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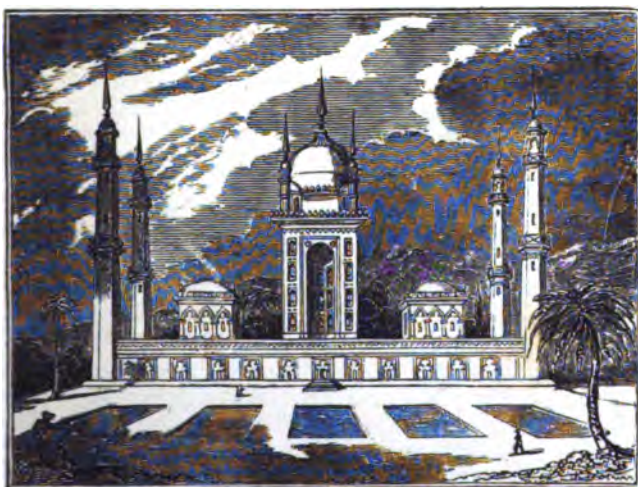
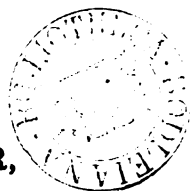




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AND JOURNAL OF
GENERAL LITERATURE.

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THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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D'HERBELOT'S BIBLIOTHEQUE ORIENTALE.

THE study of Oriental languages is never likely to become popular in Europe; for, besides that we have generally little interest in making ourselves conversant with them, their genius and structure appear alien from our tastes and notions. The Bible, to be sure, leads us very early to entertain a curiosity respecting the nations of Western Asia, both ancient and modern, and this, in some instances, conducts the enterprising scholar beyond the limits of Hebrew literature; to the language of Arabia, and the remnants that remain of the learning of Chaldea and Syria. But, although we commonly continue to neglect the conjugation of Oriental verbs, Eastern history and manners are far from being indifferent to us. We, in fact, peruse with avidity those numerous Travels and Memoirs which describe the countries of the East; and with great reason, for in them, human nature has always worn its strangest aspects. From thence, whatever is most true and most false in religion, most noble and most degraded in manners, most splendid in science and most contemptible in ignorance, has proceeded. Whether, therefore, we contemplate Asia as the mother of idols, or as the inventress of sciences and arts, still she is an august spectacle; and the author that paints her as he ought, can be no vulgar individual.

Compilation may, at first, appear to require but little genius. Reduced to mere copying, it, of course, asks nothing except industry; but properly to compile, a man must know how to select his materials with judgment, and arrange them with art; appreciate testimonies and actions; examine motives; delineate character, comprehend the importance of events; and, lastly, to deliver the knowledge he extracts from various men in a perspicuous and pleasing style. The difficulty of accomplishing this is very much increased, if the writer have to compile from the Oriental tongues, should he understand them ever so well; because, whether the Eastern style of composition be worse than

ours or not, it is exceedingly different, and, with one or two exceptions, has never been relished in Europe. Yet it is very hard for a writer, habitually conversing with particular forms of expression, so to keep watch over his style as that none of these barbarisms, as we call them, shall creep into it. Indeed, it is nearly impossible. For, granting that the writer sets out an orthodox critic, his reverence for the canons of his language lessens perpetually, till he ends at length in admiring what at first it was his chief endeavour to avoid. A man may very justly, therefore, claim indulgence, if, in such a task, he fails of guarding entirely against foreign idioms; but indulgence is not praise; and the more frequently an author makes claims upon our generosity, the farther is he from our admiration. However, we relax much of our demands, if, as in the case of the '*Bibliotheque Orientale*,' the undertaking of the writer be of great magnitude; as other cares then call away the attention from the elegancies of language.

But Oriental scholars are sometimes liable to adopt the *opinions*, as well as the rhetorical figures of the East. Sale was nearly, if not altogether, a Mohammedan; and other travellers of more modern date have been known to prefer the Koran to the Hebrew Scriptures. We wish not, in the least, to insinuate that D'Herbelot was infected with Islamism; his eulogist, the President Cousin, assures us of the contrary; for, as he was no Mohammedan, we may consider his attributing *solid piety* to our great Eastern scholar, a complete proof that he meant *Christian* piety, though he does not so qualify it. Our design in mentioning the fact, that the study of Oriental literature has been known to generate a belief in Oriental creeds, is merely to show how very prone we may expect men to be, to pass from those studies to the adoption of a foreign taste, a thing of so much less importance.

The '*Bibliotheque Orientale*' is one of those books which are chiefly known to the public at second-hand, from a few scanty extracts scattered about in more popular productions. In itself it is too voluminous to be popular. But we have frequently thought it deserved to be much more extensively known than it has hitherto been; and shall now endeavour, by succinctly informing our readers what sort of entertainment it affords, to recommend it to as many as delight in extending their intellectual empire. To render our notice of this vast compilation as complete as we can, we shall first speak a little of its author, premising only, that we have never yet seen any thing resembling a good biography of him, and gather what we are about to say from the meagre hints of Mr. Cousin's Eloge, and the '*Biographie Universelle*.'

M. D'Herbelot was born, at Paris, on the 4th of December, 1625.

desired. When the selection had been made, the Grand Duke became the purchaser, and, to give his guest a lasting token of his friendship, presented him with the whole.

The munificence of Ferdinand operated still more for the good of D'Herbelot in another way: it excited the jealousy of the French Government, which, although it might occasionally think proper to neglect a learned man at home, could not consent to stand tamely by, and see him driven to accept the patronage of a foreign prince. Observing, therefore, that D'Herbelot was about to become domiciliated at Florence, to the no small reproach of France, Colbert now caused him to be invited back to his country, with strong assurances that he would meet, on his return, with solid proofs of the reputation and esteem he had acquired. It was not, however, without much difficulty that he obtained the Grand Duke's permission to leave Florence; for Ferdinand seems to have possessed sufficient tact to discern in him the marks of an extraordinary man. Returning to France, he had the honour, and a vast honour it was, in the opinion of his elogist, to converse several times with the king, who, to do him justice, was remarkably desirous of buying up learned men almost at any price, and therefore granted D'Herbelot a pension of fifteen hundred livres per annum. Possessed of leisure, and what was equivalent to a small independence, he now pursued the design he had formed in Italy of writing the '*Bibliothèque Orientale*.' At first he very strangely compiled his materials in Arabic; and it was intended by M. Colbert to have Arabic types cast expressly for the purpose, and have the work printed at the Louvre. Fortunately this foolish design, which would have effectually extinguished all M. D'Herbelot's chances of fame, was abandoned; the portions of the work already written were translated, and the remainder continued in French. He lived not to superintend the publication of the '*Bibliothèque Orientale*,' which fell to the lot of Antoine Galland, the immortal translator of the '*Arabian Nights*' Entertainments.' D'Herbelot did not, however, die young, being within a few days of the "threescore years and ten," fixed by the Bible as the natural period of human life. His character, according to his biographer, was that of an amiable, modest man; his immense erudition having not tended in the least to disturb the original equanimity of his disposition.

It is exceedingly difficult at present to understand the character of a scholar of the seventeenth century: his capacity to labour, his patience in research, his readiness to store his mind with the languages of various nations, are almost inconceivable now. Anxious, as scholars ever must be, to acquire reputation, he never rushed impatiently before the public to demand their praise; his love of fame he nourished in secret, and was abund-

antly delighted if the grey hair and the bay appeared upon his temples together. This was especially the case with Oriental scholars. Certain they could have but few genuine admirers, because but a small number of their countrymen understood the learning on which their glory was founded, they patiently awaited the gradual spreading of their name, and sometimes, as in the case of D'Herbelot, relied upon posthumous publication for going down to posterity.

The learning of D'Herbelot consisted not in the knowledge of mere words ; for, although he understood critically the Latin, the Greek, the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Persian, and the Turkish languages, he was still more profoundly versed in the laws, history, and manners of Oriental nations ; his sole object, in studying the various dialects of the Eastern people, being, to acquire by that means a more complete acquaintance with their ideas and opinions. He does not seem to have been led accidentally to think of publishing his researches, as is the case with many authors, but to have formed from the beginning the design of aiming at literary fame ; and though the fruit of his studies was produced late, this was owing to the vastness of his plan, not to any relaxation in the ardour and energy with which he pursued it. While merely engaged in preparing himself to execute this great undertaking, he actually accomplished an enterprise that would have been considered by many a task sufficient to occupy a whole life ; observing that, for want of proper helps, the acquiring of Oriental languages was rendered exceedingly tedious, he actually compiled a Turkish and Persian Dictionary, in three volumes folio, which Galland reckoned the best by far that had ever been written.

Having acquired the necessary languages, his next step was to make collections, which he translated into French, of whatever was curious or instructive respecting the East ; these materials he afterwards divided into two parts, to the first of which he gave the name of ' The Oriental Library,' the work now before us ; the second, which he denominated ' Florilegium,' or ' Anthology,' we believe was never published. M. Galland, the editor of the ' Bibliothéque Orientale,' observes, that this work in reality is an abridgement of all the Oriental books D'Herbelot had ever read, and contains the history of the East, from the creation down to the times in which the author lived, together with a species of introduction, in which are related the exploits of the pre-adamite Sultans, princes who reigned before the period assigned by the Mosaic chronology to the creation.

In perusing the history of all ancient countries, we first pass through the dominion of fable, peopled with beings interesting,

or otherwise, according to the genius of the nation who created them. Heroes and demi-gods amuse us in the ancient relations of Greece and Egypt; and the Asiatic nations have their Dives and Peris, races of creatures that inhabited the world, and warred and loved before the creation of Adam. Perhaps the fables, which are in the mouth of every Persian poet, relating to these beings, may be built upon certain obscure traditions of creatures and events not altogether fabulous: the vast antiquity which nearly all Oriental nations attribute to the world, is not by any means so improbable as is vulgarly imagined; for although the period anterior to the birth of genuine history has been usurped by poets and mythologists, there is, even in their marvellous commonwealth, sufficient light to show the human countenance, however dimly and imperfectly.

But, setting aside all speculations of this kind, the mythology of the East is a collection of splendid fancies, richly poetical, and wonderfully various. Every European reader has had his imagination stirred and ennobled by the *genii* and magical personages of the 'Arabian Nights,' which is commonly the first book by which we are initiated into the mysteries of invention; and recently, all admirers of sublime fiction, enlivened by singular wit and humour, have again been led back to the wild vagaries of Oriental fancy, by the History of the Caliph Vathek. In D'Herbelot, the reader will meet with all the mythological personages of the East, clothed with an air of veracity, and all the distinguishing attributes bestowed on them by the poets.

By their manner of relating the history of patriarchs and prophets, the Arabs have transformed the heroes of scripture into a kind of mythological existences. All the events of the Jewish history are distorted in their version from their original form, being, in most instances, adorned with new supernatural ornaments, much more surprising than their original accompaniments. Ignorant nations know of no impossibilities, because they never reason on the laws of nature. To them, miracles and prodigies appear every-day occurrences, and are admired in proportion to their extravagance. As civilization advances, supernatural events become of more rare occurrence; nations think more of themselves, and less of the powers above them; actions drop down to the level of possibility, and the historian abandons prodigies to the poet. Nevertheless, an examination of the legends of the East, of those more especially which relate to Palestine and its ancient inhabitants, may not be without its utility: in them we see the principal characters of the Hebrew Scriptures as they appear to the Arabs, who, residing from time immemorial in the neighbourhood of the country where they performed their exploits, have some claim to be

heard on the subject. Josephus's version of the Jewish history is different, in many respects, from that of the Bible; the Arabic account of the same transactions is distinguished from both, and chiefly by being more marvellous and circumstantial. Oriental historians spare no expense of miracles to give splendour and piquancy to their relations; and in default of exact testimony, suppose themselves present at certain actions, and detail what they imagine must have taken place. They can tell to a syllable what Joseph said to Zulieka, the wife of Potiphar, in reply to her amorous advances; nay, give an exact report of the dialogue which passed between God and Eblis on the creation of man.

Following the vicissitudes of the human race, the first great event after the deluge, which we find noticed by Oriental writers, is the establishment of the Persian monarchy by Kafumarth, the founder of the Pischdadian dynasty. After these, succeeds the race of the Cañides, which ended in the person of Darius, defeated and slain in the wars with the Macedonians. The achievements of Alexander enter also into the story of the East, where they appear in the light in which they were viewed, when they happened, by the Asiatic nations. A third race of Persian kings, the Ashcanian dynasty, next come under our view; and these, again, are succeeded by the Arsacides and Sassanians; the latter of which fell, in the person of Yezdejerd, with the empire itself, the sovereignty of which then passed into the hands of the Mohammedans. All these revolutions are related in the '*Bibliothèque Orientale*,' upon the authority of original historians.

The series of events next in order of time, relate to the establishment of the northern empires of Asia. Reposing upon the authority of the Bible, and working out its succinct narratives into extensive and minute details, the nations of the East delineate authoritatively the migration and settlement of tribes; the origin and progress of nations and languages; the founding of institutions and cities; and the particulars of wars which, in the remotest times, disfigured the surface of Asia. Immediately after the deluge, the adventurous posterity of Japhet pushed their migrations, they say, through Scythia, and the heart of Asia, to China and the limits of the old world; scattering, as they proceeded, the seeds of those mighty races of men, which, a few centuries, under the name of Scythians, Tartars, Mongols, Huns, Vandals, and Goths, overflowed their obscure seats, and carried terror and desolation over the habitations of civilization and the arts. Whatever degree of credit the reader may think due to these traditions of Japhet and his offspring, he will not fail to acknowledge that the vast movements of the tribes of central Asia, which, in all ages, have pressed upon and terrified the

less warlike inhabitants of the south, are subjects worthy his profoundest attention. Thence have issued, successively, Attila, Genghis Khan, Batou, Holagon, Timour, and Nadir Shah, names rendered celebrated by the great, but destructive qualities of their possessors.

A distinct series of events, taking their rise in the hypocrisy or fanaticism of Mohammed, occupies a large portion of the 'Bibliotheque Orientale.' It is a subject, too, which deserves to be profoundly contemplated. Temporal empires, whether founded by policy or the sword, are transient and fleeting, compared with those spiritual dominions established by religious enthusiasm. Chains and yokes may be shattered by courage; but an idea, an opinion, a belief, once firmly seated in the mind, bids defiance to revolution, and is only to be worn away by the slow-wasting footstep of time. Look at the history of mankind; see the miraculous effects of indefatigable zeal. A man, formed apparently, both in body and in mind, like other men, starts up among his species, by art and eloquence subdues their aversion to servitude; insinuates into their minds what roots of action he pleases, (for opinions are the roots of action); and moreover, contrives that they shall flourish, in spite of refinement and civilization, until half the world has been bewildered and infatuated by them. The origin of those opinions which now pass current in the streets of London and Paris is lost in the obscurity of antiquity; some of them were hatched in the head of a man who tended sheep 4,000 years ago, in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea; some sprang up in the mitred heads of the Babylonian Magi. Opinions, in fact, appear to be almost indestructible, like the first matter. They are the instruments of great men, and the lords of the vulgar; and may, like veils be thrown over beauty of mind, or conceal, beneath their folds, the hideous features of depravity.

D'Herbelot very justly regarded the vicissitudes of the Caliphate as a matter most worthy of his study; he perused the Oriental writers, who treat of this subject, with peculiar attention; he amassed the most ample materials for the history of it; and it may, we think, be said, even now, that no work in any European language contains so large and complete an account of the fortunes of Mohammedanism as the 'Bibliotheque Orientale.' To one splendid period of the Caliphate, the reign of Haroun al Raschid, our minds are very early directed by the Arabian Nights, which are read by every body; to its decline, by the Crusades, and the romantic exploits of our King Richard, and his great rival Saladin. Beckford's tale of 'Vathek,' which must be as lasting as our language, has also its share in conferring glory on the Caliphate; for fiction runs more extensively through society than history, being written on pur-

pose to please ; whereas, history is composed merely to inform posterity what has happened in the world. In D'Herbelot the reader may make the acquaintance of Haroun and his Vizier Giafar, with Zobelde, and the ladies of her court ; though we will not answer for his finding them quite so interesting as in the story of the ' Sleeper Awakened,' or, the ' Three Calenders.'

In our estimation, this portion of the ' *Bibliothèque Orientale*,' which relates to the Caliphs of Bagdad, is by far the most delightful ; for the mind loves to find itself standing on firm ground, where it expected to meet with nothing but baseless fiction. The manners, likewise, of the early Commanders of the Faithful were splendid and striking ; they were, many of them, great conquerors or great scholars ; their seat of empire rose pre-eminent over all the cities of the East ; and their subjects were more thoroughly imbued with enthusiasm, piety, and valour, than any nation then existing. It might be expected, therefore, that D'Herbelot's account of these spiritual princes, and their subjects, would be full of interest, and it is so. Amazed himself at their magnificence, he paints, but with a diffident hand, the glories of Bagdad, Damascus, and Samarah ; the pomp and luxury of the princes who inhabited them ; their palaces, libraries, retinues, and armies.

The picture which D'Herbelot has given, from Oriental writers, of the manners of the Tartars, agrees, as M. Galland observes, exactly with that anciently drawn of the same people by Quintus Curtius ; their simplicity, their candour, their sentiments, their contempt of ambition, and, in short, their whole manner of life, remaining still unaltered. But were we disposed to convert our notice into a naked table of contents, it would still be impossible to enumerate the rich materials of so vast a work, which contains no less than eight thousand six hundred articles ; to convey a general idea, however, of what is to be found in it, in addition to what we have already spoken of, we may briefly mention that it gives an ample account of the wars of the Caliphs and of the Ottoman Sultans with the Greek Emperors ; of the Crusades ; of the Musulman religion, its schisms, heresies, sects, and the wars these have carried on against each other ; the doctrines they have professed ; their agreement or disagreement with the Koran ; the biography of Musulman sheikhs or saints ; of its doctors, lawyers, philosophers, mathematicians, historians, physicians, poets ; as well as that of every kind of writers on sciences or arts that have ever flourished in the East.

In general, it is customary in Europe to look upon the Orientals as nations overrun entirely with barbarism and ignorance ; and less civilized than we, they undoubtedly are. But,

formerly at least, the Persians and Arabs possessed both learning and civilization; and M. Galland, whose opinion is corroborated by that of D'Herbelot, contends for the same honour for the Turks. From the commencement of their empire, they have, he asserts, been addicted to the study of laws and religion; and though, in respect to the latter, they are still in darkness and error, this is rather to be attributed to a lack of grace than of learning. Great lawyers, historians, and poets, have sprung up and acquired fame in Turkey; and, in the opinion of Galland, the study of poetry bespeaks very great refinement of manners. We profess not to be in the least behind M. Galland in our admiration of poetry; but reflecting that Homer flourished in a barbarous age, that the Romans had their Ennius and we our Chancer, long before either possessed learning or refinement, we can by no means consent to conclude the Turks a polished people, because they possess five hundred and ninety poets in their language.

To return to the 'Bibliothèque Orientale,' the learning, industry, and taste displayed in the collection of the materials, must excite the admiration of every reader; but undoubtedly their order and arrangement are exceedingly defective. Much allowance should certainly be made, on account of the circumstances under which the work was originally published, the author dying before it went through the press; it does not appear, however, that D'Herbelot meant to give it any other shape than that it now wears, and therefore he is liable to the censure which criticism must always inflict on a slovenly, confused manner. The alphabetical plan is exceedingly faulty in itself, when applied to matters of history; for, besides occasioning endless repetition, and accounts contradictory, because copied, at wide intervals, from different writers, it breaks that up into scraps and fragments, which should, if possible, be seen in the strictest continuity. With the partiality of an editor and a friend, M. Galland endeavours, in his preliminary discourse, to exculpate the alphabetical order from the charge of begetting confusion; and, as a set-off against its inconveniences, if it should, at last, be found to have any, observes that it allows an author to introduce much interesting information into his work, which could not otherwise be inserted in it. Allow the entire truth of the latter position, and that helps nothing to remove the accusation of confusion and repetition made against the alphabetical order arrangement. In fact, it must be given up, as regards history; and the practice of modern compilers, who in their Encyclopædias, condense all they have to say of a country into one article, altogether preferred to it. On one or two occasions, we have hinted this before; and if any of the learned Orientalists, who now shed a lustre on the literature of France, should ever undertake a new octavo edition of the 'Bibliothèque

Orientale, we hope it will occur to him that a great number of the historical articles require to be re-written and melted into one; and that, in numerous others, there are contradictions to be removed, and gross faults to be corrected.

The additions made to the edition before us,* by Father Visdelou, are much less to our taste than the work itself; they are more connected, certainly, but they are dull and awkward, and little calculated, in our opinion, to interest the general reader. We cannot say the same of the collection of proverbs, sayings, repartees, anecdotes, &c., of the Orientals, translated by our favourite Galland; it is in the same *naïve* style as the '*Mille et une Nuits*,' and exceedingly well calculated to convey a true notion of the spirit of the Eastern nations.

With all the defects we have ventured to point out, D'Herbelot is a charming writer, and his work one of the most valuable of all compilations. In the perusal of each separate article, the reader will often forget the want of that connection which chiefly recommends historical composition; and in those articles purely biographical, will find very little to reprehend. In fact, the '*Bibliothèque Orientale*' is a work without which it is almost impossible to acquire an extensive knowledge of the history, laws, or manners of the East.

SONG.

Godlike Liberty.

Who denies that life and love,
 Gifts of heaven, should cherished be?
 Yet prize we still those gifts above,
 Godlike Liberty!

Life is like a branching tree,
 Valued for the fruit it gives:
 Who plucks not from it Liberty,
 Tell me why he lives?

Of the glorious gifts of art
 Brightest is the glittering sword,
 Waving round the patriot heart,
 Spurning earthly lord.

Musie's voice is sweetest then
 When it shrills to hero's name,
 Giving back those sounds again
 That kindle Freedom's flame.

BION

PROGRESS OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCE, AND CONFLICTING OPINIONS
AS TO THE CAUSES AND HISTORY OF FOSSIL REMAINS.

OF all the departments of natural history, geology affords the most ample field for speculation; and it is probably to this cause, no less than to its connection with the interests of landed proprietors in mining districts, that it is indebted for its present high popularity among us. The imagination of the poet roves scarcely with more freedom than that of the geologist through the regions of fancy; and facts would, doubtless, be as readily set at nought by the man of science as by the licensed purveyor of fiction, were it not for the occasional collision of opinion, which compels a return to the evidences furnished by Nature, in the productions daily before him, and limits him, for a while, to the soberness of reality. To become acquainted with the structure of the earth on which we live, and to endeavour to derive from that structure, rather than from any other testimony, a knowledge of the mode in which it was originally formed, is indeed a question, the solution of which well deserves to occupy the faculties of a rational being. Such an inquiry must, however, be conducted on philosophical principles, based on facts unperverted and unstrained, and assuming to know and to prove no more than is fairly deducible from them.

But is this question, in the large extent which many men of deep science have given to it, within the grasp of man? Are we furnished with data on which to found our reasoning, or have we the means of obtaining them? We are not, it is true, exactly in the situation of those minute insects of a day, which, inhabiting the crevices of the bark of the forest oak,

Whose limbs a thousand years have worn,

may be supposed to theorize on the original production, and on the changes which have taken place in the composition of the mighty mass of matter, to which their existence has been attached. But, with all the advantages that we are enabled to derive from the wisdom of our ancestors, (which, by the bye, seems to be almost entirely, and we might add, justly, neglected by the geologists of the present day,) and from the researches of our contemporaries, by what means could a knowledge of the origin of this planet be obtained, without instituting the (to man) impossible comparison of its structure with that of the infinity of bodies which constitute the universal whole, of which it forms so trivial, we had almost said so contemptible, a part. And even supposing that we regard the earth as an isolated body, to be investigated without reference to any other portion of the great system of worlds, to how small an extent have the

researches of man, whether prosecuted with a view to profit or to science, laid open to him its internal structure, or placed him in a condition to determine with certainty the elements of which even its surface is composed. In this utter impossibility of connecting our geological investigations in any manner with the system of the universe, and in the equal impossibility of scrutinizing, in a complete and satisfactory manner, the mysteries of the globe which we inhabit, we must be content to forego all general theories, as the mere fictions of a heated imagination, and to apply ourselves to the study of those few facts which are really within our reach, and to the elucidation of some partial views of the changes which this our earth has obviously undergone, in that small portion of its crust which we have it in our power to explore.

That various phenomena, exhibited by the more superficial strata of the Earth, afford ample evidence of certain changes having been effected in it since its original formation, is a proposition in which all coincide; but the moment we proceed to inquire into the causes by which these modifications have been produced, the concord ceases, and, according to the class of geologists which we may chance to consult, the most opposite agents, fire or water, or even a partial combination of these two incompatibles, are successively named to us by the disciples of the different schools. The Neptunian theory, or that which regards water as the general, if not the universal, cause of these changes, is that at present most generally adopted; its supporters, however, differ among themselves as to the mode in which their agent has been applied; and are equally in dispute as to the number of applications requisite to account for many partial and anomalous appearances. Thus, while some conceive that the whole of the phenomena may be explained, by a single and gradual subsidence of the waters from the face of the earth, others contend that their disappearance must have been sudden, and almost instantaneous. A third class has maintained, that the waters having receded from a portion of the surface of the primitive globe, a universal deluge was subsequently produced, by the sinking of the land, thus left to a level below that of the seas, which consequently rushed into and filled the newly-formed cavity, leaving dry the bed which they had occupied in the antediluvian ages, and which now forms the habitable portion of the earth's surface. But one or two general deluges are wholly insufficient, in the opinion of others, to explain a number of facts, which, according to this class of geologists, can only be accounted for by repeated inundations. In the chalk basin of Paris, for instance, it is stated that no less than six successive inundations can have taken place; three of which must have been produced by salt, and three by fresh water. Many again,

regarding coal as evidently of vegetable origin, have considered each layer of that useful mineral as the result of a deluge; a supposition which would require no less than one hundred and twenty-two successive inundations to account for the formation of the strata in the neighbourhood of Liege! Speculators of this cast can, in fact, never be at a loss to explain any appearance whatever, by some of those 'thousand and one revolutions or catastrophes, which can be so instantaneously produced, by the mere touch of the enchanter's wand,' to use the words of a French geologist, M. Patrin, who was himself as bold a theorist as the rest; witness his favourite doctrine, that the diamond is neither more nor less than condensed and concentrated light, and numerous other hallucinations of a character almost as absurd.

It is time, however, that we should take our leave of theory, and come to facts. The most striking evidences of the modifications undergone by the crust of the earth, are furnished by the fossil remains of organized beings, both vegetable and animal. Of the former, it will be sufficient to observe, that but little is yet satisfactorily known. The mere fragments of trees or plants, crushed and mutilated as they are generally found, are quite insufficient to supply the data which are necessary to enable the botanist to determine, with accuracy, whether any of them can, with certainty, be referred to families or groups not now known to exist. The animal remains are differently circumstanced. In the lower departments of animated Nature, the fossil reliquæ of many genera and families are found, which are allowed, by universal consent, to be now entirely extinct. The number of lost species appears to be immense; of shells, for instance, 2776 different sorts have been found fossil; only 64 of which are now known to exist in a living state. As, however, we advance higher in the scale of organization, and approach the more perfect animals, the number of those known to exist in both states increases considerably. But even here, we find an important discrepancy between the geographical positions of the same animal, inhabiting the surface of the earth, and buried beneath it. In the northern parts of Europe and Asia are found the bones of animals, the living analogues of which exist at present in India and in Africa. But by what means have the bones been transported to regions so remote from those to which the animals are now confined? Various are the explanations which have been offered of this anomaly. It has been contended, that the bones have been conveyed from their native country by means of currents; but it seems highly improbable, that the remains of Asiatic, of African, and of European animals should be thus heaped together in one spot. It is, moreover, not merely in strata, evidently deposited from

water, that these remains are met with ; they are found also in fissures of rocks, through which water has never penetrated since the bones have remained in them. To account for these instances, it has been conjectured that the bones have been the relics of the repasts of some carnivorous animals, to which the fissure has served as a retreat ; the well-known cave at Kirkdale, being readily quoted as the den of a hyena. On this supposition, the difficulty is by no means diminished : either the constitution of the Kirkdale hyena must have been so entirely different from that of Africa, as to enable it to exist in a climate totally dissimilar, in which case its bones should have presented marks of a different organization, none of which are perceptible ; or the climate of the north of England must have been so much warmer than it is at the present day, as to allow of the hyena existing in it with the same ease as it now does in the south of Africa. The attempt to explain away the difficulties, attendant on either of these suppositions, may be left to their respective advocates, whose ingenuity and zeal have been already amply proved.

To a third theory on the subject, which has been recently advocated with uncommon industry by Mr. John Ranking, we shall advert with somewhat more detail, as the work* dedicated to its illustration contains much discursive matter, of peculiar interest to the student of the history, topography, and manners of the East, during the middle ages. It will, however, be seen that we regard the geological views maintained by him as equally open to objections with those just alluded to, and as no less surrounded with difficulties, some of which appear to be insuperable.

Martini, Bayer, and other writers, historians rather than geologists, had advanced and supported an opinion which naturally connected itself with the course of their previous studies, that the tropical and southern animals, the bones of which have so repeatedly occurred in the northern regions of Europe and Asia, had formed part of the conquering armies of the Romans and Mongols, or had been the relics of the combats between wild beasts, in which the former people especially delighted. The same views were entertained by our illustrious countryman, Camden, who regarded the bones of elephants discovered in Britain as belonging to those brought hither by the Emperor Claudius. On these hints Mr. Ranking has entered upon a

* Historical Researches on the Wars and Sports of the Mongols and Romans, in which elephants and wild beasts were employed or slain. And the remarkable local agreement of history with the remains of such animals found in Europe and Siberia ; containing life of Genghis Khan, &c. &c. &c. By John Ranking, resident upwards of twenty years in Hindoostan and Russia. 4to. p. 516. With a map and ten plates.

very extensive series of historical researches, and has collected together, from every accessible quarter, the testimonies of historians in support of the employment of elephants in war, and of their exhibition, together with other animals brought from distant regions, for the amusement of the people under the dominion of the Roman empire. By furnishing also a complete list of the places at which the remains of these exotic animals have been found, he endeavours to show the probability, in almost every case, of their being the relics of those elephants which accompanied the armies, or of the wild beasts which perished in the sanguinary combats of the amphitheatre. Elephants were first introduced into Italy by Pyrrhus; they were subsequently employed in greater numbers by Hannibal; and Mr. Ranking traces the route pursued by the latter, for the purpose of showing that, at about twenty places, in and near the line of his march from the south of France into Italy, the bones of these immense animals have been found imbedded in the earth. These living masses were afterwards introduced into the composition of those armies, which reduced, under the dominion of Rome, nearly the whole of Europe, to the conquest of the western parts of which, especially, the terror inspired by their unusual appearance must, in the first instance, have materially contributed. It is, indeed, said by Polyænus, though no allusion whatever is made to the circumstance by Cæsar himself, that the hardy Britons, while defending the passage of the Thames against the conqueror of Gaul, were thrown into disorder only by the advance of an armed and turreted elephant. In England, they were afterwards made use of in large numbers, under the emperors Claudius and Severus; they also accompanied the armies which subdued Switzerland, France, and Germany, having been previously employed in Spain by Hannibal, and in Greece immediately after the conquests of Alexander in the East.

As the Roman empire extended itself eastwards, and included Egypt within the scope of its vast dominions, the facilities of acquiring elephants for the purposes of war or exhibition were, of course, considerably increased. Other exotic animals were also more readily obtained; and the numerical amount of the supply became at length almost incredible. The brains of six hundred ostriches are said to have been served up to the monster Heliogabalus in one dish. Five hundred bears were killed in one day, in a combat with as many other wild animals from Africa. No less than one hundred lions were on one occasion slain by the hand of Commodus in the amphitheatre; and it is related, as a proof of the prudence and moderation of Hadrian, that it was only on his birth-day that a thousand wild beasts were annually slain in the shows. It

would be disgusting to dwell on the numerous, and apparently exhaustless, authenticated instances of these wanton atrocities. Sanguinary as man essentially is, in the Romans the organ of destructiveness must have been developed to the fullest extent. Bloodshed would seem to have been their sole occupation and delight. While resting from the slaughter of their fellow-men, it was their recreation to witness the wholesale destruction of other animals. Wars and sports indeed! The titles may appear captivating, but are they not altogether delusive? When applied to the history of Rome, can they have any other meaning than licensed murder and wanton barbarity?

It was not, however, merely at Rome that these spectacles of butchery were exhibited. There, indeed, they shone in their fullest splendour; but all the large cities of the empire were partakers in the savage gratification. Every where throughout the West, where Roman garrisons were stationed, amphitheatres were erected, and animals were exhibited to be slaughtered, either by the excited fury of their fellows, or by the hands of equally brutal men. Italy still abounds with the remains of these amphitheatres, which are also stated to be extremely numerous in England. Taking these as the point of departure, Mr. Ranking shows that almost every collection of the bones of quadrupeds, hitherto discovered, has been in the neighbourhood of these establishments, of which he gives a very complete list, illustrated by an enumeration of the fossil relics found in their vicinity. For so extensive a collection of facts he is entitled to our thanks; but while we are convinced that by his industrious inquiries he has furnished proofs amply sufficient to satisfy even the most sceptical, that animals were slaughtered by the Romans, in number ten, nay, a hundred-fold, exceeding the skeletons hitherto found, we cannot by any means concur with him in referring the latter to the origin for which he so ingeniously contends.

To every theory which contemplates the fossil bones of quadrupeds as the remains of animals co-existent with man, the forcible objection presents itself, that these skeletons are never accompanied by those of the human race. There exists no authentic account of any portion of a human skeleton having yet been found in a fossil state, a circumstance which strongly favours the probability that man had not been created at the period when those catastrophes occurred which involved the destruction of so many other animals. It is a known fact, that human bones are not more perishable than those of horses, since, on the field of battle, and in the half promiscuous graves occasionally resorted to in its vicinity, they are found commingled together at times very distant from those at which they fell. But the bones of the horse have repeatedly been disco-

vered in a fossil state: ought we not, then, equally to meet with those of man, if he existed at the same time with the horse? We know that the vestiges of a wound from an arrow, or a spear, have been said to be visible on one of the bones of the elk, so repeatedly found in the peat-bogs of Ireland, and that this has been recently adduced as a proof of the activity of man during the existence of that animal at least. But even if we grant the fact, and admit the justice of the inference, it alters not in the least our general argument. The elk of Ireland does not fairly fall under the denomination of fossil, so generally applied to it; the causes which have engulfed it having evidently originated in the rapid growth of vegetable matter, which is still actively proceeding in all such situations. That animal is never found deeply imbedded in the soil, and therefore cannot be regarded as similarly situated with the elephant, whose bones are discovered beneath one hundred, or one hundred and fifty feet of marl.

The existence of undoubted human skeletons in a limestone rock, on the coast of Guadaloupe, may perhaps be objected to us; but various circumstances are conclusive against the claim of these bones to any thing like the antiquity of fossil remains, of the characters of which they are moreover destitute. Into these circumstances, our limits forbid us from entering, but the following extract from the paper in which Mr. Kœnig first made the fact known to the Royal Society, will show that, in the opinion of that gentleman, which has since received the decided sanction of M. Cuvier and all the leading geologists, no parallel can be instituted between these skeletons and the fossil remains of mammiferous quadrupeds.

All the circumstances under which the known depositions of bones occur, both in alluvial beds, and in the caverns and fissures of strata limestone, tend to prove that the animals, to which they belonged, met their fate in the very places where they now lie buried. Hence it may be considered as an axiom, that man and other animals, whose bones are not found intermixed with them, did not co-exist in time and place.—*Phil. Trans.* t. art 1, 1814.

