Mohammedan or any other, should be followed with special care, it was argued, amongst a people so partially under subjection to the British as the inhabitants of the Protected Sikh States, and a people moreover of so much independence, not to say recklessness of character. The popularity of these colleges among the natives was everywhere acknowledged, but the successful religious institutions of learning in Calcutta, attended largely by native youths of the highest castes, were not so well known in the Upper Provinces, or not considered examples to be imitated where the circumstances were so different. And it was easy, starting from premises like these, to form quite an array of objections, which I doubt not were sincerely felt, against attempting to combine religion and education in schools for the natives. Religious prejudices would be aroused, disaffection might be created against the government, and the improvement of the natives retarded by premature zeal; these were opinions which it is not strange that men should form in the peculiar circumstances of these provinces. I esteemed myself highly fortunate in having to consult with a gentleman of such enlarged and correct views, and of such general zeal for the

good of the natives, as were evinced by the Political Agent at Lodiana. With many other men it might have been impracticable for me to have had any connexion with the English school at that place, as I could not consent to take the responsible charge of an institution from which our holy religion was to be utterly excluded. After mature reflection, the school was fully placed under my control, and its studies were directed by a settled plan. No professions of our object were ostentatiously made, but on the other hand no concealment of our views was attempted, nor was there any withholding of religious instruction. No alarm was awakened among either Hindus, Mussulmans, or Sikhs; and the school, after a fair trial, was considered a successful effort. At least, a favorable beginning had been made, though another and hardly less critical decision as to its permanent character was yet to be given.

Thus far there was abundant ground for acknowledging the hand of God for good towards our mission, and, we trust, towards the native inhabitants. It would have been a matter of deep regret, if the first efforts in this new sphere of education had been established on the contracted policy of excluding that instruction, without which all other teaching is incomplete and unsatisfactory; thereby awakening or confirming a host of prejudices, and closing the door against the most valuable opportunities of imparting religious knowledge to those, who were soon to wield the highest native influence. Indeed so grave was the complexion of this matter, that I could

not but seriously doubt the expediency of remaining at Lodiana, unless it could be satisfactorily adjusted. This was evidently the first thing to be done, as matters then stood in that city ; and not to have had the supervision of whatever was done or attempted might have proved in many ways embarrassing. But whatever fears I might have been constrained to indulge, not so much from the views of Europeans at this city as from the general considerations already referred to, I could not but acknowledge with lively gratitude the favor of Him, who disposes and governs all the counsels of men according to his own holy will. Nor could I fail to be grateful to those Europeans of the station, and particularly to the Political Agent, Captain Wade, who in this instance as in all others proved himself a cordial and efficient friend of our mission.

CHAPTER X.

TOUR TO LAHOR.

Information desired—Invitation from Ranjít Singh—Manner of travelling—Appearance of the country—Paghwarah—Dancing girls—Villages—Cities—Interview with a Native Chief—River Bías—Cashmerian emigrants—Sacred reservoir at Amritsir; visit of a Native Chief.

Those who are engaged in establishing a new mission, should seek earnestly for such information as shall enable them wisely to form their plans of proceeding. They should know the numbers of the people amongst whom they are to labor; their character, business, usages, learning, government, laws, state of society, chief towns and cities, and other matters affecting their condition, and especially their religion and its institutions and observances. These things influence greatly the efforts, both in kind and extent, which the missionary should undertake for their welfare. Entertaining this opinion, I endeavored to collect information on these points from every quarter; particularly after the physician, to whose kind and valuable services I was so deeply indebted, had given his opinion as to the necessity of my returning home. As our mission had a spe-

cial reference to the Sikh people who inhabit these north-western parts of India, and as most of the Sikh tribes live in the Panjáb, or country between the Sutlej and the Indus, under the government of Maha Rajah Ranjít Singh, and are seldom visited by foreigners, I was anxious to make a tour on the other side of the Sutlej. I soon learned that there was little prospect of being able to make such a journey. Through jealousy of foreign influence, Ranjít was reluctant to permit Europeans and other foreigners to enter his territories; and to avoid giving umbrage to a ruler of so much power, the British authorities did not authorize foreigners to cross the Sutlej, except in special instances. I had therefore reluctantly to relinquish the project of making inquiries in the Panjáb itself. The reader will judge then of my surprise and gratification at receiving from the Maha Raja an invitation to pay him a visit at Lahor! He had heard of me and of our English school through his Vakíl at Lodiana; and with his invitation he made a proposal that I should spend six months of the year at his capital, to take charge of the education of a number of the young Sikh noblemen, the sons of chiefs. I should have been delighted to have accepted this proposal, if the state of my health would at all have justified my living on the plains; it presented a fine prospect of obtaining a standing and influence, which would have been invaluable to a missionary. And in reflecting on the past, I have been disposed to regret that I had not consented at whatever risk; but the

physician's advice was imperative. I must repair to the hills on the approach of the hot season, as the only means of preventing another attack, which in the warm season would probably prove extremely dangerous, if not fatal. I was constrained therefore to decline the proposal, and as the invitation was connected with it, I much feared that my declining the one would prevent a renewal of the other, though in acknowledging the honor of the invitation, I expressed myself as anxious to be permitted to come and pay my duty to "the great King."

The invitation was repeated, and the visit to Lahor was shortly afterwards made. Of this tour I took notes at the time, which will serve to give a better view of the condition of the Panjáb, than I could present in any other form.

January 28, 1835.—Agreeably to an arrangement previously made, I set out this afternoon on the journey to Lahor. An elephant had been sent from that city, to carry the tents; and another which the Maha Rajah keeps at Lodiana, was assigned for my use to ride. The latter is a noble animal, being nine or ten feet in height. On his back is placed the Howdah, a kind of buggy-like frame, but without a hood, and having two seats. The front one is richly ornamented, with silk cushions, of a yellow color, the favorite color of the Sikhs; and affords sufficient room for two persons. Behind it is a lower seat for a servant, either for parade or to hold an umbrella when necessary. The driver sits on

the neck immediately before the howdah, while one or two assistants run by the side of the elephant, carrying goads, or iron sticks, to guide the animal or quicken his pace. The motion is not a pleasant one to persons not used to it. He goes at a kind of walking gait, as if trampling on round stones, and apparently so much at his leisure as to lead one to think he was making little progress. In truth, however, the horsemen in company, of whom there are ten assigned as guards, are obliged to amble along (for the Hindus seldom trot) four or five miles an hour, to keep up with him.

Before mentioning the elephants and the horsemen, I should have introduced the Persian Munshí, or Secretary, who goes with me as interpreter. He is a Mussulman Hindu, who has acquired a pretty good knowledge of our language at the English College at Delhi. He will be of great use to me; as, in addition to the knowledge of the language, he is acquainted with the customs of the people, and his pleasing manners render him not unacceptable as a companion.

There are no hotels in this country; so that in travelling it is necessary to take everything along that is needed for cooking, sleeping, &c. And such is the division of labor among different castes, who will not do anything but what pertains to their own class, that it requires no small number of men to form an establishment. Thus, our present company amounts to about sixty persons, including myself,

munshí, horseguard, and our respective domestic servants, with tent-pitchers, attendants for the elephants, horses, &c. Large as this number appears to be, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it is smaller than the attendance of most European travellers in the Panjáb.

Crossing the Nallah, or moderate sized stream, of clear beautiful water, which flows almost half round Lodiana, our road led through fields of grain, covering the level sandy plains with a carpet of green. We passed two or three small, ill-looking villages, where the mud-houses of the people, their cattle, and their grain, were all jumbled closely together, and surrounded by a low clay wall. At five or six miles' distance, we came to the river Sutlej. The water flows along in a naked channel through the sandy plains, which characterize this part of India. There are a great many shoals, or sand-banks, in the channel, which make their appearance at this time of year; yet in the main channel there is rather a strong current, and about ten feet depth of water. During the rainy season, the waters of this river are spread over the country two or three miles in breadth. Formerly, it ran past Lodiana, where the Nallah now runs; but it forsook that channel some fifty years ago—an occurrence which one may suppose would not be unfrequent, as the water receives a rapid impulse in the mountainous regions, and the sandy soil of the plains opposes but feeble resistance to its progress. The ancient name of this river was

Satudar, whence Hesudrus. It is the most eastern of the five rivers from which the name Panjáb* is derived, and forms the boundary on the east of that part of India. After continuing its course forty miles from this place, it receives the Bías, the ancient Hyphasis, the second river of the Panjáb, counting from the east; and thence, the united stream is called the Gharra. At Uch, lower down to the southwest, the river formed by the other three rivers of the Panjáb joins the Gharra; and thenceforward, the name is Panjnad, which falls into the Indus at Mithon Khot. We crossed the Sutlej at a town called Filor, on the opposite bank, where there is a fort of some strength, garrisoned by one hundred and fifty men, and a population of six or seven thousand persons, chiefly Mussulmans. Here we encamped for the night on the open plain near the town.

January 29.—We started this morning at 7½ o'clock, and came to Paghwarah, ten kos, or about thirteen miles. The road led us past six or seven villages: some of them large, containing probably two or three thousand inhabitants each. Many others were in sight, and several had small forts, of no great strength. Paghwarah contains probably fifteen thousand inhabitants. The houses and public buildings make a better appearance than is usual in cities of India, a larger portion of them being of brick than is common. The people are chiefly Hindus; the Mussulmans have two mosques; and there are two

* From two India words, *panj* five; and *áb* water.

or three hundred Sikhs. So we are informed by the chief man of the town, himself a Sikh. There are a few Persian and Sanscrit schools at this town, attended by a few scholars each. The chief trade of the people is in the common white sugar of the country. The fort presents a formidable appearance at a distance. We did not go near enough to examine it closely.

In the afternoon, a company of Nach girls came to the place where our tents were pitched on the plain, wishing to exhibit their skill in dancing, in order to obtain a present. There were about twenty of them, attended by two or three men with instruments of music. All were unveiled, and were dressed in their richest finery. Nearly all were quite young, probably not more than ten or eleven years of age. As I did not wish to give them any encouragement, they went away apparently much disappointed.

This class of girls is to be found in all the large towns and cities of India. Their profession, from which they receive their name, is that of dancing and singing; in which they are employed at all feasts and joyous occasions. The Hindus consider such amusements very disgraceful in themselves; though they take great delight in witnessing the performance of others. These poor girls are universally of disreputable character; and their number and style of dress afford one of many proofs, that impurity extensively prevails among this people. It is said that their songs and dancing are often very indecent. This general subject is a painful one to

every Christian mind, and requires the veil of silence to be drawn over most of its aspects. Yet it would be a want of faithfulness in missionaries not to advert to it at all; as thereby one of the most prominent evils of Heathenism would fail to be rightly understood. If any of the views, however, which may be presented, admit minuteness of statement and call for peculiar concern, it is the affecting truth that the great majority of this class are so very young. It not only shows that they are early initiated into the grossest vice, but that their course in it is brief. Soon they are discarded, wander about as beggars, and perish miserably.

January 30.—Jalandar, about thirteen miles. We started at six o'clock. The morning was cold and frosty, the thermometer standing at 32° in the open air. We passed two large villages, and saw several others at a short distance; from one part of the road, no less than six, all of them but four or five miles apart, and connected together by the greenly covered field of grain. At one of them there is a large mosque.

The appearance of villages in the northern parts of India is almost everywhere the same. If rising ground can be obtained, they are placed on the highest part; which however, is seldom more than a few feet elevated above the vast surrounding plains. The houses are almost always built of clay or mud, as is the wall which commonly incloses the town. There is greater neatness and cleanliness in the interior of these villages than a person would

expect to see; but on the outside of the walls there is much to offend more senses than one. I have often been reminded of the expression in Revelation, "without are dogs." These animals are by no means held in such estimation in this country as among western nations. Many of them run wild, or unclaimed by any owner; and often they may be seen, half-starved, sneaking, and stupid in their appearance, preying on the filthy, putrid matters that are thrown over the walls.

The cultivated plains over which we are travelling are said to yield two crops in the year; the first, of wheat and barley, sown in November, and reaped in April; the second, of different kinds of a native grain, generally called *dal*, sown or planted in July, and gathered in October. The seed of the dal is used by the natives for food, and the stalks make fodder for the cattle. The wheat and barley seem to be cultivated with great care. Often it is planted in rows a few inches apart; and frequently the seed has been so deposited as to spring up in bunches or clusters of two or three stalks each.

Before reaching our stage to-day, we met a string of sixty or seventy camels, loaded with salt. They travel in "Indian file," a cord being attached either from the crupper or tail of the first, to the nose of the second, and so on. The salt is brought from Dadal Khan ka Pind, a place on the other side of the Jilum, upwards of one hundred miles from Lahor to the northwest. There is a range of salt hills, in which, at some distance and partly descending, the

salt is found in solid mass of a reddish color. It is dug with sledges and hammers, and exported to all parts of the Panjáb; yielding a revenue at the mines, it is said, of more than a million and a half of rupees.

Jalander, in the vicinity of which our tents are pitched to-day, is a large, substantial looking city. It was formerly the residence of the Lodi race of Affghan kings, from whom the town of Lodiana takes its name, who have left many traces of their having made this place their home. It is surrounded by a high wall, partly of brick with bastions, and partly of clay,—has a large fort, and many brick houses. The population is said to be forty thousand; chiefly Hindus, with some Mussúlmans and a few Sikhs. The country is highly cultivated, and in the immediate vicinity are numerous gardens, mango, pomegranate, orange, and rose trees. Our tents are near three large tombs, erected to perpetuate the names of former kings. But their remembrance has passed away, and their memorials are fast sharing the same lot, being in a very ruinous condition. I estimated the smallest one to be forty feet square, and twenty-five to the commencement of the dome. The other two are larger, and of different structure; but are also surmounted by domes. This circumstance is proof itself of the Mussulman faith of their builders. They seem to be very fond of this kind of structure, probably because it forms so large a part of the ornamental roofs of their sacred temple at Mekka. They place domes, in this country, on

the tops of nearly all their mosques; usually three; and on their tombs and other public buildings.

In the afternoon, the *Thanadar*, or Governor of the city, came to pay his respects to me. He was attended by several of the chief men, and a crowd of guards with long spears, making a little forest of sharp points over their heads. I was indebted for this mark of respect to my character *as an Englishman*, for such they think I am, and to my travelling through the country at the Maha Rajah's invitation. The custom is for inferiors of respectability, in approaching a person whom they regard as superior, to offer a rupee or two on the folded corner of their mantle. This was done this afternoon; but I think it best, after recognising their civility, to decline receiving the present. It is only meant as a matter of form. After making some inquiries, I distributed tracts to those among them who could read; which were accepted with many thanks; chiefly, I suppose, because they look on me as their superior, so that it is a mark of favor from me. I am thankful, that this adventitious dignity will probably secure a careful perusal of these silent messengers of salvation.

January 31.—To Kaphurtalah, twelve miles. Soon after starting this morning, we passed two of the twelve *pakká* villages which belong to the city of Jalander. Their houses and walls are all built of burnt bricks, whence the name pakka, which gives them a very superior appearance to that of many Hindu villages. None of them are more than five

miles from the city. The district of Jalandar, including the city, is farmed for its revenue by a Sikh chief, who pays two hundred thousand rupees annually for the privilege to Ranjit Singh. When we got within a mile of our halting place, we were met by a vakil, or kind of ambassador, of the Chief of this part of the country, mounted on an elephant, and accompanied by eight or ten foot soldiers with their muskets, who presented arms as a salute, and then went before us, the vakil riding by our side. For this mark of respect we may thank, partly the circumstances under which I make the journey, and partly the custom of the country. We were conducted to a large, and for this country a well-built, dwelling in a garden, some distance outside of the walls of the city, where the Chief wished me to take up my quarters.

Fatteh Singh, the *Sardár*, or Chief of Kaphurtalah, is one of the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs, having a revenue of about seven lakhs of rupees, or three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He was formerly an independent prince, but was obliged to become a feudatory of Ranjit Singh, after being deprived of a considerable portion of his territories. Part of his possessions lie in the district of country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, under British protection. The population of this town, where he lives most of the time, is probably about ten thousand persons; chiefly Hindus, with some Mussulmans, and a few Sikhs. It is a new town, and is apparently increasing with much rapidity. Some of the public build-

ings are large and not deficient in Hindu taste. The most singular and extensive is a temple to Siva, erected for the Hindus by the Chief, himself a Sikh. It has a lofty pagoda-like structure at each corner of a square, and a similar building in the centre of larger dimensions. These pagodas are from thirty to fifty feet high, with many gilded short spires shooting up from various projections. In the afternoon, the wind was very high and from the east. The thermometer stood in the open air at 40°, 101°, and 50°, at sunrise, noon, and sunset. At noon it stood at 61° in the shade.

February 2.—Yesterday I went to see the Chief, and had much conversation with him and his attendants. He is rather under the middle size, has an intelligent countenance, dresses plainly—much more so than his sons, and all his remarks evinced strong good sense, though not much cultivation of mind. I was struck with the frank, unceremonious, yet respectful manner in which all seemed to address him. It wore something of a patriarchal aspect, which the grave countenances and long beards of the people rendered the more dignified. It was interesting, also, to see Sikhs, Mussulmans, and Hindus, mingled among the chief men of this court, in the same manner as the mosques and temples of these sects are seen standing in the same streets of the town. I should think it very probable, that in a few years a branch of our mission might be established here under promising prospects. Even now, I think the Sardar could be persuaded to grant his

protection, if not his influence; and especially if an English school were undertaken.

Our halting place to-day is at Bahrowal, fourteen or fifteen miles from Kaphurtalah, on the opposite bank of the Bías, the second river of the Panjáb from the east. The Bías is here a pretty stream of about one hundred yards in breadth. The eastern bank is low, and covered with a deep fine white sand, for a mile from the water. The other bank is bolder, and is probably thirty feet high. The town of Bahrowal stretches along the western bank for two or three miles; but does not contain more than five or six thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly Hindus. It is a kind of landing-place for rafts of timber, which are brought down the river in the rainy season. But it does not present the appearance of a thriving business place; rather it appears to be on the decline. As usual, there are no schools, and but few persons who can read.

February 3.—To Jandyala, fourteen miles. The country, to-day, has the same general appearance that we have noticed on former days—level, sandy, destitute of trees, stones, houses, or anything to break the uniformity of the landscape. There were occasional fields of fine wheat, and a few villages looking as uninteresting as usual. The fields have now commonly a low brier fence around them. One is ready to wonder at the richness of the grain on so sandy a soil; but the soil is rather a loam, much sand being intermingled with clay, which becomes very productive when water can be applied to

irrigate it. To obtain water for this purpose, the Persian wheel is commonly employed.