Another objection might be raised, from the existence of bones of the Asiatic elephant in North America, a continent in which neither the testimony of historians, nor the evidence supplied by any vestiges now remaining, affords the slightest ground for the suspicion of the conquerors of the old world having ever gained a footing. By them, then, we should urge, the elephants whose remains have been discovered could never have been introduced into the New World. This has also struck Mr. Ranking as a weak point in the position he has taken up, and as he expresses a hope of being able, at a future period, to throw some light on the subject, we refrain for the present from pressing it. We also abstain from urging a consideration of the utmost weight, deducible from the discovery of the fossil

remains of no less than twelve genera of mammiferous quadrupeds alone, which are now universally regarded as extinct. It is true that with the zoology of several extensive districts we are still but very imperfectly acquainted; and it is just possible that some of these animals may still be found to exist on the surface of the globe. While a doubt remains on the subject, the advantage of that doubt we are willing to concede.

Other objections suggest themselves, on the perusal of the catalogue of the animals exhibited at Rome. Although the greater number of those contained in the list supplied by Mr. Ranking, are now found in the fossil state, there are several, as the cameleopard, the ostrich, &c., no remains of which have yet occurred in any part of Europe; and it is particularly provoking, that among these lost animals, should be included that one which is the most interesting of the whole. If the skeleton of the onyx, so common at Rome as to be used for drawing carriages, could be recovered, it would materially assist us in verifying the existence, or explaining the true nature of the much talked of, but probably fabulous, unicorn; to which it appears to have approached more nearly than any other animal. We fear, however, that little elucidation of the subject can be anticipated from this source. Crocodiles also are enumerated in the list of animals exhibited at Rome, but the fossils of this genus could not possibly have been co-existent with the mammiferous quadrupeds, whose relics are now discovered. Without entering into any particular description of the different strata, it will be sufficient to state that no bones of the latter class of animals have at any period been found, except in formations of more recent origin than chalk, while, on the contrary, the remains of crocodiles are invariably found imbedded in formations more ancient than the chalk itself. The crocodiles must, therefore, have been deposited in their present position at a time far anterior to that at which the other animals were engulfed.

In thus attempting to show the untenable nature of the position, that the fossil bones now discovered are referrible to animals which have been brought together by the hand of man, we have combated no new theory. With the partiality of any living author for the hypothetical progeny of his own brain, we have not interfered. Mr. Ranking does not claim the merit of a new discovery; he barely claims, what we are willing to allow him to an extent far beyond that which he assumes for himself, the merit of furnishing data sufficiently extensive and authentic for the elucidation of the question. His industry and research are entitled to our best thanks, which we are most ready to tender to all who support their reasonings by facts, which, without an energetic stimulus of some kind, would still remain buried in obscurity. While from those who zealously exert

themselves to display the grounds on which these theories rest we are sure to derive both information and amusement. The arrangement, in a novel form, of old and neglected materials, the placing them in a new light, and the clearing away of error and fiction, from disputed points, are tasks laborious to an author, but cannot fail at once to instruct and gratify his readers.

As the leading object of this article has been to exhibit some of the hypotheses advanced for the purpose of explaining the origin of the fossil remains of distant periods, if not, as Parkinson terms them, of a former world, and as that portion of Mr. Ranking's work which refers to the West was amply sufficient to illustrate his views on the subject, we have hitherto scarcely alluded to that greater portion of it which regards the East. But our limits now warn us to be brief. We may, therefore only mention that the histories of Genghis Khan, of his successor, Kublai, and of the great conqueror of the East, Tamerlane, are adverted to at considerable length; that the progress of their conquests, until they became masters of nearly the whole of Asia is carefully traced; that excursive illustrations are given relative to the geographical position, topography, and manners of many of the countries and cities which successively fell beneath their yoke, from the works of Marco Polo, Rubraquis, and other neglected and partially rejected travellers of the middle ages; and lastly, that the employment of elephants in war and in the pomp of state, the extensive huntings in which whole armies were frequently employed, and the combats of animals conducted with all the magnificence of the East, are particularly noticed and described. Much, in fact, is contained in this department of the work which, while it affords amusement to the general reader, will also contribute to the information of the historical and topographical student.

SONNETS ON SHAKSPEARE.

No. 1.—*As You Like it.*

A leafy rustling fills the sunny air,
 And the glad humming of the forest bee,
 Who o'er sweet wild-flowers wakes her minstrelsy,
 As the stream's murmur, makes a music rare,
 Soothing the hear', tillev'ry trace of care
 Fades like the furrow from a summer sea.
 Who would not live in forests? Doth the pall
 Of purple and of gold gleam half so bright
 As the blue sky and silver waterfall?
 Do kings and courtiers in richer lines dight,
 'Midst perfum'd chambers, feel the pure delight
 That the fresh forest breeze here yields to all?
 We waut but Rosalind—with such a maid
 'Twere heaven to dwell beneath the greenwood shade.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

IMPROMPTU.

[In Spain, whenever the king travels, and sojourns any where, even for a single night, he allows the innkeeper, or proprietor of the house, if a private dwelling, where he has so lodged, to suspend outside the house an iron chain (*Cadena*), which is universally done (much as over the gateways of our county gaols) and this marks the king's having honoured it with his presence. On first observing this, an English traveller made an impromptu in Spanish, to the surprise of his fellow travellers in the Diligence, who were not accustomed to such boldness from a stranger. The following is a correct English version of the thought it embodied.]

When monarchs travel, as of late they've done,
Throughout the various realms that own their sway,
A snuff-box, seal, or ring, they're wont anon
To give their hosts in token of their stay ;
Far other boon, howe'er, *this* king bestows,
As on he journeys through the land of Spain—
He gives his friends what others would their foes,
(Fit emblem of his rule!)—an *Iron Chain*.

P. M. W.

LIBERALITY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE NATIVE MEDICAL INSTITUTION OF BENGAL.

THERE are two modes in which the Press exercises a salutary influence on the destinies of mankind:—by encouraging, with due praise, whatever is just, virtuous, and benevolent; and, on the other hand, repressing, by censure, whatever appears injurious to the common weal, and hostile to “the greatest happiness of the greatest number for the greatest length of time.” How much shall be devoted to praise and how much to blame does not depend upon the honest and impartial public writer, but on the times in which he lives, and the events by which he happens to be surrounded: since he cannot alter the nature of things, but, if he discharge his duty faithfully, must characterise them as he finds them. If, therefore, in our political disquisitions we have lately felt ourselves too often called upon to raise the voice of blame, we cannot but lament it as a public misfortune that existing circumstances have assigned to us so painful a task; and we rejoice that an opportunity is now afforded us of showing that it is the aspect of the times, and not our own inclination, which makes us so often pursue that cheerless course. We have now the more agreeable duty of bestowing the just meed of praise on Lord Amherst and the other members of the Government of Bengal, for a series of measures which redound highly to their honour, as enabling the Natives of India to enjoy the benefits of medical science, a brief history of which will, we trust, be found interesting as well as useful.

In the year 1822, at the close of Lord Hastings's administration, a school was founded at Calcutta by the Government, under his auspices, for the instruction of Hindoos and Mohammedans in medical knowledge. This new institution was first intrusted to the care

of Dr. Jamieson, and, as this gentleman held several other situations at the time, the appointment and the discussions to which these pluralities gave rise, with other circumstances which eventually arose out of them, excited much public attention, and will not soon be forgotten in Bengal. If, amid the distraction necessarily attendant on so many different duties, that gentleman was able to undertake anything of importance for promoting the objects of the institution, his life unfortunately was not prolonged to carry his designs into effect. The severe scrutiny exercised on the propriety of the first appointment may perhaps have had a beneficial influence on the selection of his successor. However this may be, the present superintendent of the Native Medical Institution appears to be highly qualified for his situation, and to be happily endowed with a sufficient quantity of industry to turn his learning and his talents to the best account. At the last annual examination of the College of Fort William the Governor-General observed, "The management of the (Native Medical) Institution had been confided to the zealous and able superintendence of Dr. Breton; and that gentleman has already prepared, in the native languages, various essays and short treatises, calculated not only to promote the instruction of the pupils under his charge, but gradually to disseminate among the Natives of India a highly useful knowledge of the principles of medical science." We have the pleasure to add, that these works have fortunately reached our hands; having been transmitted by the author to the learned Dr. Gilchrist, who has committed them to us for public use. We here subjoin a list, explanatory of their character and contents:

1. A Vocabulary of the Names of the different Parts of the Human Body, and of the Medical and Technical Terms applied to them—in English, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, and Hinduwce.
2. Hindoostanee versions of the London Pharmacopœia in both the Persian and Naguree characters, in two volumes.
3. Treatise on Suspended Animation, from the Effects of Submersion, Hanging, Noxious Air or Lightning, and the Means of Resuscitation; in the Naguree character and in the Hindoostanee language.
4. Substance of a Lecture on the Cholera Morbus, delivered to the Students of the Native Medical Institution; in the Naguree and Persian characters and in the Hindoostanee language.
5. Introductory Lecture on Anatomy; in the same characters and language as the preceding.
6. Demonstrations of the Brain and its Appendages; also in the same characters and language.
7. Essay on the Venom of Serpents; in the same characters and language.
8. Essay on Intermittent Fever; in the same.
9. Essay on Rheumatism; in the same.
10. Essay on Cataract; in the same.
11. On the Structure of the Eye; in the same.
12. On Osteology; in the same.
13. Demonstration of the Abdominal Viscera; in the same
14. Demonstration of the Thoracic Viscera; in the same.
15. Essay on the Cholera Morbus; in the Bengalee language.

These works, with three or four others by the same author, are now before us; and we cannot but express our great surprise, as well

as satisfaction, that so much has been done in so short a space of time. The whole have been lithographed at the Government lithographic press at Calcutta, by which means the various forms of the Naguree, Persian, and Roman characters, according to the several languages of which they consist, have been executed with great accuracy and beauty; one of the latest improvements in the art of printing having thus fortunately stepped in to overcome one of the most serious obstacles to the diffusion of knowledge in the Native languages, for representing which on paper, lithography is admirably adapted. The learned Orientalist to whom these works were sent from India having consigned them to us for public use, accompanied with various high testimonials of approbation, we think it a duty we owe to Dr. Breton, as well as to his patrons, the Government of Bengal, to lay them before the British public. Dr. Gilchrist expresses himself in the following terms:

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir,—The accompanying works, with a letter from the author, have just reached me from India, and as their contents may prove highly useful to the British Indian public, as well as profitable to their meritorious author, you are at liberty to lay those portions of either before your numerous readers, which you may conceive will be most interesting to them all in both hemispheres. You will also receive a Calcutta newspaper, containing the speech of Lord Amherst at the Annual Examination of the College of Fort William, which, amongst other things touches on the great services of Dr. Breton, who is, I perceive, among the senior medical servants on the Bengal establishment, and highly esteemed there, not only for professional talents, but also as an excellent Orientalist, whose abilities and persevering efforts will yet render the Native Medical Institution, over which he has for some years actively and honourably presided, so efficient that it will soon become a blessing to many millions in our Eastern empire; provided his efforts be countenanced and supported as cordially by the executive at home as he appears to have been patronised by the Bengal Government, from their conviction of the urgent necessity for such an establishment. On this subject, a reference to Dr. Breton's communication to me, and to the judicious comments of the present Governor-General, Lord Amherst, will make any farther detail from myself altogether superfluous on this occasion, except my merely adding that the medical and language department seem to have each been executed with competent skill and fidelity combined; so much so indeed, that I would strongly recommend the whole set of Dr. Breton's faithful versions of his professional treatises as text and school books for all intended British Indian surgeons in future to study at their respective colleges, where Oriental instructors would speedily be procurable, if a fair prospect of employment were once opened for them, without subjecting the Honourable Company to the smallest additional expense on that score, in any way whatever. I presume their present Examining Physician enjoys a salary more than commensurate with the responsible but very easy duties he has to perform in that capacity; it would therefore be no great stretch of industrious zeal on his part were he to qualify himself as an Eastern linguist also, and grant the requisite certificates to candidates for medical appointments in India, previously to their actual nomination by the Directors. This office was originally conferred upon an old and able Bengal surgeon, who had retired perhaps rather prematurely from the service in consequence of bad health, and no doubt there may yet be others equally deserving and similarly situated who would gladly perform the united task of Examiner in local diseases and languages whenever a vacancy in that post should happen, which, comparatively speaking, in its present form (occupying one or two hours only with every probationer out of sixty per annum) is almost a sinecure.

I have already attentively perused Dr. Breton's essay on Cholera Morbus, and, if the others are all as well executed, he certainly deserves whatever lucrative situation his Honourable Masters can bestow upon him either at home or abroad, if they really wish to reward able, old, and faithful servants according to their respective capacities or deserts. In my time, some forty years ago, the cholera morbus, as a fatal epidemic, was hardly known, and I never encountered this formidable malady, in that predicament, but once, while marching across the country from Bombay to Bengal in the month of January, when the weather was rather cold at night, contrasted with the heat from a cloudless sky all day. An elderly gentleman, then old enough to have been my father, was my colleague as attending Assistant Surgeon at the Detachment General Hospital, into which six or eight patients were brought in rapid succession, and the whole died of the very cholera which has since proved so fatal in various parts of Asia. The first patients were, of course, treated *secundum artem*, and every one of them slipped through our hands, under even a cautious expulsion of the peccant matter from the viscera, which we then naturally enough conceived was the sole cause of the disease; but before this could be effected, the poor fellows were thus, legitimately enough, despatched to their long homes. I began to get alarmed, and held a consultation with my reverend senior assistant, lest the Superintending Surgeon might hear of the havoc committed by death or the doctors in the General Hospital, and we might be blamed not only for our imprudent silence but for our baneful prescriptions. I honestly told the old gentleman that we must *think and act* for ourselves in every subsequent case; for to me it seemed clear we were wrong in practice, however right in the theoretical treatment of our late patients. Taking a hearty pinch of snuff, and casting a significant glance towards the unfortunate creature who had recently expired amidst excruciating evacuations, he said very coolly, "Well, what would you advise?" My reply was short, that we could not do worse than had been done, and it was possible we might at least have better luck were all the ordinary rules laid aside, and some remedies in the *Brownonian* style immediately tried. To this the grave doctor readily consented, and we desired the Native Assistants to put a quantity of finely powdered bark and cinnamon, with a due proportion of laudanum, into a bottle of Madeira wine, to shake the mixture well, and the moment any person was sent to the Hospital he was to take a wine glassful of the medicine, to be repeated every half hour, until one of ourselves could attend in person. This experiment was tried with the utmost success, for we never afterwards lost another man, and always had leisure enough to apply proper remedies, by having thus in the first instance preserved the *vis vitæ* long enough for that purpose. Those who were affected had been generally exposed, as sentinels or bazar people, during the night, to the cold air or dews so common in the winter months of India; but what is very singular, I never again saw the cholera for the space of twenty years afterwards, though for many seasons of late I find it has been a species of plague, traversing the whole Peninsula, and that my *random recipe* has very often acted as a charm in this terrific complaint, but whether as an accidental specific or a nostrum of ours is more than I can assert.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. B. GILCHRIST.

To this letter we are fortunately able to add the testimony of various individuals in India, of learned Natives of the country as well as Europeans, whose names are a sufficient guarantee that it is no ordinary merit which has secured such general approbation. In a letter to Mr. Breton, from Rammohun Roy, acknowledging a present of his work, the illustrious Hindoo reformer, who has so long been labouring to turn his countrymen to a better faith, and is alike distinguished by his talents, his learning, and his virtues, thus writes:

I beg you will accept my best thanks for the valuable present of your productions. They are indeed full of instruction, and better calculated to furnish

the Natives with useful knowledge than *all* the works published in this country on abstruse subjects.

The above is dated the 4th of May (1825); and in another letter, dated the 28th of September, the same practical philosopher, who even here takes an opportunity of expressing his opinion of these mystical notions, against which his whole life has been a continued struggle, thus writes concerning Dr. Breton's labours :

Ailing as I have been, I have perused with great pleasure the tracts you kindly sent me; and while reading them, I could not help anticipating the blessings which these and similar publications are calculated to bestow upon the Natives of this part of the globe; since they contain real facts, established by experience, and not mere speculations, supported only by prejudice and opinion. I hope and pray that your exertions may be crowned with success.

Another Native of learning and respectability, and we believe an orthodox Hindoo, Radhakant Deb, expresses similar sentiments on the subject, though in a style somewhat more Oriental :

I have (he says in a letter to Dr. Breton) attentively perused the work (on Cholera), and find the observations, symptoms, and remedies of the dreadful malady contained in it to be very wise, proper, beneficial, and effectual. I shall introduce and recommend your advice and medicine both here and in the interior, and the human lives which will thereby be saved will, I trust, be an ample reward for the trouble you have taken, and the expense incurred in publishing and circulating the pamphlet gratuitously.

Our European testimony is still more ample and conclusive. Capt. Macan, the Persian interpreter to the Commander-in-chief, a gentleman, whose acquirements in Oriental learning are acknowledged to be of a high order, observes, addressing Dr. Breton on the subject of his work :

None but Oriental scholars can properly appreciate the difficulties you have encountered; and as you have got over the first step, which is always the most difficult, I sincerely hope you will go on. Hitherto we have been instructing the Natives in *their own erroneous system* of philosophy, and particularly astronomy, and it is only by doing in other branches of science what you are doing in medicine, that we can hope to give them the light of truth.

In order to place the merits of Dr. Breton on the most unexceptionable grounds, by adding to the testimony of individuals that of public bodies, we give an extract of a letter from Capt. Ruddell, secretary to the College Council of Fort William, dated 21st of July last, addressed officially to Dr. Breton :

The College Council were so much pleased with your pamphlets presented to them, that they expressed a wish to see the *whole* published and *distributed throughout the country*.

Again, the highest of all professional authorities on the subject in Bengal, the Medical Board, caused the following official communication to be made through their secretary :

To Peter Breton, Esq., Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors.

SIR,—Adverting to a letter from the military secretary to Government, containing an extract of the proceedings in the judicial department, with reference to a correspondence with the Government of Bombay on the subject of education, I am directed by the Medical Board to request that you will be pleased to send to this office, at your earliest convenience, six copies of each of the different works composed by you for facilitating the acquisition of medical and physical knowledge by your pupils, in order that they may be

forwarded to Bombay. The Board cannot omit this opportunity of congratulating you on the usefulness of your labours, and the important advantages which seem likely to be derived from them by the medical branch of the service throughout the three presidencies.—I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. ADAM,

Secretary, Medical Board.

Fort William Medical Board Office,
18th Aug. 1825.

It would be a waste of time to adduce any further evidence on this subject, though we have more in our possession; but we cannot resist the inclination we feel to place on public record, to the honour of Mr. Bayley, then chief secretary to the Government, and now a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, the humane and liberal conduct of that gentleman during the period when the cholera morbus was raging so dreadfully in Calcutta, in August and September last. We bear testimony to his virtues, when we meet with such proofs of them as these, not the less readily, though he was an accessory, if not the principal, in bringing ruin on our own heads, without even any just *pretence* for the wanton exercise of power.

When the terrible malady to which we have alluded was afflicting the unfortunate natives of Bengal, and many hundreds were falling victims to it daily in Calcutta, Mr. Bayley wrote to Dr. Breton the following note:

MY DEAR SIR,—It has occurred to me, that if your treatise on Cholera in Bengalee were widely distributed in Calcutta and its neighbourhood just now, it would be useful.

Perhaps the best way would be to send nearly all the spare copies you have to Mr. C. Barwell, at the Police Office, to-morrow; thence they might be given to the Native Doctors employed under the police, to the Thanadars, and other Native officers who can read Bengalee, and to the Native schools; a new edition, to a considerable extent, might be struck off; and if you will report the expense which may be incurred in doing so, either I will pay it myself, or ask Government to pay it. A few copies in Persian might also be usefully distributed from the Police Office.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

W. B. BAYLEY.

From this letter it is evident that to his influence and exertions ought to be attributed the following official communication from the Government to the magistrates of Calcutta, dated the 1st of September last, which passed through his department:

The temporary employment, with the sanction and concurrence of Dr. Breton, of twenty of his most experienced pupils, in those parts of the town where the sickness chiefly prevails, as well as the distribution of Dr. Breton's treatise on the cure of the cholera, in the Native languages, appear to Government to be measures calculated to be of great immediate advantage; and his Lordship in council desires that you will communicate to Dr. Breton the sense which Government entertains of his prompt and zealous co-operation with you, and of his compliance with your suggestions at a time when an official reference for formal sanction would have involved serious delay and inconvenience.

The result is stated in a letter from the magistrates of Calcutta, dated some weeks afterwards, which, as a public document, we think of sufficient importance to be also given entire:

To P. Breton, Esq.

SIR.—We beg leave to inform you that the decrease in the number of cases

of cholera in the town will now admit of the aid of your students being withdrawn, and request the favour of you to recal them.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without recording our approbation of their conduct, and the great benefit derived from their skill and attention.

We beg leave to enclose the copy of a paragraph [quoted above] of a letter from the chief secretary to Government, expressive of the sentiments his Lordship in council entertains of the measures adopted, in the deputation of your students; and we return you thanks for the hearty co-operation we have experienced from you personally in averting the calamity with which the town was afflicted.—We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

(Signed) C. R. BARWELL, Chief Magistrate.
W. C. BLAQUIERE, Magistrate.

Calcutta Police Office,
13th Sept. 1825.

Now what was the nature of the calamity which this Native Medical Institution contributed so essentially to avert? It was a mortality which, according to the public papers, was carrying off in the town of Calcutta and its suburbs from four to seven hundred human beings daily! The great majority of these miserable victims were of course too indigent to procure the aid of the few European physicians, even if they could possibly have attended to them; and the want of medical advice could therefore only be supplied by such an institution as this, for educating the Natives themselves, so as to bring the medical art within the reach of the body of the people. Can any thing more be necessary to prove its utility? An institution which, in a single week, had saved perhaps thousands from the grave; which, as regards the diffusion of science, Mr. Secretary Bayley says, in another letter dated September 4th, speaking of Dr. Breton's labours, "had already done more than he could have expected in *many years*." We wish therefore we could stop here, and conclude by saying, that we feel confident an institution established by that liberal and enlightened ruler of India, the Marquis of Hastings, and so steadily supported by his successors, an institution patronized by the rulers of India, and applauded by the people, containing at once the source of present blessings and the promise of great future improvement, would continue to flourish, and be maintained by the joint approbation of all, in full health and vigour.

But will it be credited that the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company—they who profess to entertain so tender a regard for the welfare of their Indian subjects, that they scruple to let an Englishman settle among them, lest he should hurt the "innocent Natives"—they who are unwilling to trust them with a free press, lest it should operate upon them like ardent spirits on the red men of America—and who profess to have the same regard for their bodily as for their mental health, should, after having sanctioned the suppression of all free discussion, now wish to suppress this Medical School for educating Native Doctors? Will it be said that our rules for the human constitution are as unsuited to them as our clothes are to their bodies; or as the British Constitution is to their political condition? That, in short, our pills and our potions would prove as hurtful to them as our political nostrums?—that the lancet

and scalpel of the surgeon are as dangerous in their hands as the pen and the press? But whatever be the reason of this new crusade against the spread of knowledge in India, the fact is stated in the following letter from Dr. Breton, communicated to us by Dr. Gilchrist, with those already quoted, for publication :

MY DEAR SIR,—My friend, Mr. Roberts, of the firm of Mackintosh and Co. wrote me some time since that you had been kind enough to notice, in favourable terms, the Native Medical Institution, lately established in Calcutta, for the instruction of Hindoos and Mohammedans in medical knowledge.

Of all the sciences studied by the Asiatics, that of anatomy and medicine, is the least understood and cultivated, and therefore in India it is universally admitted that the British Government could not have established an Institution calculated to be of greater public benefit not only to the Civil and Military branches of the service, but to the Natives generally, than the Native Medical Institution.

You, who have been in India, are well aware of the acquirements of the Native medical practitioners. Their knowledge of anatomy borders on nonentity, and their skill in physic is not far above their anatomical knowledge. What a blessing then it will be to the Natives generally, to have amongst them their own countrymen, educated on system to the medical profession, and capable of alleviating human affliction, which at present consigns to a premature grave myriads of deceased inhabitants of our Eastern empire.

The Native students are beginning to make themselves useful; eight having been already posted to corps, and four are about to be attached to two dispensaries, now forming for the relief of the suffering Natives; and, in the accompanying records, you will observe a pleasing public testimony of the students' exertions in arresting the progress of that dreadful scourge the cholera morbus, and I have no doubt that, in course of time, they will prove a highly useful class of public servants of the British Government in India.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged utility, and indeed necessity of the Native Medical Institution, the Honourable Court of Directors have unfortunately, with a view to economy, ordered its abolition; but the Government of India, bound by their sacred duty to their Native subjects, have unanimously recommended in the strongest possible terms its continuance, and the Institution remains, pending, however, the result of the forcible remonstrance to the Honourable Court against its abolition.

The late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, it is reported, avowed his sentiments in council, that as there was a great deficiency of medical officers, Native doctors became indispensably necessary to afford medical aid to the numerous detachments from corps in the extensive dominions of India, and as it was not possible to procure them when required, it behoved Government to establish some kind of institution from which capable Native doctors might on all occasions of exigency be obtained, and it rested with Government to consider whether a better or more economical system could be devised than that which existed in the school for Native doctors. His Excellency further observed, that without a due complement of medical staff, he could not answer for the efficiency of the Bengal army, a point of vital importance to the state. This occurred in April last, and fortunately the general voice being in favour of the institution as it stood, an unanimous vote was given for its permanency.

The expense of the school for Native doctors is not worthy of a thought, being in reality nothing in comparison with the benefits likely to accrue from the institution. The latter is pleasingly adverted to by the Governor-General, in his speech to the College Council, and hailed by the Natives with gratitude.

The anatomical plates and works published from time to time, for the use of the Native students, are printed at the Government Lithographic Press, at

no other expense to Government than that of ink and paper. In short, while every measure is adopted to ensure the utility of the school for Native doctors, rigid economy is studied and observed; and on the score of expense the Honourable Court of Directors will never have reason to complain. Indeed the medical institution may be said to be in unison with the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges, established for the dissemination of general knowledge among the Natives of India.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

P. BRETON.

Superintend. of the Native Med. Instit.

Calcutta, October 31, 1825.

This article having already extended to so great a length, we hasten to a conclusion, confident that such a case needs very little comment. For after the simple statement of the facts, we think the Court of Directors will hardly venture to persevere in their efforts to subvert this infant institution. Will it be for a moment tolerated, in this enlightened age and country, that they should suppress almost the only institution yet established by the British in India, for introducing among our Native subjects useful and practical European science? If the British public countenance this, instead of being any longer spoken of as an enlightened, a liberal or generous people, they deserve to be ranked *below* the very Goths and Vandals. For even these barbarians, if they had possessed any learning, would have imparted it to the nations they overran. It was the boast of the Romans to civilize the nations which they subdued; but if such a measure as this be carried into effect, no doubt will remain in the opinion of the world that the systematic policy of the British is to keep their subjects plunged in the most degrading ignorance.

We would warn the Directors that if they bring such a stigma upon the national character, the time is fast approaching when it will be considered whether they shall have the power of doing so any longer. The sinister influences which lead to such measures will be appreciated and provided against. It is true that if a respectable body of Native physicians were created in India, these might fill many subordinate offices, at a much more moderate charge, and render so large a body of European medical officers unnecessary. Hence a certain diminution of the patronage of the Directors, who would no longer have the appointment of so many of their friends from England. But if they venture, on such grounds, to put a stop to the cultivation of useful science among the natives of Bengal, and leave their Native subjects literally to "perish, in millions, for lack of knowledge," by those dreadful scourges which afflict tropical climates, it will afford the strongest ground for instituting an inquiry whether a body influenced by such motives can be any longer intrusted with the government of a vast empire.

THE FUTURE.

'Tis sweet to steal abroad at grey of eve,
 When stars come thronging on the gazing eye,
 As Day's pale wheels' fast-fading traces leave
 To Hesper's train the champaign of the sky ;
 And, seated by some streamlet rippling by,
 Babbling, like Jove's old oracle, its note,
 To stray with Fancy where Futurity
 Marshals her visions, bright as clouds that float
 Burning o'er vernal skies, on which fond poets doat.

For then, unshackled by all meaner fears,
 The thoughts that people thicken our inmost soul,
 Go crowding forth, and wander to the spheres,
 Or seek the icy brightness of the pole ;
 Or touch on earth some more enchanting goal,
 The arms of beauty, or the trump of fame ;
 Or those delights which prouder minds control—
 The sweets of power, that oft, we find, inflame
 Souls dead to weaker joys, and reckless of a name.

The Future is the poor man's heritage :
 Who builds his cot amidst its sunny bowers,
 And hopes to shun the pinching cares of age,
 Close sheltered from the winds and beating showers,
 Forgets the present want that fierce devours
 His strength to bear, and aptitude to bliss,
 And feasts on bounties of the unborn hours,
 Heedless that those to come must spring from this
 In which he circled is by fortunes all amiss.

Yet will imagination cheat our cares,
 And gild the dawning scene with richest dyes,
 So that the toiling wretch, as on he fares,
 Sees, ever, lovely lands before him rise ;
 And still o'erwhelmed in present agonies,
 Looks onward for some turning in the way,
 In which the vision that before him lies
 May overtaken be, or choose to stay,
 And glad his weary soul, and turn his night to day !

And I, I also gaze towards the goal
 Which Fancy bids me hope may yet be won,
 Though the tenth hour has on my musings stole,
 As on him parabled by Judah's son,
 Who, though hard labour's heavy sands had run
 Nearly through all the day, was yet allowed
 To overtake by diligence the sun,
 And mingle with the earlier toiling crowd,
 Though they, like envious churls, bawled out their clamours loud.

BION

ON THE LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE.*

In times like the present, when want and calamity are every day becoming more and more prevalent among the great mass of the people, it seems to be the duty of every public writer, who can feel for mankind, honestly to indicate what appear to him the causes of these evils. The indispensable brevity of periodical composition must always, however, confine the writer of a public journal to certain branches only of every great subject at a time; but perhaps there is little evil in this; the lapse of a month brings him again before the public, with another part of his investigation, which, though merely the continuation of a former inquiry, can hardly fail, if pursued with moderate judgment, to appear novel and agreeable. At least, such is the persuasion with which we now and then enter repeatedly upon topics like the one before us, which, whatever their importance and utility may be, are much less calculated than many others that could be chosen, to be wrought up into fashionable essays. On these occasions, however, we waive all considerations of fame or pleasure, content if by any means we can be useful.

The question at present to be determined is, whether it be for the good of the community that all the lands of the kingdom should belong to a few aristocratical families, to the entire disinheriting of a vast majority of mankind; or that they should lawfully descend in equal portions from the father to all his children, and thus, by degrees, be equitably divided among the citizens of the state. By the laws of England; as they stand at present, *all* the landed property of the father descends, along with his rank and title, to the eldest son. Against the injustice, and the mischievous and despotic tendency of these laws, we now contend; as it is principally from them that the poverty and enslaved condition of the majority of the English people have, in our opinion, been derived.

A man without political rights is a slave, and undoubtedly the majority of Englishmen have no political rights. It is vain to talk of the *right of petitioning*; while man has a tongue *he will complain*; but, unless he can command the redress of his grievances, his complaining will prove of little benefit to him. Of the poverty and misery of the people no proof is wanting; as it is acknowledged, we believe, that more than one-fifth of the population has long been reduced to the condition of paupers. Moreover, at this very moment, tens of thousands of people are bordering on starvation, or actually dying for want, and, if they survive, they must owe their lives to the charity of their fellow-citizens. Were these calamities

* Discours de Mirabeau sur l'égalité des partages dans les successions; précédé du Nouveau Projet de Loi, de la Loi existante, et de leurs motifs. *Memo. Paris, 1786.*

occasioned by any convulsion or irregularity of nature, falling in its consequences upon all alike, there would then be no room, at least on their account, to call in question the excellence of our institutions. But the famine that now ravages the country, passes every moment by full granaries and stately and plentiful mansions, whose owners never experienced any other embarrassment than that which arises from superfluity of riches.

There are therefore imperfections somewhere in our laws. Distress, overwhelming and almost universal, exists; and it cannot have arisen from the minute division of landed property, or property of any kind, for never were there so many immense proprietors of land, so many unwieldy capitalists more wealthy than Cræsus, so many princely bankers and merchants, so many well-paid bishops, priests and deacons, so many rich generals, admirals, pensioners, placemen. Here, then, great estates and great poverty exist together: the law of primogeniture, if it does not *cause*, does not, at all events, *prevent* almost national pauperism. Seeing that this is the case, it appears rather surprising that a worthy Baronet, one of the most popular friends of the people, a politician of long standing, and a man of ability likewise, should, in a late speech in Parliament, have given it as his opinion "that it was the *so much carped-at* law of primogeniture that *kept up* the wealth of the country"! Keep up the wealth of the country, indeed! Yes, this *so much carped-at* law does certainly keep *up* the wealth of the country—for it keeps it entirely out of the reach of the majority. But let us not anticipate. On subjects of this kind, which have generally been regarded as legal questions, it is customary, we believe, to imagine that none but lawyers are qualified to write. In our opinion, however, they, of all men, are the least qualified: versed in the history of particular cases and precedents, and habituated to the forms of existing institutions, it is but seldom that they look so far as the first principles of legislation, and examine the *reasons* of laws. Yet, in speaking of the prerogative of primogeniture, it is necessary to understand, not what has, at various periods, appeared just and politic to certain legislators, but what really is so.

Plato, in his Republic, undertook to prove that what is just is politic. Whether it be so or not, it will always, we think, make rather against the character of a law to know that, whatever else it may be, it is utterly and radically unjust. In this predicament the law of primogeniture stands. For, upon the supposition that the father has a right to bestow his property as he pleases, and that it is for the good of society that great families should be founded and preserved, all the estate of the father descends after his death to his first-born son. It is clear from this that the prerogative of the eldest son is erected upon two fallacies; because it may be incontrovertibly shown that, first, the father neither has, nor ought to have, the right to dispose arbitrarily of his wealth; and, secondly, that if

he had, the existence of great families, in favour of which alone primogeniture is maintained, is an evil that ought not to be tolerated in a free state.

With respect to the father's right: philosophers have very clearly developed the manner in which the right of property is created; the savage inserts a sharp stone into a stick, and thus by his labour creates a new form, which from that moment is his property. Prior to this, the materials were free. With this axe he fells trees, shapes them, and erects himself a hut, which likewise becomes his own. He tames wild animals, and encloses a spot of ground to prevent their flight, and the animals and the ground become his property. But he does not labour alone; his wife and his children share his toils, and enable him to support them: while he raises the hut, or forms his enclosures, the sons range the forests for game, and the wife and the daughters prepare it for food. When not thus employed, they engage directly in his labours; some sharpen stakes, others weave the willows into the fences, others run about for the materials, and carry poles and reeds to form or roof the hut. When the work is completed, can the father rise up and say,—“All these things are *mine*”? Grant that the infancy of the children is supported by his sole labour; old age and sickness and diseases come upon him; he can no longer labour; then are repaid the debts of infancy; filial affection watches round his bed, provides him savoury and nourishing food, or leads his tottering footsteps to the sunny bank before the hut. Without children how could he avail himself of his property? Who would assuage the miseries of age, or keep off, by watchful tenderness, the hand of death, for a time? But having children, he is enabled, during manhood, to multiply, tenfold, the property of the family; every hand increases it; every eye watches over it. Should he, then, attempt, in the dotage of old age, to defraud his children of their shares, and bestow the common property upon some guest, brought by chance to his habitation, every clown of his neighbourhood would exclaim against his injustice. They would do the same, were he to call all his family round his death bed, and say to them—“Children, it is very true that the sheep I hear bleating without in the cotes were caught and tamed by you all; that you likewise lent your hand to raise these walls, and gathered the reeds that roof them, and shelter us from the rain; that, in short, all we have is the product of our joint labour; nevertheless, as it is highly expedient that posterity should know such a man as ‘Mumbo Jumbo’ existed, I must now bestow on you a loaf a-piece, and turn you out of doors, that your elder brother, Mumbo, may remain here with his wife, and preserve the name and honours of the *Jumbos* to all eternity.”