To-day, as on former days, we met a number of Cashmerians, emigrating from their beautiful native valley, in search of employment. Through famine and oppression, the valley of Cashmere is said to be now almost deserted; containing probably less than one hundred thousand inhabitants, and yielding no revenue at all, where, some years ago, it is said, forty lakhs, or four millions of rupees, were collected. These emigrants look very wretched, being ragged, dirty, and often bare-headed, which in this country indicates much deeper poverty than to be bare-footed in western countries. They carry with them a few utensils for cooking, and sometimes a small bundle of ragged clothes. The men have usually fine, intellectual looking countenances, and are rather small in stature. The women may rank in their appearance among the poorer classes of emigrants from Europe to America, and have frequently good faces and fine eyes, though not so remarkable for beauty as some writers represent. They are a very industrious people, and are now to be found at nearly all the large towns in this region of India, employed in manufacturing the various fine fabrics for which their valley is celebrated.

Jandyala presents rather a good appearance, many of the houses being built of brick. It is always difficult to form a correct estimate of the population of a Hindu town. There are seldom any well ascertained statistics, never any records, and the natives

differ widely in their guesses. One informant stated the inhabitants of this town at thirty thousand. It probably contains about one third that number; chiefly Hindus of the Kshatriya caste, one of the most respectable orders of the community. There are, however, no schools of any kind, and few are able to read. Those who wish to have their children taught to read and write, send them to Amritsir. There is a brick fort in the immediate vicinity of this town, the walls of which are probably twenty or twenty-five feet high. It is smaller than one or two others we have seen, that were built in the same style. Scarcely any of them would hold out for any length of time against European artillery. Some of them would tumble down at the first discharge. Yet others display considerable acquaintance with military science, having the same array of bastions, ramparts, port-holes, ditches, drawbridges, &c., that are common in European fortifications.

February 4.—Our ride this morning presented nothing worthy of particular notice. The fields of grain were more scattered than we observed on former days, and large tracts of land were lying waste. Two or three large villages on the road-side, and some others at a distance, had the usual appearance. When we had made about half our march, we saw several lofty columns rising from the city of Amritsir, distant five or six miles. We soon reached the city, and found our tents pitched in a garden outside of the wall, at the north end. This is one of the largest cities in the north of India, as the population is sup-

posed to be upwards of one hundred thousand. It has the higher recommendation of being a city not on the decline, but of increasing prosperity. It is the emporium of the Panjáb, and the chief mart of the fine fabrics of Cashmere, and yields a revenue, it is said, of five hundred thousand rupees, which is paid to the Maha Rajah by the Chief, who has the farming of its collection; so that the entire sum is probably much greater.

Like Benares among the Hindus, Amritsir is the Sikh Athens and Jerusalem, being the chief city of learning and religion. The cause of its celebrity is undoubtedly the Sacred Reservoir, said to have been formed by Guru Ram Das about the year 1575. It has been once or twice profaned by Mohammedan conquerors, yet has still been regarded with the utmost veneration. It is the chief place of resort of the Sikh pilgrims, and has many daily devotees, who think their worship becomes highly meritorious by being performed at so sacred a place. Rajahs have vied with each other in the richness of their offerings for its decoration; and the number of learned Sikhs, who live in the cloisters around its pavement, and in the booths on the margin of its waters, to explain the sacred book, the Granth, is so large, as to diffuse almost a literary atmosphere over the place of devotion.

I went to see the reservoir, though some danger attended the visit. There are always present many of the Akalis, a kind of desperate fanatics, who fear not God nor man. I found a large square court, paved with bricks along the four sides, which

form what may be termed the wharves of the sacred water. Along the outside of the pavement there is a range of buildings with open doors or windows, facing the reservoir; and the numerous shady trees, which are growing in the pavement, make the walk agreeable, and are in good keeping with the serious character of the place. The pool of water is about one hundred yards square, and is probably ten or twelve feet deep. It is supplied by a small canal, brought from the river Rávi, at about thirty-five miles' distance. In the midst of the water stands a small, but neat temple, covered over with neat gilding, and connected with the pavement by a causeway at one side. At the north side there is a large and richly decorated temple to Guru Govind Singh, near which is planted a lofty flag-staff, covered with gold cloth. Both of these are objects of great veneration. At the edges of the pavement next the water are sundry small booths, or little buildings, open at one side, and containing little else than a Granth and a Guru, a Sikh Bible and a Sikh priest.

A number of boys accompanied us in our walk around, and behaved very insolently; as did some beggars; so that I was not sorry to see an additional guard of policemen, and soon after a company of soldiers, who were sent by the chief of the police, and by the Governor of the city, to prevent any person from offering me insult or violence. It is usual for visitors to make an offering of money to the Granth that is kept in the Gilt Temple. I declined compliance, as it would have been wrong to do so, but softened

the matter as much as I could by ordering a few rupees to be given to the numerous beggars. This measure was far from being satisfactory to the devotees.

No religious place that I have seen in India, not excepting the religious places of Benares, seems to me as well adapted to impress the minds of the deluded worshippers with devotional feelings. Nor do I recollect any so pleasing in its whole appearance, nor in which there is so little to offend good taste. It is a place where a Christian would love to see temples to the living and the true God; and where he would be delighted to observe the countenances of the crowds of worshippers reflecting love and Christian peace, instead of Pharisaical and desperado hauteur.

In the evening the Sardar or Chief of this district, Lehna Singh, paid a visit, ostensibly to the garden grounds where the tents were pitched, but really to see the "Padrí Sahib." He is a very sensible and thinking man. In the course of the conversation, he adverted to the almost atheistical principles or rather want of principles, which most Europeans of his acquaintance manifested. Seeing a thermometer and a compass lying on the table, he soon showed that he perfectly understood the uses of each, and wished to know why the magnet always pointed to the North. He referred to the healing effects of some kind of metals when applied to different parts of the body, as an instance of European science; and asked for the reason. I saw that he had heard

something about the "metallic tractors" which were so famous in France towards the close of the last century, and explained to him their history. He then inquired about the extent of my studies; and finding I had paid some attention to Geometry, mentioned that he had an instrument which he did not know how to use, and asked me to explain the mode. Making a sketch of it with a pencil, it proved to be a quadrant, which he afterwards sent to me by one of his most intelligent men. The Sardar wished to know the mode of taking the longitude and latitude of a place, and what instruments were necessary, and wherein they differed from each other. He adverted to spires of buildings becoming magnetic after some years' exposure; and also remarked, that iron which had been some years exposed to fire often becomes magnetized. He mentioned seeing the stars in daylight, when in the valleys between mountains, as a parallel example to a remark I had incidentally made about seeing them from the bottom of wells; and, in the interview, asked many questions about these and other subjects, evincing both thought and observation, as well as a judicious mind; while there was but little shading of vanity in his manner, or disposition either to value himself on account of attainments so unusual among his countrymen, or to make a display of them to others.

I was highly gratified with the scientific part of the interview; but regretted that religion did not form a more prominent part of the conversation. On proposing to present him with a Gurmukhí Tes-

tament, I found that he already possessed one; and the attempt I made to introduce religious topics through that door was prevented by the questions already referred to. However, the latter may prepare the way for the former. Lehna Singh is a middle-aged man, of mild but dignified manners; and greatly beloved, I understand, by his subjects. He aids the Maha Rajah, when necessary, with a quota of troops. His own revenues are said to be about three hundred thousand rupees per year.

February 5.—To Jangrí ka Phul, fourteen kos, or twenty miles; for I have come to the conclusion that the kos in this part of India is nearly, if not altogether, equal to one and a half English miles. The general face of the country is more than usually barren, though there were many villages and numerous karil trees. Our station to-day is in the vicinity of the village already named, which is not very large.

Thermometer at three P.M. in the shade, 60°. A newly raised regiment is encamped in our vicinity. They muster about eight hundred men. They are commanded by an Englishman. There are three or four Englishmen, as many Frenchmen, and one American, in Ranjit's service. Chiefly by the aid of one or two of the French officers, a large part of his army has been trained according to European tactics.

CHAPTER XI.

TOUR TO LAHOR—RANJÍT SINGH.

Reach Lahor—Visits of two fakír courtiers—Interview with the King—Conversations with the fakírs—Invitations to see dancing girls declined—Mussulman version of David's repentance—Appearance of Lahor—An armed Maulaví.

February 6.—To Lahor, eighteen miles. From Amritsir to this city there is a gradual descent in the plain, so that a canal, had been dug to supply Lahor with water from the canal which furnishes that important element to the good people of Amritsir. This canal runs side by side with the road, but is now dry; and it is said another has been formed for the same purpose. Lahor lies rather south of west from Amritsir. The intervening country exhibits a more barren appearance than any other part of the Panjáb we have seen; though, owing probably to the vicinity of the two cities just named, the number of villages is greater. The soil is of a hard, dark, sandy nature. A few miles from Lahor the whole scene changes, and the road passes through an extremely fertile tract of country, covered with luxuriant fields of wheat and fine gardens, and adorned with beautiful mango and tamarind trees. One of the gardens, the Shalabagh,

is a mile by half a mile in extent, filled with orange, pomegranate, rose, and other beautiful trees. This tract is abundantly irrigated by means of numerous Persian wheels.

At two or three miles' distance, we entered the ruins of the former city. A great many mosques, temples, palaces, and tombs, are seen in every direction, and in every stage of dilapidation. Some are almost entire; but most are greatly injured. Of some, the domes are yet unimpaired, while the pillars which support them totter in every breeze, and must soon share the common fate. These ruins are very extensive; so that Lahor may be termed the Delhi of the Panjáb, if not in the magnificence, at least in the extent, of the ruins of its former self.

The present city presents a good appearance at a distance; as it is compactly built, and has several lofty towers, and many brick houses of considerable height. We were conducted to an extensive garden of orange trees, in which a French officer had erected a large summer residence. This place has been assigned for our lodgings, and is all that I could wish; as it is retired, and yet sufficiently near the city, being about a quarter of a mile outside of the walls.

In the afternoon, Nur Ud Dín, one of the chief men, brought the Ziafat, or present, with the addition of much profession about the good understanding existing between the British government and themselves. This I was prepared to expect. He is a Fakír, or religious mendicant, though nothing in

his manner or appearance would indicate his professional character. He made many remarks of a religious kind; but they were common-place and indefinite in their nature. He introduced the subject of an English school in a skilful manner; inquiring successively, how I, who understood so little of the native language, could teach the English to natives; how I should act, if different pupils wished to learn different branches,—who should decide. The answers seemed to give much satisfaction, and suggested another question, which I think was the chief object of his long interview, though he presented it as if it were a matter of no importance; "If a Government established a school, who should decide on the branches to be taught?" I answered, "The Government, certainly." This was "very good," he thought. I took care to add, however, that if a Government should establish a school, it would still be optional with persons proposing to take charge of its instruction, to do so or not, as they might approve or disapprove of its plan, to which he assented. The whole conversation was as abstract as if we had been sitting somewhere in the region of the north star; but its bearing on the points of interest here on the earth, and at Lahor, is sufficiently obvious.

Fakír Nur Ud Dín is very much of a courtier; perhaps I should say, of an eastern statesman, in his manners—grave, cautious, cool; yet abounding in compliments, and apparently very self-complacent. He has a fine large forehead, good eyes, and greyish

beard; he is about fifty years of age, and dresses plainly.

February 7.—Last night a note came from Nur Ud Dín, apprising me that he had communicated the conversation at our interview to the Maha Rajah, who expressed much satisfaction, &c.; that his brother (the chief man here) would come to see me to-day; and wishing to know whether I would prefer to pay my respects to the King to-day or to-morrow, I sent an answer, that I would prefer going to-day; but would leave the Maha Rajah to decide.

To-day, Azíz Ud Dín, the prime minister, called, with a present from Ranjít Singh of pomegranates and grapes; and afterwards, oranges, &c. The conversation was miscellaneous, and a little more of a business character than yesterday. It turned, however, chiefly on the friendship subsisting between the British and themselves, now known to all the world, cementing the two nations into one, causing them great joy to see the face of any European. Then some inquiries about my health; what would become of the school at Lodiana, if I should leave; what had been the course of my studies; whether including military science, &c. Having mentioned that I expected some friends to arrive, he inquired very particularly both as to the time of their coming and my probable leaving.

This Fakír, as well as his brother, yesterday, paid me some high and extravagant compliments; chiefly expressive of their great joy at seeing me, and the great pleasure my conversation gave them. I have

every reason to think they were perfectly meaningless, if not insincere; yet an instance or two will be amusing. Yesterday, the Fakír said; "The bud of my heart (that is, my dearest bud), which was shut up, has been opened by the wind of your conversation into a fine flower." To-day, at taking leave, the Fakír, in expressing his great happiness at having the interview, said, that, "I was like a treasury of precious jewels, which he could not obtain," referring to my not being able to communicate the knowledge to him which he supposed I possessed. I was quite at fault when he referred to "an ancient tradition about the philosopher's stone which converted everything into gold; but if even a leaf intervened between the stone and the material to be changed into gold, then the latter received little benefit." At first, I thought the remark was intended as a display of learning; but saw presently that it was a further compliment in reference to the difficulty of communicating by an interpreter. This Fakír is a very different looking man from his brother. His countenance indicates distrust and suspicion, yet much sagacity. His conversation was marked with good sense, less display, and a more direct "coming to the point," than that of his brother. He has evidently been much in intercourse with the world; and I detected him scrutinizing my countenance with an almost embarrassing closeness. He is about of middle stature, dresses very plainly, and wears a full beard, dyed blue by way of ornament.

February 8.—We went, about 8 o'clock, to pay

our respects to the Maha Rajah. He was seated in an open hall, on the highest ground in the inclosure where his palace is erected, and was surrounded by about a dozen of his chief men, all dressed very richly, and sitting on rich crimson cushions. After being seated on the floor like the rest, and exchanging the usual compliments, I presented the English Bible and Gurmukhí Pentateuch which I had brought with me for that purpose. He then asked, without any further introduction, "Where is God?" "It would be as easy to answer the question, Where is he not?" "Well, if you don't know where God is, how can you worship him?" Inferring from what I saw, that it was their intention to make a trial of my skill in such subjects, I answered more fully: "We do know that God is everywhere present; though he specially reveals himself in heaven; that he can see us, though we cannot see him; and that he has made known in his holy word (pointing to the Bible I had presented), how we should worship him." The answer appeared very satisfactory. "What precepts has God given in his word?" I mentioned the two great commandments; which also gave much satisfaction. "But what will be done to those who disobey his commandments?" "God will punish them with eternal suffering in the next world." "If so, why do rulers punish men who commit murder, for instance, in this world?" "Rulers are appointed by God to punish in this world many kinds of wickedness; but all will have to give an account, in the next world, to God, both rulers and

subjects." He inquired if that was so written in our Scriptures. I took occasion, then, to mention that "Christians believe that they may avoid the suffering in the next world which is due to all men for sin, by trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ." The questions proposed subsequently did not appear to be intended as a trial of my ability to answer them; but rather to be prompted by Sikh curiosity. Having inquired about my learning, and whether it included military and medical branches, he made some inquiries about his interview with the Governor General two or three years ago at Rupar. Then he inquired about my acquaintance with horses; and rising from his cushion he led the way to an outer hall, where being again seated, he asked further questions about my health; whether married; why I wore crape on my hat; why I wore spectacles, &c., to all which I gave briefly the proper answers. Then, telling me that the Fakír would come to see me, and to talk about other subjects, permission was given to take leave.

February 9.—Yesterday afternoon, Fakír Aziz Ud Din came again to see me, and two boys presently arrived, wishing to study English under my direction while I remain here. They are the sons of one of the chief ministers. Before they came, the Fakír, inquiring about the books lying on the table, wished to hear me read out of the Greek Testament. I turned to the latter part of the third chapter of John's Gospel, and read the distinct testimony there given to our Saviour's mission. Polite

as the Fakír was determined to be, his Mussulman prejudices would not allow him to say "durust, khub" (good, excellent), to all that was read; though he did not manifest the opposition I expected. I had an opportunity of explaining the sense in which Christians hold the doctrine of Father and Son, in the Trinity, which is so very offensive to the Mohammedans, partly because they understand our creed in the sense those terms convey in regard to human relations. Afterwards, I read the apostle's glowing and sublime account of the resurrection, 1st Corinthians xv.; with which he was much pleased. The more I see of this man, the higher my opinion rises of his talents and address. There is a sound of sincerity also in his voice, which is pleasing, even though one cannot trust it, because contradicted by the sinister expression of his eye.

In the afternoon to-day, it was announced that the "Bara Fakír," the chief Fakír, was coming; and presently the news was brought, that he had stopped to say his prayers in the garden. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, he made his appearance, and told me himself that he had been to prayers. I made some remark about that being a good employment, which led to a long series of remarks and quotations from the Koran, in Arabic, on the subject of religion, as if he were determined to inflict punishment for the Greek of yesterday. He assented to an observation, that prayers should not be made to be seen of men, and that they should be from the heart, with much cordiality; and went on

to give illustrations, which were very appropriate. He informed me at last that he was a Sufi Mussulman (nearly a freethinker in that sect), and believed in all the prophets, Jewish, Christian, and Mussulman, to the number of many thousand.

One thing in which we both agreed was, that we should not reason or dispute about anything that God makes known for us to believe; but should receive it at once. I stipulated, however, that we should exercise our reason to judge what God had revealed, or what book contained his will. To this he agreed after some demurring. I then wished him, as he was a learned Mussulman, to tell me, in some of his visits, why he believed the Koran to be the word of God. The request was obviously not very agreeable. However, he quoted, in a sort of singing, or chanting tone, a long Arabic sentence from the Koran about God, as our Creator, Preserver, &c.; and ended with telling me, that Mohammed had challenged the Arabs to produce anything equal to a chapter of the Koran, which he, though illiterate, had spoken to them; and, if they could not do so, then they should believe in his mission. Thus the Fakir argued for the divine authority of the Koran from the excellence of its style; but as I had previously obtained his consent to hear me explain the reasons of our religious faith at some other time, I deemed it best to waive argument on this occasion.

In the evening, a guard of forty soldiers was sent. It would be useless to decline their service; as it

would be said they are necessary for the Maha Rajah's dignity, if not for mine.

February 11.—At an early hour to-day, the Maha Rajah sent one of his officers to conduct me to pay him a visit. He was encamped on the plain about two miles from the city, preparatory to going on a hunting excursion. A regiment of good looking men were on guard, and a considerable number of fine horses, in which Ranjit takes great pleasure; and some elephants were also brought forward for purposes of show. The tent, which was quite large, was made of fine Cashmere shawls. In the Rajah's immediate presence there was no particular display of state on this occasion.

He received me with much favor; which I soon perceived was owing not a little to his having heard from his Envoy at Calcutta, that some of my friends there, who are high in office, wished him to show me kind attentions. It is almost amusing to see the anxiety which pervades this court, to please the English authorities. He made some remarks about my having begged to decline accompanying him on his hunting tour; and promised to send for me, if he should find any lions or tigers.

A few days ago, he had sent me an invitation to be present at a public entertainment; which I accepted at first, but afterwards, on further reflection, I had desired to be excused from going, as I learned that a part of the amusement was to consist of the dancing of the Nach girls. The circumstance

was quite an awkward one, and I fear gave offence; but I feel glad to have been led to think of the impropriety of being present, before it was too late to draw back. To-day, a good many of his remarks had an indirect reference to that circumstance. He inquired particularly about our liberty to drink wine, which was part of the amusement, and which, knowing the scruples of the Mussulmans, he may have supposed to have been my real motive for declining. However, I honestly explained, that our religion forbids all loose conduct in women, and also all encouragement of such conduct by men; and that I could not be present without thereby giving the sanction of my influence to the shameful profession of these girls. He said something about their performance being in his presence, and not at my house, and added, "If you have not seen the Nach girls of Lahor, what have you seen?" The higher classes in this country are passionately fond of witnessing these dances. But I persisted in thinking that the influence of my example would be the same in either case, and in declining, with as good a grace as I could, to see them. When he found I was firm, he paid some compliments to my consistency. I note this circumstance the more readily, because it throws some light upon the corrupt manners of this court, and because I feel thankful at having had the opportunity of partially explaining the precepts of our religion in regard to a vice which is so very common in this dark land.

February 12.—Fakír Nur Ud Din to-day, remarked,

that in his religion their prayers were in Arabic, according to certain forms; and wished me to tell him about our forms of prayer. I mentioned that we were required to pray with the understanding, and therefore made use of a language which we could understand; and that our Sacred Scriptures teach us how to pray, and what to pray for, but give us few forms. After reading Matthew vi. 5–13, we had a long conversation on religion, as to the mode of obtaining pardon for sin. He urged that it was only necessary to be sorry for it. I referred him to the course of human justice, which mere sorrow could not arrest, and explained to him our belief in the atonement for sin which Christ has made. He then professed to believe in the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Koran; in Moses, Christ, and Mohammed. I referred him to some of the points, not only of difference, but of contradiction, between the latter and the former; especially, that the one requires confidence in Christ Jesus, as Mediator between God and men, and in no other; while the other requires the same confidence in Mohammed, and in no other. He professed to believe them both!

February 15, *Lord's Day*.—The chief Fakír came and spent two or three hours in conversation concerning various important topics of religion. I was glad to find that his brother and himself had been talking the matter over since our last conversation; and this man, to-day, seemed anxious to show that repentance for sin was sufficient in the sight of God to secure its forgiveness. This he illustrated by

quoting the example of David, in reference to the sin against Uriah. I was amused at the appearance of the narrative after its Mussulman transmigration: "David was at prayer, during which it is a great sin to think of anything else, when a very beautiful bird appeared very near him. He was tempted to try to catch it; but it hopped away further and further, until it led him to the parapet of the roof, and then it flew away. But he was thus led to see the wife of his prime minister bathing herself, &c. Then, after he was convinced of his sin, by means of a quarrel between two men, one rich and the other poor, about a camel, he fasted and wept at the tomb of Uriah, until he obtained his forgiveness for some unknown crime; but God would not confirm the pardon, unless he would obtain Uriah's forgiveness for the crime, after making it known to him. Again David fasted and prayed, and wept, for many, many months, at the tomb, and at last God forgave him." I turned to the simple and affecting parable of Nathan, and read it, and also the verses in which punishment was denounced—a part of the narrative which the Mussulman account of the story omits. This answered two purposes; it showed one instance of difference between the Koran and the Bible; and it showed that justice must be satisfied. The Fakir saw the force of another remark, that we are always under the highest obligation to love and serve God, and therefore cannot, in future, atone for past sins; and exclaimed, "Then, what must a man do who has been an infidel for twenty years? Must he

always suffer punishment?" This gave me a fine opportunity of mentioning the method of salvation through the merits of Christ. I illustrated these remarks by a reference to my own hopes, which seemed to interest his mind.

In regard to the oneness of the Mussulman and Christian systems, the great argument always is, that God may give additional revelation, adapted to the circumstances of different people. After pointing out some essential points of difference, I stated that God had made known that the Gospel was intended for all men in all ages; and therefore it implied a reflection both on his unchangeableness and his wisdom, as well as his truth, to admit the Mussulman system. He asked where it was expressly written that it was intended always for all. I referred to the commission given by our Saviour at the close of the Gospel of Matthew, and also to the solemn conclusion of the Bible in the last of Revelation. It struck me as singular, that these Fakírs should wish to claim a brotherhood for their system with the Christian. Perhaps it is owing partly to infidelity as to any system, and partly to a wish to rank respectably in the eyes of those whom they see to be so much their superiors in other respects, as Christians usually are.

At parting with this man to-day, I gave him three tracts, and could not but feel grateful that my position here is so regarded as to secure for them a thankful acceptance, and probably a careful perusal. This is one advantage of making this journey under

these circumstances to balance some serious disadvantages, that it gives me access to some of the most influential persons in the community. The Lord bless the truth presented in this conversation! The congregation was small—the Fakír, one attendant, and the interpreter; but their souls are of infinite worth, and their conversion would, in human view, produce unspeakably important results.

February 21.—I have spent several afternoons in "sight-seeing," visiting the principal public buildings and places of interest. The first was a large mosque, from the top of one of whose minarets there is an extensive view of the city and country around. It is in a bad state of repair, and contains nothing worthy of notice, unless it be a kind of inlaying of clay, resembling porcelain, and painted with bright and very durable colors, as they still retain their lustre, though upwards of two hundred years old. Next day, we went to see the mosque built by the great Akber, at the north extremity of the city. It has three domes, faced on the outside with white marble, and its four large and lofty minarets, faced with a fine red sandstone, are among the most conspicuous objects in the city. But now all is in a state of ruinous decay, the whole place being used as barracks for a company of infantry, who pile up their arms in one of the holiest apartments of the mosque, while they sleep in another. These minarets are probably one hundred and twenty feet high.

The palace of Akber contains one tolerably good hall of audience, open on three sides, supported by

graceful marble columns, and having a recess on the fourth side for the royal seat—all on the same plan, and nearly as good as in the palace at Delhi. But in what a changing world we live! In the hall where suppliant princes once knelt in the great emperor's presence, Ranjít now keeps picketed among the marble columns some half a dozen horses! There are various apartments adjoining this hall of audience; some of them designed for the females of the Rajah's family; others covered with paintings of Hindu gods and goddesses. Among the paintings are two representing Ranjít as a suppliant, but standing before Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh; while another is intended to represent his interview with Lord William Bentinck at Rupar. The English people, in the hands of the artist, have been made to present a ridiculous appearance. The art of painting is obviously in a rude state among these people. But these efforts attracted many exclamations of "good, good," from the attendants. The best parts of the display of taste are the numerous jets d'eau, to keep the air fresh and cool.

In visiting these "lions" of the city, we usually rode on an elephant, the best mode in such dirty streets as we had to traverse. A sewer, containing black, filthy mud and water, runs in the middle of every street, threatening defilement, unless a person is elevated too high to be spattered when a galloping horse dashes along. The streets, moreover, are all so narrow that two elephants cannot pass each other, nor even a camel and an elephant, as we had frequent

opportunities of seeing, and sometimes at no little expense of patience, in waiting until the way could be made clear. To meet a string of some twenty or thirty camels, as we did one evening, is no very agreeable matter to a person who may wish to lose no time.

The houses are from three to five stories high, and nearly all built of bricks that have been dug out of the ruins of the old city. Their appearance, therefore, is quite in keeping with that of the streets. They are built very densely together. The narrow bazars are crowded, and the streets are full of people. The population seems to be very great, and not to be diminishing. The walls of the city, and its mosques, and the fort, certainly do present the appearance of decay. But that seems to be owing to the Maha Rajah's neglect. He takes more interest in building up Amritsir. The population of Lahor cannot be less than one hundred thousand; yet the present city is a mere village compared with the ancient, if an opinion may be formed from the ruins of the latter. These extend four or five miles in length, by three in breadth; and even now, upwards of fifty large mosques and other public buildings remain, besides a great number of smaller ones—all, however, in a ruinous condition.

February 23.—To-day a respectable Maulavi came to see me. He had a sword sticking at one side of his sash, and a pistol at the other. In other respects, his appearance was very pleasing, being a middle-aged man, of an intelligent, lively countenance.

I inquired how he accounted for the apparent change in the spirit of Mussulmans, so that we now seldom hear of force being employed to make converts; and also, how he justified the use of the sword in making proselytes. The questions were rather difficult to answer. However, he referred to the command of God in the Koran; thought the practice proper only when the infidels refused to believe, after suitable efforts had been made to convince them; and concluded with the usual remark, that it is not proper to reason about God's commandments. The latter remark I, of course, assented to, when we know what God has commanded, but not till then. I explained to him our mode of advocating Christianity; adding, that, as to those who refuse to believe in Jesus, we think it both their loss and their sin. For the former, we pity them; and, as to the latter, we are not able to punish them as they deserve, but prefer to leave them in the hands of God; and then asked, which plan he thought most honorable to the character of God? After approving our method, he evaded expressing an opinion as to which is best. On promising him the loan of a Testament, he took leave. He says there are about a dozen Maulavis in this city.

CHAPTER XII.

RANJIT SINGH'S HUNTING EXCURSION—NOTES ON THE PANJAB AND THE SIKHS.

Leave Lahor for the hunting ground—Hunting Company—Manner of despatching business at Court—Dismission granted—Notes on the Panjáb and the Sikhs.

February 28.—Agreeably to an arrangement made within the last few days, I left Lahor this afternoon, to join the Maha Rajah on his hunting ground. Fakír Nur Ud Din came to conduct me out of the city. We had some conversation about the prophecies contained in our Sacred Scriptures, which grew out of an inquiry of his about foretelling the future by astrology. He wished to know what would come to pass according to our prophecies. After referring him to several that have been fulfilled, I read some passages out of Isaiah concerning the future progress of the gospel. They appeared interesting to him, though he did not express any opinion about them. I could not but offer up a silent prayer that we may soon witness their fulfilment. Afterwards, I gave him about a dozen of tracts, as a parting gift; with which he was pleased. We crossed the Ravi about six miles to the southwest, and

encamped in the midst of wheat fields two or three miles from the ferry. The waters of this river are of a red muddy color. It flows here through a flat country, and is about forty or fifty yards wide. The fields of grain on its banks are full of promise.

March 1, *Lord's Day.*—We made no journey to-day, though the halt was not so much to the satisfaction of the people who were with me as on a former occasion. Word has been received that a tiger has been found, and they are anxious to reach the hunting party so as to partake in the sport. The Maha Rajah, too, would no doubt prefer my omitting to observe this day; but it is better to please God than man.

March 2.—To Mahadevi, ten miles over a barren heath, without any cultivation, or any production, except a sort of desert grass and some stunted thorn-trees. We learned, as we drew near the camp, that the tiger had been killed yesterday, much to the regret of the people with me.

In the afternoon I went with the Maha Rajah and his people on their daily hunt. The company was very singular in appearance to my eye, consisting of several hundred men, in white, yellow, and red, and often very rich, robes and uniforms; some on elephants, of which there were nearly thirty; some on camels; many on all sorts of horses, from the very finest to the most sorry; and more still on foot, some carrying guns, others swords, others spears and shields; some leading dogs, others carrying falcons; and all this cavalcade in the midst of a barren plain,

covered only with densely standing long grass, and scrub thorn bushes. We took a circuit of several miles, but started nothing except a few birds and deer. There is no little enthusiasm of feeling on such an occasion; and I was not sorry to have the opportunity of seeing this favorite sport of eastern kings. I had some miscellaneous conversation with the Rajah by the way, and more after our return. Almost the only topic of importance was a statement, on being asked if I had read the books of different religious systems, that the Christian religion differed from others chiefly in teaching that all men are sinners, and that Christ died to open the way for pardon to be given; and hence it is that we love him so much. To all which, at the end of each clause, the Maha Rajah gave his short but expressive "*thík*"—good. I was not sorry to find that my declining to see the dancing girls had been thought about; and it led to a question or two which gave me the opportunity of stating the seventh commandment, and some other duties.

March 3.—To a village five miles east of Mahadevi. While at the Court, after arriving, the Maha Rajah transacted some business of an unimportant nature. It was curious to see the half-business, half-conversational manner of their proceeding. As each item was mentioned, something was said by him either of approval or alteration, which was assented to by the courtiers seated around, who hardly ventured even to make a suggestion; while anecdotes, remarks about different persons, queries

to myself, &c., occupied so much attention, that only the writers appeared to be employed in business. They watched their opportunity, whenever there was a lull in the miscellaneous talk, to read the statement they were making. I had mentioned during the ride, that if the *Granth* were a printed book it would not cost more probably than twenty rupees. This remark the Rajah repeated in court, and it became the subject of a good deal of conversation. A manuscript copy costs from one to two hundred rupees.

March 4.—To the encampment between three villages about four miles south of yesterday's halting place. The Maha Rajah set out in the morning without sending me word of his movements. I was not sorry to have the opportunity of declining to go in the sun, and so refused to follow, until I should be so inclined. This measure no doubt was not gratifying to him; but I do not feel it to be a duty to ride in the sun and dust among the crowd, when so little seems now likely to be gained for my general object.

March 5.—This afternoon I obtained my dismission. Previously the chief minister had informed me of the Khilat, or present, that would be given; which, though customary on such occasions, was yet on a much more liberal scale than I had expected. The Maha Rajah was in high good humor when we were present. I took opportunity to explain my connexion with the Missionary Society, and that the presents he had been so kind as to give me,

would be made over to its funds. He listened with a half-incredulous air; but it occurred to me to illustrate the matter by a reference to a rule of the East India Company, requiring their servants to deliver all presents that may be made to them to the proper officer. With this rule he is well acquainted, and the reference seemed satisfactory, but led to various questions about the Society: "Is it a Government Company? What are its objects?" I explained the manner in which funds were raised; and that they were given thus by religious people, to promote religion and education; and also, that those who were sent as missionaries were influenced by religious motives, receiving from these Societies merely what was sufficient for their comfortable support; adding, that some of them might have received larger salaries at home. This he evidently did not believe; but he seemed interested by the explanation; praised the conduct of the people in forming such a Society; wished to know if I would give them these presents; and added, that I must tell them, at any rate, that he gave the horse (a fine Turkman pony) to myself, not to the Society. When I had explained that the Society was not a Government concern, he wished to know about the pádrís, or clergymen, what connexion they had with the Government. I explained, that it was merely that of other citizens. "What! if a padrí commits a crime, will they punish him like another man!" "Certainly." This he deemed wonderful; and certainly it is very different from the impunity with which the Akalís, the Sikh

devotees, commit the most disgraceful crimes here, I could not but feel grateful for the difference. I was very glad to have the opportunity of making this explanation in regard to these presents. It may remove, in part, the impression that I am influenced merely by selfish and pecuniary views. But I fear this impression will remain, notwithstanding, on the minds of many of these people. On the whole, I think it would have been better to have declined receiving any of the presents, if it could have been done without giving too much offence.

In the evening, the chief Fakír came to bid me good-bye; and afterwards the Rajah's chief Munshí, Kahan Chand, who has been with me, by the appointment of Ranjít Singh, since leaving Lahor. The latter is a most respectable man, of clear, good mind, and pleasing manners, without the obsequiousness so common, and with much apparent sincerity. I have become much interested in him. We had a good deal of conversation, chiefly on religious subjects. He inquired what was the appearance of God, how we could think of him, &c. In reply, I illustrated my remarks by referring to our own spirits. He seemed interested in hearing of the way our Sacred Scriptures teach that sin can be pardoned, and also of the intellectual and social elevation of the female sex in Christian countries. He wished to know whether their advantages were owing to our religion, or to our usage or custom. I told him of their condition when our forefathers were heathens. Expressing his warm wishes that

my health may be restored, so that I might remain in this country, and he might become better acquainted with me in future, kind feelings which I sincerely reciprocated with my best wishes in return, we exchanged our last farewell. I could not but feel sorry at parting with these men. In many respects, they are interesting men, whose acquaintance I have been glad to make, and with whom my intercourse has been of a varied and friendly nature. But now we have parted, most probably never to meet again. What a precious hope Christian friends enjoy when separated! Whatever be their path on earth, they can look upwards to a place of meeting, to say, Farewell, no more for ever.

The following summary views of the information acquired during this tour were communicated to the Secretary of the Society, on returning to Lodiana.

1. *Population.*—It is not easy to form an estimate that would be at all accurate. It is probable that Ranjít Singh's rule extends over two millions of persons; of whom the greater part occupy the country bounded by the Sutlej, the Indus, and the Himalaya mountains, including the valley of Cashmere, and the Hill States on the south-western sides of those mountains from the river Sutlej to Cashmere. Ranjít has, within the last few years, made some conquests on the western side of the Indus; and has, at present, possession of Peshawer, one of the chief Affghan cities. It is doubtful whether he

will be able, or deem it expedient to retain these conquests.

2. *Climate.*—The name Panjáb, pronounced as if written Punjaub, in strict propriety, belongs only to the plains; while a large section of the country, descending from the Himalaya mountains, is quite hilly. Both these regions, and also part of the region south and east of the Sutlej, are classed by the older writers under the general name of the Province of Lahor; of which the population is said to be about four millions. The climate of the plains is much more oppressively hot during the warm season of the year, that is, from March to November, than that of the hills. The heat is probably as great as in almost any part of Upper India; and there is the same variation of seasons, as hot, rainy, &c. In the cold season the thermometer falls as low sometimes as the freezing point, in the plains. Last winter, in which there were some very cold mornings, the thermometer, at Lodiana, was once down to 28° in the open air at sunrise. Lodiana is in nearly the same latitude as Lahor, and about equally distant from the hills. Throughout this region, the hot winds begin to blow in April, and are very trying to the health of foreigners.

3. *Language.*—The spoken language seems to be substantially that of the Hindus generally. It is, however, called the Panjábí, and contains an admixture of many Persian words. There are three or four characters in use: the Persian, for the Persian language, and also for the Hindustaní; the Dev

Nagarí, for the Hinduí, which differs but little from the Hindustaní; the Gurmukhí, for the written language of the Sikhs; the Kashmírí, for the written language of Cashmere. The two last characters are obviously derived from the Nagarí; and I should think the dialects, which receive these names, differ but little from the common language of the Hindus.