To know upon what principle the possession of wealth and power should be regulated in a state, we ought to consider how we would now distribute them in case we were to take men from the equality

of nature to form a new community. Supposing us acquainted with their minds and habits, it is probable we should not select a drunkard and an adulterer to be King, or President; nor weak-minded, superstitious persons for our senators; quite the reverse; our choice would single out, for exalted stations, the loftiest intellects, and the most unblemished characters, and servile and mean employments would fall to the lot of those to whom nature should be found to have given low and imperfect minds. But in this distribution every thing should regard the individual, and nothing the family; it being important to know what a man can do, but not whose son he is. When a state, however, has been formed, as most states have, by accident, and grown to unwieldy size and power in the course of ages, the laws enacted from time to time, to answer some immediate exigency, adhere most commonly to the body politic long after the circumstances which gave rise to them have ceased to exist. By every bad law there are some gainers, (there are, at least, some who reckon themselves such;) and these individuals, having an interest which is not that of the public, will always labour to promote "the craft by which they live." It is no wonder, therefore, that elder brothers, like political Cains, should approve of the law of primogeniture, as it is to them a legal instrument by which they quietly possess themselves of the rights of the younger.

The principle, however, upon which all public business is conducted in this country—the prevalence of a majority, would quickly put an end to what Gibbon called emphatically "the insolent prerogative of primogeniture," for, were all mankind to give their suffrages on the question, the first-born, we suspect, would be greatly outvoted. In fact, it is this law that has maintained the "monarchical principle" in Europe, and kept the great body of the people in the condition of aliens and strangers in their own country. The privileged orders, always directing the powers of government, contrive successfully to mask their domestic policy from the people, and abandon a large portion of their own class, the younger brothers, to conduct the brute forces of the populace in foreign wars, or, in the shape of teachers, to stultify and enslave their understandings at home. If, by any miracle, a poor man rises to some commanding eminence in society, the privileged ranks are opened to him, and his energies, like a piece of artillery taken in battle from the enemy, are pointed against the ranks from whence he came. As to younger brothers, being scions from the privileged trunk, they are planted in the great champaign of rank and honours, and either shoot up to a level with the parent tree, or quickly wither and die away in the shade of their pestilent neighbours.

It is the law of primogeniture which creates and preserves an hereditary aristocracy, the greatest evil which political institutions have ever brought upon a country. For what but mischief could possibly spring from an order of men born with every favour and

advantage of fortune in their hands? Consult common experience, and observe the effects of such an order of things upon the privileged, and upon the despoiled: in the former, the first thing it does is, to destroy industry and the virtues which spring from it; in the latter, it entirely effaces the stamp of independence, and debases the mind, in some instances so far as to make it exult in its own degradation. The best type of a state that cherishes an aristocracy in its bosom, is a large family in which one child usurps the whole favour of the parents: on a different scale the same effects exactly take place in each; the favourite, protected against labour and the irksome and dangerous vicissitudes of life, is indulged with splendid toys, and furnished with all the means of satisfying his capricious appetites. The other children, having no road to enjoyment, except through the gracious smiles of the domestic darling, and being actuated no less than he by the thirst of pleasure, immediately have recourse to cringing and hypocrisy, pretend extraordinary anxiety for his gratification, and eagerly provide him with delights, in the hope that they may, by this means, be allowed to share them with him. Let any parent who is in doubt about this bestow a course of exclusive favours on one of his children only, and observe the distinction it will create for that one, and the meanness and adulation it will cause in the others. The sturdy brother, who would previously have struck him for the least provocation, now grows humble and submissive, obeys his beck and call, and fears to look amiss lest it should deprive him of his share of the pleasures which the caprice of the favourite may withhold from him altogether. On the other hand, the possessor of the parents' distinctions seems to grow taller with conceit, tosses up his head, walks about in a stately pace, runs now here, now there, seeming to be quite delighted to put his retinue into the most humiliating position, to gratify his pride and love of power. It is true that any sudden suspension of the exclusive smiles of the parent restores the little urchins to their original equality, and, perhaps, procures the favourite a severe beating or two, in revenge for the degradation he inflicted during his good fortune; but this superiority continuing, or often repeated, would essentially corrupt the favourite, and debase his brethren.

The gross and palpable favouritism which should prompt a father to feed his eldest son on white bread, and the younger on brown, or lead him to convert the latter into the personal attendants of the former, would be abominated and decried by all mankind. Yet this would be by no means a more unjust proceeding than is now authorized and practised under the law of primogeniture, which, in reality, confers the hereditary wealth of the family on one son, and employs the rest in the church, the army, or the navy, as satellites to defend and preserve him in the possession of it.

But although it may perhaps be allowed that the right of the first

born is not founded in nature or in justice, but it may still be urged that it is a useful fiction, or, at least, one which has appeared such to the great majority of mankind. Nobody can deny that when once the world begins to patronize any particular piece of folly, it generally continues its patronage *in secula seculorum*, and, being judge of its own conduct, calls this proceeding, wisdom. But in regard to primogeniture, the opinions of the majority have been nearly always heretical. Among the Jews the eldest son inherited only a double portion; at Athens all the *sons* obtained equal portions, while the daughters were left dependent on their brothers; the Roman laws originally made no distinction between the sexes, sons and daughters inheriting an equal share. In Mohammedan countries, the paternal estate descends in even portions to all the sons; as it also does in Hindoostan. The laws of Japan differ from all others in respect to succession, no child inheriting in that country except those of the wife bestowed by the emperor. Among the benefits conferred on France by the Revolution, the abolition of the law of primogeniture was not the least, as it removed the greatest stain of barbarism from her code, and restored that equality among brothers, which the abolition of feudality had established among the citizens in general.

As the Constituent Assembly contained, when this question was agitated, a number of lawyers attached to the old maxims of jurisprudence, Mirabeau introduced into the speech he prepared for the occasion, the title of which we have quoted at the commencement of this article (but which he never lived to pronounce), sharp invectives against the imperfections of ancient law: full of the daring spirit of the times, his eloquence always seemed to burst from him, like the strains of the Delphian priestess, in involuntary inspiration; but in speaking against the law of primogeniture, death, then fast approaching him, appeared like a whirlwind to drift away all the chaff of declamation from his periods, leaving nothing remaining but the pure grains of truth.

This speech, which will bear to be compared with some of the best orations of Cicero, was read to the Assembly by M. Talleyrand, then bishop of Autun. Before commencing it, he informed his hearers that he went the day before to the house of Mirabeau, then on his death-bed; crowds of admirers or friends thronged the rooms; sadness was on all their countenances. The orator only was calm and cheerful. During the interview, Mirabeau, who regretted that he should not be present at the debate on the law of primogeniture, delivered into his hands the speech he had prepared for the occasion. It was his last labour, and his best; the reading of it was frequently interrupted by the enthusiastic applause of the hearers, and the splendid and forcible reasoning it contained had undoubtedly much influence on the decision to which the Assembly shortly afterwards came.

To give any thing like an analysis of this speech would carry us into too great length, for it embraces a large field, and is remarkable for the closeness of its style. As on other occasions, we must confine ourselves to a few remarks and extracts; but we shall endeavour, in the latter, to select such as are likely to do most honour to the memory of Mirabeau, and draw the attention of the reader to a speech which cannot be too assiduously studied. In quoting such a writer, we shall religiously abstain from all attempts at translation; eloquence, as well as poetry, appearing in a foreign language much more awkward and clumsy than a Turk or a Hindoo would look in the costume of Paris or London. Much must, of course, be passed over in silence. Indeed, as a great part of the speech turns on free gifts and testaments, a branch of the subject which we avoid touching upon at present, this might very well be done, without breaking the connection of his arguments against the right of primogeniture; but we can cite but a small number even of these.

The Arabs, we know, are accustomed to speak of the times before Mohammed, as their "days of ignorance;" and the French of 1791 judged in a like manner of the period preceding the Revolution:

Dans les siècles de tenebres (says Mirabeau), ces lois (romaines) ont été notre seule lumière; mais dans un siècle de lumières, les anciens flambeaux pâlissent; ils ne servent qu'à embarrasser la vue, ou même à retarder nos pas dans la route de la vérité.

Of all the laws of antiquity relating to succession, those of Rome, which appeared to Mirabeau so exceptionable, approached most nearly the equality of nature: all the children inherited equal portions, without distinction of sex or age; but as the law ordained that property should not pass by marriage from one family to another, the children of a daughter could not succeed to her property, which returned at her death to the family from which she sprung. Experience afterwards taught the Romans that the allowing women to inherit introduced pernicious luxury and disorder into the state; and a law proposed by Quintus Voconius, the tribune, and thence called the Voconian Law, made it illegal to constitute a woman heir, whether married or unmarried. This law was advocated with great vehemence by Cato the Censor, at the age of seventy-five. It is important not to mistake the spirit of the Voconian law: it was really intended to repress luxury, and not wantonly to deprive women of their rights; for, while they were excluded by it from the succession to large estates, they might inherit possessions not included in the first census. To encourage marriage, Augustus partly removed the prohibitions of this law, making it legal for women to succeed in virtue of their husbands' will, and, in case they had three children, they might inherit the estate of a stranger who should name them as his heir. By the time of Adrian, the Voconian Law was nearly a dead letter; and Justinian abrogated it altogether.

The orator then advises to abandon entirely all deference for former laws, and in regulating the possessions and determining the rights of a great people, to look solely to reason and nature.

Or, Messieurs (he continues), que nous dit cette nature, dans la matière que nous discutons ? Si elle a établi l'égalité d'homme à homme, à plus forte raison de frère à frère ; et cette égalité entre les enfans d'une même famille ne doit elle pas être mieux reconnue encore, et plus respectée par ceux qui leur ont donné la naissance ?

Society acknowledges fully the right of children to succeed to their fathers, but it has hitherto neglected in most cases to decree that all shall succeed to equal portions. But,

Cette loi sociale, qui fait succéder les enfans aux pères dans la propriété des biens domestiques, doit se montrer dans toute sa pureté, quand le chef de famille meurt *ab intestat*. Alors les enfans qui succèdent partagent selon les lois de la nature, à moins que la société ne joue ici le rôle de maître, en rompant à leur égard la loi inviolable de l'égalité. Mais il ne suffit pas d'avoir fait disparaître de notre code ce reste impur des lois féodales, qui, dans les enfans d'un même père, créaient quelquefois, en dépit de lui, un riche et de pauvres, un protecteur hautain et d'obscurs subordonnés ; lois corruptrices, qui semaient des haïes, là où la nature avait créé la fraternité, et qui devenaient complices de mille désordres, si pourtant il n'est plus vrai de dire qu'elles les faisaient naître. Il ne suffit pas d'avoir détruit jusqu'au dernier vestige de ces lois funestes ; il faut prévenir par de sages statuts les passions aveugles, qui n'auraient pas des effets moins pernicieux que ces lois mêmes ; il faut empêcher l'alteration qu'elles apportent insensiblement dans l'ordre civil.

The entire disregard of justice oftentimes manifested by testators, is but too well known. Services of the most infamous kind, as well as the smaller delinquencies of cringing and flattery, too frequently purchase the succession to property, to the injury of the natural heirs. Even where the secret obligations of guilt exist not, old men are subject to be capricious in their preferences, and sometimes bequeath immense wealth to individuals on the strength of impressions made upon them instantaneously by a fortunate physiognomy, or by engaging manners. It is clear that such testaments ought not to be respected by the laws, which being the nearest approach to pure reason should by no means be made subservient to the most irrational vagaries of individuals.

Combien de ces actes, signifiés aux vivans par les morts, où la folie semble disputer à la passion ; où le testateur fait de telles dispositions de sa fortune, qu'il n'eût osé de son vivant en faire confiance à personne ; des dispositions telles, en un mot, qu'il a en besoin pour se les permettre de se détacher entièrement de sa mémoire, et de penser que le tombeau serait son abri contre le ridicule et les reproches !

The right of primogeniture, as it now exists in Europe, arose out of feudal manners, with which it was perfectly congruous. Nevertheless it did not come into vogue simultaneously with the possession of fiefs, for under the first two races of French kings both sons and daughters succeeded equally even to feudal possessions, as may be clearly inferred from a law of Edward the Confessor : " Si quis intestatus obierit, liberi ejus succedant in capita." It was after the Capet family ascended the throne of France that the great feudal proprietors, having united together to cast off the

yoke of royal authority, established the right of primogeniture, that all the power of the father might remain united in the hands of one man, the better to resist the encroachments of regal power.* The eldest son being the most early adapted to undergo the fatigues of war, and to feel the spur of ambition, was therefore chosen to be the representative of the father; and the whole domain of the family devolved to him, with an injunction to provide for his younger brothers so far as to enable them to live respectably. This we find recorded as a law enacted by Geoffry, Count of Brittany, in 1185: "Majores natu integrum dominium obtineant, et junioribus, pro posse suo provideant de necessarijs, ut honeste viverent." When the right of primogeniture was once established among the nobles, who are generally allowed to coin ideas and fashions for those below them, it was not to be expected that the commoners would long remain behind them in the career of absurdity and injustice. Accordingly, the eldest son of a clown very quickly acquired the right to rob his brothers and sisters as completely as the son of a lord, and believed that, by the exercise of this piece of unnatural plunder, he was approaching the condition of his betters. As to daughters, they were accounted for next to nothing by the feudal institutions, which, on their account, ran riot in every possible absurdity, ordaining one thing in this province, another in that; now securing them a small portion, now granting them nothing. So that during the glorious times of chivalry, when a princely beauty had perhaps a hundred knights ready to break a lance in her honour, she might not possess sufficient property to furnish the palfrey that carried her to the tournament, or to provide herself with a veil to shade her cheek from the sun. All she could demand was no more than a simple *chapeau de rose*, having which she was portioned for life. 'Tis true there were nunneries, and to these the toasts and beauties of chivalrous periods betook themselves, so soon as time had begun to make havoc with their features; for the honest knights of those days were no less given to look to the main chance than the knights of our times; and if they broke each other's skulls to prove the *virtue* and loveliness of their mistresses, they likewise took good care to leave those lovely creatures very little besides their beauty that they could call their own. Such having been the wisdom of our ancestors, and the gallantry of chivalric days, it must be owned that we have degenerated sadly now, when, at all events, a lady receives a portion suited to her rank, and is not left quite dependent on the caprice of her brother.

Those glorious dawns of the revolution which dispersed the darkness that had so long obscured the laws of France, must, undoubtedly, have been viewed by a man like Mirabeau with the most enthusiastic delight. The barbarous curtain of chivalry was withdrawn from the national character, men stood up in a proud equality,

* Discours de M. Chabot de l'Allier.

claimed and won the honours and distinctions to which their virtues and their talents entitled them, and trampled under their feet the hateful distinction of noble and commoner, originating in ignorance and barbarism, and fitted only to degrade and enslave the great majority of mankind. In the speech before us, the great orator of the revolution exults over the ruins of the feudal system, a monstrous edifice, which his own eloquence had greatly contributed to destroy.

Le concours de la loi et de l'opinion a détruit chez nous cette prépondérance générale que les noms et les titres se sont arrogée trop long-temps. Il a fait disparaître ce pouvoir magique qu'un certain arrangement de lettres alphabétiques exerçait jadis parmi nous. Ce respect, cette admiration pour des chimères a fui devant la dignité de l'homme et du citoyen. Or, je ne sais rien de mieux, pour faire repousser des rejetons à cette vanité ensevelie, que de laisser subsister des usages testamentaires que la favorisent, de cultiver en quelque sorte par les lois cette fond trop fertile d'inégalité dans les fortunes. Il n'y a plus d'aînés, plus de privilégiés dans la grande famille nationale ; il n'en faut plus dans les petites familles qui la composent.

The blessings which the Revolution conferred upon France have always appeared to the Bourbons as so many conquests achieved over their family greatness ; and, whatever concessions they may have thought it necessary to make since their restoration to the spirit of the times, it is evident, from many symptoms, that their secret intention is to replunge the French into all the superstition and national slavery, from which they emerged by their courage and capacity. On the 10th of February last, one of the Ministers of Charles X. (the dock-master of Mohammed Ali) presented to the Chamber of Peers the project of a law for restoring the right of primogeniture ; and in a speech, which, together with the law itself, is now before us, attempted to stultify the understandings of the peers by various ingenious sophisms, calculated to lead into the belief that the equal partition of estates would in the end annihilate all the advantages of landed property, and reduce the whole body of the people to a miserable rabble. That these sophisms have already thrown their roots across the Channel, and taken ground in this country, we must conclude from the words of the distinguished Baronet, previously quoted, for, in this instance, the popular English senator has undeniably imported his notions from France. However, the right of primogeniture, although it does happen to appear so just and admirable to this great Reformer, is likely to have fewer advocates in future. Even the speech of the "Garde-des-Sceaux," which convinced the member for Westminster, and many other elder brothers, of the excellence of this law, will, we suspect, have a contrary effect upon the generality of readers. The French orator, imagining perhaps that he was wielding an Achilles of an argument, insisted chiefly, in support of his motion, upon the tendency of primogeniture to uphold the "monarchical principle" ! Could he have quite *hidden* that idea from the minds of his hearers, perhaps the law might have passed ; but in making it the basis of his appeal, it was really like saying, "Keep your doors open all night, as it affords the greatest possible facility for the entrance of

those who will ease you of the wealth your industry might accumulate." So successful, indeed, is this gentleman in proving the reverse of what he intended, that we recommend his speech to the perusal of our readers, as a more striking document in favour of the equal partition of estates than even the splendid discourse of Mirabeau himself; for it is an example of the utter inefficacy of the best reasonings which the whole French Government could marshal in the course of years against the rights of man.

THE LAMENT FOR THE CID.

El Campeador! El Campeador!
Never was sound to the turban'd Moor
Like that of his trumpet's tone,—
It wither'd the strength of Moslem war
If the blast but bore it from afar;
Alas! for its voice is gone!

If on proud Cordova's high walls
To the silent steel-clad sentinels
Came but a distant hum,
Each held his breath, and fear'd to hear
The Cid and his knights in full career;
Alas! for that sound is dumb!

And then throughout the paynym land,
When the watchers took their anxious stand
Upon the mountain's brow,
They stood by the beacons day and night
With torches ever burning bright;—
Alas! they may quench them now!

The Moslem maid who turn'd her eyes
To her false Prophet's paradise,
For the youth who fought afar,
Against the Cid, by Ebro's tide,
Or Guadalquiver's grassy side,
Need fear no more the war.

They may fling the Moorish banners wide—
The sacred flags—their faith and pride—
Which, when Ruy Diaz came,
They hid, as if each silken fold,
Heavy and stiff with gems and gold,
Would burn in his glance of flame.

El Campeador! El Campeador!
From Ronceval to the Ebro's shore
There 's a voice of woe in the land—
When will there live so true a knight,
So kind in peace, so brave in fight,
So strong of heart and hand?

Yet even in death, brave Cavalier,
Thy country's glory thou shalt share,
For when our banner'd line
Fix for the charge the lance in rest,
One hope, one wish, shall fire each breast
To win renown like thine.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

THOUGHTS OF A RESIDENT IN INDIA ON THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THAT COUNTRY.

One of the greatest difficulties attending our periodical labours is that of obtaining from the country, to the improvement of which our hopes and efforts are constantly directed, such materials of discussion as are to be procured from every other quarter of the globe in which any freedom of publication exists. This difficulty is, however, every now and then surmounted, by the valuable communications of those private friends who still retain a lively recollection of the benefit produced by the Indian Press in the days of its short-lived freedom; and who, untired in the pursuit of human good, continue to make us the medium of offering their thoughts to the world. We cannot too strongly impress our distant friends with the value of such communications, and the importance justly attached to them in England; or too earnestly invite their full, free, and frequent transmission of their sentiments to us on all subjects connected with the actual state and the best means of improving the future condition of the country in which their lot is cast. The good to be done to themselves as well as to others, by such means, must be obvious: and while they may repose their confidence in us with safety, they will have their reward in living to witness the beneficial effects of such of their suggestions as by being made public may be adopted, but if hidden in their own bosoms, may be lost for ever to the world. After this brief preliminary, we offer the following as the principal portion of a communication made to us from the very heart of India, by one whose long residence in the country and superior intelligence entitle his opinions to great respect. He says:

“ People seem to imagine that there is something in Hindoostan and Hindoos to distinguish them from all the rest of the world. It is true, indeed, that India is warmer than most other countries; but its inhabitants, after all, are made of much the same kind of stuff as the other inhabitants of this globe—‘ if we prick them do they not bleed?—if we tickle them do they not laugh?’—and, it may be added with more solemnity than the quotation would seem to imply, ‘ if we wrong them, shall they not revenge?’ Alas! we have wronged them too deeply already—and the day of revenge, come when it may, will not be undeserved. Do not mistake me, I am not preaching up or prognosticating deeds of blood—no! the revenge of the Hindoos will be milder, but not less effectual; when the day of struggle arrives they will remain mute spectators of the conflict, and, heedless of our cries for assistance, will rather proffer it to our enemies than to us, in hopes of gaining by a change of masters what they cannot expect from a continuance of our rule. It is said, indeed, that our empire is one of opinion: nothing is more false—it is not so, and shame it is to us that after near a century’s

sway it is not. Our empire is that of money. The forty thousand Europeans who hold this country give employment to perhaps a million of Natives, but this is done so obviously by means of taxes levied upon the whole mass, and the regular payment of each individual's stipend fluctuates so sensibly with the rise and fall of the Government credit, that the very servants of the state are the first harbingers of our insolvency or downfall. If, by opinion, any notion of our intellectual or moral superiority be meant, that day has long gone by; that it has so, an unprejudiced mind may satisfy itself by attending to passing events and perusing the documents now so frequently laid before the public.

“The only peculiarity calculated to influence the destiny of India was its remote situation as compared with the rest of the world. It is with nations as with individuals, place them in seclusion and they inevitably contract notions of their own infallibility and absurd theories of one kind or another that totally unfit them for commerce with society. India was so placed. Her distance was too great from those parts of the world which had benefited by mutual collision to allow her to participate in the general improvement. She retained her antiquated institutions whilst almost all the rest of mankind were high in the career of advancement—and her stationary position, added to the enervating effect of her climate, made her an easy prey to every invader. Still, however, those who were tempted to disturb her repose were so few in number when compared to her countless multitude—the distance they had travelled, and, it may be added, the toils they had undergone, were so great, that, ere the work of conquest was complete, the conquerors had, in a great measure, lost their energy, and sunk imperceptibly into the habits of the conquered. The Moguls of India and the Tartars of China met in effect with the same fate: they established a temporary dominion, but, after struggling more or less to maintain it, yielded gradually to the influence of numbers, and were, at last, entirely absorbed in the great mass of Hindoo and Chinese population.

“How long the same causes might have been adequate to produce the same effect it is now needless to conjecture, for the discovery of a passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope entirely changed the face of affairs. India was, in a manner, drawn closer to Europe, and thereby rendered accessible on all sides to the activity and enterprise of the most powerful as well as the most civilized portions of the globe. The Portuguese, who led the way in this mighty revolution, were the first to take advantage of it—and what was the consequence?—So far from there appearing to be any peculiarity to prevent the inhabitants of India from benefiting by and adopting the notions of any other people, whole provinces changed their religion, and it is hardly possible to imagine a greater impression made in so short a time—or a more intimate amalgamation of conquerors and conquered than then took place. Movements in the political world

of Europe, however; precluded the possibility of the Portuguese continuing their efforts to subjugate the whole of India, or even effectually supporting their first series of expeditions;—and thus the same lot befel them that must inevitably befall the few when they make partial and unsustained attempts to subjugate and change the character of the many. Like the Moguls, they were quickly absorbed in the population; and, perhaps from a former infusion of Saracen or even African blood rendering them more liable to show the effects of a tropical sun, they are now only to be distinguished by their having a still darker complexion than the aborigines of the country.

“But though these repeated instances of failure would appear to demonstrate the improbability of effectually colonizing India, it must not be forgotten that our position is materially different from that of any previous interloper. With the Moguls it would be idle to make a comparison; but, with respect to the Portuguese, it may be useful to remark that their conquests, though widely spread, were confined almost wholly to the sea coasts: they never made any deep impression on the ‘bowels of the land,’ though undoubtedly, if they had been supported by the mother country, they would have done so; and there can be as little question but in that case the whole face of the country would, long ere this, have been changed. But how vastly superior is our situation—how much more commanding our attitude! At home we have power, an overflowing population, riches, and the command of the ocean; here, we have penetrated Asia to the back bone, our dominion embraces twenty climates, and every shade of manners and religious faith. Colonies, not too hastily collected, might be planted on spots little, if at all, unfavourable to European constitutions, and safely left to diverge from those points as opportunity and accession to the numbers of the colonists might dictate. This work might be auspiciously commenced by the Government itself; and invalid stations, with encouragement for Europeans of all grades to settle, might be advantageously established at Almorah, in Rohilcund, Goruckpoor, Tirhoot, or at Boglipoor, or the Nilgherry hills in the Deccan. Who shall say that the British nation would not soon find its account in the recruits, whether of whole or half blood, that would issue from such quarters?

“The mention of half blood is the principal consideration that gives me pause. There are, perhaps, grounds for apprehending that this class would increase in numbers, or degenerate by admixture with the Natives, and thus expose our giant British oak to be strangled by the numerous folds of the creeper by which it was overgrown. On this subject I confess my mind is not made up. I am disposed to think, however, that the tendency of half blood is rather to avoid deterioration; the females being comparatively rarely married to Europeans of whole blood, more of them remain

to pair off with their own kind, and thus illicit connexions, from which degeneracy proceeds, do not offer so many temptations, for it is more from the difficulty of finding suitable matches, than from depraved taste, that such alliances are generally formed. Again, the few females of half blood who marry Europeans tend to correct the evil, whilst the commixing of half blood with half blood, though it does not improve, certainly does not deteriorate.

“ It is urged, indeed, against colonization, that to settle in a country already fully inhabited, is to endeavour to push a happy and contented people from their stools, and devote them to misery and starvation; and this consideration is supposed to apply with peculiar force to India. It might do so, perhaps, if the premises were true, but they are not. India is not fully peopled. Their extreme poverty, and the oppressive weight of our system of government, force the inhabitants to huddle together in most unhealthy parts, to club an existence as it were; but for one square mile where the population is, on this account only, fearfully dense, there are ten which, for the same reason (inability through poverty to cultivate), are lying waste. The apprehended displacing of the Native population, therefore, could not occur even if colonists were to arrive in crowds of thousands at a time; but no such precipitated step is in contemplation. All that is required is, to throw the country open to the industry and enterprise of Europeans; and for Government to commence this work, by making use of the ample means in their possession. As to the gradual increase of Creole and Christian population, there is only this to be said, that when there is ample room and verge enough for the first settlers, their increase will be according to their energy and their means, and thus furnish a test of the fitness of this part of the globe for such a population. If they increase at the expense of the Native population, it will only be what takes place in every corner of the habitable globe, the rich and the robust increasing at the expense of the poor and weakly; and, canting apart, who will not say that in one century the condition of India would be immeasurably improved by such a consummation?

“ But in this argument the happiness and contentedness of the people must by no means be taken for granted. Look at the numerous statements, from men of every way of thinking, now before the world. Differing as they do about causes, they all agree in the effects of our government; upon its utter unproductiveness of substantial good in any point of view, and the unequivocal increase, if not creation, of evil in many. One party insists upon the degeneracy of the Natives as a reason for the continuance of our rule, though with increased vigour, whilst the other looks upon it as a consequence of that rule, and as clearly demonstrating the necessity of change: but that the Natives *have* degenerated, there is nowhere any question. A high authority says, that the practical effect of

our judicial system, on the character and happiness of the Indians, is acknowledged not to have corresponded with what was anticipated from the judgment of those who framed the machinery; whilst another writer, who appears pretty fairly to have summed up the evidence on both sides, states it to be confessed that our rule has been anything but a blessing to the Natives of India. What then is the conclusion to be drawn? That we must revert to the Mohammedan system, or go still further back to the institutions of Menu?—No! thank heaven, there are few who counsel such a retrograde movement now-a-days. (Some wretches of this kind, however, there are.) Let the plan suggested by Lord Hastings be followed. Let the population be prepared, by the diffusion of education, to receive our institutions; and, in order that education may have free scope to expand itself into practical utility, let colonization be at least not prohibited. It is not that the Hindoos are averse from giving new systems a trial; what was experienced with the Portuguese, what is known concerning the Musulmans, and what we have all observed in the immediate vicinity of our settlements, alike forbid the supposition; but it is that we are not sufficient in number and stability to give the tone to society, or to substitute, in fact, anything upon which the Natives can rely, in exchange for the sacrifices they might be disposed to make. The Natives are called upon for an immense contribution in point of taxes of one kind or another, and, after that, to surrender their old institutions and prejudices to support a system, in the administration of which they cannot be said even to assist, in the stability of which they cannot confide, and in the expediency of which they cannot persuade themselves. They see a single European planted in the midst of an extensive district, applying all his time and abilities to enforce a system which, whatever may be its abstract nature, has for them no other effect but the sensible one of taking all they can possibly spare, to pass into the coffers of Government, after enriching a few of the least respectable of their countrymen. And for all this what do they get in return? “Protection to life and property” it is triumphantly replied. True, they do so; but does the most blood-thirsty tyrant aim at the life that is quietly, and, above all, productively employed? And as to property, where is the great difference between a mild government that takes nine-tenths of the produce every year, and a despotic one that seizes the whole every ten years? Really, bating something for the difference of modern manners, there is in all this something like a distinction without a difference.

“Lord Hastings is almost the only man of true gentlemanly feeling and unbiassed judgment who has ever treated on Indian affairs; the others who have given their sentiments to the world, though many of them men of the highest merit, had mostly some leaven of the Indian monopolist to raise them in their own conceit, or some

theories to establish upon no broader foundation than their own personal, and very often limited, experience. The opinion of practical men is no doubt always useful, but throughout so immense a region as that under our government, individuals, even of the most acute intellect, are apt to see what passes before them under very different points of view; it requires a master mind to compare their various statements, and duly to appreciate the effects of that partiality which each must have for the system he has long toiled to enforce—for the reforms, of the efficacy of which he alone may have been led to form an exalted estimate. Such a mind was that which Lord Hastings brought to the discussion. It is not necessary, however, to dwell upon the many eminent qualifications which his Lordship possessed to fit him for the performance of the task alluded to; but, as directly connected with the subject under review, truth compels the belief that he never has been, nor probably ever will be, forgiven by the Company for having, in the face of all the world, brought high principles and finished education to bear upon a system which was so liable to perish under so powerful an ordeal. When first his Lordship began to develop his intention to penetrate into the obscurities of our Indian administration, and to conduct the government and politics of the country in a fair and open manner, he was hated for it by almost every functionary in the service, and this hatred followed him, unabated, until he quarrelled with his friends of the liberal party; from that period their hostility to him was somewhat mitigated by the pleasing consciousness that his former friends were in a great measure within their power—and sad indeed was the havoc they did commit, and were only just prevented from committing. But no more of this; with all his faults Lord Hastings is the best, in our present situation perhaps the only man for this country. And what were his faults? Only, after all, forgetting himself for a moment, and mistaking himself for a mere inhabitant of Calcutta, when he belonged of right to Britain—to the whole civilized world! In confirmation, look at the distinction with which his Lordship was treated on the Continent—see the Independent States of Italy vying with each other to do him honour, some of them entreating his stay for a day amongst them, and meanwhile sending crowds of workmen to smooth the roads before him. See the royal family of France too granting exemptions of police and douane such as were never granted to an individual and a foreigner, doing, in fact, all but pay their debts to him—to show, perhaps, how much easier it is to be generous with other people's money than just with our own. No! Lord Hastings is an honour to his age and country; and to return, one more, to our miserable selves, the universal desire is to see him again at the head of the Indian government.

“Apropos of his Lordship—a writer in Blackwood's Magazine talks of the notion of bestowing titles of honour upon the Natives

as calculated to excite a smile in those who are acquainted with the constitution of Indian society. Another instance of that exclusive reasoning which seeks to make Hindoos different from all other of God's creatures, an effect of the utter estrangement which still, after eighty years of undisturbed dominion, exists between the conqueror and conquered. We live here like a set of haughty heartless mamelukes, disdainng all commerce with the Natives of the soil, and then we talk, forsooth, of the constitution of their society ! Even now it is in many parts of the country considered highly impertinent for a Native, of whatever rank (provided he have no power), to omit descending from his horse or palanquin and making a salaam when an European happens to pass him on the road. Pray how much of this is owing to the constitution of their society ? Whatever be their situation, a title that would exempt them from this degrading homage would not be unacceptable. But to judge from the little we do know of them—look at those who reside in our immediate neighbourhood, does their conduct lead us to suppose that titles and distinctions would not be prized ? Let any gentleman who happens to have an establishment of Chuprassies call one of their number *Jemidar*, and observe the bearing and consequence of the man ; take a common Sircar and make him the accountant of your household, and see how he conducts himself, and whether all his fellow servants do not immediately treat him with respect and dub him *Sahib*. Look at the gratitude with which old servants of the state receive the privilege of a chatta and palanquin, sometimes granted by Government ; and, in short, recollect the instance of Buddy Nath, a Native of family and substance, who expended upwards of fifty thousand rupees (£5,000) in constructing a public road, and merely asked, as a remuneration, for the privilege of dressing some of his servants like sepoy, to attend him as a guard of honour. This man too it is known is even now using all his interest to obtain some additional title or badge of distinction from Government.

“ So far then from the constitution of Indian society leading us to believe that titles of honour, the cheap defence of nations, would not take the fancy of the Natives, every fact we are acquainted with would appear to indicate the very reverse. There is, in short, nothing in the Indian character upon which we may presume that they differ from more civilized communities, in this point at least ; or that they would refuse to purchase an empty gratification of vanity at the expense, perhaps, of real substantial comfort ; or, to push the parallel farther, to barter their independence and integrity for glittering stars and ribbons.”

HYDROGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA.

It is a matter no less of astonishment than regret, that, with the immense naval force which it has been thought expedient to maintain during nearly twelve years of uninterrupted and nearly universal peace, England should have done so little in furtherance of the interests of maritime geography. As far as regards voyages of discovery, the views of the Admiralty appear to have been exclusively and perversely directed to the solution of a problem, in itself of no practical importance, but in the prosecution of which they have wantonly thrown away a combination of zeal, perseverance, and talent, which, if employed in almost any other pursuit, must have ensured the happiest results. That pertinacity, however, which resisted all attempts at conviction, and continued to impel our gallant seamen to attempt the conquest of obstacles, which the opinion of all practical and reflecting men had pronounced to be insurmountable, seems at length to have been wearied out, and we trust that the mania for northern expeditions has passed away from us never again to return.

But an object of far greater moment than the discovery of new lands has occasionally received some small portion of the attention of our naval authorities, and a few voyages of survey have been undertaken from time to time, with the view of laying down accurate charts of coasts hitherto imperfectly known, and of obtaining other useful information concerning them. A more legitimate use for the surplus portion of the marine of a nation which prides itself on being essentially maritime could not be devised; and when we consider the trifling expense with which such expeditions are attended, and the vital importance of their labours to the interests of commerce, we can only lament and wonder that so inconsiderable a part of our naval establishment should have been employed on services of this nature.

With the results of one or two voyages of this description the public has already been made acquainted, and several others have been announced as preparing for publication. At present it is our purpose to call the attention of the reader to a survey of a large portion of the coast of New Holland, by Captain P. P. King,* which, after lingering in the press for a period of nearly two years, has at length silently made its appearance in the world. The very quiet mode in which its publication has been finally effected augurs

* Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia, performed between the years 1818 and 1822, by Captain Philip P. King, R.N. F.R.S. &c. With an appendix, containing various subjects relating to Hydrography and Natural History, 2 vols. 8vo Illustrated by plates, charts, and wood cuts.

little confidence on the part of the publisher in its becoming a popular and generally attractive production. A voyage of survey, strictly speaking, presents in fact little to arrest the attention of any except the geographer and the practical navigator, and it is principally with the design of introducing the present work to the notice of these classes that we have been induced to advert to it. That it is not, however, entirely destitute of attractions for the general reader will, we think, be evident from the selections we are about to make from it, in illustration of a few cursory remarks on the physical constitution of New Holland, and on the condition of its singular inhabitants.

Of the surface of this fifth continent, as it has been repeatedly termed, so little is yet known that it is impossible to determine whether the general characters of the soil differ equally with its natural productions from those of the other portions of the world. Its vegetables are well known to be peculiar in many respects, and especially in the total absence of any which can fairly be regarded as occupying the situation of the forest trees of the old and new continents. The trees of New Holland are indeed, if the expression may be allowed, merely shrubs of a larger growth: none of them possess the properties requisite for ship-building; and the absence of timber fitted for this purpose, it may be remarked, by the bye, must ever be an impediment almost insuperable to the assumption by any colony established there of political power, which so materially depends on a naval establishment. The animals of this island are equally peculiar with its vegetables. In the highest order, the mammiferous quadrupeds, not one has yet been found in New Holland, which coincides with those that inhabit the other parts of the world, unless indeed we except the dog, that constant and faithful companion of the human race wherever it exists; and even this exhibits characters distinguishing it strongly from the usual varieties. Man himself, on these shores, differs from man elsewhere; but the causes of this difference, consisting chiefly in the extreme degradation of intellect, may perhaps be traced in a great measure to the circumstances in which he has been placed by nature.

To live together in large societies must always have been impracticable to the New Hollander, depending as he did for sustenance on the very scanty supplies of the land, or on the more plentiful, but more uncertain, produce of his fishery. In procuring these he relied in general on the cunning that sets gins, and awaits patiently until its victim is entrapped in them; or on entangling by means of weirs the inhabitants of the deep, amid the shallow waters, where they fell a ready prey to his voracious indolence. Occasionally he might be called on to contend with a fish of larger dimensions and greater power than usual; but on the land no such exertion could be required. His chase was not, like that of the

American Indian, a compound of address and of courage; he had no deer nor other beast of magnitude to pursue, nor could he ever encounter, in the search for his daily food, any animal, the strength or noble nature of which was calculated to rouse in him the latent sparks of energy or manliness. Cunning, indolent cunning, was usually sufficient for the supply of his animal wants, and when he had exhausted the produce of one locality, he removed to another. On the construction of habitations of so temporary a nature, little pains would be bestowed; and his implements and domestic utensils must be, of course, limited in number and light of carriage, as he was without a single beast of burden or any that could be rendered such to assist him in removing them. The same cause would also deprive him of all opportunities of internal commerce, except by means of rivers, and of these there appear to exist none of any considerable extent. From external commerce he was equally cut off by the want of timber sufficiently powerful to withstand the shock of winds and waves. The New Hollander has thus been prevented from adding, by communication with others, to the very scanty stock of ideas which result from the mere animal nature of his existence. We therefore cease to wonder at his low intellectual condition, and are prepared to regard with interest even his rudest attempts at overcoming some of the difficulties by which he is surrounded.

Simple as these attempts generally are, they vary considerably in different tribes, and in some exhibit considerable ingenuity. Compelled occasionally, in their migrations from one district to another to pass creeks or rivers, navigation becomes among them an art essential to their existence. It is here, among the lowest race of man, that we should expect to meet with it in its rudest form. Accordingly, at Dampier's Archipelago, on the western coast, three natives were observed in the water apparently wading; but, on approaching them, "it was discovered that each of them was seated on a log of wood, which he propelled through the water by paddling with his hands." Of these marine velocipedes, as Captain King denominates them, some consisted only of a single log; in others, intended for the conveyance of domestic utensils, "two or three short logs were neatly and even curiously joined together, end to end, and so formed one piece that was sufficient to carry, and buoyant enough to support the weight of, two people." This floating log is probably the extreme case of the poverty of savage boat building all round the world. Beyond it the float of the inhabitants of Hanover Bay, on the north-western coast, is a decided advance. It is composed of five mangrove stems, lashed together at the extremities, and attached to a frame of smaller wood, and is buoyant enough to carry two natives together, with their spears and baskets. At Rockingham Bay, the art had been carried considerably farther, and canoes were found "not more than five feet long, and generally too small for two people;" and a great im-

provement had taken place by the employment of "two small strips of bark, five or six inches square, serving the double purpose of paddling and for baling the water out, which they are constantly obliged to do to prevent their canoe from sinking: in shoal water the paddles are superseded by a pole, by which this fragile bark is propelled. " Having once attained this point, the further improvement was easy, consisting merely in enlarging the proportions until the canoe became capable of containing several individuals. The material generally employed in its construction is the bark of certain trees, which is used either in a single sheet, each end being joined together by strips of a common climbing plant; or three or more sheets of the bark are nailed by the same means. The largest of these canoes hitherto seen was that observed by Admiral Bligh, at Sunday Island, which was thirty-three feet in length, and would hold twenty men. In a few instances only were canoes discovered, which were hollowed by fire or some blunt instrument out of the trunk of a tree. Of one of this description the "length was twenty-one feet, but its greatest breadth, in the bilge, did not exceed fifteen inches, whilst at the gunwale the opening was only from six to eight inches and a half wide." This seems to have been the extreme point of perfection in the art of ship-building attained by the aborigines of New Holland, who have never attempted to emulate the Malay proas, which are annually exhibited before them in large numbers, while visiting the northern coast in quest of the trepang, or *bêche de mer*, for the Chinese market.

The habitations of the New Hollander present also some striking peculiarities. In caverns formed by natural causes would probably be found the earliest dwellings of man in a savage state, but the geological constitution of New Holland renders such shelter of rare occurrence. Only two instances of natural caverns were met with, one at Lizard Island, and the other at Clack's Island; both situated off Cape Melville, on the eastern coast. Both of these had been resorted to as habitations by the natives, and the latter was especially remarkable, as furnishing the only specimen of the fine arts, observed during the survey. The roofs and sides of the cavern were composed of a black schistose rock, and were covered with curious drawings, which "were executed," says Mr. Cunningham, the botanist to the expedition, "upon a ground of red ochre, (rubbed on the black schistus,) and were delineated by dots of a white argillaceous earth, which had been worked up into a paste. They represented tolerable figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepang, star-fish, clubs, canoes, water-gourds, and some quadrupeds, which were probably intended to represent kangaroos and dogs. The figures, besides being outlined by the dots, were decorated all over with the same pigment in dotted transverse belts." "Captain Flinders," continues Mr. Cunningham, "had discovered figures on Chasm Island, in the gulf of Carpentaria, formed with a burnt stick; but this performance, exceeding 150

figures, which must have occupied much time, appears to be at least one step nearer refinement than those simply executed with a piece of charred wood."

In other situations where it became necessary to construct habitations, a variety is observed in their erection equally striking with that exhibited by the canoes. The smallest noticed were in the neighbourhood of Mullet Bay, on the northern coast. "They were of a conical shape, not more than three feet high, and not larger than would conveniently contain one person; they were built of sticks, stuck in the ground, and being united at the top, supported a roof of bark, which was again covered with sand, so that the hut looked more like a sand-hillock than the abode of a human creature: the opening was at one side, and about eighteen inches in diameter; but even this could be reduced when they were inside, by heaping the sand up before it." In Halifax bay, the huts "were of a circular shape, and very ingeniously constructed by twigs stuck in the ground and arched over, the ends being artfully entwined so as to give support to each other; the whole was covered with a thatch of dried grass and reeds: they were not larger than two people could conveniently occupy." At Port Macquarie, where the natives are rather numerous, the dwellings are more substantially constructed, and will contain eight or ten persons: "they are arched over, and form a dome with the opening on the land side," the inhabitants being thus screened from the cold sea-winds. But it was only at Careening Bay, on the north-western coast, that materials of a lasting nature entered into the construction of the hut. In this situation the two ends were formed of stones, piled one upon the other to the height of three feet, and saplings were laid across to support a covering of bark or dried grass. No regular plan was, however, pursued in their erection, as no two of them precisely agreed with each other.

In their dress the variation is less. In that considerable portion of New Holland which is situated within the tropics, little clothing would be required to protect the body of the native from the effects of cold, and in much of it he is altogether naked. Even without the tropic, and as far south as 36 degrees, the men were entirely without clothing, the women alone wearing a kangaroo's skin over their shoulders. This covering was used equally by both sexes at Macquarie Harbour, and also at Oyster Harbour, where it was thrown over the left shoulder, concealing the back and breast, and leaving the right arm exposed. This seems to have been the maximum of dress observed by Captain King. Dress, indeed, appears generally to be considered as an incumbrance by the Australian, who, even in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson, can scarcely be prevailed on to wear European habits, and in many instances, as is well known, has altogether refused to be confined in them. The extent of this feeling is shown by Captain King's having found, near Macquarie

Harbour, in Van Diemen's Land, a bundle of garments of colonial manufacture, which had been abandoned by the natives to whom they had been given : and the same disposition was also evinced by three of the natives of Gould Island, in Rockingham Bay, who were partially clothed in some damaged slops ; " but as soon as they reached a little distance," observes Captain King, " they began to divest themselves of their attire ; and we had much amusement in witnessing the difficulty under which the wearer of a shirt laboured to get it off."

The food of the native of New Holland consists of the seeds spontaneously offered to him by the bounty of Nature, and of the produce of his hunting and fishing. Of the mode in which his hunting is conducted we know little, as Europeans have hitherto penetrated but a very trifling distance into the interior. A very general practice appears to be, by setting fire to the grass to force the kangaroo, his principal game, from the woods into the open country, where it is killed by spears, propelled commonly by means of the throwing-stick. With the various plans pursued by him in his fishing, on which he seems to have expended the greater portion of his ingenuity, we are better acquainted. In many situations this is confined to the mere collection of shell-fish, crabs, &c. at low water ; at which time, even when it occurs during the night, the whole tribe is out upon the shore in search of these animals, compelled by the certainty that they would be deprived of their next meal if they neglected the opportunity of procuring it, even at the most unseasonable hours. The weirs, which are constructed to intercept the return of such fish as may have been carried into shoal water during the flood, are formed either by sticks stuck in the mud, or by heavy stones. One of the latter description, at Oyster Harbour, " was a hundred yards long, and projected forty yards in a crescent shape, towards the sea." Fishing-nets, rudely made of the fibres of the bark of trees, are occasionally employed ; and the same material is also spun and twisted to form fishing-lines, five or six fathoms long, to which are attached hooks made from the shells of turtles. The mode in which these latter animals are caught by the natives of Endeavour River has been described by Captain Cook, and consists in striking into their bodies a barbed peg, to which is fastened a staff serving for a float to trace and to weary the turtle while swimming. This contrivance strongly reminds us of those employed by the Esquimaux in the capture of seals and whales. Another point of resemblance between these distant savages is to be found in the feast of the natives of King George the Third's Sound on a raw and only half-dead seal, which had been transfixed by a spear cast from a throwing-stick, and was afterwards despatched by blows from a small hammer upon its head. The New Hollander, however, did not appear to gorge upon this disgusting food to the same extent as the Esquimaux ; and, moreover, as Captain King has particularly remarked, after having

crammed his mouth with the flesh, he cut, or rather sawed, it from the remainder, upwards instead of downwards.

In thus sketching the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Holland in some of the most important concerns of their existence, too great an encroachment has already perhaps been made upon the patience of the reader. His cookery, agreeing in its highest advance with that of the islanders of the South Sea, his domestic utensils, and his arms of offence and defence, arms co-existent every where with that pugnacious animal—man, must therefore be passed over to make room for a brief review of the practical and scientific results of the expedition.

Imperfectly known as much of the coast of New Holland remained previously to Captain King's survey, the field presented for his examination was sufficient to require upwards of four years of laborious research, interrupted only by the rainy and dangerous seasons. During this period he surveyed and laid down the line of the eastern coast between Cape Hillsborough and Cape York, a distance of six hundred and ninety miles; and examined carefully the northern and north-western coasts, to the extent of seven hundred and ninety miles, from Wessel Islands to Port George the Fourth. From this point to Depuch Island, a distance of five hundred and ten miles, the coast still remains unknown, nothing having been yet seen except detached portions of islands lying off it; but from that island to the north-west Cape, an extent of 220 miles, has been carefully surveyed by the expedition. On the western coast few observations could be made, the examination being performed during an almost continued gale of wind; and on the southern coast little was added to the information formerly obtained with respect to it. In the very ample "Sailing Directions," which occupy upwards of 160 closely-printed pages of the Appendix, Captain King has so condensed the materials obtained in all the points of his survey, as to furnish a practical manual to the future navigator, which, from the known experience and nautical skill of its author, will be found, we doubt not, a valuable and essential guide through the numerous besetting perils of these seas.

The most generally useful result of the voyage, is the establishment of the superiority of the in-shore route through Torres Strait over that without the reefs. The passage within the reefs is not only shorter, but presents also other advantages, the principal of which are, as Captain King informs us, "that the weather is more generally fine; the sea is always perfectly smooth; and wood and water may be procured upon various parts of the coast: with only common attention there is no risk; and however laboriously the day may be spent, the night is passed without disturbing the crew; for safe and good anchorage may be taken up every night under the lee of an islet or a reef, which, in the event of bad weather, may be retained as long as is requisite or convenient. No time is

lost by the delay, for the anchor may be dropped in the ship's immediate track ; and if the cargo consists of live animals, such as horses, cattle, or sheep, grass may be obtained for them from the islands near the anchorage. In the outer passage, the sea is strewn with numerous reefs, many yet unknown, which render the navigation at night extremely dangerous ; and if, on approaching the part where it is intended to enter the reefs, the weather should be thick, and the sun too clouded at noon to procure an observation for the latitude, the navigator is placed in a very anxious and a very unenviable situation ; for the currents are so strong, that the position of the ship is by no means sufficiently known to risk running to leeward to make the reefs. The ensuing night must therefore be passed in the greatest uncertainty, and in the vicinity of extensive coral reefs."

It is certainly important to the commanders of vessels navigating between our Indian possessions and Port Jackson to be apprised of these facts, derived from the experience of Captain King, and confirmed by that of Captain Bremer. Another advantage has also resulted from the report made by Captain King to the Admiralty, in the establishment of a settlement, Fort Dundas, in Port Cockburn, between Melville and Bathurst Islands, which is likely to prove highly serviceable to ships engaged in trading between the East Indies and New Holland. Its local position is well calculated for the protection of such vessels, and for affording to them, in cases of necessity, the supplies which they may require.

The papers on Natural History, which complete the Appendix, have strong claims on the attention of the naturalist. In proof of this, it will be sufficient to mention the names of the gentlemen by whom they were supplied. The most extensive contributor in the department of Zoology, is Mr. J. E. Gray, who has named and described all the specimens collected by the expedition in that branch of science, with the exception of the birds, which have received their elucidation from the scientific pen of Mr. Vigors, and of the annulose animals, which are admirably illustrated by Mr. W. S. MacLeay. The general remarks by Mr. Allan Cunningham, on the vegetation of the coasts visited, are full of new and interesting facts, and prove that the long residence of that indefatigable collector in Australia has been well employed in gaining a thorough acquaintance with its plants. But the most interesting contribution in this department consists in a paper by Mr. R. Brown, read before the Linnean Society, and which, for the importance of its facts and the novel light which it throws upon the structure of the unimpregnated *ovulum*, and upon the manner in which fecundation is effected in phanogamous plants, deserves a place in, and would do honour to, the transactions of any scientific society in the world. Indeed it is a matter of general regret among botanists that so many invaluable memoirs from the same pen, developing the most masterly views with respect to the principles of that science, should

be scattered in the appendices to the travels of Captains Flinders, Ross, Parry, and others, locked up, by the expensive nature of these works, from the limited means of the far greater number of naturalists. Measures are, it is true, in progress both in Germany and in France, for the collection and publication of these precious documents; but it is mortifying to think that in England, to which they of right belong, the student of the vegetable kingdom should be in a great measure precluded from having recourse to those truly scientific productions which ought to form the basis of all his investigations.

The geological sketch of the coast is the work of Dr. Filton, whose extensive acquirements in that attractive and daily advancing study are well known to all by whom it is cultivated or admired.

SONG.—FAREWELL.

SINCE this night
 Of dear delight
 Is the *last* before we sever,
 Fill the cup
 With nectar up,
 And joyful let us quaff as ever.
 Let pleasure still
 Our pulses fill,
 Nor seek the future scenes to scan;
 But, as we pass
 The sparkling glass,
 Be quite as bless'd as mortals can.

Woman may try
 Her tearful eye
 To ease the soul when ills assall—
 We, wiser grown,
 Will only own
 That wine 's the cure for every all.
 Then send around
 The goblet crown'd
 With the red grape sparkling high,
 And bid old Care
 For once despair
 To draw one tear to dim our eye.

L. L. L.

**THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE LAW OF LIBEL
IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.**

No. III.

Theoretical View of the Law of Libel in England.

As religious bigotry was the rock on which James II. split, so a passion more congenial to tyranny, an insatiate thirst of foreign conquest and dominion, proved fatal to the system which Bonaparte had constructed, and which time promised to consolidate. A view of the facility with which he had reduced the French to the tamest servitude, from which they were delivered by no exertion of their own, afforded abundant matter for reflection to those who had escaped the general contagion.

Les hommes (says Benjamin Constant) tendent toujours à s'affranchir de la douleur. Quand ce qu'ils aiment est menacé, ils s'en détachent ou le défendent.

Les mœurs, dit M. de Pauw, se corrompent subitement dans les villes attaquées de la peste. On s'y vole l'un l'autre en mourant. L'arbitraire est au moral ce que la peste est au physique. Chacun repousse le compagnon d'infortune qui voudroit s'attacher à lui. Chacun abjure les liens de la vie passée. Il s'isole pour se défendre, et ne voit dans la faiblesse ou l'amitié qui l'implorent qu' un obstacle à sa sûreté.

En vain direz vous que l'esprit humain pourroit briller encore dans la littérature légère, qu'il pourroit se livrer aux sciences exactes et naturelles, qu'il pourroit s'adonner aux arts. La nature en créant l'homme n'a pas consulté l'autorité. Elle a voulu que toutes nos facultés fussent entre elles une liaison intime, et qu' aucune ne pût être limitée sans que les autres s'en ressentissent. L'indépendance de la pensée est aussi nécessaire même à la littérature légère, aux sciences et aux arts, que l'air à la vie physique. L'on pourroit aussi bien faire travailler des hommes sous une pompe pneumatique, en disant qu'on n'exige pas d'eux qu'ils respirent, mais qu'ils remuent les bras et les jambes, que maintenir l'activité de l'esprit sur un sujet donné, en l'empêchant de s'exercer sur les objets importans qui lui rendent son énergie parcequ'ils lui rappellent sa dignité. Les litterateurs ainsi garrotés font d'abord des panegyriques : mais ils deviennent peu à peu incapables même de louer, et la littérature finit par se perdre dans les anagrammes et les acrostiches.

Et ce ne seroit pas tout encore. Bientôt le commerce, les professions, et les métiers les plus nécessaires se ressentiraient de cette apathie. Le commerce n'est pas à lui seul un mobile d'activité suffisant. L'on exagère l'influence de l'intérêt personnel. L'intérêt personnel a besoin pour agir de l'existence de l'opinion. L'homme dont l'opinion languit étouffée, n'est pas long tems excité même par son intérêt.

Lorsque chacun est libre, chacun s'amuse et s'intéresse de ce qu'il fait, de ce qu'il dit, de ce qu'il écrit. Mais lorsque la grande masse d'une nation est réduite au rôle de spectateurs forcés au silence, il faut pour que ces spectateurs applaudissent ou seulement pour qu'ils regardent, que les entrepreneurs du spectacle reveillent leur curiosité par des coups de théâtre, et des changemens de scène. En fin, la lethargie d'une nation, où il n'y a pas d'opinion publique, se communique à son gouvernement quoiqu'il fasse.

Les institutions qui servent de barrière au pouvoir, lui servent en même tems d'appuis. Elles le guident dans sa route : elles le soutiennent dans ses

efforts: elles le modèrent dans ses accès de violence, et l'encouragent dans ses momens d'apathie.*

The practicability of inducing such national debasement was also insisted on by Sir James Mackintosh, as supplying a powerful motive to deter Parliament from further abridging the liberty of the press. The oppressions which provoke armed resistance and civil wars must not only be of a grievous and intolerable kind, but shock some sentiment, principle, or prejudice, to which the mass of a nation are passionately attached; but where such violences are avoided, successive ligatures may be applied, till habits of entire pliability and submission are confirmed. The degraded and transformed people make a virtue of the fawning suppleness which gradual "necessity" has taught them, and they are not ashamed to boast of the *gloria obsequii*.

The mind of man, (said Sir James Mackintosh,) is generally in a state of activity and excitement, and if it cannot vent itself against those who misgovern, it works itself into a state of sympathy and even affection for what it is not allowed to hate. Those who are not permitted to follow the bent of their inclination, frequently become the sycophants of those whom they had before detested. Perhaps they would be sometimes insincere in their praises. If the mind is not sincere on such occasions, it certainly is a fault, but it is the very sincerity of the mind which stamps it with baseness.†

The *fourth* argument that may be offered in favour of unlimited toleration is founded on the absence of all danger and inconvenience from the observance of such a policy. Historical testimony so fully establishes the fact, that in every instance libels have been the *effects* and not the *causes* of political disturbances, and that they are rather "the gusts of liberty of speech restrained," than the expression of minds entrusted with the free use of their own powers of deliberation and discussion,—that this consideration alone ought to evince the inexpediency of violently repressing the complaints instead of healing the disorders of the patient. Amidst the confused cries exhaled by the public uneasiness, the wise and good not only can trace the true seats of the evil, but they could *not* do so if the mingled voice of distress, impatience, suspicion, and of the multitude of good and evil counsellors, were in any degree obstructed, so that the whole symptoms of the case were not before them.

If "a species of men to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances,"‡ it follows that such men can only be disarmed of their influence by reforming abuses, and bringing back public establishments to their true principles, and especially by withholding from them the palm of martyrdom. But while the frame of government stands, while its fundamental safe-

* De l'esprit de conquete et de l'usurpation dans leurs rapports avec la civilisation Européene.

† Speech, Dec. 19, 1819.

‡ Burke, Causes of present Discontents.

guards are respected, while the orders of society are not inverted, it can scarcely be allowed that there is anything "dangerous" in the mere misrepresentations, however exaggerated and inflammatory, of such agitators. Has not every generation since the Revolution seen the Constitution not only survive unhurt, but acquire additional securities during periods when "the most audacious libels on royal majesty have passed without notice;" when "the most treasonable invectives against the laws, liberties, and constitution of the country have passed without the slightest animadversion;" when, "an envenomed scurrility against everything sacred and civil, public and private, raged through the kingdom, with a furious and unbridled license?" It is because these things are utterly harmless and insignificant, because the majesty of truth prevails over all the discordance, that Government consider it sufficient to select for the gratification of special vengeance a particular victim, *spinis de pluribus unam*, without even admitting the idea or contemplating the practicability of a "general slaughter" of libellers and blasphemers. Such selections are the mere indulgences and pastimes of political animosity, having neither in their origin nor in their consequences any connexion whatever with the public security or welfare.

The wantonness and indiscreetness of an arbitrary selection of individuals for punishment, and the safety of unqualified toleration, are so universally felt, that we have on all hands large acknowledgments of them as abstract truths, with an express or implied exception in favour of some cherished dogma or institution, and a secret protest against unpleasant animadversions on the individual himself or his party. But if all the *exceptions* which are negatived by an immense majority of the public were struck out, there would remain one deliberate recognition of the Press as a sacred medium of intellectual communication NEVER to be questioned in a Court of Justice, and thereby withdrawn from the impartial and effective tribunal to which it was addressed, and subjected to the control of one infinitely less impartial and effective. One of the most striking instances of the inconsistencies alluded to, is contained in the following passage from the Quarterly Review:

We must say that we do not fear evil from the circulation of any opinions, however mischievous in themselves, if nothing is done to prevent the equal circulation of the argument on both sides. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*,—and the magistrate need seldom do more than see fair play, and let her fight her own battles herself.*

Now that little word "seldom" is enough to let in a flood of persecution! Under so vague an exception, the magistrate may interfere with his temporal sword whenever it appears to him that he ought to assist the struggle, or grace the triumph of truth; and yet what security is there that he shall always strike on her side, and

* No. 52. p. 164.

not against her? None can truly profess confidence in the omnipotence of truth, or consult her real interests, who consent that the magistrate should *ever* do more than "see fair play, and let her fight her own battles;" and fair play is violated whenever physical force, public or private, is called into action.

The impropriety of making the slightest reservation from that freedom of debate which ought to prevail in the House of Commons, was well reprov'd by Mr. Fox in his speech on Mr. Adam's motion respecting the trials of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, March 10, 1794.

My honourable friend (Mr. Grey) has declared that if any minister should dare to introduce into this country the law of Scotland, he hoped there would be found, in the House, men bold enough to impeach him. I cannot agree with him on this point; for so dearly do I prize the freedom of debate, in such veneration do I hold the free and unlimited discussion of any political or constitutional question within these walls, and so jealous am I of any thing which would look like any violation of this our most valuable privilege, that if the minister were to advance the most dangerous and detestable principles, if he were even to propose a bill to this House to alter the succession to the throne, and introduce in the palace of our Sovereign a foreign pretender, I would hold him justifiable for the unconstitutional measures he attempted to introduce, and would with my voice endeavour to rescue him from a public impeachment or prosecution.

In a very different spirit Mr. Burke once expressed a hope, that not only the minister who introduced, but the majority who supported the introduction of what he considered an unconstitutional bill, might be brought to trial.

The (Regency) bill meant not only to degrade the Prince of Wales, but the whole House of Brunswick, who were to be *outlawed, excommunicated, and attainted*, as having forfeited all claims to the confidence of the country! Gentlemen might smile as they pleased at this doctrine; but the conduct of the other side of the House was reprehensible, degrading the Royal Family, sowing the seeds of future distractions and disunion in that family, and *verging to treasons, for which the justice of the country would, he trusted, one day overtake them and bring them to trial.**

Mr. Pitt expressed more than sufficient indignation at this sally, which I quote as one among many proofs that the suggestions of intolerance will sometimes make their way through the infirmities of even the noblest minds. Why should not that perfect freedom of debate, which Mr. Fox justly claimed for the House of Commons, be permitted to their constituents? A whole nation cannot be packed or corrupted; and therefore "the most detestable and dangerous principles" may fall amongst them with less chance of mischievous consequences than in a legislative assembly.

If it should be said that it is the duty of a paternal government to protect the people from being exposed to the temptation of immoral principles, and by preventing the germination of evil propensities, to diminish the sum of crime and punishment, it may be

* Speech, Feb. 6, 1789.

replied, that when men are conscious of being subjected to such discipline, they are provoked to look upon transgressions, not as they would be otherwise disposed to do, as derogatory to personal dignity, but as victories over a power which considers them unworthy to be trusted with the guard of their own virtue, and which, from seeming to arrogate to itself the credit of their innocence, they would fain make responsible for their vices: that the sophistries of irreligion and depravity are among those temptations which it is most easy for self-dependent virtue to resist: that it belongs to the Lord of the harvest alone to bring men to account for the thoughts of their heart and the words of their mouths: and that criminal actions never so justly meet with penal visitation, as when the criminal has been impressed with a conviction, from the unbounded field of inquiry and speculation in which he had been permitted to range, that he was charged with full responsibility for his own deeds, between which and words a distinct line, admitting of no possible doubt, dispute, or cavil, was drawn.

Let government, in what form it may be, comprehend the whole society in its justice, and restrain the suspicious by its vigilance; let it keep watch and ward, let it discover by its sagacity, and punish by its firmness, all delinquency against its power, *whenever delinquency exists in the overt acts*; and then it will be as safe as ever God and nature intended it should be.*

The man who is judicially attacked for his opinions, has given the strongest proof that no evil could be found in his conduct, and might say with Crematius, *verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum*. Nor is there a more revolting juggle, a more perfidious quibble, than when it is said that opinions are free; but that, to use the words of the Duc de Broglie, there are "des doctrines, des pensees, des opinions, qui deviennent de veritables actions."

Commentaries on the literature of the several states of Europe and America afford the best illustration of the comparative merits of the various systems which obtain regarding the press. They show that in proportion to the severity and jealousy with which it is controlled, superstition and atheism abound; science, arts, and industry languish; bad rulers are unchecked, the good are neither understood nor supported, or perhaps are the objects of libels whose influence is not counteracted by any publications that enjoy the public confidence. Thus the lower and middle classes in the north and south of Europe are degraded by ignorance and superstition; the higher are infected with infidelity; and in France, "between 1758 and 1770 a greater quantity of writings professing atheism were published, notwithstanding a *censure* called rigorous, than have appeared in England since the art of printing was invented. †

The last queen of France, too, was calumniated and slandered

* Quarterly Review, No. LIII. p. 169.

† Ibid.

with a virulence and effect to which there is nothing parallel in the history of England. From the corrosion of that subtle mischief, nothing but a free press could have relieved her. That alone could have coped with her libellers, and exposed their malice and falsehood to the scorn and detestation of the world. If she had been known then as she is now, the course of the Revolution might have been very different.*

Still it may be said that there is an essential distinction between libels on institutions, and libels on individuals; and that even if the point contended for were conceded in respect to the former, it would not follow that the latter should be covered with the same immunity. It may be urged that libels on individuals have both a greater tendency to provoke breaches of the peace, and that they inflict a degree of pain and damage for which pecuniary compensation is allowed, a species of remedy of which institutions are not susceptible. It has indeed been ably contended, that the liability to endanger the king's peace is not the real, but only the technical ground of punishment; as in actions of seduction, the technical ground is the supposed loss of the daughter's service; in support of which position it is urged that indictments are successfully maintained, when no reasonable apprehension can be entertained of the peace being broken; that invectives the most liable to provoke instant resentment may be *spoken* with impunity; and that acts, which are pretended to be punishable only as *tending* to a breach of the peace, are yet visited with heavy punishments, while an *actual* breach of the peace escapes with trifling penalties.† Doubtless the guilt of libel is measured more by the supposed malice which prompted it, than by the practical mischief to which it tends; but it cannot be admitted that the legal theory is merely technical and fictitious, for that would be to admit that libels have *no* tendency to excite acts of violence either against their authors or their objects. The tenor of the charge given to the jury on almost every case of libel, shows that it has been considered to afford grounds of reasonable apprehension of disturbance of the peace, near or remote; and the definitions recommended to the French legislature in the Duc de Broglie's Report, prove more distinctly that the criminal quality of libel is, not by a technical fiction, but really considered to reside in its *instigation* to commit some offence. It is not because libels do not really excite alarms, or are not really indicative of malevolence, that the expediency of exempting them from temporal punishment can be maintained, but because the difficulty of estimating the various degrees and kinds

* See Madame Campan's Memoirs; Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la Reformation de Luther; Tableau de la litterature Française pendant le 16me siecle; Mr. Bowdler's Review of it; the articles in the Edinburgh Review, on the comparative merits of English and French Literature.

† Edinb. Rev. No. LIII. p. 127, 8.

of the effects they are calculated to produce, and of appreciating the motives of their authors, is insuperable; and because the adequate punishment of *overt acts* of delinquency affords a sufficient protection to society and to the individual.

When it is considered that seditious libels are more frequently prosecuted, and more severely punished, than libels on the public characters of individuals, there can be no plea for excepting the latter from the general indemnity. Almost all the English statesmen and members of Parliament, who have been of sufficient importance to be objects of detraction, have displayed so much wisdom and magnanimity in manifesting an utter insensibility to, and contemptuous disregard of, the slanderous attacks directed against themselves, that nothing more is required at their hands than that, by concurring in one act of legislation, they should bind themselves to regard all other libels with the same dispassionate equanimity, and so "take a bond of fate," that party spirit should never betray them into vindictive measures which they may afterwards contemplate with regret or remorse, and which posterity will certainly seal with its reprobation. The article on constructive contempts (which will form one of this series of papers on the Law of Libel) will afford an opportunity for noticing more particularly the inconsistencies of tolerant individuals, who are at the same time intolerant members of a party; but one or two quotations may here be given. In a debate, Feb. 8, 1788, on Sir Elijah Impey's complaint of libels published against him, Mr. Pitt said,

By those parts of a paragraph which affected him personally, he trusted that no gentleman would suppose he was at all influenced. *He disregarded every thing of that kind so entirely, that he would not give it a moment's consideration.* That was no reason, however, why he should not enforce what he conceived to be justice to the dignity and authority of the House, as well as to the individual who had exhibited the complaint.

Now why should not the House have been enabled to treat every unfounded attack on its authority and dignity, and every attempt to mislead its judgment, with as complete indifference as Mr. Pitt did aspersions on his character, and attempts to bias his judgment? Would it not, like him, have consulted its true dignity by refusing to give them a moment's consideration? As for those attacks which cannot be sincerely despised, they can only be deprived of their stings by reformation of the abuse against which they are directed. In Mr. Burke's speech at the conclusion of the poll at Bristol, Nov. 3, 1774, there is the following passage:

As for the trifling petulance which the rage of party stirs up in little minds, though it should show itself even in this court, it has not made the slightest impression on me. The highest flight of such clamorous birds is winged in an inferior region of the air. We hear them and we look upon them, just as you, gentlemen, when you enjoy the serene air on your lofty rocks, look down upon the gulls that skim the mud of your river when it is exhausted of its tide.

And in his letter to Mr. Montagne, which the latter read as part of his speech, May 1, 1789, he says,

No man shall fall a sacrifice to a feeble sensibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of those libels, which by despising through so many years, I have at length attained the honour of being joined in commission with this committee, and of becoming an humble instrument in the hands of public justice.

Finally, it may be said that at least the law should extend its protection to the private character of individuals, attacks on which are more irritating and inexcusable than on their public characters. To this it may be replied, that innocence in private life affords the same panoply that it does in public life; that all men have the same means of refuting calumnious charges affecting private character which are successfully employed in defence of public character; and that censure is only painful and detrimental in proportion to its truth, that is, in proportion to the degree in which it is merited. In a civil action for damages, however, juries are constantly tempted to award exemplary or vindictive damages proportioned to the degree of malignity and falsehood apparent in the libel, or to strike some average with reference to the supposed malice of the plaintiff and annoyance suffered by the defendant; whereas if they conformed strictly to the law which prescribed that "the amount of damages is in all cases to be measured by the temporal prejudice sustained by the plaintiff, without regard to the penal correction of the defendant or the reformation of his manners,"* there could scarcely be a case in which a plaintiff ought to recover; for if the reflections of which he complains are true, there must be *damnum absque injuria*, and if false, there must be *injuria absque damno*.

It is against certain libels of this description that not only the protection of the law is often spurned, but its power defied and disgraced by the revenge which the injured party exacts with impunity, with his own hands. To interdict, therefore, the infliction of temporal penalties on libellers would not occasion the addition of a single duel which would not otherwise have happened; while the denunciation of the terrors of the law against them, however they may have respected the obligations of truth and justice, countenances and fosters that vindictive spirit which leads to the commission of those most flagrant breaches of the peace, where honour sanctions homicide, and the practice of the law ratifies the deed, because the rigour of its theory is inapplicable. To punish the publication of irrefragable truth and deserved reproach, carrying with it a salutary admonition against the repetition or the non-reformation of the exposed abuse or misconduct, and at the same time to tolerate duelling, is a state of things which savours more of the recklessness of exasperated passion than of the deliberate wisdom of legislation. A tolerant government ought sternly to repress every act of violence, and every instance of intolerance in every member of the community.

* Starkie's Law of Libel, p. 166.

HISTORY, OBJECT, AND IMPORTANCE OF GYMNASTICS.