4. *Education.*—It is not probable that one person in every hundred is able to read. Of those who can read, the four fifths, probably, read only the Persian. A few of the Sikhs read the Gurmukhí; and a few of the Cashmerians, perhaps, read Kashmírí; though I never met with a Cashmerian who could read that character, while I have met with several who could read the Persian.

Of those who acquire a knowledge of the written language, few learn anything beyond the simplest rudiments. There are scarcely any books, and there are none suitable for purposes of instruction. The schools are very few, and under the worst management. Sometimes the teachers are paid by religious persons, or else, as is most common, are themselves religious persons, such as Fakírs. In other instances, a trifling sum is paid by each scholar. No effort is made to develope the minds of the scholars. Everything is learned by rote. In the Mussulman schools, for higher scholars, one of the first things is to teach the boy to read the Koran in Arabic, without even pretending to teach him the meaning of a single word. And this is considered rather a high attainment. It is not uncommon for Hindu and

Sikh pandits and gurus, and sometimes for the Mussulman maulavís, to expound their respective sacred writings at the places of religious resort; and thus a species of knowledge is learned by some of the people. But in all the parts of India where I have been, it is not unusual to see a religious man bawling away without receiving the least attention; though he may be sitting in the most sacred place, and reading, or rather chanting, their most sacred writings.

5. *Government.*—Originally, the people were governed by numerous chiefs, who were independent of each other, though of very unequal power. These chiefs were brought into subjection to Ranjít Singh, who would no doubt have extended his power over the chiefs on the south-eastern side the Sutlej also, if they had not applied for and received English protection. Some of the conquered chiefs Ranjít removed altogether from their possessions; others he permitted to retain their districts, variously altered; but exacted from them a kind of tribute—either a quota of troops, or an annual payment in money; or in some cases both of these acknowledgments of subjection. On the death of one of these inferior rulers, further changes were often made; though the general usage is that the son shall succeed the father. Frequently persons in favor are rewarded with tracts of country in *jaghír*, that is, for which they pay a specified sum, and then have the entire management of the collection of revenue, administration of justice, &c., in these particular districts. They may

act as oppressively as they please ; and usually they do extort as large an amount from the poor as they can. It is very seldom that any appeal is made ; as it would require too much money, in the way of bribes to the courtiers, to bring grievances to the notice of the Maha Rajah ; and as it would not be certain that redress would be obtained, even if a hearing could be secured. It was very much owing to the oppressive administration of one of these favorites, or rather of his myrmidons, that the beautiful valley of Cashmere has become so desolate.

This mode of government probably suits Ranjít's acquirements better than any other. As he can neither read nor write, it would be troublesome to examine the usual forms and records of proceedings ; while now he holds comparatively a few persons responsible for certain specified sums. Yet it is obviously liable to great abuse. Some of the Sardars, or chiefs, have large revenues. One or two have each about twelve lakhs of rupees yearly, equal to six hundred thousand dollars ; another, seven lakhs, another five, &c., but the greater part of them are much less powerful. The chiefs are all Sikhs, I believe ; but many holders of jaghírs are Hindus and Mussulmans. There seems to be no law in the Panjáb ; though there is, in regard to many things, long established custom. By all accounts, justice would seem to be regarded as a thing to be bought and sold. Punishment, even for murder, is said to be rarely inflicted, when a sufficient sum of

money can be offered by the criminal. Fines are the most common punishment.

Ranjít Singh is certainly a man of superior mind, and of no ordinary character. All his measures, and his conversation, evince great sagacity, prudence, and acquaintance with the strong points of the subject under his consideration. He is much superior to many of the prejudices and jealousies of the Hindus, and seems anxious to imitate those things in the policy or the customs of other people which are better than his own. Thus, he has introduced amongst his people, the manufacture of various foreign implements of war, of several fabrics of cloth, &c. He has effected a striking change in the military force of the Sikhs. Formerly, every Sikh was a horseman, and no other kind of force was in existence than this rude cavalry. Ranjít took into his service several French officers, and followed their advice after carefully comparing it with the English mode of warfare; and now he has a large and pretty well organized and disciplined army of infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery. He was, in his younger days, of dissipated habits, the effects of which he now feels severely. He is of a licentious disposition; fond of display, yet avaricious; very inquisitive; inclined to pay a superstitious reverence to holy men, even though of a different religion; passionately fond of fine horses; very anxious to please the English; blind of one eye; about sixty-three years of age. What a confused account of his character, you will be ready to say! So it is;

yet not more miscellaneous than the character itself.

It is understood, that he is anxious his grandson should succeed himself in the chief rule. But there is no particular bond of union, excepting the personal reputation and will of Ranjít himself, to prevent the political affairs of the Panjáb from relapsing into their former anarchy. The moment Ranjít dies, it is highly probable that all this region of country will be in confusion, and a dozen of chiefs will declare themselves independent. Perhaps such a state of things will then follow as will bring the Panjáb under British protection, and make the Indus, instead of the Sutlej, the frontier line. Such a change would be fraught with blessings to the people.*

6. *Religion.*—The great majority of the people of the Panjáb are Hindus, especially those of the lower classes. The Mussulmans are treated with less forbearance and favor than the Hindus; and form, perhaps, a fourth or fifth part of the inhabitants. The Sikhs are said not to constitute more than a twelfth or fifteenth part of the population. They evidently are much more allied to the Hindus than to the Mus-

* This ruler has been called hence by death. His obsequies were celebrated with great parade and expense, and a dreadful tragedy was witnessed in the self-immolation on his funeral pile of no less than eleven women! Four of his wives and seven concubines cast themselves into the flames which consumed his body, and miserably perished!—The Panjáb continued for some time in a quiet state under his sons, who succeeded to the throne. Then followed a time of anarchy; then, the furious onsets of the Sikh army against the British; and now, in 1850, the Panjáb is a part of British India.

sulmans in their worship, and in their customs. The system of caste prevails, more or less, among all these sects; though in regard to the Sikhs and the Mussulmans, it is not enjoined by their religion; or rather, it is contrary to their creed, especially to that of the Sikhs; but throughout India usage is all-powerful. It is supposed that this detestable system has less hold on the affections of the people in this part of India, than in most other regions of the country. Hindus, when they become Sikhs, do not renounce caste, except as it bears on one or two inferior points. In the more important matters of food, and of matrimonial connexions, they adhere as rigidly as ever to the requisitions of their caste.

The Sikhs are divided into two general classes, the Sikhs and the Singhs—the disciples and the lions, as the terms literally import. The latter title is given to the followers of Guru Govind Singh, who infused a military spirit into the Sikh religion. The term Singh does not exclude, however, the use of the common appellative, Sikh. It is rather employed as one of the names of individuals; while the title of Sikh is given to all the followers of that religion. There are some points of difference in the faith of the two classes; but they relate chiefly to the more military spirit of the followers of Govind Singh. Hamilton remarks in his Gazetteer:

"The religion of the Sikhs is described as a creed of pure deism, blended with the belief of all the absurdities of Hindu mythology, and the fables of Mohammedanism. Nanak Shah, the founder of this religion, professed a desire to reform, but not to des-

troy the religion of the sect in which he was born; and endeavored to reconcile the jarring faiths of Brahma and Mohammed, by persuading each to reject particular parts of their respective belief and usages.

"The earlier successors of Nanak taught nearly the same doctrine; but Guru Govind gave a new character to the religion of his followers by many material alterations; more especially by the abolition of all distinctions of caste. The pride of descent might still remain and keep up some distinction; but in the religious creed of Guru Govind all Sikhs, or Singhs, are declared equal. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of caste, the eating of all kinds of flesh except that of cows, the form of religious worship [having no idols or representatives of God], and the general devotion of the Singhs to arms, are all at variance with the Hindu theology."

Again: "The Sikh Hindu converts continue all those civil usages and customs of the tribe to which they belonged, that they can practise without infringing the tenets of Nanak or the institutions of Guru Govind. They are very strict respecting diet and intermarriages. The Mohammedan converts, who become Sikhs, intermarry with each other; but are allowed to preserve none of their usages, being obliged to eat hog's flesh, and to abstain from circumcision. The Sikhs, or Singhs, are forbidden the use of tobacco; but are allowed to indulge in spirituous liquors, which they all drink to excess. The use of opium and bang is also quite common. The military Sikhs never cut their hair, nor shave their beards,"

and are required to wear steel, in some shape, as a badge of their sect.

The religious people of the Sikhs, or rather, of those Sikhs who are followers of Guru Govind, are called Akalís, that is immortals; or more frequently by the natives Nihangs. They formerly directed the national council when it was assembled, the Gurumala; but there has been no meeting of that body since 1805, and there will not probably ever be another. I have not been able to learn that they have any particular duties to perform as ministers of religion. I should think they are of the same order as the religious mendicants of the Hindus. Their number is variously estimated. Perhaps, including their families, it may amount to thirteen thousand persons, or some three or four thousand men. They receive their support chiefly from offerings made to the Sikh temples; particularly at Amritsir, where it is said there are nearly two thousand of these Akalís. Others, however, hold small jaghírs from the Government. Their character is exceedingly bad. They are a lawless and desperately depraved set of men. Some of the most shameless things I have ever heard of have been done in open daylight, in public places, by some of these people. The common remark is, that they are the worst people in the land. They always go strongly armed; and as they are quite fanatical, persons of other religious sects have much to fear from their approach. In 1808, a large body of them attacked the English Ambassador, then in the Panjáb, who was obliged, with his guard, to fight

for his life. They have even insulted Ranjít Singh; but he has, within a few years, imposed some restraints on them; and they are now regarded as less dangerous, though not less depraved, than they were formerly. There is reason to hope that the very wickedness of these people will contribute much to cut short their sway, and to render men more willing to receive the teachers of our mild and pure religion.

Amritsir is the chief place of religious resort; but, in addition to the sacred reservoir at that city, there are several other places of religious notoriety; as the birth-place of Nanak, &c. Some of the Sikhs make pilgrimages, also, to the great Hindu place of worship at Hardwar. At Amritsir there are a number of gurus, or religious teachers, whose business is to read and to explain the Granth, their sacred book. Some of them are very respectable looking men.

Concerning the expediency of forming at that time a mission establishment in the Panjáb, the following extract from a letter of March 26, 1835, will show the opinions formed after making this journey.

"I have been much impressed with the importance of having an efficient mission in this field, in the first instance at Lodiana, and perhaps at some other places on the British side of the Sutlej, but eventually to operate directly in the Panjáb.

"In these regions there are dense multitudes of people; not at all inferior in body or mind, naturally, to any other that I have ever seen, and far superior

to the great mass of Hindus, being energetic, inquisitive, and sagacious; occupying, also, a tract of country that is immediately connected with several other countries in which nothing has yet been attempted in making known our Saviour's gospel. The claims of the people of the Panjáb themselves, on our benevolence, are very great, and require an extensive and efficient effort to meet them; and they assume still greater importance when we consider that these are just the people, in character and in geographical situation, to carry the knowledge of our holy religion throughout Central Asia. They have not now either knowledge or inclination to do so. They are themselves dark-minded and depraved. But I trust our Christian mission is the morning star that is to precede the full day of gospel light and influence among this interesting people.

"I am not prepared, however, to conclude that it is expedient to attempt forming a branch of our mission on that side of the Sutlej at present, though it might be practicable to do so. We had better occupy first some of the important places which are open to us in the part of India under English rule or direct influence, where we are not so liable to capricious interruption, and where we can enjoy some advantages from the intercourse, and in some instances, from the friendship of Europeans. There are several places on this side of Benares, where it would be extremely desirable to have such a mission as that of our American brethren in Ceylon, there being ample scope for the largest efforts."

CHAPTER XIII.

LODIANA TO SIMLA; THE HILL TRIBES.

Arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Wilson and Newton at Calcutta—Leave Lodiana for Simla—English Society—Notes on the Protected Hill States: Face of the Country; Snowy Mountains; Productions; Animals; Climate; Population; Agriculture; Religion; Language; Character of the People; Valley of Kanaur.

After reaching Lodiana, on my return from Lahor, I had the great satisfaction of receiving letters from my missionary brethren, the Rev. Messrs. John Newton and James Wilson, just arrived with their wives at Calcutta, and accompanied by Miss Davis. Though so far distant, and so many months would intervene before they could reach Lodiana, I could not but feel most grateful that they were in the country, to share with me a responsibility which should never rest on one man, that of laying the foundation of a system of efforts for the conversion of multitudes; and at the same time giving the best assurance that the mission now partially established would be extended and carried forward by the Church. Often, in hours of depression, I had been ready to give way to discouragement, fearing that our efforts must be suspended, if not altogether abandoned. The prospect now appeared far brighter.

Messrs. Wilson and Newton reached Calcutta on the 25th of February, 1835, after a very favorable voyage of one hundred and ten days, in the ship Georgia, from Boston. Stopping at Calcutta until the 25th of June, they then commenced their voyage up the Ganges in a pinnace, a larger boat than a budgerow, intending to proceed in tents after leaving the river at Futtehgurh, and expecting to reach Lodiana about the 1st of November. Miss Davis afterwards became connected in marriage with the Rev. Mr. Goadby, a worthy Baptist missionary from the province of Orissa, south of Bengal.

In the meantime, following the doctor's advice, I had gone up to Simla to spend the hot and rainy seasons of the year. This is a station to which many Europeans resort for health, its elevation making the temperature pleasant even in the hottest days on the plains. The houses are built around the sides of what is called Mount Jakko, perhaps five hundred feet below the summit of the mountain, which is about eight thousand feet high. Many of the houses stand detached from each other, in the midst of the forest trees; and they have a singularly wild "look out," as the descent below them is precipitous and deep, into the narrow valleys that lead off in different directions, and the sublime snowy ranges can be seen in the distance. The number of natives at Simla is not large; in the winter it is almost deserted; but during the six or seven months that Europeans spend there, many petty shopkeepers, of different kinds, bring their articles of traffic from the

plains, and give to the Simla bazar rather a lively appearance. The whole native population never exceeds, probably, a few hundred. Of English people, during the summer of 1835, there were from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty, including a number of ladies. This was a larger number, I was informed, than had visited the station in any previous season.

Of the Europeans some were decidedly religious people, and I should suppose nearly all regarded religious institutions with respect. The attendance on our service on Sundays often amounted to eighty, which was considered a good number, as some were often absent on tours into the interior, and others were in poor health. It has seldom been my good fortune to meet with so many intelligent and agreeable people in so small a company; and those with whom I was less acquainted, I am not disposed to think less interesting. Of the more religiously inclined visitors I cannot speak too highly. I admired the character of their religion, which I thought unaffected, teachable, and cordial, and at the same time well informed and cheerful. Of the ladies it becomes me to speak with due reserve, and yet thankfulness for their kindness must be my excuse for paying my willing tribute to their agreeable manners and their unaffected excellence. I thought them in manner, accomplishment, and intelligence, very similar to ladies of our best society at home. Many very pleasant and well-spent hours were

enjoyed with these Christian friends. The remembrance of them is still fresh, and must ever be sacred. And now widely separated from them, and they from each other, my fervent prayer is that we may hereafter meet in a better world.

During this summer I endeavored to obtain accurate information concerning the Hill States, making tours into the interior for this purpose, and consulting with English gentlemen who had lived in them a number of years. The following notes were made out shortly after leaving the Hills; they present the result of the summer's inquiries and observations in regard to a peculiar region of India, and a simple minded and primitive people.

The people, who inhabit the hilly region, which lies between the snowy Himalaya mountains and the Plains of India, are divided into numerous small states, under their own chiefs; and, as they have been under the protection of the British power for several years, they are usually called "The Protected Hill States."

1. As I have just stated, the snowy mountains and the level plains of upper India are the two chief boundaries of this region. Between them, and extending in a direction parallel to those mountains, that is, from North West to South East, these hill states are situated. The river Sutlej forms the dividing line between them and the similar regions belonging to Ranjít Singh, the Ruler of Lahor. In

the opposite, or South Eastern direction, the west branch of the river Gogra separates them from the territories of Nepal.

The length of this region is probably between one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles; and the breadth may be stated at from fifty to seventy or eighty miles. Yet this estimate must be regarded as not very definite, since it is modified by the character of the country in particular places. The valley of Kanaur, for example, belongs to one of these states. It is almost entirely surrounded by the regions of snow, and extends towards Chinese Tartary probably one hundred and fifty miles from the nearest part of the Plains.

2. The face of the country is extremely irregular and hilly, as the name of the chiefdoms implies. Yet the term *hills* can be used to describe these mountainous regions only for the convenience of having some word to distinguish them from the snowy regions, as the peaks and ridges of these lower mountains rise to an elevation of from two thousand to upwards of six thousand feet in height, and not a few are eight thousand, nine thousand, &c. In many parts of the world such elevations would be accounted lofty mountains; and might be so considered here, were it not that the snowy regions are always seen towering up to such a height, that these mountains seem but hills in comparison with them. These mountains resemble a large number of high, irregular peaks and ridges jumbled together in every kind of confusion, or at any rate, of variety. But frequently,

one peak, or short ridge, may be seen rising considerably higher than its neighbors; and often, an irregular ridge may be traced for several miles, leading, in many instances, from one of these high peaks to others. Thus Jakko, the mountain around the sides of which the Station of Simla is built, is about eight thousand feet high; and from Jakko a lofty but crooked ridge runs ten or twelve miles eastward to Mahassu, a mountain nearly nine thousand feet high. In no part of these regions do the mountains run in regular ranges, with level valleys intervening, like our Alleghany Mountains. Indeed between the peaks or the ridges there is seldom any level ground at all; but their sides decline at varying inclinations from the top to the bottom. The sides are frequently quite abrupt or precipitous, and commonly very irregular. At the bottom, or foot of the mountain, in the Kud, as it is called, a water channel usually forms the boundary between one mountain and its adjoining neighbor. The northern sides of these mountains are sometimes covered with dense pine forests; but the southern and south-eastern sides are commonly destitute of trees, and present a barren and cheerless aspect, possessing little interest, except where the people have been able to cultivate them. It may be owing to the effects of the rains during the rainy season, which beat with great violence on the south-east sides of the mountains, that there is so marked a difference between their different sides.

The great defect in the scenery of these mountains is the want of water. There are but few

rivers; and these are commonly very small, except during the rains, when every valley has its foaming torrent. At other seasons of the year, a person may travel "up and down hill" all the day without seeing a brook, or even a spring; unless he ascends some of the highest peaks, or descends quite to the bottom of some of the valleys.

3. The snowy mountains, in clear weather, are seen with distinct view from nearly all the higher parts of the Protected Hill States. They may also be seen very distinctly from many places in the Plains of Upper India, when the atmosphere is clear, and especially after there has been rain. There is a remarkably fine distant view of them from Lodiana, although that city cannot be less than from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles distant from the mountains. From Simla the nearer ranges of snow-covered mountains are not distant in a direct line more than thirty or forty miles.