It was ingeniously and justly observed by Montesquieu, that the primary principles of dignified existence, which among other nations were exclusively known to philosophers, and even by them frequently disfigured by sophistry, were by the Greeks at once apprehended and acted upon, as if from a grand national instinct; which gave them strong claims to the title of "the favourite people of nature." Such were the truths, universally acknowledged among them, that "the uncontrolled power of a single individual or corporation is subversive of all ideas of social order;" that "a magistrate not liable to responsibility is on the high road to tyranny;" that "a state which abandons one of its citizens abandons itself;" and others full of equal wisdom and importance. Among the number of these national impressions are to be ranked also the views, upon which both the conviction of the necessity, as well as the system of managing, their gymnastics were built, and this accounts for the singularity, that the Greeks were the only people that carried gymnastics to that degree of perfection which they attained among them, and the only people that raised them to the dignity of a national institution. With the same liveliness and clearness of conception; with which they had apprehended those political principles upon which the social arrangements of free communities ought to be framed, they perceived and followed out the principles by which individual existence should also be regulated. It was a rule laid down by them, that to enable man to fulfil all the essential purposes of human nature, a development and cultivation of the powers of his physical, as well as of his mental existence, was indispensably necessary; that such an harmonious union of both of these constituent parts of human nature was the only means of invigorating its strength, and of qualifying it for the use of each; that a partial culture of some, and corresponding neglect of the other faculties, either of the body or the mind, could not fail to produce effects contrary to the laws of nature, and consequently to the destination of man.

According to these views the Greeks divided all the means of cultivation into two grand sections; those of mental and those of bodily education. The former they called *Music* (*μουσική*), the latter *Gymnastics* (*γυμναστική*). The system of their gymnastics comprised a series of exercises, skilfully adapted to the end in view, and stamped besides with the characteristic of Greek genius—the charming expression of that *beau ideal* which embellished whatever they said, or wrote, or did. This system was therefore, from its origin, as well as from its tendency, far removed from; and admits no comparison with; those corporeal exercises, which, originating in

the necessity of bodily exertions for supplying the wants and maintaining the defence of life, are common to all people in the earlier and ruder stages of civilization. The gymnastics of the Greeks proceeded not from an obscure feeling of mere animal want, but from the clear perception of a philosophical truth; they were not merely calculated to meet the first necessities of life, but to attain the nobler ends of humanity.

Gymnastics were indeed of the highest importance with this nation in another respect. They formed the chief preparation for military accomplishments, and the school of discipline for warriors, in which respect they formed a particular object of political concern to the legislator. But it would betray a perfect ignorance of the peculiar genius of the Greek republics, to rank these exercises, on this account, in the same class with our exercises of military discipline. It is well known, that with them, military aptitude was not the isolated quality of a particular order, but merely a natural result of all those accomplishments, comprised under the idea of universal individual excellence, which formed the grand object of the pursuits of every citizen; and by which every Greek imagined himself to be elevated above barbarians and slaves. And in the system, calculated to effect this universal individual excellence, i. e. that universal perfection of human nature, which is the result of the development, cultivation, and direction of all the resources and powers of the mind and body; gymnastics were thought to form an essential and indispensable part.

In illustration of these views, we could collect a number of passages from the Greek orators, historians, and philosophers, for these, being national impressions, manifested themselves on every occurrence connected with this subject. We refer our readers more particularly to the excellent letter of *Theano*; the wife of Pythagoras, "On Education," and addressed to her friend *Eusula*; to the beautiful dialogue of Lucian, entitled 'Anacharsis,' in which Solon explains to his Scythian guest the use and end of Greek gymnastics; and to Plato, one of the greatest of philosophers and the most genuine representative of Greek genius, particularly in "Timæus," "Protagoras," and "De Republica." We cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of selecting one of these passages, which treats of the influence of gymnastics on mental excellence (de Republica III.) The following is the substance of it:

The combined influence of music* and gymnastics is requisite properly to form the mind. The mind of him who applies himself exclusively to music, will become soft and effeminate; he who pursues only gymnastics will

* Let it be recollected, that Plato comprises under *Music* the whole circle of the means designed for mental education; what we call music; constituted only part of what he designated by this term

become hard hearted and untractable. But the softness of the one is the basis of a philosophical character, which, if too much encouraged, degenerates into effeminacy and languor ; if cultivated only in a due degree, becomes humanity of manners. The rudeness of the other springs from an ardent and fiery temperament, which, if properly managed, would produce courage and magnanimity ; if too much heated, degenerates into harshness and barbarity. Both, therefore, should be cherished in due proportion, and then we obtain the energetic mind of a wise and manly character. Music and gymnastics were bestowed on man by some deity for the improvement of his mind, for the perfection of his fortitude and philosophy, for the harmonious action of all the faculties of his soul.

The medical importance of gymnastics was a subordinate consideration with the Greeks, though it be not so in our times. We find, indeed, a sort of medical system which prescribed gymnastic exercises, not only for the fortifying, but also for the restoring of health, mentioned in Plato (*de Republica* III.) and in other writers, but it rose in importance in later times. In the flourishing period of the Greek commonwealths, the very diseases resulting from want of bodily exercise must have been altogether unknown to a people, one of whose most essential characteristics consisted in the development and perfection of the physical powers of man. Nay, this was the case to such a degree, that, when some epicures of Athens complained of vapours, Plato could say (*de Republica* III.) "Is it not shameful to require the aid of physic, not for wounds merely, and casual transitory evils, but in consequence of indolent inactivity and luxurious living ? Is it not shameful that men, resembling bladders filled with wind and water, should have laid the disciples of Esculapius under the necessity of inventing new names for diseases, such as vapours and catarrh ?"*

Such were in general the notions of the Greeks on gymnastics, and it is obvious that these exercises contributed not a little to raise that people to the rank of masters of mankind, which they have now held for more than two thousand years. This system perished in the ruins of the ancient world.

We shall not stop to consider the exercises of the Romans—the disciples of the Greeks, without however equalling them in any of those extraordinary performances, for which the human race will be for ever indebted to their favourite people of nature ; nor the bodily sports of our savage ancestors ; nor the tournaments of the middle ages. For neither of these can properly enter into the consideration of a system which rests on philosophical principles. We shall merely observe that the tournaments of the middle ages having attained their end, not only the *regular* cultivation of the physical powers of human nature, as forming part of a general *system of education*, but even the *partial practice* of such exercises was at last completely neglected ; and this fact constitutes one of the most striking, and, we are concerned to add, one of the most dis-

* What would Plato say, could he see the swollen and protruded corporations and the bloated countenances of our days ?

advantageous differences between modern education and that of the ancients.

Although in attempting to trace the causes of this phenomenon, the pens of many writers have been employed, the investigation has frequently, we think, been conducted on narrow and imperfect views. It is beside our purpose to enter here on a discussion of this subject; a few hints will suffice for our present purpose.

The fact has often been deduced solely from the system of education established in the middle ages. It was known to Tissot, Rousseau, and the whole school of education formed by the latter. Statesmen and historians, such as Montesquieu, Gibbon, and others, knew well, that political causes also entered into the question. The whole political structure of modern states; the marked distinctions of the different orders of society according to their pursuits and respective privileges, which went so far that even the tournaments of the middle ages were practised, as it were, by a sort of prerogative, belonging only to the nobility; the progressive reduction of these orders to their peculiar employments; the exertion of the standing armies after the fall of the feudal system; all these circumstances progressively caused the extinction of the general system, and even of what little had hitherto been preserved of bodily exercises, as the nobility were now constantly collected about the courts. The finishing stroke was undoubtedly given by the system of education, established by the priests and monks, which has been more or less perpetuated in some of its principal features since their downfall.

The evils resulting from this neglect of physical education were aggravated by other circumstances which attended the progress of civilization, though this progress was, in itself, calculated rather to *heighten* than to *depress* the powers of human nature, and not at all incompatible with a proper system of physical education. But by the advances made in commerce, industry, and many arts in which we have surpassed the ancients, by the division of labour and distribution of business, there has been formed a *technical* basis to modern culture, opposed to that mere personal aptitude and acquirements, by which, among the ancients, almost all the important ends of a social community were attained. Machines, and artificial arrangements operating like machines, form the basis with us, on which the whole industry and management of social life are founded. By this circumstance many thousands are confined to one set of operations, while all other parts and powers of the body are left unemployed; nay, many thousands are reduced almost to move but one particular limb, through the greater part of their life. Nor has any thing yet been devised, to counterbalance the pernicious effects of this isolation and suppression of the physical powers.

The same remark applies to the increasing taste for mental occupation, and the consequent habits of reading and studying, which

have in themselves no enervating influence, as has been erroneously asserted, on the human frame. It is the precious result, and, at the same time, support of that universal knowledge which is the surest pledge of the moral strength of nations. But that an assiduous occupation of the mind, with continued rest of the body, is destructive at least to the latter must be universally admitted.

Lastly, it is placed beyond doubt, that the refinement in manners and in the enjoyments of life, mental and physical, springing up in every advancing society, not only liberalizes, but also heightens and quickens the faculties and springs of action, when resting on a natural basis. But modern civilization in general (we have not to deal here with exceptions) is proceeding on a false foundation: continued excitement of mind and sense, without a proportionate and vigorous activity of the bodily powers.

The result of the combined action of these causes was—the general neglect of physical education: this defect was in itself productive of a multiplicity of bodily and mental evils, but they were aggravated by those circumstances of progressive civilization, which, though, as we said before, beneficent in every other respect, could not but exert a prejudicial influence on a mode of living founded on a false basis.

These evils varied in degree and extent, as the causes were more or less operating or combined. It may easily be collected from these causes, that they appeared most conspicuously in great cities, the necessary seats of those professions and occupations which are most strictly confined to isolated employments; and of those orders of society among which are assembled most of those stimuli that tend to ripen and perpetuate these evils—indulgence and luxurious modes of life.

This fact could not fail to excite the attention of thinking men; it then became the theme of a series of interesting discussions and investigations by the most distinguished physicians and philosophers. This discussion was consequently carried on at the same time in the circles of education and medical science; the point of view from which they proceeded was rather narrow in the beginning, it widened in the progress, and was taken at last at the very centre of those sciences which tend in the greatest degree to the cultivation of human nature.

Without mentioning some writers at an earlier time who have touched on this subject, we notice *Hieronymus Mercurialis*, as the first, who treated it more fully. He wrote his celebrated work on Gymnastics (*de arte Gymnastica*, Amsterd. 1672) not for the antiquarian alone, but, as a physician, to invite his contemporaries to revive these beneficial exercises of the ancients for the strength and health of the body. However he produced but little effect; neither was the age in which he wrote susceptible of his considerations; nor had he himself sufficient skill to place the matter in the

true point of view. More effect was produced by *Francis Fuller* and *Locke*. The former, a celebrated English physician, wrote, in the beginning of the last century, a work, "de Medicina Gymnastica," in which he recurred to the Medical Gymnastics of the ancients. His work, which went through a number of editions, contains some excellent remarks, founded for the most part on his own experience. *Locke*, in his treatise on education, laboured to the same end. But he who knows how difficult it is to make people give up old prejudices, which they have taken in affection, will not be surprised that neither *Fuller* nor *Locke* should have done any more than give the first impulse to their slow removal.

A number of distinguished physicians from that time kept up the discussion—*Sydenham*, *Boerrhave*, *Hoffmann*, *Boerner*, *Zücker*, *Doublet*, *Tissot*, and many others. They traced, on the ground of the physical principles of the constitution, not only the bodily diseases, but also the mental disorders and moral depravities resulting from our irrational habits. "Physical decline and moral depravity (says *Doublet*) are intimately connected, and those laws which preserve health tend also to preserve and improve morals."

The greatest sensation however was made by *Tissot*, through his well known work on the Health of Men of Letters.* This impression was strengthened by the equally well-known work of *Rousseau*, 'Emilius.' This extraordinary genius, who was one of those awakeners necessary for mankind from time to time, to stir it up from its tendency to lethargy, passed the whole system of education under a review, not so mild and sparing as that of *Locke*, but in a sweeping and unmerciful manner. Great however as the effect of his criticism was, it would have been still greater, if there had not been a defect of principle in it. It is well known, that the action of *nature*, as opposed to our *artificial* arrangements, was the highest principle of *Rousseau*, in the whole range of his inquiries. Now, this principle, though of indubitable value as a subordinate one, cannot constitute the highest in matters of human interest.

Since *Rousseau*, the discussion of this subject has been pre-eminently carried on in Switzerland and Germany. *Rousseau* had already hinted at the Greek gymnastics. The school founded by this philosopher, the chiefs of which were *Basedow*, *Campe*, and *Gedike*, devised a set of exercises, which were gradually introduced into all the better institutions in Germany and Switzerland. They regarded these exercises as necessary, because *required by the*

* It is curious to see, how the men of letters, alarmed by *Tissot*, sought to make a poor shift with various strange, unprofitable, and partly very ridiculous exercises, which they practised in a retired room, a small enclosed garden or some other snug little place in their houses. It is remarkable, that they, who carefully studied the Greeks, did not stumble on the natural thought, to revive *their* gymnastics. Such is the vast distance between barren learning and practical sense.

laws of nature, and found with all people who had not departed from these laws. By the side and partly out of this school sprang up another, the leaders of which were *Saemann, Niemyer, Zerrenner, Natorp, Villaume, Novalis, Schwarz*, and, above, all the venerable *Pestalozzi* and the ingenious *Fellenberg*. They proceeded from the principle of *humanity (humanitas)* or the highest perfection of human nature, and defined it to be the perfect development of its two component principles—the physical and intellectual—in harmonious co-operation. According to this view, the highest principle for education was, the harmonious development, invigoration, and cultivation of all the powers and faculties of the mind and body. It is such an education as this, they said, which ascertains the capability of man for all the important ends of his existence, and every deviation from it must be productive of infirmities, vices, or excrescences in one manner or other. It is evident, that this principle, the truth of which is raised above cavil and dispute, was that acted upon by the Greeks, and a farther analysis of it must necessarily lead to a revival of their gymnastics, adapted to the spirit of the age.

While this was passing in the department of education, the physicians were led to the same result, and even in a more extensive view, while they sought for an antidote against the host of bodily and mental infirmities, springing from our irrational modes of living. We shall mention here only *Frank* (professor first at Bologna and then at Vienna) justly renowned through the whole of Europe, *Gruner, Hoffeland*, and *Faust*, and quote but a few passages from their excellent productions. *Frank*, (in his *Medical Police*,) after a full illustration of the subject, and an able demonstration that gymnastics should not only be regarded as part of education, but as necessary to preserve the result of all education, or, in other words, that harmonious and perfect development of the mind and body, goes on to say: "it must be evident, therefore, that the gymnastic games require to be promoted in every possible way, and the welfare of a great town is but half consulted, when theatres and concerts are open to the inhabitants and few opportunities for bodily exercises are afforded them." *Gruner* says, in his *Medical Journal*, 1783: "The gymnastics of the ancients deserve to be sedulously studied, and introduced with suitable alterations. I am persuaded they would prove excellent means of rendering our men and women, youths and maidens, boys and girls, whom sentimentality has enervated, once more healthy, strong, and hardy. Is it not possible to bring strength of nerves and manliness of mind as much in vogue as weak nerves and sentimentality have been for years the fashionable disease?" Now it is true, the gymnastics of the Greeks were studied enough by deep-learned scholars, and described in large tracts; but what they could not see, through the thick dust of their libraries and the dark shadow of their volumes—the connection of these games with the eternal

laws of human nature, existing then, and now, and ever,—was seen by these physicians, not only learned men, but men also of sound practical views.

At length a pupil of Salsmann's, Mr. Gutsmuth, director of the celebrated institution at Schnepfenthal, near Gotha, framed a system of exercises on the model of the Greek gymnastics and suited to our times. After a careful observation of their effects, during nine years' constant practice, he published a work on his system in 1793, which was speedily translated into several languages. The English translation appeared in 1800.* Mr. Gutsmuth's system was adopted in many institutions in Germany and publicly introduced into Denmark by the Government. The perfecting of this system, however, was reserved to Mr. Jahn. The political situation of the kingdom of Prussia, after the battle of Jena, caused the ministry of that state to bestow a particular regard on a system, which promised to revive in the rising generation that energy and power of action which is required to release a subdued nation from its fetters. Mr. Jahn, professor at Berlin, distinguished alike by his eminent practical talents and patriotic feelings, in conjunction with Scharnhorst, the chief of the Prussian Staff, employed all his care and activity in the perfection of this system, and soon raised it to that dignity marked out by the physician, *Frank*, and which it held among the ancients. Under his direction these exercises were not only incorporated into the system of education; public gymnasia were also erected in various places, where pupils of all orders and ages were seen exercising, as was at one time the case in the gymnasia on the banks of the Ilissus and Eurotas, where *all* partook of these exercises and gathered new strength and new vigour for the business of life. The national effects of this system are well known, and must have been sensibly felt by Frenchmen.

After the war was finished, the Prussian government called upon the chiefs of the superior institutions of education to make reports on the influence of this gymnastic system on the literary pursuits, in particular, of their pupils. All these reports coincided in exhibiting the striking power exerted by this system in heightening and invigorating all the mental faculties. Want of space prevents us from making any extracts from those reports; however we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of alluding to the report delivered by Mr. *Zarnack* (1818, at Potsdam), director of one of the most extensive institutions of Prussia. This report gives a most remarkable body of evidence, *which proves experimentally*, that those of his pupils who had most improved in gymnastics, were, at the same time, those who had most advanced in *all the branches of science*. How could it be otherwise? Was not this consequence anticipated long ago by philosophers, who drew their deductions from the eternal and invariable laws of human nature?

* London, printed for G. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-yard.

At the same time the Prussian government commissioned Dr. *Koenen*, senior medical counsellor, and counsellor of government at Berlin, to ascertain the physical effects of this system in all the different classes of society. After a careful examination, Dr. *Koenen* made his report, which was printed at Berlin in a work entitled "Results of the gymnastic exercises. By order of Government, Berlin, 1818." The admirable influence of this system on the constitution in general, and its beneficial influence in counterbalancing and rectifying the effects of partial and isolated employment of the faculties either of the mind or the body, have never been exhibited more strikingly or on a more comprehensive scale than in the above mentioned work.

After these proceedings, it is not to be wondered at, that this system should gradually spread and excite the attention of the philanthropists of every country. Having already exceeded the limits of an article, we must conclude by stating one or two facts out of the many we could have wished to introduce.

The acknowledgment of the superiority of this system on the part of Mr. *Fellenberg*, though it might not have wanted any farther recommendation after such an extensive experience, must still be considered as illustrative of its merit as a branch of superior education. For it is well known, that the institution of this illustrious educator is intended to form a central point, in which whatever is most approved in modern education is to be gathered and embodied. By the assistance of Professor *Voelker*, these gymnastic exercises were introduced into that celebrated institution.

The favourable fiat of the French *savans* was not altogether to have been looked for, seeing the permanent effects of these gymnastics which some of their countrymen exhibit since the campaign in Germany. However, in a judgment passed on a work which contained Mr. *Jahn's* system, and on the exercises themselves, performed before their eyes, the medical faculty of Paris pronounced, a short time ago, in detail, their views of *the incomparable aptitude of this system to preserve the natural powers of the organs, and also to correct their defects.*

We cannot help expressing our desire, to see the importance of this system more and more acknowledged in this country, more especially in the metropolis: at the same time we hail with satisfaction the measures taken by the Mechanics' Institution to bring the benefits of these exercises within the reach of one of the most numerous, if not the most meritorious classes of society.

PALMYRA.*

STILL o'er Assyria's land, and Taurus' side,
 Rolls old Euphrates his unconquer'd tide ;
 Unchanged their loveliness, each vale, each hill,
 In infant beauty seems to flourish still ;
 And, fair as dawned Creation's opening day,
 Triumphant Nature smiles at Time's decay.

Oh, more than mortal scenes ! blest spot of earth,
 Which gave to man his first and second birth,
 Where are the trophies of his lordly hand
 Which rose despotic o'er the fairy land !
 Where now the high-poised dome, the stately tower,
 Imperial monuments of human power !
 Their day is past—their little race is run,
 And like a dream has vanished Babylon !

And what is Nineveh ? a sound, a wind,
 Of History's voice, long mute, an echo left behind.
 Peace to their ashes ! there no relics lie
 To strike resistless on the mournful eye,
 Not one lone wreck to break the boundless blank,
 The tomb in which their glorious beauties sank ;
 'Twere vain to say, while wandering o'er that land,
 "Here stood that mighty city where I stand ;"
 Time has ta'en all, so worked each vestige out,
 That their existence is almost a doubt,
 And Fancy, unsupported, seeks in vain,
 Some touch of art amidst the level plain.

But thou, Palmyra, thou, the desert queen,
 Though scarce the shade of what thou once hast been,
 The sport of time, for long, long years must weep,
 Ere thou, too, rest in undistinguished sleep ;
 Lone in the wilderness all slowly fade
 The glories of thy matchless colonnade,
 On the wide waste of one unbroken sand,
 In naked majesty those pillars stand.
 No voice, no sound, no whispers intervene
 To break the intense, deep stillness of the scene,
 Save where the mouldering columns' crumbling sound
 A momentary echo strikes around.

So dost thou sink, and so shall perish all !
 Unsated Ruin revels o'er thy fall,
 And Havoc still with keener vengeance eyes,
 As Time rolls on, his unresisting prize ;
 Alas ! man's proudest monuments confess
 Most strikingly their author's littleness ;
 In the coarse earth, on Nature's lowly breast,
 Her marble stores imperishable rest,
 Untouched, the waste of ages they defy,
 Till art deceives them into symmetry,
 And when she bids them hold immortal sway,
 Each passing year speeds onward their decay.

* From a work just published, entitled 'Ulric of Aymer, and other Poems.'

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. X.

*Commerce of Smyrna—Laws of Trade—Turkish Justice—
Greek Mercantile Shipping—Productions and Exports
of the Turkish Empire.*

THE merchants of the different nations of Europe, resident at Smyrna, keep their books in piastres, and minor subdivisions of the same coin. The English subdivide them into 80; the French into 100; and the people of the country, that is, the Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, into 120 parts. Bills of exchange are often drawn on Smyrna in foreign coin, particularly in Spanish dollars, which are always to be had there; but if drawn in a coin not in current use, the exchange of the day is established to make the payment. From Egypt they almost invariably draw in Spanish dollars, or Venetian sequins.

Current Coins.

The current Coins of Smyrna are as follows :

- Silver—Piastres of 40 paras, which are the piastres of the Grand Signior.
 Ditto of 100 ditto, worth 10 per cent. more than at Constantinople.
 Ditto of 200 ditto, very commonly called also Turkish dollars.
 Gold—Stamboul of 290 ditto, } with $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of each; and, like the former,
 Funduc of 400 ditto, } worth more than at Constantinople.

The foreign coins in general use at Smyrna are,

- Silver—Imperial dollars worth $6\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, issued from Austria.
 Spanish ditto, the same nominal value, but preferred in large payments, as being of a little more value in Europe.
 Gold—Ducats of Holland, worth $13\frac{1}{2}$ piastres.
 Ditto of Austria and Hungary, 13 ditto.
 Venetian sequins, $13\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
 Spanish doubloons, 15 to 16 Spanish dollars.

Payments for goods sold are generally made in light monies, which cannot be refused without protracting the payment for a long period. The merchants here assume the privilege of charging $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and some Europeans charge even 1 per cent. for that loss, under the name of shroftage; but if sales are often made for cash, it will sometimes amount to 2 per cent.

The nominal values of coins in Turkey have augmented in a very rapid degree, while those coins have been as rapidly diminishing in their intrinsic worth; an effect which is produced by the frequent calling in of the current money by the Porte in moments of demand, and issuing it again at a more advanced rate and debased quality. The result of this impolitic measure is the real depression of their coin, and an augmentation of the price of goods, as well as of the rate of exchange on foreign parts. In the year 1803 the Spanish

dollar was worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ piastres ; in 1807, it had risen to $4\frac{1}{2}$; and in 1812 it passed at $6\frac{1}{2}$, though its true value remains nearly stationary. The Turkish dollar of 6 piastres is equal in weight with the Spanish dollar, and is intended by the sagacious Turks to represent the same kind of money ; but its intrinsic value does not certainly exceed one-fourth of that coin. The Porte, having no silver mines, buys up the Spanish dollars for the supply of the mint, in which tin and zinc are the prevailing metals used. It is owing to these successive degradations of their piastres that, in lending money on interest, the sum borrowed is advanced in foreign coin, and the obligation is invariably to return the same sort of money, both in principal and interest. It has often happened, indeed, that between the period of a mortgage being made and released, the increase of nominal value in current money has amounted to 50 per cent., which would thus have ruined the lender.

The interest on money lent is as under :

To Franks or Europeans . .	10 per cent. per annum.
Levanines of first credit,	18 per cent. per annum.
Ditto of second credit,	15 per cent. per annum.
Turks of first credit,	16 per cent. per annum.
Ditto of second credit,	20 per cent. per annum.

Bills of exchange from any one part of Turkey on another, are drawn at eleven days ; those from Turkey on Continental Christendom, at thirty-one days ; and on London generally, at forty-five and sixty days.

Weights and Measures.

The various denominations of weights which exist in Turkey generally bear a reference to a certain number of drachms ; but, properly speaking, all goods are weighed by the rotolo, which is afterwards reduced into the other smaller weights in use for calculation. There is also a difference in the weight by a steelyard and by scales at a beam, the latter bearing a disadvantage to the scales of about 3 per cent. ; but there are certain goods only sold by the balance, such as cochineal, cloves, nutmegs, &c.

1 Rotolo has	180 drachms, and equals	$1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. English.
1 Oke	400 ditto,	$2\frac{4}{5}$ ths ditto.
1 Quintal 45 okes	1800 ditto,	125 ditto.
1 Taffee of Brusa silk	610 ditto,	$4\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
1 Checque of opium	250 ditto,	$1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.
1 Checque of goat's wool	800 ditto,	$5\frac{3}{5}$ ths ditto.
1 Me'ical of gold, pearls, &c.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto,	
1 Kilo of corn, Constantinople standard,	weighs about	23 okes.
1 Ditto ditto, Smyrna standard,		33 okes.
1 Kilo of rice, in all Turkey, weighs		10 okes.
$\frac{3}{4}$ Smyrna kilos of corn are equal to a psalm, or an English quarter.		
1 Pike, a cloth measure, is 27 inches, or three-fourths of an English yard.		
106 $\frac{1}{2}$ Endezia, a measure of the shop-keepers, equal		100 pikes.

Advances on Bottomry.

The Greeks have a number of vessels, particularly in Ipsara, Idra, &c., which are owned by their captains, who, when they

engage a crew, give them, in lieu of wages, a certain interest in the freight and in the profit of the cargo. But as those commanders never possess money enough to purchase a lading for their vessels, they obtain advances from the Greek merchants of Smyrna and Constantinople at a stipulated premium, both capital and interest being made payable on the safe return of the vessel. If she happens to be lost, the contract is null; and all those who have made the advances receive nothing. If she returns safe, but the voyage has proved unfortunate, then the crew are first paid their share of the freight, and the money-lenders receive the rest. All those ships are extremely well manned: one of 300 tons will have a crew of 50 men, and one of 400 tons from 60 to 70 men, continuing in the same proportion. The premium current for those risks are such as will require a very lucrative business to support.

From the Archipelago to Malta and Sicily it is 20 per cent.

From ditto to Majorca and Minorca, 30 per cent.

From ditto to Barcelona, 35 per cent.

From ditto to Gibraltar, 40 per cent.

From ditto to Cadiz and Lisbon, 50 per cent.;

with a still further increase in proportion to the distance of their voyage beyond the Straits of the Mediterranean, and the season of the year.

The Vessels of the Archipelago are

From Ipsara 50 sail, from 250 to 300 tons, whose crews are the most honest.

From Idra 70 sail, from 300 to 450 tons, whose owners are the richest.

From other islands, 100 sail, from 150 to 200 tons, less to be depended on.

These, together, form the Greek marine. The Turks have a few vessels only, which navigate the Archipelago and Mediterranean, and these are manned by Greeks. They confine themselves more to the Black Sea. The trade from one part of the empire to another is carried on in large boats, from 50 to 150 tons, navigated without compass or chart. The large Turkish vessels seen in the Mediterranean are generally from Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoly.

Conditions of Sale, Credit, &c.

The only articles which are always sold for cash are cochineal, tin, Mocha coffee, and pepper. Other colonial produce sell at one or two month's credit, but when articles are scarce, by sacrificing one or two per cent. on the price, cash may be readily obtained. All manufactured goods, excepting cloths, may be sold in small parcels, partly for cash and partly on short credit, when the articles are in demand and scarce; if, however, there is a plentiful supply to answer the demand, the credit is then extended to four and six months, and when the market is full, without demand, sales cannot be effected at less than eight or twelve months' credit. In general, payments are made in three instalments, and in what has been already said, it must be understood as fixing the period for the final settlement of the account. When sales are forced, in order to obtain cash, it is necessary to make a sacrifice of twenty or

twenty-five per cent., and even then they cannot be effected to any great amount. The buyers of cotton manufactures are not considered so solid in their responsibility as the cloth dealers, yet there is not much risk with them, if sales are made with judgment. It may be observed that the trading capital of Turkey is very small, which forces the shopkeepers to buy on credit, and carry on their trade with the capital of the Europeans; and, as their payments cannot be made until the goods themselves are sold, there is an extreme degree of uncertainty in the most fixed periods. Colonial produce may be easily bartered for the produce of the country, excepting fruits, opium, silk, and copper, which are always bought with cash in hand. Manufactured goods are more difficult to be bartered in this way, and never can be exchanged for the whole amount of their value only; as if 1000 piastres of goods are to be disposed of, 2000 piastres of produce must be taken, and the balance paid in cash. The buyers of cloth, though solid in the result, are long paymasters, extending the nominal credit of two or four months to one or two years; and though the Turks buy from the Europeans every thing on credit, yet, in the sale of their own productions, they almost invariably insist upon cash in hand.

Turkish Mercantile Justice.

I have given it this head, to prevent wandering into the many political topics which so fertile a subject presents, and shall continue, therefore, within the circumscribed limits which I first proposed to myself. According to the Turkish laws, no contract can take place, and, therefore, no penalty can be claimed for the failure of an engagement. The public weight is the only thing that really fixes a sale; for should the purchase money even have been paid to the seller, before the goods are weighed, he is at liberty to alter his intention, dissolve the bargain, and return the money to the intended purchaser. In general, the laws of Turkey favour the highest bidder, and he who offers most to the judge is always in the right. When a debt is contracted, the debtor signs and seals a written obligation in the presence of two Turkish witnesses; on the expiration of the term of payment, should the person deny the debt, the witnesses are then called to prove it; they, however, often decline to give their testimony, being silenced by a bribe from the debtor himself, the consequence of which is, the impossibility of the lender's recovering.

In the law courts of Turkey there are neither pleadings nor writings, so that decisions are very quickly made. The plaintiff simply states his case, the defendant replies, upon which the judgment is almost instantly pronounced in favour of him who has either paid or promised the highest bribe. The gainer of the cause invariably pays the expenses, which, in commercial transactions, amount to from fifteen to twenty per cent. for rayahs or subjects of the Grand Signior, but not more than five per cent. for Europeans,

whose consuls and ambassadors they fear. In civil contentions relative to grounds, possessions, heritages, &c., the expenses of decision often amount to fifty per cent.

Those who are not satisfied with the decrees of the mollah or judge, may appeal to the Divan at Constantinople, where, on paying handsomely for it, a firman will be obtained, ordering the mollah to render the complainant justice according to the laws; but, to enjoy the effect of this high command, the mollah must himself be also paid before he will fulfil it.

The Turks, and most other native Levantines who are not Franks, keep no regular books, so that in trusting them great reliance is naturally placed on their honesty. When Turks and Europeans have disputes, the case is decided by the mollah or Turkish judge, the European being represented in the court by a dragoman of his nation; but if two Franks disagree, their differences are adjusted by their respective consuls, from whose decisions there is an appeal to the minister at Constantinople. From this uncertainty of the result of Turkish laws, to the party on whom they may operate beneficially or injuriously, Europeans seldom pursue with legal measures the dilatory debtor, and from hence arises the equal uncertainty of their time of payment, though specifically fixed.

Some general observations may be added, which though they class not under any head, are yet worthy of being noted, as influencing opinions on the security and profit of trade. The Turkish shops or bazars are miserable wooden huts, which are continually exposed to the risk of being consumed by fire. When that calamity really befalls them, the Turks take the misfortune as philosophers, believing it to be sent from God; they are satisfied, even when bereft of every thing but life, and phlegmatically exclaim, "God is great!" or, "It was written!" In all speculations by sea, they take every risk upon themselves, they practise nothing like insurance; if the voyage succeed, some of its profits are perhaps devoted to charity; if they lose all, the doctrine of predestination consoles them. The Europeans, who live in a separate quarter of the town called the Frank quarter, have all fire-proof warehouses for their security.

The commerce of Smyrna and of Turkey in general is most lively in winter, as the caravans do not travel from the month of May until the end of August, in consequence of the great heats that prevail at that season. All trade with the interior is carried on by means of those land fleets of camels. In the month of September the Turks begin to bring their produce to the sea-port towns, from whence they take in return such goods as they may stand in need of. In a time of general plague, every kind of business is much retarded; as at such a period all the Europeans, and most of the rich Greeks, shut themselves up in their town houses, or retire to the villages in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. This dreadful malady

shows itself first in January and February, by a few deaths. In the months of April and May it rages with its greatest violence, continuing so until June, when it gradually declines, and in August all danger is supposed to be over. It is thus that, on our arrival here, we found the families of the Europeans in general shut up; and they are only now beginning generally to resume their occupations. During the time of the plague, the Turks and Jews, however, continue to transact their business, each of whom would think it useless to take precautions against that which has been sent by the Almighty. It is calculated that, out of one hundred who are attacked by this pestilence, about seventy-five die; but the remainder recover with so little care that it can be seldom attributed to the power of medicine.

The British Levant Company allowed all the members of their body to charge 2 per cent. on the weight of goods exported to England in the invoice; but on goods shipped to other parts of the world this charge is not made. By the same Company they were also allowed to charge 3 per cent. commission on invoice and expenses, and on fruit a double commission, owing to its little value and great trouble in collecting and packing. They were privileged also with half the commission on the remittances they made, without guaranteeing the bill, for which 1 per cent. more was charged, but most of the houses prefer not to take that responsibility.

The charge of warehouse rent is fixed at one-half per cent.; the house and street brokerage on importations at 2 per cent., and the same on exportations at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. All other charges are real, and must be specified. In the aggregate, therefore, the whole expenses on a parcel of goods sold may be calculated to amount to 10 or 15 per cent. ad valorem, and on those bought it will be more uncertain.

Articles of Exportation.

COTTON: The crop of cotton is gathered in the months of September and October. In a good year the produce in the vicinity of Smyrna may amount to 120,000 or 130,000 bales of $2\frac{1}{2}$ quintals. In a middling year the crop is not more than 80,000 or 90,000 bales, and in a bad year it may amount to 50,000 or 60,000 bales at most. It is computed that about one-third of the crop is consumed in the country, and that the rest is exported to Europe. Those cottons are packed in hair sacks. The finest quality is that called Soubougea, and is generally worth 120 piastres per quintal of 45 okes. This is the only cotton which is exported in a raw state or unbeaten; the shells and seeds are only separated from it, when it is sent in general to Germany, Switzerland, and France. The other cottons, which are exported in a beaten or clean state, are the Kirgatch, worth about 107 piastres; the Aguessard, worth 100 piastres; the Kinick, 95, and the Bander 90 piastres. When those are sometimes assorted without being beaten, they are then called *façon Soubougea*. The different cottons take their names from towns in

the neighbourhood of which they grow. Each sort has four qualities, the 1st and 2nd of which only are exported, the difference in price from 1st to 2nd may be about 10 per cent.; the 3rd and 4th sorts are used in the country for stuffing beds, sofa cushions, &c. When the English used to draw their cottons from Smyrna, they attached themselves in preference to the Kirgagatch, Kinick, and Cassaba cottons, always beaten. Under present circumstances, this article would leave a heavy loss on sending to England. The cottons of Smyrna are of short staple, and have no strength; but, notwithstanding these defects, they are pleasing to the eye. The best season for buying them is from December to February, when that article is mostly brought to market. After April there remains scarcely any in first hands. In order to get the first quality of cotton, purchases should be made in the country, which is done by factors of repute, in whom reliance may be placed. It is indispensable that the purchase money be sent into the country before hand, which may be done without risk, though neither receipts or bonds of any kind are given. On every Saturday small caravans of camels arrive from these places, and in general the goods may be expected in town a fortnight after the order is given. It sometimes happens that speculators send cottons to Smyrna for sale, but not often. This article is often bartered against goods, and occasionally against bills from buyers of import articles, at an extraordinary discount. The cotton-seller then takes all the risk of those debts himself.

COTTON YARN is spun by the hands of the peasantry. Its annual exportation is from 150,000 to 200,000 okes, it comes from the country in hair sacks of 50, or 55 okes, each sack containing four or five different qualities or numbers, which, from top to bottom, differ in the respective values at least 100 per cent. There are in all six sorts spun, which are distinguished by being marked and numbered from F. 1 to F. 6, beginning at the coarsest and ending at the finest, which sells at $6\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per oke. Formerly the English used to export assortments from F 3 to F 6, numbers 1 and 2 being too coarse for them. This yarn arrives from the interior in the grey state, and is dyed red in Smyrna, from whence it is exported to Russia. Large quantities used also to be exported to France and Germany, but it was subsequently prohibited there. The dyeing costs from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per oke. Although each sack contains about an equal quantity of each of the four or five sorts of yarn of which it is composed, yet there are sometimes sacks containing either finer or coarser assortments.

MOHAIR YARN comes only from Angora, it is spun from the wool of a particular animal called the Angora goat, by the hands of the peasantry also. Formerly this was a great article for England, Holland, and France, and 1500 to 2000 bales, of 100 and 110 okes, used to be exported in a year. It is now almost entirely con-

sumed in Angora in the manufacture of shaloons. The finest quality, which used to be sent to England, is worth generally from 11 to 12 piastres per oke. The middling quality, once sent to Holland and Germany, is worth 7 to 8 piastres per oke, and the inferior quality, usually sent to France, from 5 to 6 piastres per oke. Mohair yarn is considered upon the whole, however, to be a dangerous article, from its extreme liability to spoil by keeping; should it remain two or three years on hand, the combined effects of dust and worms cut it to pieces, and render it perfectly useless.

GOAT'S WOOL: Black goat's wool is of many different qualities. That fit for the English market is the best, and is worth about 16 piastres per cheque of 2 okes; that for the French market is worth 11 piastres; and that for Holland 12 piastres. Red goat's wool is worth $8\frac{1}{2}$, and the grey $6\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, both of which sorts are sent to Italy. The refuse of the red and black wools is put up in bundles or bales, and is worth about 8 piastres. It used to be sent to France and Holland. The exportation of all those sorts of goat's wool amounts to about 120,000 cheques annually.

SHEEP'S WOOL: The sheep are shorn in the month of May, but the wool is not washed, which renders the weight deceptive. The French used to buy large quantities of this wool for their Languedoc cloth manufactures; but of late years there has not been so much exported. The English have made several essays in this article, but it has not been found good enough for them. The finer sort is worth 37 to 38 piastres per quintal, but it loses in weight at least 40 per cent. by washing; the second quality is worth 32 piastres, and loses 50 per cent. by washing. Formerly 20,000 to 25,000 quintals were exported annually, but at present it is almost all consumed in the manufacture of a common stuff, made in the country, and used in the dress of the peasantry.

CARPETS are manufactured in Ushac, eighteen days' journey from Smyrna by the caravans of camels. It is an article in general use throughout all Turkey, and is also exported to Europe, particularly to England and Holland. They vary in their prices from four to five piastres per square pike, and are made in different sizes, from 20 to 130 of those square pikes in measure. Smaller carpets are also made for the Turks to pray on, which are used only in the country; and the exportation of the others, which is influenced by the demand, varies from 50 to 60,000 pikes annually.

SILK OF BRUSA: This silk, as all others, is ready for the market in August. It is decidedly the best silk produced in Turkey, and is worth about 100 piastres per taftee of 610 drachms. It is put up in linen bales of 40 to 42 taftees each, and is always bought for ready money only. Brusa, Aleppo, Damascus, and Constantinople consume a large portion of it in their manufactures; but a large quantity is also exported to Great Britain and Russia. Most parts of Turkey, near the sea-coast, produce an inferior sort of silk,

worth from 15 to 20 per cent. less than that of Brusa; and in some of the Turkish manufactures, this sort only is used. A great quantity is also employed in making sewing silks, which are worth about 10½ paras per drachm, and are always of the most lively colours. The Morea of Greece, and the coast of Syria, produce also an abundance of silk; but while the produce of Brusa is calculated with precision to be from 3,500 to 4,000 bales, the quantity produced in the other parts of Turkey is more variable, and extremely difficult to ascertain with certainty.

SKINS: The goat skins of Turkey are used in the tanneries of the country; as all those which are exported come from Candia, the Morea, and different islands of the Archipelago. When salted, they are worth from two to three piastres per skin, according to their size; and the annual exportation from Smyrna may amount to 20,000 or 30,000 skins. Hare skins are a great article for Italy and France, and recently for America also. They come from the interior of Anatolia and Romelia; and the best quality are of the winter shooting, large and long-haired, of which 100 skins should weigh nine okes. They are worth, generally, from 70 to 72 piastres per 100 skins; and the whole number exported annually may be computed as varying from 500,000 to 700,000.

SOLE LEATHER is made of buffaloes' skins, and is exported in considerable quantities to Italy. The bull hides are worth 85 to 90 piastres per quintal, and the buffaloes 120 piastres. Large parcels of those hides come from Egypt and from Romelia to Smyrna, where they are tanned, in sufficiency to supply all the country, or leave a residue for exportation.

MOROCCO LEATHER is chiefly made for the consumption of the country, but large quantities might be exported, if there was a demand: the colours they make are excellent—either black, yellow, red, or blue; they are worth from four to six piastres per hide.

MADDER ROOTS: This article is grown in the country, about the town of Ghiordes, and arrives in Smyrna on camels, after a journey of six or eight days. The longer those roots remain in the ground, the better would be their quality, but in general they are plucked up from the third to the sixth year of their being in the earth, and invariably in the month of July, increasing in that period of time in size and weight so as to yield the planter a profit of about 10 per cent. per annum. The best season for making purchases is from August to October, when there is no rain; for if bought in the rainy season, they both increase in weight, and do not stand the voyage so well. Those roots are sent in bales of 2½ to 2¾ quintals; and the tare for earth and small stones should not exceed two okes per bale. The exportations depend entirely on the price offered for it; if that be low, the planters leave the roots in the earth; if it be high, they send them to market. On an average, the annual exportation may amount to 7,000 or 8,000 bales; but when the article

is in demand, 10,000 are sometimes shipped, besides what are consumed in Smyrna in the dying works. Its price varies from 35 to 40 piastres.

GALLS are produced in the environs of Smyrna, to the amount of 1000 to 1500 quintals, of which about one-quarter may be black, one-half green, and one-quarter white. The crop is gathered in September or October, and the largest portion of them are consumed in the manufactories of the country. Those which are exported from Smyrna are the Nuissall Galls, which come by way of Aleppo and Caissa, the annual quantity of which may amount to 2,000 or 3000 quintals. The usual prices are, for blue 140, black 120, grey 100, and white 80 piastres, per quintal.

YELLOW BERRIES of Romelia or Rudschat were once sent in considerable quantities to England; but the fustic has, in a great measure, superseded its use. It is a wild shrub, the spontaneous production of the northern mountains; bears it generally a price of from 20 to 25 paras per oke. There is also another sort of yellow berries, which come from Caissa, under the name of Persian, arriving at Smyrna in the month of October, and being worth $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ piastres per oke, which is often sent to Holland and Germany. The whole amount of the exportation of those berries is computed at from 40 to 50,000 okes annually.

VALONEA is exported from Smyrna and its neighbourhood, to the amount of 20 or 25 cargoes, of from 200 to 300 tons each, in every year. It is the fruit of a large wild tree, of which there are many also near Trojas, and is gathered in the month of August; the finest quality, the first fruit of the tree, is small, without acorns, and may be loaded in December and January; but neither the second or third qualities, with the acorns, can be loaded until May, before which they would continue to be moist, and liable, therefore, to heat on the voyage. This article should be white, dry, and heavy; the first quality is worth about 7 piastres; the second, from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6; and the third, only 4 piastres per quintal. It is of little value, compared to its bulk, and is, therefore, loaded without packages; being thrown loosely into the vessel's hold, and afterwards pressed with large stone rollers, moving fore and aft. A ship of 300 tons would not carry of the first quality more than from 225 to 250 tons; and of the other sorts, 200 to 225 tons.

SAFFLOWER, which arrives here chiefly from Egypt, is the flower of a plant that yields a fine pink dye. The best quality is that of Upper Egypt, which comes here in boats, in the months of August and September, in bales of 4 or 5 quintals each. This article, to be good, should be of a fine lively colour, of a soft texture to the touch, and clean. When possessing these characteristics, it sells from 65 to 70 piastres per quintal; but it cannot safely be kept on hand, since the flower itself must be used while fresh. When a year old, it loses one-third of its value; in the

second year, it is not worth half the price; and in the third, it is altogether useless. The annual exportation amounts at least to 4 or 5000 quintals, which is sent chiefly to Russia, to Germany, and to England.

ALUM is produced, in great quantities, from a mountain in Anatolia, at the distance of ten or twelve days' journey from Smyrna by the caravans. The sale of this article is entirely monopolized by the Grand Signor, as the lord of all territory in his dominions, and it is purchased only from his immediate agents at Smyrna; from whence there are annually exported 4,000 or 5,000 quintals, the best quality of which is worth from 30 to 35, and the worst 12 to 15 piastres per quintal.

BARILLA is produced near Allagar, the site of the ancient Philadelphia, and is the powder of a vegetable growing wildly, and burnt to ashes. In Turkey it is only used in dying; but, besides the consumption of the country, there may remain a surplus of 2,000 or 3,000 quintals for exportation. Some of it has been sent to England, but it scarcely paid charges; it is worth from 19 to 20 piastres per quintal, though not in demand.

GUM ARABIC comes to Smyrna through Egypt, in an unpicked state, when it is worth 110 piastres, per quintal; after being cleaned in Smyrna, it sells at 130 piastres per quintal. For exportation it is put in boxes of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 quintals. The white gum, in pieces about the size of a walnut, is of the best quality; but there is another sort of gum arabic, which is yellow, and is known by the name of gum jidda. This, however, is not sent to England, but consumed mostly in Germany and Russia; it is worth, when cleaned, from 70 to 75 piastres per quintal. Of the best sort of gum arabic, from 1,000 to 1,500 quintals, and of the gum jidda, 2,000 quintals, may be annually exported.

GUM MASTIC is the produce of the island of Scio, and is collected in the month of May, from the tears of a small tree. This branch of commerce is a monopoly of the Grand Signior, who farms it to the highest bidder, with exclusive privileges. Throughout all Turkey this gum is used only for the purpose of chewing, particularly by the females. The annual produce varies from 300 to 500 barrels, each of which, weighing 70 okes, is worth about 550 piastres.

GUM TRAGACANTH is produced in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; and is collected in the month of October. It is made of a wild plant, whose root being cut, when plucked up, yields a milky substance, which, when dried, forms the gum. It must be both white and clean. The annual produce is computed to be from 15,000 to 20,000 okes, and is worth from 7 to 8 piastres per oke.

GUM MYRRH arrives here through Egypt, and should be of a lively yellow colour. Of the first quality, the annual exportation

may amount to 5 or 6,000 okes; and of the second quality, to 10,000 okes. The former is worth 10 piastres per oke; and the latter, from 6 to 7 piastres, per oke, in general.

SCAMONY is produced in the vicinity of Smyrna, from a wild plant, from which, in the month of May, flows a milky substance, which is collected, dried, and put up in cakes. These are exposed to the air until the month of August, when it becomes of a fine bottle-green colour. It is, however, very often adulterated, by being mixed with dust; and, therefore, to examine the quality, the cake is broken; if the colour is that of a deep shining green, and by being wetted and rubbed it produces a milky substance of the lightest colour, the quality is good, and it then sells at 55 piastres per oke, the annual produce not exceeding 600 or 700 okes. The second quality is worth from 20 to 30 piastres per oke; and of this, upwards of 1000 okes are annually brought to market.

GUM AMMONIAC: This is an article produced in various parts of the Persian empire, and brought to Smyrna for sale. The quantity annually exported to Europe varies from 12,000 to 15,000 okes, and it is worth from 7 to 8 piastres per oke. When the quality is good, the colour should be white, the grain fine, and on breaking it, the inside should appear in hue and texture like that of an almond.

SENNA is an Egyptian article, produced from the deserts by which that country is surrounded. The best quality is in small green leaves, not broken in bits, free from earthy particles, and without stems; nor should the larger leaves, which are called follicolo, be mixed with it. As it is not at all used in Turkey, the whole that arrives from Egypt is exported. If of good quality, it is worth six piastres per oke; but when the leaves become more yellow, they are of less strength and value. Of this article there are 10,000 or 12,000 okes annually sold.

OPUM is one of the most important articles of Turkey. It is the juice of the black poppy, a plant grown in Carissa, Ujack, and Jallah, a distance of about ten days' journey from Smyrna. It is sown in November and December; and in June the plant forms a ball, which contains the seed. In these balls incisions are made, from which oozes out a milky substance, which is collected gradually, and formed either into cakes about the size of a biscuit, or balls as large as a four-pound shot, when it is sent to Smyrna in baskets of from 85 to 90 cheques each, about the end of July. This is also often adulterated, by being mixed with the juice of other fruits. For this reason, it is usual to have it examined by connoisseurs of the article, who receive $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for their inspection, and if found thus mixed, it is returned to the seller. This article, if bought from the end of July until November, will lose 6 or 8 per cent. in weight. After December, it will scarcely

lose any thing ; and neither the quality or strength are deteriorated by being kept five or six years, though it hardens. A good crop will yield 1500 baskets, and an ordinary one from 1000 to 1200 ; of which quantity it is known with certainty that not more than 200 are used in the Turkish empire, so that the practice of chewing opium, though still considered general here, is less universal among the people than would be imagined. It is even calculated, by long residents among them, that throughout the Turks of all classes, there are not more than two in a hundred who use this pernicious drug. The best qualities are exported by the English and Americans for their separate speculations to China, and various parts of the East Indies.

Box-wood comes from the forests on the coasts of the Black Sea, and is very little used in Turkey. The best quality that is exported is in pieces of five or six feet long, and twelve or eighteen inches in circumference—straight, free from knots, and clear of rents also. In this state it is worth 10 piastres per quintal, and is very frequently taken as dunnage for fruit and wine cargoes.

EMERY STONES are brought here from the island of Naxia, or Naxos, in the Archipelago, serving occasionally for ballast. They are worth from 65 to 70 paras per quintal, and should be very heavy, and of a reddish colour.

BEES' WAX is collected in August and September ; and a year of plenty will produce 2,500 or 3,000 quintals, the good and clean quality of which is worth 200 piastres per quintal. Very little of it is used in Turkey, the principal part being exported to Italy, where it is chiefly consumed in religious ceremonies, and in various services of the churches.

COPPER OF TOCAT, or Red Copper, comes from a place of that name, in square pieces of 22 to 25 okes, and is worth from two to three piastres per oke. When this article was in demand for Europe, from 30 to 40,000 pieces used to be exported, and the price then did not exceed 30 or 63 paras per oke. Latterly, however, there has been little or none shipped, as it is all consumed in Turkey for their cannon-founderies, for the adulteration of their silver coin, and for kitchen utensils, which they line with tin.

SPONGES are gathered from the rocks of the Archipelago by divers, who descend 20 or 30 fathoms under water after them. They are fished also on the coast of Syria, Caramania, and near Rhodes. The finest quality, which is of a white colour, round, clean, and of a middling size, is not used in Turkey, where they reserve for themselves the largest and coarsest pieces. The first are worth from 11 to 12 piastres per oke, and the latter is usually five to six piastres per oke. Of each sort, about 20,000 to 25,000 okes are exported yearly.

SMYRNA BLACK FRUIT : Those raisins are cut or gathered in the

month of September, as the grapes ripen, and afterwards dried in the sun, for which eight or ten days are sufficient. They begin to enter the market in the month of September; but the bulk of them is retarded until October and November, during which months they are brought by the cultivators into the fruit bazars. After this period, therefore, they must be either purchased from the fruit-dealers at second-hand, or sought for in the country, both of which are disadvantages. The best quality is that which is produced in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, which keeps two or three years; the other qualities of Turkish black fruit, which are exported from Smyrna and the neighbouring ports, will not retain their value beyond a year, after which period they shrivel up, leaving nothing but the skins and seeds. Of each quality, however, there are 20,000 or 30,000 quintals annually exported, and both are chiefly used in the distilleries of an inferior kind of brandy. It is packed by being trodden into large barrels, weighing from a ton to 25 cwt., and the ordinary price is from 10 to 15 piastres per quintal.

VOURLA RED FRUIT begins to come to market about the middle of September, and continues to arrive in abundance in all October, November, and December. It is in the first of these months, however, that the greatest bustle prevails, in order to despatch the vessels in loading, to give them an opportunity of arriving first at the market. In a good year, the quantity produced is from 40,000 to 50,000 quintals, and its price is considerably assisted by the demand. In one season it has been sold for 17 and 18 piastres per quintal; and in the following, 28 and 30 piastres have been paid in advance, with prospects of a further rise.

CHESME RED FRUIT has a strong resemblance to that of Vourla; its colour only is a little darker, and it sells at only one or two piastres the quintal less. Of this there are annually produced from 50 to 60,000 quintals, the greater part of which is laden at the port of Chesmé.

CARABOURNA RAISINS are larger, clearer, and whiter than either of the preceding, and sell at five or six piastres dearer per quintal than those of Vourla. They are chiefly, however, consumed in Turkey, except a small quantity which goes to Russia.

SULTANA RAISINS are a small red fruit without stones or seeds, which grow in the neighbourhood of Carabourna, and of which, from 30,000 to 35,000 okes are annually produced. They are put up in drums of 15 to 30 lbs. English, and sell at about 50 piastres, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ piastre per oke. The crops of these delicate raisins depend very much on the season of the year; and it is remarked, that when the crop is abundant, the raisins are generally smaller than otherwise. If, at this time of the vintage, there are rains, the colour is often spoiled, and the quality injured; and besides those accidents, the whole crop is sometimes entirely spoiled by a visit of

grasshoppers, or locusts, who devour every thing they alight on ; nor will the Turks allow these destroying hosts to be at all molested in their ravages.

FIGS are brought principally from the interior of Anatolia, particularly from a country called Nassaly, and arrive at Smyrna in bags of 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ quintals, into which they are gradually collected, after being suffered to dry on the tree until they fall off on the ground, which they will do when ready for packing. They begin to enter the market at the commencement of September, and continue to pour in, in large quantities, from that time until the end of November, by which time the whole crop will have arrived. They are brought into the bazars by the cultivators, or country people, where the merchants or their brokers buy them ; and, after having them transported to their warehouses, they collect there all the rabble of Smyrna—"the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind,"—from old decrepitude to tottering infancy. Here they are selected ; and those figs which are found in a proper state, are washed in clean water, afterwards moulded in the hands of these filthy wretches, and fashioned, while moist, with their spittle, and by them packed damp in boxes of one quintal and half a quintal each, and in drums of from 15 to 50 lbs. English. The refuse of the figs are used in distilleries ; and a great quantity are also sent to Egypt, where the poor people buy them for their food, at about one-fourth the price of those which are sound. The price, like that of raisins, is varied by the demand, and fluctuates from 15 to 30 piastres per quintal, unpicked. The general average of the exportation, annually, may be taken at from 30,000 to 40,000 quintals.

RED WINE is made at twenty-three different places in Smyrna, called taverns. About the end of August, the grapes of which the black fruit is made, are cut, and after the usual process they are pressed by the feet of men, and their juice suffered to ferment, which is done in about twenty days. The wine is then drawn off in barrels, and may be used within two months afterwards. In general 25 per cent., and even more, of water, is added to the real juice of the grapes, notwithstanding which the wine is still very strong. It is mostly a dry wine, though some of it is sweet, and when suffered to acquire an age of three years is as strong nearly as port. The refuse of it is used for making both vinegar and brandy. The quality made in Smyrna may amount in each season to 50,000 or 60,000 Venetian barrels, about 28 okes each ; the half or two-thirds of which are exported, and the rest are consumed in the country. The average price is 18 piastres per barrel, or 16 paras per oke, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ okes are about an English gallon. The Smyrna wine has the reputation of keeping well, while that of the Archipelago very soon turns sour.

BRANDY, or as it is here more generally called by the Franks, Aqua Vita or Rakee, is made of the black fruit, which yields the

best quality. The second quality is made of the refuse of wine and of figs, but neither of them are famous beyond their place of manufacture. Its ordinary price is 32 paras, but this, as well as some white wines also made here, has never yet been exported, nor would they promise any profit to the exporter.

OIL is not permitted to be shipped from Smyrna on account of the soap manufactories there. The only parts from which it can be exported are Mitylene, Candia, and the Morea, the whole of which may make annual shipments of 25 or 30 cargoes from 200 to 300 tons each, to different parts of Europe. Its price is from 56 to 60 piastres per quintal.

OIL OF ROSES is made in Romelia, Layora, and Kigagatch, and comes very generally from Adrianople. It is sold by the metical of $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachm. Very little of it is used in Turkey, where they prefer the odour of musk to that of the rose, but the greatest portion of that which is exported goes to England, and is worth from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 piastres per metical. It is an extremely deceptive article, being put up in ornamented glass bottles, and often mixed with common oil. Any quantity may be had by orders, but not more than 30,000 meticals are yearly exported.

GRAIN cannot be exported from Smyrna without a firman, or express permission from the Grand Signior; but though this prohibition extends over all parts of Turkey, yet it may always be loaded from the smaller ports by bribing the custom-house officers, who, in the farming of their situations from the Porte, calculate such gains as necessary and honourable profits, and regulate their purchase money according to the greater or less facility of reimbursing themselves by such means. The principal places of export for grain from Anatolia, are Scalanuova and Sanderlee, but all business at those places is done through the merchants of Smyrna. The Gulph of Salonica, the coasts of Caramania, Satalia, and Syria, also export large quantities of grain; but Egypt is the chief granary of the East, whose harvests are scattered over all the Mediterranean. At all those places grain must invariably be purchased with cash, and for that purpose, Spanish dollars are found to be most generally acceptable. In time of peace between Russia and Turkey, the Black Sea furnishes also immense supplies of grain; but if a vessel from that sea should be driven, either by stress of weather, necessity, or convenience, into a Turkish port, the bakers of the country may stop the cargo, by paying for it a price arbitrarily fixed by their own government; which is the case with hemp, and other articles from the Black Sea, which the Turks may, at any time, be likely to want. To obviate this evil, vessels touching at ports often anchor without the castles which guard their entrance; while in town, the goods are easily sold, and transferred to European vessels.

RICE, which is an article of food in universal consumption

throughout Turkey, arrives here chiefly from Egypt, and is sold, for cash, by the kilo of 10 okes, which is worth, at present, 6½ piastres. Scarcely a meal is made, either by the Turks or Christian natives of Turkey, without a pilau, or dish of boiled rice, which makes its consumption immense, and there is never a scarcity in the markets. Carolina and India rice are well known, but, as they are not so much esteemed, they sell, in general, about 10 per cent. less than the rice of Egypt.

HEMP is an article of which the importation is also prohibited in a raw state ; but its quality is too inferior to make it worthy of a trial in England, even if it could be obtained.*

THE SUMMER SEA.

Go, visit now the peaceful shores,
 And mark the rippling waters glide
 Along the silent summer strand ;
 No showers are felt, no breaker roars,
 No tempest struggles with the tide,
 Or scars the wavy golden sand.

Now is the time for joyous Love
 To bask with beauty on the wave,
 The bed where Beauty first reclined,
 While round the bark light zephyrs move,
 And the most timid girl is brave
 On seas deserted by the wild.

Be quick—the hours of summer fly,
 And youth and love are fleeting too,
 Gray locks and wintry winds are near ;
 Feel now the lightning of that eye
 That sheds its lovely rays for you,
 But must grow dim some future year.

Bron.

* A similar detail of the import trade, with the consumption of British and other European manufactures at Smyrna, and throughout Turkey in general, will be given, to conclude this subject, in our next.—Ed.

PRIVATE JOURNAL OF A CANVASS FOR A SEAT IN THE EAST
INDIA DIRECTION.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Having been occupied for some weeks previous to the ballot of the 12th April last, when the election of the six East India Directors took place, in making interest for a very particular friend, I happen to have kept a Journal of my Canvass.

The bustle and irritation attending the election having now passed away, it has occurred to me, that it may be gratifying to your country readers, and both interesting and useful to the public, more especially to those who speculate on the future improvement of the home administration of Indian affairs, to have before them some record of the sort of feeling by which Proprietors of India Stock are actuated in giving their votes. The following extract from my Journal is therefore at your service, for publication in your interesting Miscellany, should you deem it admissible.

The commercial concerns of the Court of Directors occupy a comparatively small portion of their time and attention; the civil, military, and political affairs of a considerable quarter of the globe depend, in a great degree, upon their zeal, their talents, their prudence, and their knowledge; and many persons foretel that a few years hence the Court will still less than at present have to do with commercial affairs. Is it not then a matter of the highest importance, that the selection of the members of an executive, invested with such high public duties, should rest somewhere else than where it does at present? And does it not stand to reason, that so long as the *electors* care little for, or at best are not guided and determined in giving their votes by, any anxiety for the good government of India, *those elected* cannot be the fittest men for controlling the counsels of the Indian Governments? If it be asserted that the Board of Control remedies all errors in the administration of British India, arising out of the present defective constitution of the Court of Directors, there are few either at home or abroad of those who are at all acquainted with the present mode of conducting Indian affairs, but will deny the fact. If again it be contended, that there is no more reason to object to the system of trusting to the Proprietors of East India Stock the election of the persons with whom the due ordering of Indian affairs mainly rests, than there is to object to the election of the members of the House of Commons by that portion of the people who are entitled to vote, I must be permitted to deny that the cases are at all parallel. Be the motives of the electors to seats in Parliament pure or impure, selfish or patriotic, at all events it

must be allowed, that men, first in property and in influence, if not in talent, *are* elected. Granting that the electors to seats in the British Parliament be but little actuated by public spirited motives in giving their votes, yet so long as they continue to select men of large possessions as their representatives, this attribute of property, this holding of so large a stake in the country, ensures some, and not an inconsiderable degree of, zeal and anxiety for its welfare. But what large possessions do the Directors of the East India Company own in India? What great stake have *they* in that country? In this case, the impurity of the election is, in its evil consequences, not at all counteracted by the circumstance of the elected having, in the possession of large property in India, a powerful inducement to devote their earnest, their unremitting, their whole attention to the furtherance of its interests. Here, then, the absence of selfish views in the electors is even more essential than in elections to the House of Commons. It still remains a desideratum, for which the happiness of eighty millions of people loudly calls, to devise some plan whereby the organization and constitution of that most important body, to which the supervision of the affairs of British India is, to a great extent, intrusted, may be rendered less defective than at present.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,
London, May 22, 1826.

AN EAST INDIAN.

Extract from the Journal of a Cavass for a Candidate for a Seat in the East India Direction.

March 30, 1826.—My friend — having started as a candidate for one of the vacancies in the East India Direction, to be filled up by ballot on the 12th of April, requested me to assist him in his cavass. I did not much relish the idea of the trouble, irksomeness, and variety of unpleasant circumstances, incident to such a task; I could not, however, hesitate for a moment to comply with his request; and having provided myself with pencil, memorandum-book, and a pocket full of my friend's cards, soliciting the honour of ladies' and gentlemen's votes and interest, and endeavouring to fortify myself with a *quantum sufficit* of assurance, I this day commenced my rounds of solicitation and cavass at the west-end of the town.

I called at No. 5, — square—detained a quarter of an hour at the door, when a dirty housemaid bawled out from the area, "The family not in town." Called next on Sir P.—; found him at home; presented my friend's card, and requested his vote. He expressed his regret that he could not accede to my application, as he had half engaged his vote to another candidate. I knew Sir P.— to be an honest, independent country gentleman, not likely to be swayed by City interests; I ventured, therefore, to urge the superiority of my friend's claims, his long services in India, his talents, experience, &c. &c. Sir P.— begged pardon for interrupting my address; he had no doubt of my friend's qualifications; but really a neighbour of his had a few years ago procured two cadetships, one for the son of his steward, and another for a son of one of his principal tenants, and he had ever since made it a rule to vote as his neighbour requested of him.

I proceeded on to the Rev. Mr. —, in — street; but no better success here. He is already engaged to —, through the interest of an old friend, to whom he considers himself under obligations.

At No. 16, in the same street—not at home. At No. 25, I found Mr. —,

an old East Indian. The high character which he always bore in Bengal, and his long residence in India, rendered me confident that he could not but be actuated by an anxious desire for the good government of that country. I ventured to urge to him the importance of selecting men of tried ability, and of long experience in Indian affairs, to the Direction; I put it home to him how the happiness of the people of India being necessarily dependent on the wisdom of those councils by which the Indian governments are directed, and those councils being much controlled and influenced by the orders and suggestions of the Court of Directors here, how important must it be that this Court should be composed of men intimately acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits, the feelings, the wants, and the grievances of the people of India; I appealed to his knowledge of the character of my friend, and as he knew him to be the best qualified of all the candidates for the vacant seat, I could not but hope that he might be favoured with his vote and interest. Mr. — replied, that no one could be more anxious than he was for the welfare of a people amongst whom he had so long resided; but that he did not see matters exactly in the same light as I appeared to do. According to his view of the subject, so long as the Court of Directors was constituted as it is at present, it mattered little whether a candidate did or did not possess either civil or military talents, whether he was or was not experienced in the civil or military affairs of India; that, under the present regulations of the Court, any such qualifications were useless; that, for instance, supposing my friend to be successful, for the first twelve or thirteen years he would be employed in the import or export warehouses, or other commercial duties, (for which other candidates, however inferior in talents and political experience, were just as fit as my friend); and when at last he shall have obtained a seat amongst the elders in that board, to which the charge of communicating with and supervising the proceedings of the several governments of British India is more especially intrusted, "The Board of Correspondence;" or when, by slow gradation, he shall have at length reached one of the chairs, by that time he will have forgotten all he now knows of India; or even should his memory, in spite of the advances of age operating on a worn-out constitution, be still so tenacious, that the present state of that country, and the peculiarity of its inhabitants as they are found at present, shall not have faded from his recollection, yet it must be remembered, that, in the course of eleven or twelve years, the aspect of civil and military affairs in India changes greatly. The knowledge of matters as they existed in India when your friend left it some years now past, can be of little service eleven or twelve years hence; by which time the civil and military state of our Indian possessions will probably have undergone essential changes. This (said —) is my view of the subject; and, therefore, not thinking it of much importance, on any public ground, which candidate I vote for, I have promised to vote for —, an old friend of —, with whom I was long intimate in India.

Public duty being thus, in the mind of —, reconciled with personal friendship, I thought further argument useless, and took my leave. I then called on old —, at No. 2, — street. The old gentleman will not vote for any one, but vows that he will sell out his stock directly, that he may never again be bothered as he has been lately. My next visit was to the fashionable Mr. —; I found him at three o'clock in his robe de chambre; he assured me that he should have been very willing to vote for my friend, but that really it was such a bore going into the City, he had not been there for five years, and he could not promise his vote, as it was very doubtful whether his numerous engagements could permit his attempting to find his way to Leadenhall-street. Passing through — street, I called upon Mr. —, the jeweller; he has already promised his vote to —, an old customer;—then upon Mr. —, the saddler; he has not made up his mind whom to vote for; I conjectured that he was waiting to see who would bring him the largest orders. I went on to — place, at Nos. 2, 3, 8, and 12; nobody at home at either. At No. 9, found General —; this old gentleman says he always votes as — and Co. desire him, without troubling himself about the qualifications of candidates.

March 21.—I canvassed this day in the skirts of the town; Mr. —, in — square, sick upstairs, sent me down word that he always voted as the banking-house of — requested of him. At No. 8, 6, and 11, nobody at home. At — hill I found — at home; he must vote for —, that candidate having, in return, promised to give his votes and interest hereafter to Mr. —, his first cousin; in vain did I urge my friend's qualifications and India's claims; he feels himself obliged to further, by every means in his power, his old friend's interests. In — place I found Colonel —, an old Indian, at home, and I was delighted to find at last one who had the welfare of India uppermost in his thoughts; he agreed with me as to the superiority of my friend's claims, and promised to vote for him, as being the person, in his opinion, best qualified for the Direction. This old Indian has a large family to provide for, but he has the happiness of the country in which he passed his best days too much at heart to vote for any one but the man best qualified to legislate for India. Next to —, an old retired tradesman; he says, that the India House is full of abuses, that he will not vote for any of the old Directors, but for all the new candidates.—I afterwards learnt that this public spirited individual was formerly employed by the India House, but latterly they had withdrawn their custom from him. At No. 20, — square, a dirty footboy dismissed me with the intimation, that his master had given positive orders for no one who came to canvass for the East India Direction to be admitted. At No. 7, I found —, late of the Stock Exchange; he told me plainly, that he did not pretend to be a judge who was fit, and who was not fit for the Direction; that, like most other Proprietors, he was actuated by private friendship and private interest in giving his votes; Mr. — had obtained for him some favours from the India House, and, therefore, he should vote as he desired.

At — lane, No. 5, Mr. — refused me his vote on much the same ground as above stated;—at No. 8, Mr. — was undecided whom he should vote for; I could not prevail upon him to declare: I learnt afterwards that this gentleman never comes to a decision until the last day, and then, invariably votes for the candidate whom he perceives to be strongest. At No. 20, I found —, a great man for Bible Societies, of the highly religious party, I counted upon his vote as a sure thing; being persuaded that his conscience could never allow him to vote on any other ground but that of the public good. I did not hesitate, therefore, to dilate upon the duty of electing such a man as by his experience and abilities might appear best calculated to assist in the paramount object of bettering the condition of the eighty millions of fellow-creatures inhabiting our Indian territories. I was not a little surprized at the answer of this religious man: he acknowledged the validity of my friend's pretensions, and admitted that he would make an excellent Director, but really he was under such great obligations to the house of — and Co., that he must vote for the candidate they patronized. Thought I to myself, how easily does private interest, under the gloss of gratitude, divert even a conscientious man from the path of public duty. In the course of conversation, he told me that he should certainly never vote for —, if he stood fifty times, because he had called to canvass him on a Sunday.

In my way home, I called at No. 45, — street, where I found —, who had only returned a month ago from India; young —, of the firm of — and Co., was sitting with him. The latter being a proprietor, I availed myself of the opportunity of canvassing him. He said that he knew nothing about Indian politics; but that as — was the only one of the candidates who had ever been civil to him, he should give him his vote; besides, — was a very good fellow, gave excellent dinners, capital Champagne and ices. When young — was gone, Mr. — expressed his surprise, that the selection of a person to fill a seat in a body of men charged with control over the welfare of an immense empire should be influenced by wine and ices. "I am just arrived (says he) from Calcutta; every one there is confident that a man like — cannot find the least difficulty in getting into the Direction." I assured him that the good folks in Calcutta were much mistaken, if they imagined that ability, experience, and integrity, ensured an easy election, or that the majority of

proprietors had chiefly at heart, what ought to be the first object, to Provide Directors the best qualified to exercise an enlightened, vigilant, and energetic control over the governments of India. There are no doubt many proprietors who are actuated by public-spirited views; but, generally speaking, private interests and private friendships are the only actuating motives.