The view of these mountains, as seen from several places in these Hill States, is extremely grand. I have looked at them for hours from the summit of Hatu, and also of Kupar, the former ten thousand six hundred feet high, the latter eleven thousand feet. These mountains, themselves covered with snow during several months of the year, are not distant probably more than fifteen or twenty miles from the regions of perpetual snow; so that, in a clear day, the view is perfectly well-defined, and beyond description imposing. The peaks and ridges, viewed from this side, seem to have nearly all of them a

slight inclination to the north-east. They appear much less varied in form than one may suppose they would appear if deprived of their snowy covering. The snow, no doubt, conceals many an irregular projection, and many a frightful chasm, and gives an air of uniformity to the outline of the whole. The valleys are generally much filled with snow, which sometimes rises almost to the summits of the ridges, and must be of immense depth. In so near a view, the snow which fills the valleys can often be distinguished from that which rests on the ridges and peaks, by its inclination, and by its more settled or dense appearance. But most of the peaks and ridges are themselves quite covered with snow. They are very irregular; some are formed into long ranges; others shoot up in separate elevations of almost every shape, looking sometimes like immense battlements and towers, and sometimes like lofty piles of vast dilapidated buildings. At a distant view in the afternoon, they look not unlike great masses or embankments of white clouds, brilliantly reflecting the rays of the sun. Sometimes a dark, rugged peak projects above the snow, being probably too vertical to admit of the snow's resting upon it, and affords a striking contrast to the pure and peaceful appearance of the snow around it. The difference of their appearance before and after the rains is considerable, as much of the snow becomes melted, leaving the summits, especially of the nearer and lower ranges, more naked and dark. The heights of a number of the most elevated peaks have been

carefully ascertained. Not less than seven are upwards of twenty-two thousand feet high; one of which, Dewalagíri, is about twenty-seven thousand feet, and three others about twenty-five thousand feet. These loftiest parts of our globe, though distinctly higher than other parts of the Himalaya ranges, are yet not very prominently so.

The snowy mountains may sometimes be traced at one view from the north-west towards the south-east for probably two hundred miles. There is something adapted to awaken deeply serious feelings in one's mind, to look at peak after peak stretching away in the distance, and then to invest each successive elevation with the well defined but cold majesty which seems to repose on the nearer mountains. These snow-covered mountains awaken feelings quite different from any I have ever been conscious of when looking at other mountains. These seem too pure for earth; too unchanging for time. A person is ready to look on them as if they were regions commencing another world. They are certainly adapted to elevate the thoughts and feelings to a higher world. They bear their solemn testimony to God's unchanging greatness, with a force that mere words could never impress on the mind. The Christian's mind is rendered deeply reverential. It is filled with thoughts and feelings like those of the Psalmist when surveying the heavens: "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him!"

Considering the blinding influence of our depraved nature on the mental perceptions, it is scarcely won-

derful that the poor Hindu should, in all ages, have raised to these snow-covered mountains "an eye of religious veneration." "In the Hindu Pantheon, Himalaya is deified, and described as the father of the Ganges and her sister Ooma; the latter being the spouse of Mahadeva, or Siva, the destroying power." But we may hope, as well as pray, that the glorious light of the Gospel shall soon spread over India. Then the Hindu shall raise his eye to those lofty summits only to aid his mind in elevating its thoughts to the throne of the great Creator, there to render the homage of humility and of praise.

4. There are few Rivers of any note in the Protected Hill regions; though both the Ganges and the Jumna take their rise in them. The Sutlej runs nearly one hundred miles of its course in the country protected by the British, and then forms the boundary, as already mentioned, separating that country from Ranjít Singh's possessions. It is not at all navigable in the Hills. During the greater part of its course among the mountains, the descent of the water is very great, and the current is extremely rapid and tumultuous. There are several small streams, sometimes called rivers, of which I have seen only one deserving of notice—the Girí. At probably twenty miles' distance from its source, and thence fifty or sixty miles to its junction with the Jumna, it is about twenty yards wide, with an average depth of two feet; having a current of from four to six miles an hour. Its water is remarkably clear, and runs over a rocky or pebbly bed, some-

times descending considerable declivities with great noise. A few fish are found in this river. Commonly, the streams of water in these hills are quite destitute of fish.

5. Among the Trees and Productions of these regions, the pine is the most common; of which there are five or six species. The larch and the cedar are most frequently met with. The former resembles our American white pine; and the latter, the species which in some places is called "spruce pine." One variety of the pine in the interior bears a small, oblong, and rich fruit, of which most persons are quite fond. It is called the *pneoza* pine. There is a species of oak, but it is small in size. On the sides of the higher mountains the maple, birch, horse-chestnut, &c., are seen. The Rhododendron is everywhere common. It grows to the height of the locust or sassafras trees of America, and presents a beautiful appearance in the months of March and April, when covered over with its large and gorgeous scarlet flowers. The apricot is common, and bears an excellent fruit. Peaches do not come to maturity, in consequence of the rains. The apples are tolerable, though found only in one or two of the valleys. They would become very good, one may suppose, if proper care were employed in grafting. Black currants are abundant in some parts. In Kanaur, one of the valleys, there are several varieties of the grape, which form a good part of the subsistence of the inhabitants, being dried for that purpose. They are not made into wine;

though sometimes a strong and very intoxicating liquor is manufactured from them. Walnut trees and wild pears are often seen. Plantains, oranges, mangoes, &c., are found in the valleys near the Plains.

No precious Metals, lead, coal, nor salt, have yet been discovered. In a few places iron ore is found. The natives have very small and simple furnaces, in which they make an inferior kind of iron. The most common rock is the mica slate. On the highest elevations gneiss is the usual species. Quartz is often seen with both the mica and the gneiss. Granite is rarely met with. Other varieties are sometimes found.

The Soil seems to be very poor, except near the bottom of the valleys, and in the forests on the sides of the mountains. In the former it is enriched by the deposits brought down from the higher ground by the rains. The decay of vegetable matter accounts for the fertility of the ground where there are forests.

The farmers cultivate various kinds of grain; among which are wheat, maize, buckwheat, barley, and several kinds of native grain. Among the latter the Batu makes a very beautiful appearance in the fields, when almost ripe. It is a plume-like stalk, containing a great many seeds resembling timothy seed; which are ground into flour by the natives, the red covering or husks serving as food for the cattle. Some rice is cultivated in the valleys. Potatoes have been introduced by the English, and grow very well. The poppy is cultivated in order to make

opium; of which considerable quantities are manufactured. Some tobacco is grown, and occasionally patches of cotton may be seen. Large pumpkins, cucumbers, onions, peas, &c., are to be had; but the latter, with carrots, beans, and strawberries, are seldom cultivated by the natives.

6. Among the wild animals is a species of leopard. Jackals are common. Foxes are sometimes seen; monkeys more frequently. There are a few snakes, which are seldom seen, however, except during the rains. Lizards, toads, and frogs, seem to be much pleased with this climate, if a person may judge by their numbers. Among the birds, crows, hawks, and kites, are always seen in large numbers in the vicinity of towns and villages, though they are not so *very* numerous as in other parts of India. The golden eagle may be often observed proudly sailing over the valleys, and above the highest mountain summits. They sometimes measure ten feet from tip to tip of the wings. The cuckoo, swallow, sparrow, jay, and a variety of other small birds, are common during certain months of the year. None are at all remarkable for sweetness of note; though some of them have beautiful plumage. The house-fly, and his enemy the spider, fleas, and some other not more agreeable insects, are too common for a person's comfort sometimes. The bee is quite common, and honey is good, plenty, and cheap.

The farmers commonly have one or two buffaloes; or, if not, small cows instead. The cow is quite a sacred animal. At one place, the natives refused to

milk them into our vessels; though it seems difficult to imagine how the holiness of cows could be contaminated by doing so. There are no horses, except such as belong to the *Ranas*, or chiefs. Ploughing is always done by bullocks or cows. Mules are sometimes used for the transportation of merchandise. Sheep and goats seem to thrive well. The former all have short horns, both male and female. Fowls might be kept with the greatest ease, but for the religious prejudices of the natives.

7. As to the climate the degree of heat or of cold depends chiefly on the elevation. In the narrow precipitous valleys it is intolerably hot during the summer. At Simla, seven thousand five hundred feet high, the thermometer, in the house, rose to 80° and 82° last May; but fell to 64° and 66° during the rains. In the latter end of October there were hard frosts on the ground in the mornings. In the winter there are frequent falls of snow at Simla, which, however, is soon melted.

The rains commence early in June, and continue until the middle or latter end of September. They are extremely heavy; and are attended sometimes with lightning and thunder, especially about their commencement and termination. The worst feature of the rainy season is the dense fog or mist, which prevails very much for two months. These fogs I have not seen in the Plains. They are very dense. Indeed they seem to be literally clouds, heavily charged with moisture, and often so dense that objects of the largest size cannot be at all seen

at the distance of half a dozen yards. They often rise suddenly, and from no conceivable cause of a local nature; and continue sometimes for a few hours; at others, for days, if not for weeks. They seldom settle lower down than six thousand feet above the level of the sea. At high elevations they remain during all the rains. They are very oppressive to persons of weak lungs, or who are troubled with difficulty of breathing.

With the exception of the sun's rays, and of the fogs for six weeks or two months on the higher Hills, this climate is considered very much better than that of the Plains for persons coming from colder latitudes. There is something refreshing and bracing in the pure mountain air. A person feels here some of the elasticity of mind which he enjoyed in his own country. He rises in the morning refreshed by his sleep, and not languid, feverish, and spiritless, as during the hot season in the Plains. I believe the climate of these hills is considered favorable to persons whose system has become enfeebled by the heat of the plains; to those who are recovering from fevers; to persons subject to derangement of the functions of the liver, in cases not constitutional and inveterate. It is probably favorable to most kinds of disease in India. The higher elevations, however, where the fogs prevail, can hardly be salutary to persons subject to rheumatic affections, or laboring under pulmonary complaints.

There are three or four places on the Hills to which English invalids resort for their health, and where medical men are commonly to be met with

among the other residents, at least during the hot months. Of these Simla and Mussooree are the two chief places of resort; the latter station being in the Hills north of Meerut. At each of these stations from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons reside for several months during the summer. But few remain during the cold season. It is deemed strange by some, that the stations for invalid soldiers are not established somewhere in this region. The climate would certainly be more pleasant and salutary for them than that of the plains. There is at Mussooree a school for English children, where many branches of a respectable education are taught, under the superintendence of a European teacher and his sister. It is well spoken of, and affords advantages not ordinarily met with in India, to the families who prefer a residence at that station, when they are obliged to go to the Hills. Sabathu, on the route to Simla, is the station where one of the Political Agents in these Hill States, and where also a medical officer permanently reside. It is only four thousand feet high, and is not much resorted to by invalids. Sabathu is one march (fifteen miles) from the plains, and two marches from Simla.

8. The entire population in these regions under British protection, is estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand persons. There are few towns of any size. Sabathu is one of the largest in the Hills, and yet, including the vicinity of eight or ten miles, it does not contain more than twelve thousand people. Rampur, on the Sutlej, contains about one thousand

inhabitants. It is the place where the chief *mela*, or fair, in the Hills, is held. On that occasion, several days are devoted to buying and selling, to religious duties, &c. It is commonly held in the month of October or November, and is resorted to by some thousands of natives from all parts of the Hill country.

Usually, the Hill people dwell in small villages and hamlets of from half a dozen houses to twenty or thirty. In a single valley, or rather on the sides of the two mountains which form the valley, numerous clusters of houses may be seen, generally subject to the same chief, and all accessible without much difficulty, after a person has succeeded in reaching one of them. I have counted between twenty-five and thirty of these small villages at one view, thus situated on the sides of the neighboring mountains; and a missionary might visit all on one of the sides in the course of a few days, spending several hours at each, to make known the Gospel, and pitching his tent at night at a few miles' distance from his camp in the morning. The valley of Jubal is said to contain not less than fourteen thousand people, dwelling thus in villages, the greater part of which are visible at one view from some high peaks in the vicinity. All of these villages might probably be visited by a missionary in a fortnight or three weeks. If a person could speak the language with freedom, and possessed the patient, devoted spirit of Neff, he could not desire a finer field for doing good both to the bodies and souls of his fellow men.

The population of these States must be regarded as very great, when the character of their country is considered. Probably not more than one third of the actual surface of these regions admits of being cultivated. The proportion may be larger on the lower Hills; but it is much smaller on the higher.

9. The Hill people are nearly all employed in cultivating the soil. As there is scarcely any level ground, they are compelled to form the surface of the Hills into irregular terraces. These are usually very small, seldom more than a few rods broad, often only a few feet; their length is very various. They are supported by low walls of stones, piled up without any mortar or cement. It is no uncommon thing among the lower Hills near the plains, to see terraces of this kind reaching from the bottom to the top. Often, on the higher Hills, these rude terraces extend as far up as the nature of the soil, or the coldness of the climate, admits of cultivation. Rice and other productions of warm climates, may be seen at the bottom, while some of the hardier kinds of grain are growing at the top. These little fields on the mountain sides look very beautiful in the spring months.

The implements of agriculture in common use are simple and rude; but the plough is better than the one used in the plains, and the harrow is not worse. The houses of these people are comfortable for Hindus. They are much more substantial than those of farmers in the plains, being usually built chiefly of small-sized stones, with timbers, six or eight inches square, placed along in the walls at distances of

two or three feet apart. In the interior of the Hills, the houses are commonly two stories in height, the upper story having a porch, partly inclosed, along the entire front side, from which a door opens into the apartments of the family. The lower story is merely a stable for their buffaloes or cows. The roof is composed of flat stones, sometimes of slates, and projects so far on the front side as to afford a cover to the veranda or porch. It is seldom that these houses have any windows. Chimneys seem to be unknown throughout India, in native houses, the fire being kindled and kept in little clay fire-places, and the smoke being allowed to make its escape as best it can. Some of the richer farmers among the Hill people have houses so large and well-built that they would be quite respectable even in America, having verandas on all sides, and being constructed of stones and timbers which have been carefully hewed and prepared. A good Pahárí house for the ordinary class of inhabitants will cost about one hundred rupees. In the plains, the corresponding class of people live in houses of clay, which cost twenty or thirty rupees—ten or fifteen dollars.

10. The Temples, or places of religious character, are of different sizes and appearance. Most commonly they are of one rather low story in height, constructed of the same materials as ordinary houses, but having their roofs modelled more like the Chinese roofs, or of a slightly concave form from the cone to the eaves. Often these temples are made entirely of wood. Sometimes a part of the building is of open

structure, showing at one view all the idols and their ornaments. In other instances, there is no opening of any kind, except one small door. Some of the temples are more lofty than these, and have a veranda on all sides, at about two thirds of their height, which, as it is often inclosed, gives them a singular appearance. Some few consist of little more than a platform of stone, and four posts, or rude pillars, which support the roof. Some have a kind of low circular tower, rising above one end.

Their sites are often worthy of attention. Some are seen at a great distance, on the top of a mountain peak, or at the extremity of some ridge, standing solitary. Others break suddenly on the view of a traveller, as he passes through the forest, standing in its most dense recesses, and surrounded and overshadowed by lofty trees. Near the villages, they stand generally alone, a space being reserved between them and the dwellings of the people. They all seem adapted to exert a cheerless influence on the minds of men, an influence quite in accordance with the spirit of the Hindu system. Yet it must be acknowledged that their situation and appearance are not destitute of impressiveness. The idols in these temples are rude sculptures of wood and stone, and are most commonly devoted to the goddess Kalí, though the trident of Siva is sometimes seen over their most holy place. To the former goats are frequently sacrificed. Formerly, it appears from uncontradicted testimony, human victims were offered at her bloody shrine. There is a mountain very distinctly seen

from Simla, called Shalí, on whose summits in former days there was a famous temple to this goddess. It is commonly believed that human beings were killed for sacrifices at that temple ; but no instance has occurred since 1809. Since these regions have come under English control, this practice, and that of infanticide, in a great degree, have been abolished. One cannot but wonder that it should ever have existed among a people so mild, and apparently kind-hearted as these Paháris are. But the depraved heart of man, when unchanged and unrestrained by Divine influence, is susceptible of entertaining and of perpetrating any evil, however heinous in itself, or however horrible in its consequences.

At some temples, incense is offered in a rude earthen censer. In ascending a mountain one morning, with a Christian friend, we were much struck at seeing this ceremony performed. The person officiating was kneeling a short distance from the idol. In one hand he held a censer, with the incense burning, which he waved backwards and forwards, while with the other he was ringing a little bell. I never saw an instance of the kind before ; and my companion said it was equally new to him, although he had been fourteen years in various parts of India.

It is very common, in the immediate vicinity of these hill temples, to see a great number of rags sticking on the bushes and low trees around. They are of every color and texture, and are usually in the shape of narrow and rather long strips. They seem to have been torn off from the clothes commonly

worn by the people, and are said to be intended as pledges by worshippers, that they will fulfil their vows. This custom seems to be quite peculiar to these hills; at least I have not heard of any similar usage elsewhere.

11. The Religion of these people, as may be inferred from what has been said about their temples, is exclusively the Hindu. There are no Mussulmans, and scarcely any Sikhs among them. They seem to be chiefly of one caste of Hindus; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that they do not pay much regard to the distinction of caste; so that a person does not see, as in the plains, half a dozen fire-places to cook the dinners of half a dozen people. There are but few brahmans among them, nearly all the people belonging to the class whose sole duty, according to Hindu notions, is to cultivate the soil.

12. The Language seems to be principally Hinduí. Of the very few that I met who could read, all read the Hinduí in the Devnagarí character. An English gentleman who is an excellent Hindustání scholar, informed me, that he could scarcely make himself understood by the Paháris, while a friend of his, who is well acquainted with the Hinduí, got along much better in his intercourse with them. Yet their mode of pronunciation is so very singular, that few Europeans can understand them. There are but few books of any description among them; and probably not one in every thousand is able to read and write. No school of any sort is found among them; except-

ing one or two established and entirely supported by English people. There are generally a few persons, however, in each small state, who are able to read, and to keep the few records in writing that the administration of their affairs requires to be thus preserved. I have been told that there are three or four different alphabets used in different places.