At No. 5, — street, I called on —. He has received a letter from a very great man, desiring him to vote for —, which prevents him from voting as I could have wished. Before closing my day's labour, I dropt in at —; he is one of the principal men of the committee for conducting my friend's election; I told him of my ill success, and gave him the details of my canvass. "My friend, (says this veteran in East India electioneering), you are on a wrong scent; you must change your system of canvass. The arguments you use to induce proprietors to vote for our friend may often vex and annoy, but are little calculated to obtain votes. Adopt another plan: inquire and inform yourself of the relations, the connexions and friends, the bankers, agents, &c. &c., of the proprietors you intend to canvass. Having found out how they are to be got at, set these springs to work, and then call upon them, and with these appliances and means to boot (should they still be open), you will probably secure their votes; but as to going about, talking of the welfare of eighty millions of people, of the good government of our vast Indian empire, and of the duty incumbent upon East India proprietors to have those sacred interests in view, take the word of a man experienced in these elections, such considerations have very little weight with any proprietor. Some may talk feelingly of the interest they take in the good government of British India; but even of those who have the prosperity of India *at all* at heart, however benevolent their language, their votes are almost always *determined*, if not by gratitude for favours past, or by expectations of favours future, at the best by ties of personal friendship or consanguinity; they only *wish* well to India, but their votes are guided by other considerations; and there are a great many proprietors, with whom the interests of Colombia or of Peru would have much greater weight than the interests of India." I felt the justice of his observations, and resolved to follow his advice.

March 31.—I have been very successful in my canvass of the last three days; I have secured twelve votes for my friend. Following the advice of my electioneering sage, I sought out proper clues to the interests of the several proprietors falling within my circuits of canvass; letters of service and recommendation obtained from cousins of every degree and friends of every description, greatly facilitated my success; and I proved, by my own personal experience, what a few weeks ago I could hardly have believed, that in the election of Directors, private interest and private friendship are the prevailing, the predominant, nay, almost the only motives, which guide the voters; and that the public weal of our vast Asiatic possessions is a very subordinate, a very powerless, and, I might say, almost an unknown consideration.

THE SAILING OF THE MADRAS EAST INDIAMAN.*

The unimpressive waters gave lines and breaks of light, as if the vessel's keel had left its track upon the rifted bosom of the deep; yet all irregular, as though the wind had battled with her course; whilst bright and trembling, the waters caught the Tyrian dye from Heaven, and the fleecy wanderers through the morning sky of Spring, were passing—"like Angel's visits; short and far between."—

I saw sail after sail unfurl'd,
The cold east breeze to feel them curl'd;
Her gallant bearing met mine eye,
But to my heart 'twas agony.

* From 'Sibyl's Leaves:' Poems and Sketches. By Elizabeth Willesford Mills;—just published.

The Sailing of the Madras East Indiaman.

I gazed upon her flag-wrapt prow ;
 The changeful wind was steadfast now ;
 I look'd on Ocean's wavering form,
 It promised no retarding storm.
 The parting signal hoisted high
 Is flutt'ring 'neath a sunny sky,
 Which seem to gild that vessel o'er,
 To make my bosom ache the more ;
 Her pennon waves its mute adieu :—
 She moves—she heaves—she 's gliding through }
 The full wave's paleerulean blue.
 I cannot bear to lose her quite,
 Yet—yet she lingers on my sight ;
 She lingers yet—though hours have past—
 I feel I 've almost look'd my last.
 Now, like a vapoury cloud, she rests
 One moment o'er th' horizon's breast ;
 Now, now my mind deludes mine eye,
 That vision'd shape was mockery

* * * * *

And now no more in noon-tide hour,
 He comes to share his sister's bow'r ;
 No more is found the cliffs among,
 Listing the rowers' idle song.

No more like music o'er my soul,
 His sweetly measured accents roll ;
 His voice, his smile, his laugh is gone,
 And I am wandering here alone.

No more I catch his sunny glance,
 Nor meet his step in glad advance ;
 But sad I stray through every spot,
 Where once he moved—but now moves not.

How oft I 've turn'd his dark brown hair !
 Smiled when the wild breeze sported there :
 And now one solitary lock,
 With anguish shorn, is all my stock.

Oh ! turn thee, turn thee from the main,
 Give me thy dear caress again ;
 Held me but once more to thine heart,
 And then—and then—and then we 'll part.

Yes, part ; but oh ! again to meet :
 I will my brother fly to greet—
 When time has press'd his youthful brow,
 And I am not what I am now.

We 'll look not for the unmix'd hair,
 Nor weep to find the silver there ;
 We 'll ask not for the roseate bloom
 We loved, and parted from too soon.

My Soldier ! we will little reck
 My pallid brow, thy sun-burnt cheek ;
 We 'll breathe no sad regretful sigh,
 Nor let the full tear wander by.

But meet with hearts unworn by time ;
 My wanderer in a foreign clime !
 Meet when thy well-spent youth is o'er,
 Proudly and fond—to part no more.

DISCONTENTS IN THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Calcutta, January 6, 1826.

If ever there was a time when public attention should be called towards the East, it is now. At no former period, since our establishment in Hindoostan, have affairs worn an aspect similar to the present. We have before had foes to contend with, both numerous and brave, local difficulties to overcome, and want of *means* to check our exertions; yet have we seen our arms crowned with success, and returned victorious from the contest. Those days are gone by—we have the same army, 'tis true—but, Sir, we have lost our *moral force*, or rather it has been taken from us;—I repeat, Sir, *never were we so deficient in moral force as at this day.* That this conviction prevails with you in England also, is evident; else, why are twelve thousand King's troops coming to this country? Are our Native troops no longer trustworthy? If they are not, how and where has the change arisen? Is it for a moment supposed, is there one man who will venture to maintain, that European troops (take what numbers you please) can successfully hold possession of India? Why, Sir, the Indians would only have to look on, while their own excesses brought them to a miserable end. Our real strength in this country consists not in European regiments—not in our reported valour; this has been more than once surpassed by Native courage; but it consists in a *moral force*, obtained for the Government by that kindness and consideration which the officers of the Company's army have invariably evinced to the Natives of the country, as well as to the troops more immediately under their command, by the forbearance they have shown to their prejudices, by entering into their feelings, by remedying their real or imaginary grievances, and by teaching them, under all circumstances of difficulty or doubt, to look to them for advice and assistance. This conduct engendered feelings of no common nature; this was the real force of the army; this, the weapon that foiled the nations who dared to try their strength with us: this, the arm that drove the European governments from the East, and left us an empire, the wonder and admiration of the world.

Where and how has this force disappeared? Every one asks the question. At this moment circular letters are going round to commanding officers of regiments, to ask them if *they* know where it is gone to, and what has occasioned the existing discontents amongst the men? I venture to assert, that it is the Government itself, and the Court of Directors acting in concert, that have banished the one and introduced the other: Have they not given their sanction to measures which have sapped the very foundation of our strength?

Were they not jealous of the officer's influence with his men? Did they not issue order after order, till nothing was left but the shadow and the name of influence? Did they not remove and re-remove, till officers and men were as much strangers to each other as his Majesty and the Calmuck Tartars? And did they not, to crown all, and to exterminate every atom of respect that might still linger in the breast of the sepoy towards his officer, cause the Native regiments to be paraded in square, and then have an officer of his Majesty, high in Brevet rank, ride into that square, and ask the men (on an enemy's frontier, be it remembered) if they had any complaints to make against their officers? And when the men, in astonishment, inquired the meaning of such words, were they not asked if any of their officers had ill used them, or borrowed money from them without repaying them? Yet it is expected that these men will place implicit confidence in the very officers that have but just been degraded in their estimation, by being told they might possibly ill use or plunder them. The Government and Court have deprived them of the esteem and devotion of the sepoy, because, of all their scheming, he only understands that they have separated him from his officer, whom he loved and trusted, that they may the more easily overcome his objections to go on board ship, and eat food that he loathes and detests.

With regard to the superior branches of the army, there was a time when the Company's military measures were carried into effect almost entirely by their own officers; but, since the peace in Europe, employment has been wanting for the favourites at the Horse Guards, and India presented the only field. From this time it has been discovered, that our sepoys are of little or no use, and that the Company's officers are a parcel of old women: from this time, the rights and privileges of the Indian army have, one by one, been swallowed up at the Horse Guards; and if any thing in the shape of remonstrance has been made use of by those who ought to guard our rights, they have been given to understand, *there was a necessity for a controlling power of Europeans to keep down discontent.* Swarms of King's officers, young men in life, but (from having been in high favour at Carlton House, or having passed some time on guard at St. James's) old in brevet rank, came to this country, and no sooner did they arrive than they were latterly so distributed, that scarcely a single Company's officer commanded a brigade; and what has been the consequence? Have our troops (I speak of the whole army) distinguished themselves more than they were wont to do? Have they contended with the enemy with more success than formerly? or is the present war likely to be concluded with more despatch? When we see a system which, from 1756 to 1822, has been invariably crowned with success, changed for an unsuccessful one, those who have made the change should be able to give good and substantial reasons for it, so shall they not answer to the nation, which, from no other motive than the

desire of exercising patronage, they have humbled to the dust? They have attempted to pluck the laurel from the brows of our sepoy, have thrown into neglect and cast aside our best and bravest officers, and when a sufficient number of their creatures were not at hand, have taken them from the sister presidency, created Brigadier-Generals as if solely for the purpose of excluding the Company's officers from command, and treating them with such marked neglect as could not fail to deprive them of the confidence of their sepoy.

Is it possible, or is it to be supposed, that officers can feel that interest and zeal in the service which they formerly did, when they can scarcely take up a newspaper without finding the most unjustifiable reflections cast upon the Native soldiery? One writer only wishes that the "five and twenty thousand Britons in this country" could get at the whole Native army, and "HE" should not fear the result. Another, impudently setting truth and public documents aside, asserts that they (the sepoy) have never performed one gallant action without having King's troops to lead them on. He who would dare to disprove such assertions in Calcutta now, Mr. Editor, must be a bold man. 'Tis nothing that we know them to be false. 'Tis nothing that there are hundreds who could prove them so from ocular demonstration. The man who should attempt it here, would rush into certain destruction. It is not to be expected, however, that such falsehoods shall stand recorded against our brave sepoy, and no man say nay to them. For the benefit of such *liberal*, and no doubt *disinterested* writers, as I have quoted from, I shall take the liberty of stating a few facts.

I find, in 1781, the 24th battalion of Bengal Sepoy, before Cuddalore, defeated some of the oldest French regiments with the bayonet. This, however, is going too far back. At the battle of Laswarree, Lord Lake observed to Majors White and Gregory, that if they did not advance immediately, his Majesty's 76th would be destroyed. The 12th Bengal regiment, with six companies of the 16th Native infantry, found his Majesty's 76th driven behind a mosque, by a large body of infantry, with a great number of guns; this body they charged, and captured every gun and colour belonging to it, and thereby saved his Majesty's regiment. Next day, they were publicly thanked by Lord Lake for their *timely support* of his Majesty's 76th. Again, before Bhurtpoor, we find his Majesty's 75th refusing to advance to the storm, stating the breach to be nothing but a slaughter-house: Here the 2d and 12th Native infantry occupied their place as volunteers, and led the storm; *thrice were their colours planted on the breach*; and when, hopeless of success, they were ordered to retire, the men exclaimed: "Either we must carry the place, or die where we are!" In the Nepaul campaigns, the divisions which alone carried success before them, were Sir David Ochterlony's and General Nicholl's; yet these were composed *exclusively* of Native troops, and were only *two* out of

the five divisions employed. In the last Mahratta war, were the Native troops backward? Look at the returns of killed and wounded at the battle of Mahidpoor—Which of his Majesty's regiments headed the rifle corps? At Nagpoor, that same regiment, or a part of it, the Royals, which, from 5 a. m. till 1 p. m., were still unsated with the blood of that most cruelly destroyed regiment, the 47th Native infantry, refused to advance; and I believe there are now in existence individuals, who, with a few men of the 22d Native infantry, were obliged to bring off the gun which the Royals left behind them. Many other instances could I adduce in which the Native regiments have stepped forward with a promptitude nothing could surpass, and offered their services; but from custom or policy they have never been accepted. It is not my object to argue this policy; it may be good, or it may not; but surely there is little justice in accusing men of not doing that which they are not permitted to attempt.

You will observe, Sir, that I have only mentioned instances of gallantry among the Native regiments with his Majesty's troops, or, as in the Nepaul war, when contending against the same enemy and the same difficulties. The immense extent of our empire in the East makes any allusion to their general courage superfluous. It was asserted, that "they (the sepoys) have never performed a gallant action, without having King's troops to lead them on." We see how well the assertion is borne out by proofs, and what a great regard the writer of the assertion has evinced for truth. One only blot on the character of a particular regiment, is made by the designing a sufficient reason for throwing the merits of the whole Native army into the back ground. Have these people forgotten Muttra? His Majesty's 22d regiment mutinied there, disowned their officers, and appointed a serjeant to command them: Was this exceeded by the 47th Native infantry? His Majesty's 22d was *disarmed and dispersed by Native cavalry and infantry, without one drop of blood being spilt!* Need I state the fate of the unhappy 47th in the massacre at Barrackpoor? Did not the daily papers at Calcutta teem with the praises of the Royals, for their services on that melancholy occasion? *Services!* against men in full flight, without arms in their hands! It was certainly more easy to display their gallantry against those unfortunates, than against the brave defenders of Nagpore. Yet, I believe this regiment, at this moment, bear the word "Nagpore" on their colours, for their *distinguished services* at that place. I wonder his Majesty did not allow them to emblazon "Asseerghur" on their colours also; or were they afraid, if they did, that the ghost of their colonel, left in the enemy's hands during a sortie, and sabred, would rise up in judgment against them?

But enough has been said to satisfy any dispassionate man, that the slanders heaped upon our Native soldiery are engendered in malice and spleen, and entirely without foundation. If the *morale*

of our Native army has been destroyed, the Government have destroyed it. If they wish to restore it, (as by their circulars it would appear they do,) let them retrace their steps as soon as possible; let them give back to commanding officers the powers they have snatched from their hands; let them invest commandants of regiments with the same full authority held by colonels in his Majesty's army; let every officer of the staff (giving him first the option of rejoining if he likes) be struck off the strength of their respective regiments, and their vacancies filled up; let the different local corps be thrown into the line, and let the whole army be augmented in proportion to the extent of country it has to protect, with a much larger proportion of European officers for each regiment, and to all of them an additional surgeon, for at present, if our army is detached, it must physic itself. Let the sepoys have great coats or cloaks given to them, as the Europeans have, and let their health and comforts be studied as well as the European soldiers; let, in short, justice be only done to the Native troops by the Government, and we shall never hear again of circulars sent round to inquire into the discontents of the Native army.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

IOTA.

SONNET.

Y^e eyes of heaven! what forms behind you wear
 Such burning glories as ye shed on earth?
 Where is the Eden of their heavenly birth?
 Oh! where the dwellings of those shapes of air?
 Perchance, loved ones who felt, like us, despair,
 And all the sickening ills of this world's dearth,
 Released from clay, may now come hurrying forth,
 To waft above each heart-revealing prayer,—
 To listen to each sorrow of our lot,—
 And tell Earth's children, with a voice of light,
 They are for ever in their watchful sight,
 And never can in glory be forgot;—
 Oh! love's a light that never can expire—
 It pours o'er heaven the radiance of its fire.

L. F.

* That of 1777, four volumes quarto.

A SECOND VOICE FROM INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Before entering on the grievances of which I have to complain, it may be as well to state, that I am in no way connected with a “Voice” which arrived some time ago in England from Bombay in a very feeble state—and being placed under the care of those experienced practitioners Messrs. Parbury, Kingsbury and Co., was swollen into an *octavo*, and issued forth for the edification of the well disposed from amidst the various accents, acute and grave, which resounded from the recesses of the aforesaid gentlemen’s repository, striving to penetrate the “dull cold ear” of the leaden heads of Leadenhall-street. It is not for me to raise my “Voice” at the expense of that of Captain Seely; but any one who will take the trouble to attend to the two voices will be satisfied that they never could have proceeded from the same lungs. Their quality and *portamento* (as the Italians have it) are essentially different. Mine may be termed “*vox populi*,”—his, “*vox et præterea nihil*.” As there is reason however to fear that, spite of its dulcet tones, spite of its being puffed, published, and repuffed by Messrs. Parbury and Co., and spite of its being honoured with the distinguished patronage of the 24 gentlemen to whom, as Mr. Murray says in his *Representative* it would be a sarcasm to apply the term “statesmen” it might prove too feeble, too *sotto voce* to be re-echoed to the Asiatic shores (even under the fostering auspices of the Asiatic Journal)—I think it right to do justice to the motives of my brother “Voice”; whatever may be its imperfections, however deficient in taste and feeling, and however monotonous and wanting in expression, the absence of all sordid and base motives is sufficiently proved by the fact (and I call on the honourable Company’s booksellers to attest it) that Captain Seely’s “voice” has never been *bought*!—and so “*requiescat in pace*.” It might be necessary also to disclaim consanguinity with those oracular voices which occasionally raise themselves in the Leadenhall senate, and put forth volumes of antiquities and statistics which they call upon their hearers to receive as the result of their experience and observation in India, and to subscribe to implicitly. But my preamble has already been sufficiently long, and I must confine myself to the object I had in view in addressing you, viz. the wrongs which India receives at the hands of England.

To enumerate all the benefits that England has derived from this much injured country would require more space than you can afford. I will holdly affirm that there is scarcely an art or science, scarcely a pursuit, useful, or ornamental that does not draw largely on India for some of the essentials to its excellence. Take, for example,

painting—how greatly does India contribute to the perfection of this art? Indian rubber, Indian ink, Indian yellow, Indian red, Indigo, are all derived from this country, the camels' hair of which brushes are made, and the ivory on which many paintings are done, are also the products of the land, and the finest engravings are struck off on Indian paper. But it is in administering to our pleasures and gratifications that India chiefly claims our gratitude, need I recall to the mind of the *gastronomer* the numerous delicacies, the choice condiments, the *piquant* spices and highly-prized esculents, with which India enriches his repasts, the curries, chillies, cayenne, &c. which impart so exquisite a relish to the pleasures of the table, and multiply the resources of the culinary art? Need I name that immortal discovery which was reserved to the genius of the present age, and which will confer everlasting fame on its Royal inventor. "The King of Oude's favourite sauce"?—Need I remind him who languishes from excess or illness, that India is at hand with her rhubarb, her castor-oil, and all her benign *peristaltics* and restoratives to assuage his sufferings? or him who endures acute pain, that opium affords at least a temporary relief, and that "the drowsy syrups of the East" are the only lullaby to anguish? Need I impress on your fair readers their obligations to India? No! whilst pearls and silks are precious in female eyes, whilst ladies pride themselves on the grace of their plumes, whilst Dacca throws Manchester into the shade, and the "vrai cachemire," continues to take the *pas* of the humble "Glasgow," so long will ladies' hearts beat with sympathy for India.

The benefits derived from India, however, are not merely sensual; they are also intellectual. Did not the discussion of the Deccan prize money question furnish gossip and conversation for years? employing the "collective wisdom" of the Treasury Lords for several days, and filling the pockets of certain lawyers? Has not the Burmese rath drawn thousands of gaping and wondering visitors to gaze and moralize on the vanity of the "Golden Foot"? And has not the Burmese war been a never-falling topic of discussion and speculation? Conjecture has indeed now given place to certainty on this subject, and it is melancholy to think how many people will be thrown out of employment by the conclusion of the war. I do not mean the belligerents, but those who made this war the occupation of their lives, who talked of nothing else, wrote of nothing else, thought of nothing else. The weather no longer cut the conspicuous figure it was wont to do in conversation, in the circles about Portland place; the newspapers teemed with reports from the scene of hostilities, and even the House of Commons is said to have occupied itself on divers occasions for a few minutes with the subject. I think I have said enough to show that England *ought* to take an interest in what relates to India, owing, as she does, so much to that country. So far from that being the case, an apathy and indifference exist (save only where there is

danger of the country being lost) on the subject, which I am totally at a loss to account for. If India is mentioned in the House of Commons, the "collective wisdom" instantly betake themselves to Bellamy's. In private society the subject is received with a yawn or with a stare of astonishment. The ignorance which prevails respecting it is less wonderful, because where people are indifferent they are, of course, uninformed. But it would almost seem as if ignorance on this subject were meritorious, so little are the pains taken to conceal it. I was lately accosted at a party by a little fat lady with a scarlet toque and a diamond sprig, who said she understood I was from India, and she wished to know if I were acquainted with her nephew, who had lately gone out? On my inquiring to what part of India the youth had gone, she said he had joined his regiment at Jamaica, and that she was greatly apprehensive of his being ordered against the Burmese, as she understood the India Company were assembling all their forces in that quarter. On my endeavouring to explain, as politely as possible, that Jamaica formed no part of the Company's territories, and that the West India Islands were sufficiently remote from the Burman Empire, to render it extremely improbable that their respective forces should meet, she exclaimed "Well, well, of course you know best, having been there; for my part I am no geographer, and know little about the Indies, East or West; but I am sure Mr.——, the Director, said the other day that the Burmese country was on the *west* side of India, and he ought to know, for he has £2000 of India stock." There was no combating against such authority and such reasoning, so the conversation dropped.

An eminent English lawyer expressed to me lately his wonder that the East India Company did not bestir themselves more against the slavery abolitionists, as their slaves, he presumed, were the most valuable part of their property. The learned gentleman looked a little surprised when I informed him that the Legislature suffered none but the British inhabitants of India to be enslaved; however, he recovered himself in a lawyer-like manner, by observing, that for that very reason the Company should make common cause with the planters, as the emancipation of the blacks would doubtless speedily be followed by that of the whites. I lately heard a military man, in a coffee-house, expressing his fears that the Burmese would be joined by the Ashantees, and then, said he, "take my word for it, Lord Combermere may go to the right about, for our game is up in the East." Some strange confusion was probably floating in the good man's brain, between the *gold coast* and the *golden foot*. These are but a few out of the numerous instances, of ignorance and blundering that I have met with in persons of education and information.

People in England have also a foolish way of attaching English names to Indian names, either from similarity of sound, or from

association of some sort or other; hence an infinity of ridiculous blunders. I have been asked whether or no the *sepoys* in India are as expert in nautical matters as our *seamen*. I have excited the amazement of a whole drawing room by casually mentioning that the climate of Bencoolen is *hot* and unhealthy, and I can scarcely succeed in convincing any one that the *Hottentot* country is remarkably *cool* and agreeable. Bajee Row, I find, figures in the imagination of many as a turbulent Radical, clamouring for annual parliaments and universal suffrage; whilst Runjeet Sing is looked upon as the founder of a new school of vocal music in the East—the Velluti of Hindoostan. Happening to be in conversation lately with a friend, on Indian matters, and having alluded to the *ryots* of Bengal, a grave “unpaid,” who chanced to be present, pricked up his ears, and inquired if *riots* were numerous in India. I replied they were, in Bengal particularly. He expressed his wonder that, under an absolute government, and so near the seat of administration, such popular effervescences should be of so frequent occurrence. “However,” he added, “I suppose the distresses we feel here have also reached India. This comes of over-trading, tampering with the currency, and delusion about the corn laws! But I suppose you lose no time in sending for a magistrate to read the Riot Act, and in calling out the yeomanry?” I told him that unfortunately there was no Riot Act to read, on which he declared his intention (if the county returned him to the next Parliament) to move the framing of a Riot Act adapted to the circumstances of India.

I should tire your patience, and that of your readers, were I to mention all the *betises* and cross purposes of this sort which I have met with. Leaving the general question of the ungrateful treatment India receives from England, I wish to say a few words on the uncourteous reception which Indians experience on their arrival here. Belonging, as I do myself, to that respectable and bilious community, having spent the best years of my life in that country, and having grown yellow in the service, I am perhaps inclined to overrate the importance which others may be disposed to attach to the natural history of our family; but the majority of your readers being Asiatics, or connected with Asiatics, I may hope for indulgence. How sadly have we sunk in the estimation of the people of England since days of yore! Then, we were received with open arms by all—were greeted with the dignified appellation of *Naabob*—were courted and caressed by prudent mammas, who had daughters to dispose of—we were treated with the utmost submission and deference by our relatives and dependents—our long stories were listened to with attention and without contradiction—our equipages were to be seen rolling through the polished regions of St James’s and May Fair, whilst their owners had the undisputed *entrée* to the most exclusive circles of fashion. I question if even the doors of Almack’s were shut against them. Such were the distinctions

formerly purchased by a short career of 10 or 12 years in the East. Our dominion in England was like that in India—one of opinion,—we bought “golden opinions of all sorts of men;” and if our consciences were supposed to be disturbed by the recollection of the means by which we had enriched ourselves, and our slumbers to be broken by visions of plundered princes and tortured subjects, still none were so uncivil as to express their suspicions to us, and our self-importance was undiminished. What a melancholy contrast does the present *status* of Indians in England afford to this! No mammas now court us—no daughters set their caps at us—our stories are listened to with yawns and signs of impatience—our relations presume to argue with us, we are pent up like Jews in a separate *quarter*, the neighbourhood of Portland Place, Harley street, &c. which is sneeringly termed “The Deccan”—our Club in Grosvenor Street, which we were obliged to set up in self-defence, is the sport of the flippant coxcombs of St James’s Street—our Asiatic Society is suffered to languish in obscurity; and as to an Indian at Almack’s—heavens! the very idea of it would put Lady Jersey into fits, and the spirit of Skeffington would rise to rebuke the degenerate descendants of the august founders.

Thus it is that “men of all sorts take a pride to gird at us.” Our sun is set! Of the causes which have contributed to our decline, I will not now treat—perhaps at some future time I may make them the subject of inquiry. The above observations may however, in some measure, prepare those in India who are panting for home, and for all the fancied delights and distinctions which are to greet their arrival in England, for the disappointment which will most probably await them.

A VOICE FROM INDIA.

THE IMMORTALITY OF MIND.

Ox! can that Mind whose pure delight
Is truth and virtue’s sacred way
Be lost in everlasting night,
And worth and genius pass away?

It cannot be! though Nature die,
And youth and loveliness decay—
The immortal Mind shall rise on high,
No more to time and grief a prey,—

Like yon majestic orb of light,
Whose morning smile and evening ray
Can only quit the dreary night
To glory in a new-born day.

Camberwell.

J. J.

BHURTPoor—INDIAN ENGINEERS—ARTILLERY—WAR IN AWA.

THE official despatches respecting the assault of Bhurtpoor, and the terms of its surrender, will be found in another part of our Journal. But, having received, from an intelligent correspondent in India, a letter, in which the several subjects named at the head of this article are each alluded to, with reference to the operations before that fortress, we think we cannot do better with the miscellaneous, but at the same time, interesting information it contains, than give it in the state in which it is communicated in the letter of our intelligent informant. He says:—

“The attack on Bhurtpoor was commenced regularly enough; trenches were opened at about 6 or 700 yards from what appeared in the plans to be a very assailable angle of the town wall, and batteries for raking the two adjacent faces were judiciously placed. In a few days, however, as the approaches advanced, the guns of these batteries were advanced also, and were made use of to breach the place at nearer distances, and in more convenient positions. This, at first sight, appears reasonable enough; but artillery officers say, that a great error was committed, for that the raking, or, as they call them, the enfilading batteries, should never have ceased their fire; that up to the moment of the assault, and even during that operation, they should continue to annoy the besieged in flank; and that the instant of their being withdrawn, in the present instance, was the signal for the garrison to repair and strengthen their defences, and collect all their force for one great effort in the immediate vicinity of the breaches. All this is easily understood, but what staggers our belief is; that the error should have been unavoidable, and that, after the experience of the former siege, after twenty years of peace on that frontier, and after the urgent representations of Sir D. Ochterlony, the magazines of Delhi and Agra should have been so badly supplied with ordnance, that thirty-six pieces of battering cannon was all that could be procured, by literally emptying those two grand dépôts.

“The difficulties here hinted at had induced the besiegers to have recourse to mining; and in these operations the engineers conducted themselves to the admiration of the whole army, notwithstanding the great disadvantages under which they laboured from want of experience and want of means; for almost all the instructed men, trained with so much care by Colonel Pasley at Chatham, have been made non-commissioned officers to the pontoon train! at the other extremity of our provinces, or have been put into more advantageous situations, in different parts of the country, than employment in their own line afforded. Still, however, the engineers have done their duty; they pushed their galleries in all directions; and though sometimes countermined by the enemy, and sometimes

unsuccessful in calculating the effects of their own mines, yet they occasioned the besieged great annoyance.

“The successful termination of this siege is most fortunate; for had we failed here, it would have been impossible for us to attack any other place this season; unless, indeed, we calculate more than prudence would dictate upon the co-operation of that doughty commander, *General Panic*. He is, indeed, so frequent and faithful an ally of ours, that I think Government ought to erect a temple to their best friend, with this inscription over the portico:—“*Te nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam cœloque locamus;*” and round the base—“*Verum sunt in his quidem virtutis opera magna, sed majora fortunæ.*”

“Meantime, affairs in camp have not been going on well; a bad spirit has appeared amongst the sepoys. A man of the 15th having been knocked down senseless by a shot, was carried into the hospital, and first the arm and then the temporal artery opened, without effect; it was concluded, therefore, that he was dead, and the surgeon went on to other men; in a short time, however, some of the soldiers, on raising the cloth with which the poor man was covered, found him weltering in his blood, and report says, quite dead. Upon this they made a great uproar, attracted almost the whole regiment to the spot, and exclaiming, that it was not enough to make use of their best exertions whilst alive and well, but that we actually bled them to death when disabled, raised the corpse upon a litter, and paraded it through their camp, so as, you may imagine, to create a very extraordinary and very discreditable ferment, considering time and place. The disturbance, however, was got over in the course of a very short time; but inquiry will, of course, be made into the origin and conduct of the affair.

“The next unpleasant occurrence was the blowing up of about 6000 rounds of ammunition by a shot from the fort. The explosion is described as tremendous, and the blaze it created, by setting fire to a large mass of materials for the approaching assaults, awfully grand. By the exertions of the artillery, and particularly of Captain Brook, an acting commissary in the ordnance line, the fire was soon got under; not, however, before it had done very great damage, and drawn a very heavy cannonade upon that part of the trenches, thereby serving to show our troops what they had to expect when they advanced to the attack; a spectacle particularly edifying to men in that situation.

“The last, but not the least, annoyance we have to complain of is the desertion among our troops; three or four of the foot and one of the horse-artillery, one sapper and miner, and some fifty sepoys, are said to have deserted to the enemy. What can have been the cause of this, it is impossible to conjecture; but the effect is sufficiently evident in the precision with which the guns of the fort were directed the morning after the first artilleryman had gone over

He had observed, it seems, the spot where the commander-in-chief usually placed himself to observe the progress of the siege, and so correctly did he point his gun, that at the first shot he shivered the branches of the tree under which his lordship was sitting, and the party had scarcely time to change its position, when another broke the leg of one of the servants in attendance. Doubtless, too, it was this man, who, seeing the incautious exposure of our ammunition, directed the unlucky gun that destroyed it. I am at a loss to conceive what can be the cause of this desertion; whether to the very small number of officers present with their companies, to the hard work of the siege, or to the very tempting offers of the enemy. The last reason, however, may account for the fact of no Europeans of other regiments having been decoyed away; for the enemy would not think it worth while to purchase any but an artilleryman or a miner at a high price. The labour is certainly immense; but surely the wretches who go over must know that they must labour still harder with their new masters. An officer of artillery writes: "I have been on duty in the trenches for six days together, with only one interval of twelve hours." Now, if this occurs to the officers, the men, we may be assured, are not much better off; and that they should be dazzled by the great increase of pay, and promises of sensual gratification, that are said to be held out to them by the enemy, is not very surprising. But the fact, whatever may be the reason of it, is exceedingly disgraceful, and has accordingly greatly injured the character of the corps, notwithstanding the great and acknowledged exertions of all engaged.

"But let us turn to a brighter subject: Though the artillery are out of favour in Hindoostan, they have distinguished themselves very much in the Ava territory; and it is to them that the conclusion of peace is mainly to be attributed. By some chance, it appears, the Madras artillery were, in the advance from Prome, attached to the Bengal division of troops; whilst the Bengal artillery was doing duty with the Madras division. The Madras, therefore, took the lead; but Sir A. Campbell was so taken with the praises bestowed by General Cotton upon the Bengal folks, that he availed himself of the first opportunity to change the arrangement, and ordered them to come to the front. And fortunate it was that he did so; for, a few days after the negotiation for peace was commenced, the army still advancing, Sir A. Campbell came suddenly upon an extensive stockade, with the enemy's whole force drawn up in imposing order on the opposite side of a small river. In the confusion of the moment some guns were fired, and Sir A., thinking the negotiation was again about to be broken off, sent for his reserve artillery. In an instant they were put in motion; and though the distance was nearly six miles, and no other cattle but bullocks were to be had, Colonel Pollock, and the whole party, came up at a trot, and took such a commanding position opposite the enemy's works, that he would have been able to enfilade two faces of their

stockade, should an attack be determined on. The Burmese, however, saw their disadvantage, and subsequently agreed to all our terms. The officers who have come round say, the scene that was exhibited on this occasion was exceedingly interesting:—The two armies drawn up facing each other, and only apparently waiting for an order to pass the intervening stream, and commence the attack; the enemy bold in their numbers, and the strength of their position; when suddenly the opposite bank is crowned by those guns which had so often rendered their fortifications of no avail: instantly their spirits sink; an uneasiness and wavering is perceptible throughout their ranks; and the flag of conciliation and peace is once more unfurled.

“The terms of the treaty you will see by the public papers, and you will agree with me, that most fortunate it is that we have got off so well; for, though the constancy of mind and undaunted intrepidity of Sir A. Campbell, and the excellent conduct of the troops under his command, are beyond all praise, and will constitute one of the brightest pages of our history, it can never be denied that the war itself was unnecessary, and this expedition, in particular, most unadvisedly entered upon. But, says our quaint old friend Montaigne, ‘*La pluspart des choses du monde se font par elles-mêmes. Fata viam inveniunt. L’issue autorise souvent une très-inepte conduite.*’ And so let us discuss the matter no farther.”

DISADVANTAGES OF THE MEDICAL SERVICE IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—It is extremely humiliating to the members of the medical profession in India to feel how much their views are overlooked in the different arrangements that take place for the improvement or amelioration of the condition of the military generally. This oversight is the consequence chiefly of a want of community of interests between them and the ruling parties, and requires public representation to draw the attention of the proper authorities to it. Let it not be said that these lines, being addressed to you, are the mere ebullitions of a discontented imagination. They are written by a person deeply interested in the subject it is true, but purely with the view of attracting the notice of those able and willing to redress our grievances; memorials from the military in bodies being interdicted as mutinous, and those from individuals being attended with the effect of destroying their prospects in the service, designating them troublesome characters.

In the late arrangements for the organization of the army, the whole of the military officers, from the colonel downwards, have benefited—particularly in the first, the lieutenant-colonel, majors, and older captains, and that too without reference to the augment

tation of the army arising from the increased proportion of the highest rank, or that of colonel, to the others. The contrary is the case in the medical department. There not being any increase of the highest rank or members of the Medical Board—the juniors only benefited by the new arrangements or increase.

Upon comparing the proportions which the highest ranks of the different departments bear to the others, it will be observed how lamentably small is that of the medical, particularly of the Bengal establishment; that of the Bombay one to forty; the Madras one to sixty-nine; and the Bengal not one to one hundred and fifteen! whilst in the military department, the proportion of the highest rank, or that of colonel, is as one to twenty-two! If it be supposed that the medical branch has other advantages, to make up for deficiency in this point, and slowness of promotion, I can only say that I know of none. Their allowances, while in the service (whatever they may have been), are not superior now, while the retiring pay falls very far short of officers of the same number of years' standing in the service. There is no instance I believe, or not more than one, of a medical officer (I write of the Bengal establishment) attaining the situation of member of the Medical Board, and being able to retire on the pension attached thereto, under a service of forty years; and the pension, when obtained, is only about one half that of a military officer of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, which is now obtained under a service of thirty years. It is to be observed too, that medical officers, besides not attaining their highest rank in equal time with the military officer, labour under a disadvantage peculiar to themselves—that of not being able to retire on the pension attached to the situation of member of the Medical Board till after having served two years in the situation, even although obliged to leave the country on account of ill health.