13. In the manners of the Hill people there is a frank and independent bearing, which is much more pleasing than the sycophancy and servility towards superiors so common throughout India. They seem to be very ingenuous. They might be characterized as a simple-minded people, who are little encumbered with artificial distinctions of wealth and rank. Their chiefs have commonly but little power; their subjects, territories, and resources being all, for the most part, very limited. Hence, there is among them the absence both of the polish of address, and of the specious but deceitful ingenuity of mind, which are found among the subjects of more powerful and wealthy native rulers. This absence of artificial usages may be partly owing, also, to the fact, that there are few persons among them of overgrown wealth. On the other hand, there are but few among these Paháris who are absolutely poor, or compelled to beg for their subsistence, the people being commonly in moderate but comfortable circumstances. In their personal habits and dress they are offensively dirty. When an article of clothing is put on, it seems to be allowed to stay on until it wears off. The girls are betrothed at an early age,

and their hair, it is said, is then plaited, and remains undressed (it is further added) ever afterwards.

As to morals, they evince a much greater regard for truth and uprightness in dealing, than is shown by the people of the Plains. Much greater confidence can be reposed in their word, and in their honesty. But they are spoken of as greatly addicted to licentiousness; though the female sex does not appear to be so degraded as in the Plains. They are not so much secluded, which is some proof of their being held in higher estimation and of their enjoying greater respect. In one or two sections of the Hills, it is said that polyandry is common. A Christian friend informed me, that he had seen one family, where there were only two women. One was the aged mother, the other was the wife of ten men.

In their disposition or temper there seems to be a great deal of kindness of feeling, prompting them to take an interest in the sufferings of others, and to render assistance to those who are in want. These Hill people seem to be patient, contented, easily satisfied, and greatly attached, as all mountain tribes are, to their own country. A missionary who would go among them in a kind and quiet manner, endeavor to promote their temporal comfort, as well as their spiritual welfare, and exemplify before them the peaceful and pure spirit of the gospel, might hope, if favored with the Divine blessing, to secure their warm affection for himself personally, and to see many of them embracing the gospel of

the grace of God. His success would be greater and more immediate, probably, than he could meet with elsewhere in India. There are no difficulties or obstacles to hinder immediate Christian effort for the conversion of this people, except such difficulties as will continue until the gospel itself removes them by its holy influence. Under the existing authorities of the country, and among so peaceful a people, every judicious and prudent missionary would enjoy protection; while the climate and its inconveniences will ever remain, of course, in a great degree unchanged. It has been already remarked that the climate and the country are undoubtedly more favorable to the health of Europeans and Americans than the greater part of India and of south-eastern Asia.

The first establishment of a mission family might be made at Sabathu, which is convenient to the Plains, has the advantage of a resident medical officer, and of post office communications, &c. At that place a comfortable house could be either purchased or rented, at a low rate. It would admit of convenient intercourse with the mission station at Lodiana, from which the books and tracts requisite for the prosecution of missionary labors might be easily obtained; and it would afford a comfortable retreat for the missionaries from the Plains, when their health might become impaired. The distance between Lodiana and Sabathu is about one hundred miles.

In regard to the mountainous and isolated valley

of Kanaur, referred to in the first paragraph of the foregoing notes, the following memoranda will be considered valuable by the reader; they were taken from a work, then printed but not published, which has been lately reprinted and published in London. Captain Gerard, from whose book these notices were compiled by permission, had made several tours to the valley, and had spent some time in it.

Kunaur (Koonawur), a part of the protected Hill states, lies on both sides of the Sutlej river, from Lat. 31° 15′ to 32° 4′, and from Long. 77° 50′ to 78° 50′. It runs from north-east to south-west, the habitable part seldom exceeding eight miles in breadth. It is secluded, rugged, mountainous, and almost entirely surrounded by mountains covered with snow. On the east it is separated from Chinese Tartary by a lofty ridge, through which are several passes at high elevations.

Population.—There are seven large divisions, subdivided into twenty smaller, containing altogether rather less than ten thousand inhabitants. Rampur, the chief town of Basehar, the state or chiefdom of which Kunaur forms a part, contains one hundred and ten families. In Kunaur, Marang contains eighty-seven families, and Ridang, seventy-five. These are among the most populous places in Basehar. The villages are situated from seven to twelve thousand feet above the sea.

Climate.—This depends upon the elevation and the location of the particular place. Rampur is so hot, during a good part of the year, as to be

almost uninhabitable by Europeans. Other places are so cold, as to be uninhabitable by any human beings. Between these extremes there is a great variety of temperature.

VALLEYS.—The valleys of the Sutlej, of the Baspa, of the Pabar, and of one or two other small streams, are the only parts which admit of much cultivation. Arable spaces occasionally are met, varying from one hundred yards to half a mile in width.

RIVERS.—The Sutlej is more like a torrent than a large river, descending sometimes one hundred or one hundred and fifty feet per mile. The water looks turbid, from the particles of sand, or of the rocks, worn off by attrition, which are held suspended in the stream. It runs two hundred and eighty miles in the snowy mountains, one hundred more in the hills, or lower range of mountains, and one hundred and thirty more in the plains, to its junction with the Bías. Its breadth varies greatly; its depth in the hills can seldom be ascertained, owing to the rapidity of the current, which is often fearfully great.

The Sutlej receives several mountain streams as tributaries, of which the chief is the Spití, which is nearly one hundred miles in length. The others vary in length from ten to forty-five miles. They are all much swollen by the rains, and by the melting of the snow. These rivers and steams are passed by *sangos*, or wooden bridges, by *jhulas*, or rope bridges, and by *sagams*, or twig bridges. The second is made of several cables stretched from bank to bank, from which a noose is suspended; in this the

passenger places himself, and he is then drawn over by cords attached to the noose. The third kind of bridge is formed of twigs twisted, ropes, &c.

Passes.—There are various passes, over which travellers cross the mountains. Of these, six lead to Chinese Tartary, and several into Thibet.

Productions, &c.—Barley, buckwheat, and wheat are common. The potatoe has been introduced, and grows well. Among the trees are six kinds of pine, oak, birch, maple. Wild fruits are abundant, as black and red currants, gooseberries, strawberries, neoza,* pears, apricots, &c. Many varieties of grapes flourish very well in good situations. Eighteen kinds are mentioned, which seems an incredibly large number. They sell at sixty or seventy pounds to the rupee. Apples are but indifferent—could they not be improved by grafting? Peaches do not ripen well.

The animals are cows, sheep, goats, asses, small horses, dogs, &c. There are a few wild bears, and a species of tiger-cat, or panther. Among the birds are pheasants, hawks, eagles, crows, pigeons, &c. Fish are not abundant. There are snakes, frogs, flies, fleas, &c. The common bee is everywhere met with, and there is plenty of fine honey, particularly in the autumn.

The people are dark complexioned and muscular. Their stature is from five feet four inches to five feet

* The neoza is a small, rather long, partly conical fruit, tasting not unlike the filbert or hazel nut, and produced by a species of the pine.

nine. They are frank, active, hospitable, and highly honorable, reverencing the truth, &c.

Their religion is Hinduism, but with less regard for the subdivisions of caste than the people of the plains evince. They erect temples to the Devtas, or gods, in their villages, and piles of stones on the summits of the hills. Kálí is chiefly worshipped. Human sacrifices were offered before the British became rulers; and female infanticide was common. Their language is a dialect of the Hinduí. Few persons can read or write. The dialect called Milchan is said to be the most common.

Diseases are few, as the climate is salubrious and bracing. As there are no periodical rains in Kunaur, there are few vapors or mists. The swelled throat, or goitre, is frequently met with; but it is not supposed to be owing to their drinking snow water, because many who drink nothing else for months are not troubled with it.

CHAPTER XIV.

LODIANA TO NEW YORK.

Meeting with Messrs. Wilson and Newton—English school at Lodiana—Mission station at Sabathu—Other fields of labor—Station at Lodiana—Leave Lodiana—Meeting at Calcutta with the third company of Missionaries—Reach New York.

Leaving Simla about the 17th of November, I proceeded to join my missionary friends, the Wilsons and Newtons, now on the land part of their journey to Lodiana, and on the 23d of that month we had the high gratification of meeting at a small native village about thirty miles north-west of Delhi. Years had passed since we were students together at the Alleghany Seminary, and in this period changes of the deepest interest had taken place; the broad ocean had been crossed, the hand of death had taken away more than one whom we all loved, and who had expected to be present at this meeting; and we were now truly strangers in a strange country. How thankful and joyful that we were again together! With the warmest gratitude did we at once unite in offering fervent praise to God, "for all the way by which he had led us along." Our meeting was a time of the most tender and refreshing communion, such as language can but feebly describe.

After reaching Lodiana, we had the satisfaction of spending about six weeks together. During this time the history of our mission in all its details was brought under review, and its prospects carefully examined. Various plans of usefulness were considered, and our united and fervent prayers were often made that the blessing of the great Head of the Church might attend our feeble undertakings. On a review of all our affairs, we could not but "thank God, and take courage." I may here insert some extracts from a letter, written a month or two afterwards, but referring to the state of things in January, 1836.

"The English school was first established under the auspices and generous support of Captain C. M. Wade, the Political Agent at Lodiana; and, for some months before I reached that place in November, 1834, it was taught by Shahamat Ali, a young man of considerable promise, who had acquired some knowledge of our language at the government college, or school, at Delhi.

"One of the first subjects that required our consideration after we arrived at Lodiana was that of our connexion with this school. Captain Wade was its founder, and it has always been chiefly owing to his deep interest in its success, and to his generous patronage, that it has thus far prospered so well. He wished, however, to sustain towards it a somewhat different, though not less friendly relationship. And between his making an arrangement that would have placed it out of our hands, and making it over

entirely to us, we, of course, could not feel as indifferent spectators; especially as the other arrangement would have involved the giving up of all religious books and instructions in the school. After free and repeated conversations with Captain Wade on the subject, marked on his part by a most kind, considerate, and liberal disposition, it seemed best that the school should be altogether made over to our mission. Captain Wade will, however, continue to manifest an entirely cordial interest in its welfare, and is still the patron of the school. It now contains about forty-five boys and young men. This number is as large as could be expected, when it is considered that but few, if any, of the natives of this country are yet influenced by a desire of knowledge from disinterested motives; and that the number of situations is but limited in which a knowledge of our language would be advantageous in a pecuniary point of view. Indeed, it may be said of most places remote from Calcutta, that the most weighty motive to the mind of a Hindu for seeking a knowledge of our language is the hope of pleasing his European superiors, and of deriving some sort of advantage from their favor. This is a good deal the case at Lodiana; though I am glad to think that some of the boys are influenced by higher and better motives. But, whatever may be the character of the motives which influence any of the natives in their efforts to become acquainted with our language, it matters little to us as to our duty. To us it is simply a question between endeavoring to avail ourselves of

their wish to know our language by consenting to teach them, and watching opportunities to make them acquainted with useful and Christian knowledge, and neglecting to do so. If we choose the latter plan, we lose many and precious opportunities, direct and indirect, of exerting a useful influence, of communicating important knowledge, of correcting evil habits, of witnessing a Christian example; and we permit a most interesting class of the community to acquire that knowledge of our language which will make them by far the most influential men of their generation, without any, or with but an imperfect acquaintance with the truths of our religion. The desire to know our language is awakened in their minds; it will be gratified; those who learn our books will be looked up to by all the people; they will occupy many places of important influence among their countrymen; but whether they will exert an influence favorable to Christianity, or not, is a different and most important matter. Mere general knowledge will never make them sincere Christians; though it may, and most probably will make them infidels as to the religious systems of their fathers. We have yet to learn whether infidelity in India is any better than infidelity in America or Europe.*

* This English school has not ceased to be an object of prominent interest. A new and more eligible building has been erected for its use; the number of pupils has been doubled. Though subject to considerable changes, partly from the parents' early withdrawing their sons to occupy stations of business, thereby greatly hindering the use-

"Another subject that has received a good many of our thoughts, is the distribution of our number; having a reference as well to those who are to come as to those now here. Lodiana seems to need the services of two missionaries, one printer, and one schoolmaster. Ambala, about seventy miles to the south-east, is as large a town, or perhaps larger; but, at present, it does not appear to be advisable to attempt forming a branch of our mission there. Ferozpur, about seventy miles down the Sutlej from Lodiana, is a place of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, and of great prospective inportance. It is not quite prepared, probably, for becoming the station of a mission family. Sabathu, one hundred miles from Lodiana, in the Protected Hill States, is a very good place at which to have one missionary and one schoolmaster stationed. These are the places now under direct British control. There are many large towns belonging to native Chiefs, on both sides of the Sutlej, within one hundred miles, and many within fifty miles of Lodiana. Within the latter distance is Patiala, said to contain sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants, southward from Lodiana; Sirhind, containing probably fifteen thousand, eastward, or south-eastward, from Lodiana, on the road to Ambala; Jalandar, forty thousand, thirty

fulness of the school; yet it cannot be doubted that a good influence has been already exerted through its agency. Its position in reference to surrounding countries, and the different languages spoken by its pupils, will make this school the means, with the blessing of God, of diffusing far and near the knowledge of the way of life.

miles; and Paghwarah, fifteen thousand, twenty miles. Both of these are on the other side of the Sutlej, on the road to Amritsir and Lahor. Besides these large towns, there are a good many of some thousands, and a great many of some hundreds of inhabitants. But in regard to towns which are entirely under native rule, it may be regarded in general as scarcely advisable for a mission family to settle at them, before a knowledge of the language is attained; and perhaps even then it will be better to occupy first those large towns and important places which are under British rule exclusively. There will be less probability of meeting with any interruption in one's labors. It is quite practicable to visit towns under native rule; and perhaps circumstances might occur which would make it appear advisable to reside at them. This would be the case, were any of their rulers to become Christians. But, at present, it might be attended with uncertainty as to being free from trouble, or rather, as to obtaining the consent of the Chiefs. At any rate, it would be attended with much delay in regard to getting suitable houses prepared, so that it does not seem expedient that any of our brethren should attempt at once to take up a permanent residence at a native town.

"Besides, great changes may be anticipated, and perhaps troublesome times, on the other side of the Sutlej; for the health of the chief ruler, Ranjít Singh, is in a very precarious condition. Though he may live for years, yet he might die any night. It seems hardly proper to think of forming any station

on that side of the Sutlej until there is a better prospect of quietness and of a settled government.

"We came very satisfactorily to the conclusion, that we should commence a mission in the Hill States as soon as practicable. We have felt ourselves justifiable in making preparation for a mission family to reside there, and have purchased a stone house at Sabathu for that purpose. This we thought it was expedient to do, because while it was offered at a low price, the opportunity might be lost, if neglected.

"You will perceive that Lodiana and Sabathu do not afford sufficient work to employ all our brethren permanently. Shall they all go to those places until they learn the language, and then go wherever Providence directs? Or would it be advisable for some of them to stay at Furrukhabad, or at some other place in the Doab, or level country, between the Ganges and the Jumna? The latter is a region of country teeming with large towns and multitudes of people, for whose souls no man seems to care. It affords a greater prospect of concentrated exertions than do the regions to the northwest. It is entirely under British rule. It is easy of access by water from Calcutta, and would afford a 'half-way house' to the missionary brethren going on to the northwest. We want some missionary families in Calcutta, where our missionaries would land at first; who would find as much work to do as they could accomplish; who would meet with a most cordial reception from all the Calcutta brethren; and who could relieve those bre-

thren from commissions and cares which even now must be troublesome, though they are too kind to admit that they are so, but which, in future times, will be too numerous for them to think of attending to, when we have some fifty or a hundred missionaries in the upper regions of India. And then we want many American missionaries throughout Upper India; of whom some could be stationed at Furrukhabad. There is a large unoccupied field in the Doab. Would it be desirable for two of our brethren to stay somewhere in it? If it is not so for them, I trust you will soon be able to send others to take possession of that fertile and populous country.

"If they should go on to Lodiana, they, or future missionaries, might prepare themselves for going either to Cashmere or to Afghanistan, by learning the language of those countries from the natives, of whom there are many at Lodiana.

"During the spring of 1834, through the kind attention of Captain Wade, a portion of land was allotted to our mission, which is in many respects very eligible, being about a quarter of a mile east of the city, and containing a tract of rather low ground, suitable for a garden; as well as some high ground, suitable, and sufficiently large, for two or three houses. You would have thought the higher point of it a dreary, barren spot, if you could have seen it three or four months ago. It was just like the sandy-looking plains east and south of it. Yet it has always been cultivated; and we may hope that it will hereafter possess a peculiar interest, as the seat

of extensive moral influence, and as the home of two or three families of the Lord's beloved people. It is intended that Lodiana shall become a walled town, and measures are in progress which seem to promise that the native city shall extend eastward quite to our ground. According to the plan of the city, a single street separates our little tract from the wall of the great city that is to be."

The time had now come when I should direct my way homewards. After obtaining the best medical advice, and after much and anxious consideration, and many conferences with my missionary companions, it was agreed by us all that a return to the United States was decidedly advisable, as the only means of recovering from the combined influence of the climate and of chronic disease. Deeply as I regretted to leave a post of so much importance, and a mission whose brief history had been so fraught with deeply painful, but also with most encouraging interest, and sorrowful as we all were at the necessity of parting, the path of duty appeared plain, and we acquiesced in what we believed to be the will of God. For myself, I consented the more readily to the measure, as I hoped to be so much benefited by the voyage, and by spending a year or two in a colder climate, as to return to the sphere of duty I was now about to leave—a hope I have since been constrained to abandon.

Arrangements were soon made for a journey to Calcutta by dák, and on the 21st of January, I bade

farewell to many kind English friends at Lodiana, to the scholars of the High School, and to my missionary brethren ; we commended each other to God, and to the word of his grace, and then parted, they to pursue their missionary labors, and I to make another long and solitary journey. I reached Calcutta on the 11th of February, after four or five days' delay on the road.

I was anxious to proceed on the voyage without delay, as the hot season was now drawing nigh ; but I met with unexpected and trying disappointments about getting a passage directly to the United States, and was at length obliged to decide on returning by way of England. This delay, however, proved the means of my having a glad meeting with the third company of missionaries from the Society, who arrived on the 2d of April, in the Charles Wharton, from Philadelphia, after a safe and pleasant voyage. This party consisted of the Rev. Messrs. J. R. Campbell and J. McEwen, and Messrs. J. M. Jamieson, W. S. Rogers, and J. Porter, with their wives. The three last mentioned gentlemen had completed their studies at college, and they have since been ordained as ministers of the gospel. We all regarded it as a favorable ordering of Providence, that I should have been delayed until they arrived. I was able to be of use to them in making their arrangements for proceeding up the country ; and it was highly gratifying to see so many chosen men and women thus far on their way to a scene of labor, where, two years before, everything appeared so discouraging.

I left India with a lighter heart, after spending a few days with these missionary friends.

Of the voyage to England, and thence to New York, I need not give an extended account. Both were unusually long and severe, but we were favored with all necessary comfort. After stopping a week at the Cape of Good Hope, our ship arrived at London about the end of September, and embarking at Portsmouth early in November, I had the great satisfaction, on the 28th of December, of stepping on the shore of my native country, all the more beloved as I had seen the more of foreign lands.

CHAPTER XV.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MISSION.

Summary statement.—Station at Lahor.—Synod of North India.

With the last chapter, my book might end; but as I venture to hope that this mission will be regarded with interest by the reader, I shall add some account of its present condition. A full narrative of its subsequent history would occupy a volume; which, if Providence favors the design, I may hereafter endeavor to write, in compliance with the wishes of friends often expressed. The information presented in this chapter will answer the end of showing that the good hand of God has been upon this missionary enterprise.

There are now ten stations in Upper India, occupied by about sixty American and Hindu laborers, under the patronage of the Presbyterian Church. Of these laborers, twenty-four are ordained ministers of the Gospel, two of whom are of native birth; the others are the wives of the missionaries, and twenty native catechists, teachers, and readers, not including teachers who are not converts, of whom a considerable number are employed in the schools. Churches have been organized at most of the sta-

tions, with which about two hundred natives are connected as communicants. An extensive system of schools is in operation, embracing about twelve hundred children and youths, who are receiving the benefits of education under a happy Christian influence.

The Press is doing its great work in the hands of the missionaries, there being two printing and binding establishments, at which the Sacred Scriptures and Christian Books are printed. Nearly ninety millions of pages have been printed and circulated since these presses were set up; embracing works varying in size from four pages to upwards of six hundred pages, in the Hinduí, Hindustání, Gurmukhí, Persian, and English languages. This department of the missionary work is under efficient management, and its influence is becoming increasingly important.

The stations are classed under three Missions, which take their names from prominent cities within their bounds. Each of these missions is distinct from the others, and they make their reports directly to the Board of Foreign Missions, whose seat of operations is in New York.

The Lodiana Mission has stations at Lodiana, Saharunpur, Sabathu, Ambala, Jalandar, and Lahor. Sabathu is a town in the Himmalaya mountains, and is noticed above on page 232. Two of the stations are in the Panjab, at Jalandar and Lahor, places mentioned in the preceding narrative. The station at Lahor is one of so much interest as to deserve a

somewhat extended notice. This I take from the "Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, May, 1850:"

"One of the most important events in the history of this mission during the past year, is the occupation of Lahor, the capital of the Panjáb, as a missionary station. By the appointment of their brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Newton and Forman took up their abode at that city in November.

"Nearly seventeen years ago, the first missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in India were led, under the manifest guidance of Providence, to select the north-western provinces of that country as their general field of labor. Their choice had a special reference to the Panjáb, then an independent kingdom, and to the Sikhs, a distinct people in their religion, though in other respects not differing greatly from their Hindu countrymen. The missionaries formed their first station at Lodiana, on the British side of the Sutlej, the south-eastern boundary of that kingdom. One of their number was permitted to go over, and to spy out the country, penetrating as far as Lahor, where its famous but despotic ruler, Ranjít Singh, held his court. He brought back a good report of many things, but the time did not appear to have come for attempting to form a permanent missionary establishment, nor even for making flying missionary tours, among the four millions of its inhabitants.

"At Lodiana, every facility was enjoyed by the

missionaries for making all needful preparation to go up and take possession of the land, whenever the leader of Israel should call them to cross over the dividing river. There the Gurmukhí language, the dialect of the Sikhs, was studied, and the religion with which it is so closely allied. A dictionary, a grammar, a geography, a number of religious tracts, and more than all, a revised and to some extent a new translation of the Holy Scriptures, were prepared; and most of them have been printed at the Lodiana press, though some of them are now in the course of publication. Two or three of the missionaries have learned the Gurmukhí, and one of them is probably the best scholar in that language now living; while all the missionaries, from their location, have enjoyed peculiar advantages for becoming acquainted with the other dialects spoken in that part of India, and with the general state of society, religion, &c., amongst the people. It is confidently believed that no other Missionary Institution is so completely furnished for the great work of evangelizing the Panjáb, and certainly no other has had this object so long and so constantly in view, as the Missionary Board of our Church.

"If the door of entrance into the Panjáb had been open seventeen years ago, the Church was not then prepared to take possession of that good land. Now her work of preparation has been completed, and in the wonderful working of Divine Providence the door is widely open. The death of Ranjít Singh was celebrated with the immolation of eleven females on his funeral pile. It was an act characteristic of the

reign of Satan, but it was one of the signs of his falling kingdom. Ranjít left no successor capable of wielding his iron sceptre. The country soon fell into a state of anarchy, under the leaders of the army which he had trained; and they were so elated with mistaken views of their own power, as to resolve on the overthrow of the British dominion in India. For this purpose, unprovoked, they crossed the Sutlej, into British territory. Defeated, they withdrew, and were allowed to retain most of their possessions, only a narrow tract on the south-eastern side of the Panjáb being appropriated by the British to defray the expenses of the war. In this region, known as the Jalandar Doab, a missionary station was formed, in connexion with the station at Lodiana, three years ago. A second time, equally without provocation, these chiefs and their fierce troops arrayed themselves against their former foe. The conflict between the Sikh and British armies was terrible, and the issue for a time doubtful; but the end was the prostration of the Sikh power, and the annexation of the whole Panjáb to the Anglo-Indian empire —a measure hailed with satisfaction by the greater part of the inhabitants of that long oppressed land. The former native rule was a lawless military despotism; the present is a government of law, in the hands of a Christian nation. And as the result of these great changes in the political condition of the Panjáb, changes which the Christian must recognise as permitted by Providence for wise and holy purposes, the whole of that interesting country is now

open to the missionary, and two of our brethren are pursuing their work in its chief city.

"Their position is one of commanding importance, with reference to the Panjáb itself and its energetic people, and also with reference to other countries on its borders, where the light of the Gospel does not yet shine. Our mission, at such a post, ought to be a strong one. It should have the usual departments of missionary labor, and these should be amply sustained with men and funds. Above all, it should be borne, on the prayers of God's people, before the throne of grace.

"The Committee have considered it expedient to state the history and claims of this new station at some length. They would only add the expression of their gratification at learning that the missionaries received a cordial welcome from the English residents at Lahor."

The Furrukhabad Mission has stations at Futtehgurh, Mynpurie, and Agra. The Allahabad Mission has but one station, at the city of Allahabad.

The classification of the stations as Missions is made chiefly for the convenience of the missionaries, in the transaction of their financial and other business matters. A classification of a different nature, is that which groups the missionaries and their converts under the ecclesiastical system of the Church, with which they account it their happiness to be connected. Three Presbyteries* have been consti-

* Besides these, the missionaries stationed at Saharunpur, who are connected ecclesiastically with the Reformed Presbyterian Church,

tuted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which are known by the same names and embrace the same ministers and churches as the Missions, with the exception stated in the note below. These Presbyteries form the Synod of North India.

The sessions of this venerable Court of the Church must be expected to exert a happy influence on the missionary work in Upper India. It is thus referred to in the Annual Report of the Board for this year:

"In the preceding narrative, references have been made incidentally to the second meeting of the Synod of North India, which held its sessions at Agra, in December, 1848. . . . . .

"The missionary brethren themselves speak of the Synodical meeting as an occasion of no ordinary interest, and as subserving important objects. In the Report of the Allahabad Mission, after mentioning that the ruling elder, Babu John Harry, since licensed to preach, accompanied the missionaries to the meeting of Synod, 'especially because we required his assistance in the peculiar work before the Synod,' the brethren proceed:

"'The Synod held thirteen Sessions—an opening one, and twelve serious days' work. We were mostly engaged in a careful and detailed revision of the translation of the Confession of Faith and Shorter Catechism in Urdu. The former had been

have been organized as a Presbytery. Their missionary relation is with the Board, as well as with their own Church, and it has always been a pleasant one to themselves and to their missionary brethren.

prepared by the Lodiana Mission, and carefully revised by a member of our Presbytery; and the latter was the work of our Presbytery altogether. A member of the Lodiana Presbytery had also assisted in finally revising and preparing these for presentation to the Synod. We ought also to mention that Mr. Wilson, of Agra, while with us at Allahabad, assisted in the translation of the Shorter Catechism. The Synod carefully examined these works, freely discussed them, and adopted them at last, as the authoritative exposition of our faith in the Urdu language. They have since been printed at our Press, and are now ready for distribution.

"'The members of the mission who were present at this meeting of our Synod, would record their sentiments of gratitude that they were permitted to enjoy this privilege. It was a great privilege in this dry and thirsty land, to see one another; to feel the influence which a greater number always exerts; to strengthen the bonds of brotherly affection, and to comfort and encourage each other's hearts. We could not but feel, also, the influence of the elevating sentiment that we were engaged in planting in this land that standard, around which the best of God's people in all ages have joyfully rallied, and that system of doctrine, which, though so often a sign spoken against, is still, instrumentally, the life of the Church, and presents the only form of Christianity that can ever give masculine character to the Church of India.'

"This meeting can hardly be viewed with less

interest by the churches in this land, whose messengers were there assembled with the elders of churches planted among the heathen. Such a meeting marks almost an era in the missionary work of the Church, and deserves a much more extended notice than can be given to it by the Committee in this report. It is a point from which to look back and to look forward. But a few years have passed since the missionaries of our Church went to India. They were guided by the good hand of our God upon them to the Upper Provinces as their field of labor, provinces containing thirty millions of people. There they found a field in a great degree unoccupied by other missionary laborers. In the midst of personal discouragement and bereavements, they entered on their work. Open doors were set before them. Reinforcements from the Church at home increased their number. The Gospel was preached. The Holy Scriptures were translated, printed, and spread abroad. Many of the heathen youth were brought into Christian schools. The blessing of God was not withholden from their labors. Converts were baptized. Churches were formed. Presbyteries were organized. Candidates for the Gospel ministry were licensed and ordained. The Synod was constituted. Our ecclesiastical system is found to work happily on missionary ground. Questions, abroad, as well as at home, which give trouble to some missionary bodies, are quietly and satisfactorily settled under our well known rules. God is pleased to put honor on sound doctrine, and this our

brethren preach. The Church will view with pleasure the care bestowed by her servants on the Hindustáni Translation of her venerable Confession of Faith. It is a great matter to have such a work performed under the sanction of one of her own Synods. In future ages, this Confession may be referred to with gratitude by greater numbers of Christians than now praise God for that of Westminster.

"On the whole there has been progress—gradual, steady, and substantial. This has not been on a large scale, in the view of sense; but it is really great in the eye of faith, which can see 'the kingdom of God,' even when it 'cometh not with observation.' The churches are small; the candidates, few; the native catechists, licentiate preachers, and ordained ministers, but a little band; but it is of the Lord's doing that there are any! It is a more signal display of Divine power, speaking after the manner of men, to rescue a few souls at first from the power of Satan, and to plant a few churches at first in a land of spiritual darkness and death, than it will be to increase those few disciples and churches to an exceedingly great and glorious host. This brief review of the past, therefore, should encourage the Church to expect great things in the time to come. The foundations of a great work are laid, and some living stones are now in the walls of the spiritual temple. In the Lord's time, the headstone thereof shall be brought forth, with shoutings, crying grace, grace unto it."

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The north-western provinces not occupied with Missionary institutions—Urgent wants of adult Heathens—Encouragement of Christian effort—India open for Missionary labors—An interior movement now in progress—The Hindus in a transition state; shall they become Christians or Infidels?—Religious movements *en masse*—The kind of men required as Missionaries.

It certainly deserves our devout thanksgiving, that so large a mission establishment is now planted and exerting an effective influence where, a few years ago, there was but a solitary pioneer, or rather where but a year or two before, the wants and even the names of those provinces, and their millions of people, were little known to our churches. A beginning has been made, a number of faithful laborers are engaged in the Lord's work, schools have been formed, the Sacred Scriptures printed and circulated widely, churches and Presbyteries constituted, and the work of converting grace displayed, and still in progress; this is surely the Lord's work, and it is marvellous in our eyes. We cannot but regard the past history of those missions as presenting a strong inducement to enlarged efforts, and as holding out good encouragement of final success.

That success should be devoutly prayed for in these endeavors, no one can doubt, who considers how lamentable is the condition of men not enjoying the light of Revelation, and how far above all price are the benefits conferred on those who sincerely embrace the gospel of Jesus Christ. Every motive that induces Christians to set a high estimate on their religion, should persuade them to use all proper means to extend its blessings to those who are destitute of them. Nor is this duty left to their choice. Its performance is made binding by the command of Christ. The generous promptings, however, of their benign faith, not less than the beautiful example of their blessed Lord, should constrain them to offer a free and ready service on behalf of those who are represented in Sacred Scripture, with touching simplicity, as "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death."

The entire north-western part of India, above a line drawn between Benares and Allahabad, may be regarded as specially open to our missionaries. There are many important places below that line where they might be well employed, indeed where the services of missionaries are most urgently required; and they would be made welcome by the missionaries of other branches of the Church of Christ, now employed in the lower provinces, their numbers and resources being altogether inadequate to the work in which they are engaged. But in the north and north-western parts of India, there are no other missionaries from the American Church, and

but few from the English Societies. The entire number of European missionaries is probably under a dozen, nor is there a prospect of this number being much increased. There is ample room, therefore, for the employment of many more missionaries from this country. Those upper parts of India, from Allahabad to the Indus, and from the mountains so far westward as to include the Raj-put tribes, comprise the provinces of Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, part of Malwa, and the whole of Rajputana, the kingdom of Oude, the Protected Hill and Sikh States, and the entire kingdom of the Panjáb, including Cashmere, containing in all a population of probably thirty millions. And besides these, the provinces of Scinde, on the lower waters of the Indus, the countries of Beloochistan and Affghanistan, west of the Indus, and Thibet on the north-east, can all be reached from this part of India, more readily than from any other quarter. In all these countries there is no mission establishment whatever.

One of the greatest objects of Christian missions is certainly that of preparing the natives for becoming themselves preachers of righteousness to their countrymen; yet we cannot doubt the extreme importance of all proper kinds of labor, that look to the conversion of adult heathens. These must be made by foreign missionaries, if our benevolence shall reach the generation now on the stage of life. In a few years more, they will go down to the land of silence, before the work can be completed of training up native youths, and sending them forth on this high

errand of mercy to their fathers and older countrymen. The Christians now living must put themselves in communication with the heathens now living, and that chiefly by their direct efforts, if the latter shall be made to know the true God and eternal life, which is through his son Jesus Christ our Lord. And beyond all question, the followers of Christ are responsible, and will be held to a strict account in the great day, for the fulfilment of this duty, according to the measure of their means and opportunities.

If to any it should appear a hopeless work to preach Christ and him crucified to adult heathens, confirmed in evil habits, and surrounded with temporal interests altogether adverse to their believing on the Son of God, let it be remembered that there is the same encouragement now as in the first ages of the Church. A minister of the Gospel has the same reasons to expect the Divine blessing on his ministrations among the Hindus, that gave encouragement to the apostle Paul to preach in the city of Ephesus, or to the missionaries who first preached the gospel to the barbarous tribes of idolaters in Great Britain and other parts of Europe—our own forefathers. In both cases it is by the foolishness of preaching, that God is pleased to save them that believe. In both cases, it is the power of God that must overcome the otherwise insuperable difficulties, that would hinder and utterly prevent the conversion of any pagan, either in ancient or modern times. And that power shall not be withheld, when the fol-

lowers of Christ sincerely seek its aid, and employ the appointed means through which that aid is given. On this principle rests the whole superstructure of Christian Missions.

In India, the way is made ready for the employment of these appointed means. That country, and its multitudes of inhabitants, are now under the control of a Protestant government; and Christian ministers, without receiving any special favor, which indeed they need not desire, are protected as citizens, and may spend their entire strength in the fulfilment of their holy vocation, no man hindering them, nor making them afraid. After learning the language, they may preach the gospel to the natives, not always in congregations statedly assembling in one place of worship, but as opportunity offers,—in the midst of large crowds, or to a few villagers, gathered around the shady peepul tree, or to the solitary inquirer who comes like Nicodemus, at night, to their houses, to ask, how can these things be? or in the midst of a school-room, day after day, to a number of hopeful youth. They may translate the Sacred Scriptures, and place them in the hands of those who are able to read. They may teach those converts, who possess suitable gifts, the way of God more perfectly, and then send them forth in their Lords' name to teach others. Thus is there an open door set before the Church, by the good providence of God.

Besides this outward door open, there is an interior movement of most deep interest now in progress among the Hindus, which must not be overlooked.

Various influences are at work undermining the existing fabric of superstition. The administration of the government by foreigners, who, while they protect all in their common rights, bestow special favor on no exclusive class, and grant no immunity in crime, not even to a brahman, though shielded by all the special enactments of the Shastras, has a silent influence on the minds of the people against their religion; this influence may be almost unseen, but it is as steady and as mighty as the flowing of the tide on the ocean. The advance of knowledge, on common subjects, is not less directly hostile to the Hindu religion. The peculiar opinion, according to which their books on most branches of knowledge are accounted sacred, has been already pointed out. And it leads to most important results. These books, at least many of them, are filled with the grossest error, not merely on religious subjects, but on common topics—such as the shape of the earth, the position of its mountains and rivers, the cause of eclipses, the influence of the planets on human affairs, the manner of curing diseases, &c. Their belief in the most absurd notions on these subjects, is based on the same authority which has peopled their heavens with millions of gods and goddesses, and ordained their priests and manifold ceremonial observances. Let them see that in the former things they have been altogether mistaken, and it will not be long before they discover the groundless claims of the latter. Both stand on the same platform, and must stand or fall together. The former are now falling.

European science and correct knowledge are supplanting the fables of the East. Many of the more influential classes, and of those who will become influential, are now abandoning the silly legends of the Hindu Shastras, and their number is constantly increasing. Commonly, if not always, these Hindus abandon at the same time the religious faith of their country. For a while they may comply with its outward forms, yet will they stop in the midst of their prayers, to tell you that they are merely conforming to what is customary. Indeed, to a great extent, the Hindu religion may now be characterized as a religion of usage, and not of reverence or feeling. It was never a religion of love, and therefore its hold on its votaries can be the more easily broken. Besides all this, multitudes of youth are now forming such habits of accurate mental study, of ascertaining truth by induction and severe reason, as would lead them to reject the visionary religious revelations of the Hindu sacred books, even were their instructions on profane topics less erroneous. In short the Hindus may be regarded as now in a transition state. They are leaving the false and dangerous moorings of Hinduism, and setting out on the tide of new opinions, impelled by a self-trusting and reckless spirit, without chart or pilot—where shall their voyage end? Certain it is, that they will not continue pagans many generations longer; shall they become sincere worshippers of the true God, or madly follow the vain imaginations of the natural mind into the heartless regions of scepticism? This

question can be answered satisfactorily, if the Church employ Christian agencies in a right spirit, and to a suitable extent. All these general influences, now gradually working such mighty changes, are but doing a part of her work. They are disabusing the minds of the people of error; let the servants of the Church stand by and fill their minds with truth. Let them build up the walls of Zion among the Hindus, while the fortresses of the great adversary are falling in ruins.

There is another view of India as a missionary field, which cannot be surveyed without inspiring the mind with hope, not unmingled with anxiety. So intimately bound together are the Hindus in their respective castes, and so terrible are the consequences of losing one's place in the sect of which he is a member, that few have forsaken Hinduism. This is not strange; the wonder is rather that so many have become Christians. These bonds of caste will keep men from embracing a different religion as individuals, separately, but they will also lead to large masses of people making that change together. The motives which are sufficient to influence the mind of one man will, before they have led him to any final decision, have become the motives of hundreds more of the same sect; they will then forsake their old religion together, and they will strengthen each other in their new faith. Years ago, reflecting observers predicted this result. And a striking example of the correctness of their opinions has been witnessed in Krishnagur, a district of Bengal, about

sixty or seventy miles north of Calcutta. Large numbers of the Kurta Bhojas, one of the smaller sects, have been received into the Christian Church at that station, under the labors of the English Episcopal Missionaries. This movement extended to thousands of that sect, while surrounding sects were hardly at all impressed. Thus it probably will be throughout India. Such is our hope. Our fear is, that when these movements shall take place, the Church may not be prepared, with her servants and their native co-laborers, to point the minds of the inquiring multitudes to the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." What could the four missionary brethren and their two native assistants accomplish at Futtehgurh, if the people of Furrukhabad, a city a few miles distant, of more than one hundred thousand souls, should now arise *en masse*, renounce their idols, and seek a new religion? It may be said that these changes cannot be expected until the means shall have been employed to produce them, and then those means shall serve to give them a safe direction. But may there not be light enough to show them their danger, and yet not enough to point out the way of escape? Besides, this view only postpones the time of these great and general religious movements, the arrival of which every Christian should be anxious rather to hasten than retard. And moreover there are, as has been shown, causes now at work to produce these changes, though a large part of these causes are purely secular; and unless Christian efforts are combined with

them, their result will prove anything else than favorable to the religious benefit of the people.

These considerations clearly show, that India is a most important sphere of missionary labor. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

I shall only add, that the missionary field in Upper India was brought to the attention of that part of the Church by which these missions are supported, at the time that she was beginning to move forward as a distinct tribe in Israel in the missionary work. It is not presumptuous for us to believe that in this there was far more than a merely casual coincidence. Let those, who have "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do," consider to what important results this connexion should lead.

The question has been asked, what kind of men are needed for missionary service in India? It is obvious that in so large a field of labor, there must be room for the employment of men of very different and unequal gifts. Among the apostles, the earliest missionaries, usefulness was not limited to the labors of the highly-gifted Paul; Thomas, a man of far less talent and learning, has left traces of his success in his Lord's work, in places further distant from Jerusalem than Paul ever travelled.

While there is ample scope for the full employment of talents of the highest order, men of moderate abilities should not be discouraged from entering on the missionary field in India. It is highly desirable, however, that our missionaries should be able,

wise, learned, and practical men; the stronger in these respects they are, the better, if only they have such a religious character as shall guard them from self-confidence and other evils, to which gifted men of little grace are exposed. I would insist far more on matured and deep religious attainments than on talents and learning in a missionary. He should have such convictions of his own unworthiness, such views of his Lord's glory, and such desires for the salvation of the heathen, as would make him at once humble, zealous, patient, and laborious in his sacred calling. A self-willed man ought not to be a missionary, especially if he is to be associated with others; nor should one who desires to have the pre-eminence. Even in the Church at home, a man who cannot bear contradiction without impatience, but must have his own way or none; who is anxious to be known as the principal agent, and to have his own proceedings conspicuously set forth; who can allow himself to speak harshly and contemptuously of his brethren; who has a suspicious temper, readily takes offence, and is slow to forgive; especially if he have more than common ability, or is supported by anything peculiar in his family connexions, or in his position in the community;—such a man is sure to be both the cause and the occasion of trouble and dissension, though he is here surrounded by a thousand counteracting and regulating influences. To make a minister of the gospel of such a man, is a very doubtful service to the Church of Christ; to make a missionary of such a man would be a severe

trial to those who might be compelled to associate with him, and would probably contribute little to the establishment of the gospel among the heathen. I am thankful that I have never met with such a missionary; and I have drawn the sketch only to present at one view various evil traits, which should be guarded against with all care. The seeds of these evils are found in the corrupt nature of man. Religion alone can effectually restrain and correct them. Where missionaries are so few in number, so closely connected together, and so dependent on each other, there should be special care to exclude everything that would hinder their happiness or their usefulness. No one should expect special deference to be paid to his views; every one should be willing to submit himself to his brethren in the Lord; and all should aim to excel in humility of mind, in the study of whatsoever things are lovely, and in a sacred devotion to the great object of their mission. Let a sufficient number of such missionaries be employed, and let the Church support them with her gifts and her prayers, and the time shall not be long distant when the praise of the most high God shall ascend from the millions of India.

APPENDIX.

I. THE BRITISH RULE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA.

II. ON THE RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO EUROPEANS IN INDIA.

THE BRITISH RULE, AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA.

Referred to on pages 31, 63, *and elsewhere.*

It is one of the wonderful things of Providence, that the millions of India should be brought under the same government with the inhabitants of a small island on the opposite side of the globe. And it appears the more wonderful, when we recollect that two thousand years ago these islanders were a barbarous people, while the Hindus were as civilized as they are at the present day. The history of these nations teaches that heathenism exerts no beneficial influence on the condition of its subjects, and that the Gospel is the best means of civilizing rude tribes and elevating them to the highest grade of national welfare. The design of God in permitting the subjection of the Hindus to the British government, we cannot doubt, is both wise and good.

The Anglo-Indian government is now but a part of the government of Great Britain. The charter of the East India Company has been so modified, that all the proceedings of its officers and servants are under the supervision and control of the British parliament. The policy of Great Britain, whether liberal or exclusive, is the policy of the government

authorities in India. Happily for themselves and for a large portion of the human family, liberal views are generally prevalent among the British people.

The conduct of many of the earlier European residents in India towards the natives was often unworthy of Christian and upright men. The means by which the power of the East India Company was sometimes established and extended, can by no means admit of justification, nor even of excuse. Of these things, no one can express approbation, any more than of too many things in the history of our connexion with the Indian tribes of this land. But for many years the Anglo-Indian government has been so conducted as to prove a great benefit to the Hindus.

We see proofs of this on every side. The supremacy of the British has procured for the Hindus rulers who are friendly to the mass of the people, instead of oppressors who ruled over them with a rod of iron. It has obtained for them an upright administration of their affairs; justice impartially rendered to all, as far as the falsehood and deception of the native character will permit; trade and commerce unfettered by violent exactions; property acquired openly and possessed without fear; foreign capital and intelligence employed to develope the resources of the country, and to introduce the superior improvements of other lands; the residence amongst them of many well informed and benevolent men, whose example and influence are favorable to everything that is good; and above

all, the means of grace appointed by God for their salvation. There are evils connected with a foreign government over the Hindus; but the blessings are great and substantial.

I have adverted, generally, in the preceding pages, to what has appeared to me the most serious of these evils—the constant drain of income from India to be spent in England; connected with which is the almost universal return of the European rulers to their own country, after certain periods of service, on large retiring allowances. This involves some of the consequences which are attributed to the practice of landlords living absent from their estates in Ireland and the West Indies. There may be other evils, and more easy to be removed.

In judging of these things, we must keep in view the corrupt state of morals in a heathen land, and the almost universal ignorance of the inhabitants. These make it impossible to conduct the government agreeably to the views of popular power with which we are happily conversant; and they form serious obstacles in the way of the administration of government of any kind. It is worthy of note, moreover, that the British rule in India has been steadily growing more favorable to the native inhabitants. The prohibition of the horrid practice of burning widows on the funeral pile of their husbands; the suppression of Thuggism; the withdrawal of patronage from the heathen temples, are measures of the last few years; and they are measures which will undoubtedly tend in many ways to promote the

benefit, temporal and eternal, of the Hindu people. The abolition of vexatious and ruinous imposts on all kinds of internal traffic, a system derived from the former rulers of the country, and long retained by the British, was a measure of Lord William Bentinck's administration, which marked an era in the history of the Hindus. The increasing disposition to foster education, both in the English and the vernacular languages; the employment of greater numbers of the natives in stations of trust; the patronage of public works, especially of railroads, are instances of recent Anglo-Indian policy. Other things will follow. The abolition of the salt-monopoly would be a priceless boon to the poor Hindus. A much lower assessment on all lands capable of growing the cotton plant, and the application of foreign capital to the improved cultivation of the indigenous plant—not the fruitless effort to naturalize our American plant—would lead to an immense supply of cotton, both for Asiatic and European markets. These and other measures are dictated by sound policy, which should seek to attach the natives of India to her foreign rulers by the ties of interest as well as of gratitude.

The introduction of the English language among the Hindus, to some extent, follows in the train of British rule in India. This is a matter of no little moment, as it is closely connected with the subject of the education of the Hindus,—a matter often referred to in the preceding work. For many years

various causes have been leading many of the natives, especially those of the better classes, to seek an acquaintance with our language. One of these causes is no longer in operation, at least not to the extent that it was some fifteen years ago; yet its effects remain, and its direct influence is still partially felt, while it is itself such an instance as could hardly be found in any country but India; I shall therefore describe it briefly.

During Lord William Bentinck's administration, the question was discussed of making the English the language of business in the courts of justice, and eventually in the other departments of the government. Formerly the Persian was chiefly used in all government transactions, a language introduced by the Mohammedan rulers for their own convenience. It was a strange tongue to the great mass of the inhabitants. The British continued the use of the Persian, though it was now a strange tongue alike to the rulers and the ruled! The Mohammedan conquerors cared nothing for the welfare of the Hindus, and compelled them to submit to the great evil of having their suits issued in a strange language, and to the manifold vexations, impositions and exactions, resulting from that procedure in a state of society so deeply corrupt. The English authorities, on the other hand, through an excessive dread of interfering with existing usages, subjected themselves to the necessity of learning a new language. Hence arose a necessity for interpreters, not for the natives only as under the Mohammedans, but in many cases

for the English ruler also, whose knowledge of Persian would often be defective. A wide field of dishonest advantage was set before the unprincipled native law-agent, who would not hesitate to receive bribes from both plaintiff and defendant, in order to make a favorable representation for each party to the judge. The most upright magistrate might easily do injustice, because not well qualified to decide on proceedings in a foreign language, nor to detect the misrepresentations of the wily agents around him.

This state of things was felt to be a grievous burden. Its evils and inconveniences were so great, and so painfully felt by all, that some change was loudly called for. The subject was discussed in the newspapers, and made a matter of government inquiry and consideration. Many were anxious that the English should be substituted for the Persian. This would have placed the English ruler where the Mohammedan stood, and would have been much better than to continue the use of a language foreign both to the judge and the people. It was advocated, moreover, with zeal and ability on the ground of its happy influence in making our language the language of learning, and of intercourse among the higher circles of society. This change, however, was not finally made; though the Persian was abolished. The native dialects are becoming more commonly the language of business between the English and the Hindus. Other things being equal, a preference is given, in the appointment of natives to official stations, to those who understand the

English language; and this is understood to be the policy which the government will hereafter pursue.

The agitation of this subject extended over a period of two or three years, and created among the natives a general impression that the English would take the place of the Persian language. They were too ignorant and too selfish to understand how their rulers could come to any other decision. This impression, doubtless, turned the attention of thousands to the study of the language; and thousands more will pursue that study still, for its favorable bearing on their hope of gaining employment under the government. Besides these, many will study it to obtain the stations of servants in English families, clerks, copyists, factors, agents, in the transaction of business, &c. Among the more respectable classes it is quite an object with many, to qualify themselves for holding free intercourse with the officers of government and other European residents. Some may have been influenced, by perceiving that a knowledge of our language would give them importance in the eyes of their countrymen, connecting them, as it would be considered, with those who rule over the country; and a few may have been induced to acquire it from their love of knowledge for its own sake.

The result of all this, as will readily be perceived, is closely connected with the religious question of India. The native languages contain little valuable knowledge, and vast stores of error, and of the legends of idolatry. The English language contains,

with much that is evil, all that is good. Studying it, thousands of influential native youth will abandon the religion of their fathers, perceiving that it is altogether irreconcilable with the simplest rudiments of correct knowledge. But will they become Christians? Not necessarily. A large part of the influence that reaches the Hindu mind through the medium of our language has never received a Christian baptism. Many of these English ideas are engaged in demolishing the Hindu temple, but they do not build up the Christian church. Left to the guidance of their own depraved hearts, without any light from heaven to direct their minds, these Hindu English readers will become infidels, believers in no religion at all. Many of the natives, especially in the cities where Europeans reside, and natives whose English education gives them great influence with their countrymen, are now of this character. In France, the dreadful effects of infidelity as to the Christian religion were displayed at the close of the last century. There is too much reason to fear the eventual prevalence of a pagan infidelity in India. In any country infidelity is a miserable substitute for faith. Under its influence the human mind is empty of all elevating and inspiring views, the human heart is unrestrained, and the future is a dreary and dark waste. But these are matters of a negative kind. Would the effects of infidelity on human happiness be less disastrous in the east than in the west? Would property and life be safer in Calcutta at the

close of the nineteenth century, than they were in Paris at the end of the eighteenth? These are very grave questions, and but one answer can be given to them.

We cannot, therefore, estimate too highly the importance of those institutions, in which, together with our general knowledge, our holy religion is daily taught. Other kinds of missionary efforts are important. The preaching of the Gospel everywhere stands first in the order of Divinely appointed means of grace; but we must recollect that these schools are in a country where 12,000 missionaries, sent from Christian lands, were it possible to send so many, would supply only one to every 10,000 souls; and it is therefore essentially necessary to educate and prepare native preachers, in order to have the Gospel preached to every creature. These weighty considerations we must keep in view, when we attempt to estimate the importance of the mission schools of India.

It would be interesting to view some other aspects of the introduction of our language into India. Will the native young men, for example, who, by their English education, are so much superior to their country-women, be contented to connect themselves in marriage with persons little suited to be their companions in ignorance, but with whom they can have no communion of mind with mind, after they have become themselves comparatively well-informed? What, in other words, will be the influence of this superior knowledge, even though but partially

diffused, on the condition of the female sex? What will be its influence, again, on the occupations of the Hindus? And what its influence on the feelings with which they will regard their subjection to a foreign nation?

It is the Christian's happiness to know, that all the affairs of nations and men are under the wise and merciful providence of the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who will overrule and determine them, so as to fulfil his own purposes, and to promote his own glory.

ON THE RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO EUROPEANS IN INDIA.

Referred to on page 49.

THE relation of missionaries to other foreigners in India may appear to some a matter of little moment; but only to those who have not duly considered the duties, which grow out of circumstances materially different from those in which they have themselves been placed. Certain it is, that the Apostles adapted their conduct to the different classes of people amongst whom they fulfilled their ministry.

Viewed with reference to our future usefulness, we regarded it as kindly ordered, that we should meet with no embarrassment as missionaries from our social position; but on the contrary, that all our way should be marked with the favor of those who were able greatly to hinder or to advance our object. This, though not more than we were entitled to expect from our standing at home, as clergymen, was perhaps unusual in North India; and at any rate it was one of those things in which we thankfully acknowledged the favor of God, in prospering our way. In regard to this subject, it has seemed to me desirable, that our missionaries among the Hindus should

be known, in some sense, as a separate *caste*. They go to India as Missionaries,—neither as Churchmen nor as Dissenters, as those terms are technically used among English people; though certainly Churchmen as members of the Church of Christ. Viewed socially, they should by no means be regarded as out of society, having the same social position with other clergymen in their own country; and yet they should not be expected to comply with all the usages observed among Europeans in India. If they may be regarded as a separate people, respectable for talents, well educated, intelligent, and devoted to the single object of converting the Hindus to Christ, then will they enjoy, I doubt not, the confidence and the co-operation of other foreigners in that country, to every needful extent.

It is not only in social intercourse, however, that the position of missionaries should be considered. They have duties to perform, as for the time subjects of the government whose protection they enjoy. On this point I shall quote a part of the Instructions of the Executive Committee, addressed to the Rev. Messrs. Freeman, Scott, and Warren, in 1838, as exhibiting the principles recognised by the Board.

"You will bear in mind, dear brethren, that you go to build up a kingdom that is not of this world. With the civil government of India, and all the secular matters that may agitate any portion of its community, as missionaries of the cross, you have nothing to do. As you will receive the protection of the laws, yield to the government a cheerful and peace-

ful submission, and where it is required a cordial support. It may be that in the laws and regulations of the British authorities in India, and in their administration, some things may appear strange to you, and some things objectionable and wrong. But there are several considerations worthy of regard here. First, you may not for a long time be competent judges of these matters. The condition of the United States and that of India are at this time very different. The degree of liberty, and the laws and usages to which you have been accustomed, may be very unsuitable for India; and yet, having enjoyed, as your birthright, all the privileges of your own country, it would not be strange if you deemed them the best for every other people. Again, the legislation and the administration of the government of India are in the hands of able and enlightened men. Some of the first of British statesmen have been engaged in this service; among them are many who fear God, and who have devoted much of their time, and thought, and property, to advance the best interests of the people; and you may safely leave to them what so properly belongs to them, without anxiety as to the result.—Finally, let us suppose, what is no doubt the case, that some of the laws and usages are wrong, and ought to be corrected. What other country is free from the same charge? Certainly not our own, notwithstanding the blessings and privileges we enjoy. Evils often do exist in governments, requiring both time and the exercise of great wisdom for their correction, without pro-

ducing greater evils. Leave all these matters, therefore, as not belonging to you; it is not to interfere with them that you are sent to India, but to preach the gospel to the heathen there, and to persuade them to be reconciled to God. It is the earnest desire of the Board that the Presbyterian Missionaries in India may establish such a character as will insure to them not only protection, but also the confidence and esteem of those intrusted with the government. Let all your teaching, all your intercourse with the natives, all your schools, and every thing you print, be open at all times to the inspection of the civil officers; let it be seen that you attend only to your appropriate work, and soon you will convince all that you are indeed the missionaries of the Prince of Peace. These things are not written in distrust of you, or of the brethren in India, nor with any reference to the past history of that mission,—which, we are happy to acknowledge, has received the full protection, and shared largely in the kind and generous feelings of the Europeans who administer the authority of that country; but we have noticed them as being of themselves important, and that there may be no mistake as to the principles by which we are governed."

THE END.