In the King's army, to make up, I suppose, for the want of gradation of ranks, the pay of regimental surgeons increases in a certain ratio with length of service, and some arrangement of this kind is more necessary in the Company's army, to induce men to toil on with a regiment thirty years and upwards, which they are frequently obliged to do. As the law now stands, surgeons, on retiring after a certain number of years' service, are entitled to full pay,—the pay to be the same as that of an officer in his Majesty's service of the same rank. Does not this entitle the surgeon to the increased pay corresponding to the number of years' service at the time of retirement? All the departments in India, both civil and military, have been brought forward so much beyond the medical, that unless something shall also be done for the latter, it is not to be expected that respectably-educated persons will enter the service, in this department, five or six years later in life than the others; consuming as much during this time, in their peculiar education, as the others should be receiving. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. E.

AN EAST INDIAMAN DESTROYED BY FIRE.*

She rode amid sunshine and smiles away,
 Lovely as joy, and beautiful as day ;
 She laugh'd with light, she proudly bore along,
 And o'er the blue wave rang a shouting song ;
 Her crimson flag was streaming on the breeze,
 And hearts were dancing on the summer seas.

The land of the East was their own—
 And Hope 'mid the billows of light,
 Was wreathing and gemming her hair
 With rainbows and bubbles all bright.
 The youthful cadet dash'd the tear,
 From his starry and gladd'ning eye ;
 He thought of a cloudless day,
 And he gazed on a sun-rob'd sky.

But now th' Atlantic bears the spells of night,
 And past are all her heralds of delight ;
 Boldly the vessel rises o'er the deep,
 Or lets the billow rock her to her sleep ;
 Begirt with darkness now, her heavy sail
 Is lowly murm'ring to the midnight gale ;
 The moaning winds across her cold deck sweep,
 Whilst young, frail bosoms, fraught with passions, weep.

The voices which sang through the morning hour
 Are whispering their spirits' disturbing pow'r ;
 And the hearts which danced on the sunny sea,
 Are clouded with perils and mystery :
 The bubbles are broken, the rainbows are past,
 The light hair of Hope is touching the blast ;
 The hurrying tread of danger is there—
 The heart of dismay, the wild eye of care.

At length, 'mid darkness, stillness, and the night,
 The hapless vessel bursts in crimson light ;
 From her full deck the hollow voice is sent,
 The dirge is echoed by each element ;
 The flame is rising on the rolling wave,
 The minute gun is sounding on the grave ;
 And forms of beauty dare the swelling deep,
 Whilst sterner bosoms bear the fire-blast's sweep.
 The wayward sisters o'er the ocean press,
 And hail the victims flying in distress ;
 This hour is theirs—this two-fold hour of doom,
 And they the busy heralds of the tomb.

The fire-lit billow is lifting its head,
 The winds are rolling the mariner's bed—
 Death's pallid steed rears through the viewless air,
 And Death in his triumph is reigning there.

The shrieks are louder, crash is heard on crash,
 Her timbers crack beneath the billows' dash ;
 Her canvass fitting, blazing to the night,
 Howls to the deep wind's melancholy might ;
 The ship, no longer balanced on the wave,
 Is scourg'd, and torn, and rocking to her grave :
 Her keel is parted—now asunder riv'n,
 Her masts, her sails, are by the storm-wind driv'n ;
 Her hapless crew are in their dreamless sleep,
 And darkness rests upon the heaving deep.

* From 'Sybil's Leaves,' &c. &c. ; just published.

ELEGANT AND APPROPRIATE TRIBUTE OF RESPECT, PRESENTED
 BY THE HONOURABLE ANNE SEYMOUR DAMER TO THE LIBERAL
 AND ENLIGHTENED KING OF TANJORE.

A VERY fine bronze bust of Admiral Lord Nelson, of an heroic size, is just now on the point of being sent out to India, as a present from the Honourable Anne Seymour Damer to the King of Tanjore; and accompanies the diploma by which the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland have appointed his Royal Highness an Honorary Member of that Society. This original bust of Nelson was modelled from life by the Honourable Anne Seymour Damer, soon after the battle of the Nile; it was then executed by her in marble, and presented by her to the City of London; and is now executed by her in bronze, and presented by her to the King of Tanjore, as the most appropriate mark she can show him of the admiration which she, as an artist, entertains of his Royal Highness, in consequence of the liberal and enlightened manner in which he has encouraged the introduction and cultivation of European arts and sciences amongst his subjects; and in consequence of the respect which he has paid to the naval and military heroes of Great Britain, by erecting a splendid monument, in his country, to commemorate the great achievements which they performed during the late arduous and protracted contest which prevailed between France and Great Britain.

The character of the King of Tanjore, the nature and peculiarity of the early education which he received, the state of the people who inhabit his dominions,—the fame of the hero whose bust is sent to him, the importance of the battle of the Nile to the British ascendancy in India,—the circumstances which led Mrs. Damer, from her feelings as an artist, to make the bust in question, the high rank, the genius and the celebrity of the artist herself, as well on the continent of Europe as in England,—are considerations which render the present a subject of more than ordinary interest to all those who are acquainted with the character of the Hindoos, and who think it of importance, with a view to give them a taste for the arts and sciences of Europe, and to encourage a Hindoo prince to continue the prudent and well-directed efforts by which he has already succeeded in removing from the minds of the Natives of the highest caste in his country the prejudices which they formerly entertained against the introduction of any European institution. The King of Tanjore is a Hindoo sovereign of rank, influence, and wealth, who was originally educated by the late Rev. Mr. Swartz, a European missionary of the greatest respectability throughout India; and who has, ever since he has been upon

the throne, used his rank, influence, and wealth in acquiring himself, and in promoting amongst the people of the highest caste and highest rank in his country, a knowledge of the arts and sciences of Europe. The country of Tanjore is, for its size, the most populous and the best cultivated part of the southern division of the Peninsula of India. In it the effects of the Mohammedan conquest are less visible than in the more northern parts of that Peninsula, and the Hindoo religion, laws, usages, and manners, are, from the sovereign of the country being himself a Hindoo, kept up in full force.

Sir Alexander Johnston, a relation of the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer, while Chief Justice and First Member of his Majesty's Council on the island of Ceylon, formed a plan of giving the Natives of that island a direct interest in the government of their country, by imparting to them an important share in the administration of justice amongst their countrymen, and of introducing Trial by Jury amongst them, under such modifications as would, at the same time that it secured to the people the full benefit of this popular mode of trial, make it strictly conformable to their respective religions, laws, manners, and usages; as all the inhabitants of the northern provinces of Ceylon are Hindoos, and are descended from, and agree in religion, laws, manners, and usages with the Hindoo inhabitants of the opposite Peninsula. Sir Alexander was extremely anxious, with a view to the regulations which he was about to make for adapting Trial by Jury to the feelings of the Hindoo inhabitants of Ceylon, not only to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Peninsula of India, but also of the wise and prudent measures which the King of Tanjore, from his knowledge of the Hindoo character, had pursued for adapting the arts and sciences of Europe to the feelings and prejudices of the Hindoo inhabitants of his country.

For this purpose Sir Alexander made two journeys through the southern provinces of the Peninsula of India, and paid a visit to the King of Tanjore, who received him with great attention, and gave him a full opportunity of observing the progress which his Royal Highness himself, as well as the persons of the highest caste and rank at his court, had made in acquiring a knowledge of European arts and sciences, and in accustoming the people of the country, notwithstanding the prejudices which had formerly prevailed amongst them, to view such studies with feelings of the highest respect. Sir Alexander was very much struck with the effects which the King of Tanjore had been able to produce upon the character of his Hindoo subjects, by cautiously removing from their minds the prejudices which they had previously entertained against the study and adoption of some of the most useful of the arts and sciences of Europe, and was fully convinced that it would be of the utmost importance to the British interests in India, to seize the favourable

opportunity which was afforded to Europe, by the peculiar character of the King of Tanjore, to introduce with success a taste for those arts and sciences amongst the Hindoo inhabitants of India. It seemed to him also to be the true policy of Great Britain to encourage, by all means which could be devised, the King of Tanjore to proceed in the course in which he had already made so great a progress, of exciting, by his example and influence amongst the Hindoos of his country, a very general taste and respect for studies of that nature; and to consider the King of Tanjore and his Hindoo subjects as the medium through which such a taste and respect for the arts and sciences might be disseminated with safety and success amongst all the Hindoo inhabitants of Asia.

Under this impression, Sir Alexander Johnston, as soon as the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (one of the principal objects of which is to communicate to Asia such of the arts and sciences of Europe as are applicable to the situation of the people) was permanently established, proposed the King of Tanjore as the first honorary member of that society; and Sir Alexander Johnston,—being fully aware of the beneficial effect which would be produced upon a character like that of the King of Tanjore, who himself, upon principles of policy, had encouraged persons of the highest castè and rank in his country to study the arts and sciences of Europe, to receive as a mark of respect for such conduct from an artist of high rank and celebrity in Europe one of the finest specimens of her art,—mentioned the subject to his relation, the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer; who immediately, with the liberality which is peculiar to her character, and with the zeal which she displays on every occasion when she can promote a knowledge of the arts and sciences of her country, proposed, of her own accord, notwithstanding the expense and the labour which she would inevitably incur, to execute, with her own hands, the bust in bronze, of Nelson, and to send it as a present to the King of Tanjore; feeling that no present could be more appropriate to a king, who had been so faithful an ally of the British Government, than a bust of that hero, who, by the victory of the Nile, had freed the British dominions in India from the danger of being invaded by the French, and who had thereby finally secured for the King of Tanjore himself that tranquillity which enabled him to prosecute, without interruption, the plan which he had so wisely adopted of encouraging amongst the people of his country the arts and sciences of Europe.

The king of Tanjore, whose great object it has always been to impress upon the minds, both of his own relations, and of all the persons of rank in his country, that the people of the highest rank in Europe are proud of being distinguished for the progress they have made in knowledge, will perfectly understand how much it

will support the opinion which he has circulated amongst his people, to receive a fine specimen of her art, from an artist like the Hon. Mrs. Damer, whose rank, whose genius, and whose works are noticed, as well on the continent of Europe as in her own country, as appears by her bust being placed in the hall of ancient and modern painters, in the Royal Gallery of Florence, and by the honourable mention which is made of her, and of her works, in Dallaway's 'Anecdotes of the Arts in England.' As our publication is peculiarly devoted to circulating useful and interesting information amongst the inhabitants of India, and to the recording of such events as may be deemed of importance in improving and elevating the minds and characters of persons of every description in that part of the world; and as the name and works of the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer may henceforward be considered as intimately connected with the efforts which are making in this country to promote the improvements and happiness of the people under the British Government in Asia, we feel it our duty, on the present occasion, to extract, for the information of those persons in India who may not have access to the original sources of this information, the account which is given of the Hon. Mrs. Damer, and of her works, in the Gallery of Florence, as well as that which is contained in Dallaway's 'Anecdotes of the Arts in England.'

The following is the account given in the Gallery of Florence: The Honourable Anne Seymour Damer, sculptrix, was born in London, of parents the most illustrious; the head of her family, on the side of her father, is the Duke of Somerset; and on the side of her mother, is the Duke of Argyle. She was married to Mr. Damer, the eldest son of Lord Milton, who was afterwards created Lord Dorchester.

This lady, from her earliest childhood, showed indications of the talents which have since distinguished her; and, becoming afterwards a widow, and less occupied in the great world, her genius led her to follow her taste, which has since, for a long time, occupied her understanding, not merely as a dilettante, but as a real artist.

The Hon. Anne Seymour Damer received her first lessons from the celebrated sculptor, Ceracchi, who at the time happened to be in London. She learnt the technical part of working in marble the workshop of Mr. Bacon, of the Royal Academy of London; studied the elements of anatomy under the auspices of Professor Cruikshank, and made journies into Italy to contemplate the chef d'œuvres of the art, in order that she might perfect herself in the true and simple style of the Greeks, which she always endeavoured to follow.

Amongst her works are to be seen a statue in marble, eight feet high, of his late Britannic Majesty, George the Third, placed in the Register's-office at Edinburgh.

Two colossal heads, in relief, executed in Portland stone, representing Tamè and Isis, forming the keystone on each side of the middle arch of the stone bridge of Henley upon Thames.

A monument, executed in Roehdale stone, a bust (portrait) in marble, and erected in Sunbridge church, Kent, to the memory of her mother, the late Right Honourable the Countess of Ailesbury, who was the daughter of John, fourth Duke of Argyle, and married, in the first instance, to the Earl of Ailesbury, the father of the late Duchess of Richmond, and in the second, to the late Field Marshal the Right Honourable Henry Seymour Conway, the father of the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer. On it is the following inscription:

ARGATHELIE DUCIS
FILIA
MATRI CHAREO
HOB MONUMENTUM
PROPRIA MANU SCULPTUM
POSUIT
ANNA SEYMOUR DAMER,
1808.

Many busts in marble, bronze, and models in terra cotta.

A bust in marble (heroic size), portrait of Admiral Lord Nelson, presented to the City of London.

A head in marble, of Bacchus (portrait of Prince Lobomirski), placed in the gallery of the University of Oxford.

A bust, executed in bronze, of Sir Joseph Banks, the late president of the Royal Society, presented to the British Museum.

A bust, in marble, of the late Mr. Fox; which the Honourable Anne Seymour Damer had the honour of presenting in person to his late Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, on the 1st of May, 1815, at the Palace Elisée at Paris. This bust had been promised on a journey which Mrs. Damer had made to Paris, at the period of the treaty of Amiens. Mrs. Damer quitted Paris shortly after her presentation of the bust of Mr. Fox; but, before her departure, she received, by the hands of Marshal Count Bertrand, a magnificent snuff-box, with the portrait surrounded by diamonds, of the Emperor Napoleon, who begged of her "to accept of this souvenir," the very words which were used by the Emperor. This bust was, by order of the Emperor, to have been placed in the Gallery of Great Men, at Fontainebleau.

A dog, executed in marble, presented to her late Majesty, Queen Charlotte of England, and now in the collection of her Royal Highness the Landgravine of Hesse Homberg.

A group of two sleeping dogs, executed in marble, and given to her brother-in-law, Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond. Another dog, in marble, a favourite of the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer.

Many dogs, in terra cotta.

An Osprey eagle, in terra cotta ; and

Two kittens, in marble, in the collection of the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill.

A bust, executed in marble (portrait of herself), placed in the Royal Gallery of Florence, in the Hall of Ancient and Modern Painters.

Another bust, in marble (portrait of herself), in the collection of the late R. P. Knight, Esq. ; now in the British Museum, with that collection.

Isis—a bust in Greek marble, in the collection of Thomas Hope, Esq.

Bust in marble, portrait of Sir Humphry Davy, President of the Royal Society.

The bust in marble of the Lady Viscountess Melbourn is now placed in the collection of the Earl Cowper, at Penshanger.

Also a bust in marble—portrait of the late Honourable Penniston Lamb, in the character of Mercury.

Paris—a small bust in marble.

Thalia—a bust in marble.

A bust in marble—portrait of her mother the late Countess of Ailesbury.

A bust, in terra cotta, of the late Queen Caroline of England.

A bust in terra cotta—portrait of her father the late Field Marshal the Right Honourable Henry Seymour Conway.

A small bust—head of a muse—in bronze.

The following is the account given of Mrs Damer in *Dallaway's Anecdotes of the Arts in England* :

Mrs. Damer first studied the elements, and was instructed by Ceracchi, who has represented her as the muse of sculpture, * and received farther assistance in the school of Bacon. Two kittens in white marble, with the shock dogs, and the Osprey eagle in terra cotta, at Strawberry Hill, now her residence, have merited the elegant encomium of Horace Walpole. ' Non me Praxiteles fecit ut Anna Damer.' These first mentioned are amongst her early performances, and promised the future excellence to which she has attained.

A statue of his present Majesty, larger than life, at Edinburgh ; those of admirable grace and resemblance of Lady Melbourn and Lady Elizabeth Forster, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire ; of Mrs Siddons in the character of the Tragic Muse ; the heads of

* This statue of Mrs. Damer is placed at the entrance of the British Museum, opposite to the great staircase.

Tame and Isis for the bridge at Henley; a beautiful greyhound, and the Bacchanal abovementioned, are works upon the merit of which an artist might securely rest his fame. These singular proofs of genius will command the admiration of posterity as well for grandeur as elegance; nor will the observation of Quintilian upon Polykletus be applicable even to a female sculptor, "*Quin ætatem graviolem dicatur refugisse nihil ausus præter leves genas.*" As a statuary, Mrs Damer is unrivalled; and Darwin has expressed nothing beyond the strict limits of truth in the following lines, in which he bears tribute to the power of her art:

Long with soft touch shall Damer's chisel charm,
With grace delight us, and with beauty warm;
Forster's fine form shall hearts unborn engage,
And Melbourn's smile enchant another age.

We must conclude this brief account of two interesting personages—each likely, the one by giving, and the other by receiving, the elegant and appropriate tribute of respect described, to become deeply instrumental in bringing Europe and Asia nearer to each other in every thing but climate and geographical distance—with the mention of a well-authenticated and striking proof of the general capacity of the Native Indians to understand, and their skill to apply, the knowledge that may be communicated to them from Europe. In the island of Ceylon, soon after the introduction into it of the noble institution, Trial by Jury, a Native of some consideration was put upon his trial for murder. The rank of the parties implicated, and the circumstances attending the deed, had occasioned this trial to excite the greatest interest throughout the country, and the Court was crowded to witness the proceedings. After a patient investigation of the affair, the Jury retired to consider of their verdict; and so plausible was the evidence against the accused, that the whole of the Jury, with one single exception, considered his guilt to be completely established. The individual who did not concur in this opinion, was a young Native, of about five-and-twenty, of superior understanding; and the reasons stated by him for his dissent were sufficiently powerful to induce the rest of the Jury to consent to return to the Court, and give him an opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses whose evidence had made so strong an impression of the prisoner's guilt. The witnesses being recalled, this young Indian went through their cross-examination with so much skill, yet in so inartificial and straight-forward a manner, as to elicit the most complete proof of the innocence of the accused, and to establish, beyond all doubt, the existence of a conspiracy against his life by parties interested in succeeding to his property. The result was, that the arraigned individual, who, but for this subsequent examination of the witnesses, would have been condemned, and executed within four-and-twenty hours, was restored to his family, his reputation, and his property, by the superior intelligence of one of his fellow countrymen.

When the trial was over, the Chief Justice sent for the young Native, and expressed a desire to know what had been the course of study and occupation which could have given him such penetration and such skill; when he understood from him that he had been educated only in the usual mode adopted for persons of good condition in the country, and that there was nothing peculiar in this to account for the qualities which had excited the judge's admiration. But, he observed, that being naturally of a studious disposition, he sought out and read all the books he could procure on the learning of Europe, both in ancient and modern authors; and having met with a Persian translation from the Greek of Aristotle's *Dialectics*, he had sufficient acquaintance with the language into which it had been translated to understand it well, and was so struck with its importance, that he made a translation of it from the Persian into the Sanscrit. It was to this masterly production of the mind of a Greek philosopher that he owed all his powers of analysis and reasoning; and the present instance of its successful application to the great ends of justice would only stimulate him, he said, to new researches into the wisdom of other countries and of other days.

This fact is of itself sufficient to show what wonders might be wrought by a proper encouragement of such a feeling on the part of the nation in whose hands the destinies of the countless millions of Asia are now placed: Sir Alexander Johnston's introduction of Trial by Jury into Ceylon, is one example that has already produced immense benefit. His illustrious relative, Mrs. Damer's present to the Rajah of Tanjore is another honourable example of such encouragement to the study of European arts, sciences, and letters. Let others but follow their footsteps in other departments of useful knowledge, and they will justly deserve the blessings of millions yet unborn.

SONNETS ON SHAKESPEARE.

No. 9.—As You Like It.

Was—'tis the echo of the hunter's horn,
That, gladly rising through our sylvan brakes,
Cheers dawn, and startles from that budding thorn
Those tremulous diamonds that the night dew makes.
There have I seen "the melancholy Jacques,"
What time the mid-day sun did pour a flood
Of light through the green leaves, that with their shade
On the short grass a moving chequer made,
Holding communion with the solitude,
And, from the leaves and flowers, in his mood,
Drawing conclusions, which but taught at last
That things which are would perish like the past,—
A truth that all may learn, and yet not scorn
Life and its innocent joys—the chase and hunting horn.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

**STATEMENT OF MR. RICHMOND RESPECTING DISEASES
OF THE EYE IN INDIA.**

(Transmitted to the Editor, for publication, from Bombay.)

**ABSTRACT OF DISEASES of the EYE, treated by Surgical Operation, at Surat,
and neighbouring Villages, from the 12th May, to the 1st December, 1895.**

DISEASES.	Restored to good sight by operation.	Restored to sight by operation, a degree or two less than it afterwards by imprudence.	Restored to useful sight by operation.	Total number of Cataracts, Artificial Pupils, and Pterygiums, successfully treated.
Cataracts	566	31		566
Closed Pupils	13		7	13
Pterygiums	4			4
General total restored to good sight by Operation, 603				

ABSTRACT OF DISEASES of the EYE, treated without Surgical Operation.

DISEASES.	Cured.	Relieved.	No better.	REMARKS.
Granular Conjunctiva	212	30		
Ophthalmia	135			
Leucoma	1	47	44	
Neuroma Cornea	4	6	3	
Vascular Cornea	3	5		
Epiphora	9			
Lippitude	3			
Entropium		19	6	
Ectropium	2	3		
Trichiasis	8			
Amaurosis		10	28	
Amaurosis and Cataract	3	19	79	
Nyctalopia	8	11		
Hemeralopia	11			
Hydrophthalmia		3		
Staphyloma		3	29	
Fistula Lachrymalis		3	1	
Hordeolum	2			
Incipient Cataract			129	Not treated.
Structure destroyed before application was made			186	Not treated.
	401	180	450	Grand total, 1,061

These abstracts present a great number of diversified diseases of the eye, and show that the people of Surat, and its vicinity, are

not less afflicted with them, than those in other parts of the country through which I have travelled.

In visiting different parts of the town of Surat, I found few families, comparatively, which were wholly exempt from such diseases. The number of children, blind from the loss of structure of the eye, occasioned by protracted inflammation, bears a great proportion in my monthly returns.

Neglected inflammation is the principal cause of so much blindness among the Natives, and it is brought on by the long dry season and the hot winds; the latter, also, carrying dust into the eyes. The people, when attacked with inflammation in the eyes, have no means of arresting its progress, but, on the contrary, frequently so aggravate its symptoms, by the application of acrimonious and stimulating substances, that it ends in total destruction of the organ.

To cure the disease, some patients have recourse to amulets and charms: by so doing, they, without intention, leave the disease to the course of nature: and it not unfrequently happens, that persons who act in this manner are more fortunate in the termination of their complaint than those who apply pernicious ingredients.

Repeated instances of the father and mother, in one family, both blind from cataract, have been brought to me by their son, and have been restored to sight; and there have been some instances of mothers of families, blind eight years by the same disease, who, as soon as the operation was performed, recognised their children, embraced them, and shed tears of joy over them. A considerable number of people, blind from the same causes, for the space of ten years, and some for the space of seventeen, were also restored to sight.

It sometimes happened, that people with cataract in both eyes, but blind only in one, the opacity not being so dense in the other, and having sight left sufficient for many useful purposes, have found the improvement of vision so great, after the blind eye was restored to sight, that they were induced to return, and request me to operate on the other eye also.

During the first three months of my residence here, as soon as the door of the apartment was opened in the morning to receive the patients for prescription, they thronged in with so much eagerness, as to tread down old people and children, in consequence of which I was compelled to admit them by different doors. Among so great a number of people, I have occasionally restored twenty blind to sight in the course of one day. When, afterwards, travelling among the neighbouring villages of Surat, I have, in the same space of time, restored twenty-two blind to sight—all from cataract.

It may be proper for me to mention, that when operating, of

late, in the midst of a crowd of people, in order the more readily to conciliate their good will to the operation, I have found it of great advantage to use an instrument having a handle only three-quarters of an inch long. By this means it is concealed from the view of the bystanders; or, if it happen to be observed by any of them, it has so diminutive an appearance, as to excite in them but very little, if any, dislike.

As I have often heard of ingratitude forming a prominent feature in the Hindoo character, I cannot avoid mentioning here, that I never saw people more grateful for any favour, than the generality of them in this place were for the restoration of sight; some of them were about to express their gratitude in a manner that called instantly for my decided disapprobation; and I informed them, that for whatever benefit they had received, they were wholly indebted to Government, and, on that account, no acknowledgment was expected, nor would any be received from their hands.

In the number of blind people restored to sight in this town, there were three boys born blind with cataract; one five years of age, another eight, and another thirteen. So little pain did the operation appear to give them, that, while seated on the floor, during its performance, they required no person to hold them; my assistant only supported their heads. The patients being so young, I was induced not to disturb the eye much, but merely to open the vertex of the cataract freely, which soon cleared up, and let in the light, when they saw well.

The acquisition of sight appeared, exceedingly, to raise the happiness of the oldest boy. The first time he began to perceive objects, and was able to walk without a guide, he proceeded up two pair of stairs to me, and requested me to observe how well he could walk alone.

I held a bunch of keys before him, but he could not conceive what they were, until I shook them, when he immediately ascertained what they were, by the jingling sound. I laid a small square mahogany box before him, but neither did he know what it was, until he felt it, when the sense of touch immediately informed him.

I then showed him an infant, born of European parents, the sight of which very considerably engaged his attention, and raised in him the curiosity of inspecting it very narrowly. He seemed afraid, however, to touch it, and affirmed he had not the least idea of what it was. I laid his hand on the child's arms, at which he started back, and expressed a wish to retire; I then drew his hand over the child's face, which he immediately recognized to be the features of a child. He laughed heartily, and appeared very much pleased at his own discovery.

He was longer in learning to distinguish colours than in learning

the names of things. White and red he soon distinguished, but yellow, green, and blue he confounded with black; yet, he said, these colours contained more white than black. When from the roof of a high building, he viewed the river Taptee, he pointed with his hand towards it, and showed, by his manner of expression, that he felt great pleasure in viewing it; he requested my assistant to look in that direction, apparently for the purpose of enjoying the sight with him, but he had not the least idea of its being a body of water.

I showed him many other things, with nearly the same result; and a short time after these experiments were performed, I laid all the same things again before him, when he readily recognized them by the eye. He now follows the occupation of a shepherd.

As a question of very considerable importance, which has been frequently discussed by writers on the subject of cataract, is still undecided, that is, whether it be most proper to couch or extract, I have availed myself of the many opportunities presented to me during the last year, and extracted a very considerable number of cataracts. In order the better to observe the subsequent effects of the different operations, I extracted the cataract from one eye, and, immediately afterwards, couched the other; while in the case of some other patients, I extracted both cataracts at the same time.

The result of my experience is hostile to the practice of extraction. The reasons which have led to this conclusion are, the difficulty of being always able to make the corneal section sufficiently large by one puncturation of the knife; the unsteadiness of the Hindoe patient, during puncturation; the impossibility of removing the opaque capsule with the lens, except in a few cases, where the capsule is exceedingly soft, and adheres to the vertex of the opaque lens, with which it comes away; the greater pain connected with the formation of the corneal section, than the passing of the needle through the coats; the greater degree of irritation after extraction, than after couching; and the untoward treatment which the Natives practise on their eyes after the operation.

Besides, in referring to my register, which contains thirteen hundred cases of blind from cataract, restored to sight during the last twenty months, I find but 437 purely lenticular cases, and 863 lenticular combined with capsular opacity; of which number were 92 fluid, containing a small, hard, opaque lens. So great a proportion of capsulo-lenticular cataracts, form, with the preceding circumstances, insuperable objections to the operation of extraction becoming general; and of their removal I see no probability.

I may also observe, that every one of these cataracts could have been couched with ease; and it is most probable I could have removed them all by couching, had I not been anxious to ascertain

by experience the best mode of operating ; whereas not more than the third of the thirteen hundred could have been extracted ; for extraction is a rude operation, unless performed by one puncturation of the knife, and the incision made large enough to allow the cataract to pass out entire, with scarcely any or no pressure on the eyeball, and without the introduction of a scoop ; but when so done, it is an admirable operation. I have not met one instance of the vitreous humour escaping to the detriment of the eye ; nor do I believe it possible to happen, except when the eye is rudely handled.

The propriety of operating on both eyes at the same time has also engaged the attention of writers on cataract ; and as this subject still remains undecided, I may state, that I have invariably operated on both eyes at the same time with the most complete success ; but great care should be taken that the eye be disturbed as little as possible.

The total number of blind restored to sight from cataract during the last year is as follows : 226 restored to sight at Ahmednuggur, and 586 restored to sight at Surat ; which make a total of 812.

Besides cataractous patients, there were 1002, with other diseases in the eye, treated at Surat, and 100 at Ahmednuggur ; making a grand total of 1914 cases treated during the course of the last year.

With respect to the Native practitioners, I have to report, that, a short time after my arrival here, I had occasional visits from some of them ; but apparently they wished to conceal their intention. When I discovered their profession, I communicated to them my directions from Government, and how glad I should be to render them assistance. They appeared to be in much better circumstances than those I had met in other parts of the country : they practised only the branch of oculism.

They desired to see my mode of operating, and having done so, they asked to what purpose would it be for them to learn my method, since they were unable to procure instruments. I requested them to attend as often as they could do conveniently, and said I would undertake to procure some instruments when they were able to operate. I promised to show them a more certain and easy method of operating than any which they knew ; I pointed out to them the extensive field of practice lying in every part of the country, and how a correct knowledge of their profession would give them an ascendancy over other practitioners, and procure them a comfortable income.

To win and encourage them, I showed them the goodness of vision in forty patients whom I had just restored to sight. In order to draw a correct focus in the eye, I fitted on cataractous glasses, when the patients, with great warmth, immediately expressed the perfection of their vision. One old doctor, however, seemed not to

relish this open mode of expression, and, without the least ceremony, removed the glasses, and handed them back to me ; I again fitted them on another patient, when the old doctor as readily removed them. I continued fitting them on other patients, and humoured them in their disguise ; while he continued removing the glasses, until we went over the whole number.

At that time, I had about 400 patients attending me daily, and from twelve to twenty operations to perform at the same time ; so that my time was wholly occupied in practice, on which account I found it impossible to discharge the duty toward the Native practitioners in a manner satisfactory to myself. They appeared chagrined at the great number of patients. I heard that they had endeavoured to dissuade the people from coming to me ; but, judging from the increase in number, their advice had a contrary effect ; not finding employment in the town, they departed.

I was informed by several patients on whom they had operated, that they were in the habit of extorting money from their patients in a very cruel manner : when they had proceeded to a certain length in the operation, they fastened a crooked instrument in the eye, and allowed it to remain until the patient came down with as much money as they wanted. I heard the same kind of story from a Native practitioner at Ahmednuggur ; but I did not then give it credit. I am now, however, inclined to think there is some truth in this account of their conduct ; especially when they are apprehensive of obtaining otherwise but little reward.

(Signed)

Geo. RICHMOND,
Assistant Surgeon, 4th Light Dragoons,
and Oculist to the Subordinate Station of Bombay.

THE BRIER-ROSE.*

I often seek some solitary spot,
Where idle eyes and foot-treads linger not ;
Where nature tells her still responsive tale,
To me, to the wild-rose, and nightingale.
And I have thought, in youth's more smiling hour,
The bright carnations 'neath my summer bow'r
Were far less beauteous than the flow'ret wild
Which all uncultur'd on the hedge-row smiled.
'Twas feeling gave the charm : it stood so lone,
So unadmired, unthought—so all mine own ;
'T had borne the bending of no other eye,
And o'er its bosom pass'd no other sigh ;
And where it grew it faded—and the storm
Gave to the winds its sweetly petal'd form :
I've told its chaste and unobtrusive tale,—
I loved this untouch'd flow'ret of the vale.

* From 'Sibyl's Leaves.'

COMMITTEE OF THE LATE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

There are circumstances attending the proceedings before the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to hear evidence and report on the case of Mr Buckingham, which deserve, and will be made the subject of exposure. But, from various obstacles, the official copy of the Evidence has not yet been obtained; and we are unwilling to trust entirely to notes, however accurate, where the documents themselves can be quoted. The delay of a few weeks is not material, compared with the superior importance of accuracy. But we will venture to say, that by the publication of a portion of the evidence and documents in question, a scene will be exhibited to those who have not had the misfortune to witness or be a party to such proceedings, which will both surprize and inform. The hitherto secret despatches of the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors here, will also be placed under review; and, from the whole of these, we think it will be shown that a more mean, cowardly and dishonourable scheme of premeditated injury to a political opponent, than that planned and executed by the Government of Bengal towards the proprietors of the Calcutta Journal, was never practised in any age or country, or by any persons having the least pretensions to the character of statesmen or gentlemen.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Among the recent publications interesting to Oriental readers may be mentioned the second volume of Mr. Frazer's Travels, including his stay in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea; a History of the Mahrattas by Captain James Grant Duff, of the Bombay Army; a new translation of Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire; and a Letter to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M. P., on the Administration of the Affairs of India, by a Civil Servant. We have procured also a copy of Mr Wheatley's second Letter to the Duke of Devonshire on the Colonization of India,—of each of which, we hope to be able to give some account in our next. Sir John Malcolm's improved edition of his Political History of India has not yet appeared at the moment of our writing this, though it is announced for immediate publication; nor have we yet obtained a perfect copy of Captain Grindley's Costume and Views in Western India.

**SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.**

BURMAH.

IN the monthly summary of Indian news, which we present in this department of our Journal, we profess not merely to state all the important facts that have reached us; but to draw such inferences from them as will enable the public to form a more correct judgment of the real state of our Eastern empire, than if they were left to be guided by the loose surmises and hasty conjectures of the ordinary journals, which seldom dip beyond the mere surface of affairs, and are blown about by the latest puff of rumour that may reach them. Last month, while on the subject of the Burmese war, they were all with one accord making full sail towards the haven of a glorious, a secure, and a lasting peace; we, alone, ventured an opinion that the war was not yet entirely abandoned, and entered into a long argument, in opposition to the popular notion, to prove that we had good reasons for our belief; 1st, that peace was not concluded; 2dly, if it had been so, that the terms of pacification, reported to have been agreed on, were neither secure, nor lasting, nor honourable. The very same day on which our sentence went forth to the world, (May 31st,) we were astonished to find, in a speech, uttered in the name of his Majesty, (we will not say his Majesty's speech, though it was read to the collective wisdom of the nation in Parliament assembled, by the Lord Chancellor, in his Majesty's name,) the following sentence:

His Majesty has the satisfaction to inform you, that the distinguished skill, bravery, and success with which the operations of the British arms in the dominions of the King of Ava have been carried on, have led to the signature, upon highly honourable terms, of a preliminary treaty with that sovereign, which his Majesty has every reason to expect will be the foundation of a secure and permanent peace.

Now, if his Majesty had consulted us, instead of his present ministers, we should have put into his mouth a speech on the state of India more creditable to the wisdom of the British cabinet. As a proof of this, we shall quote the opinion we published on the very same day on which the Lords Commissioners came down to the Parliament with the above. After urging several reasons for our belief that the treaty of peace would not be ratified by the Burmese Court, we observed:

If our suspicions on this head prove well founded, it will be quite evident to the most superficial observer, that the agreeing to an armistice, the renewed hostilities, and, again, the proposition to treat, are nothing more than a series of artifices to gain time to retard the progress of the war, and weary us out with fruitless struggles; so as both to render us more desirous to

conclude a peace on any terms, and at the same time favour the schemes of war other enemies in central India. If, however, the King of Ava, from a desire to rid himself of the present annoyances of an invading army, agree to the terms stated, every person, of the least reflection, at all acquainted with the character of the Indian princes, will perceive that it is a treaty only made to be broken the moment he may find it safe to do so. He who so lately rejected similar terms with scorn, and threatened to cut off the head of the man, however high, who dared to speak of a payment of money or a cession of territory, cannot be supposed to have consented to it now with any serious intention of fulfilling his engagement.

Holding these opinions, published on the same day with the Royal address to Parliament, and also maintaining that the acceptance of one crore of rupees, and of the cession of a large kingdom, less than had been demanded before the armistice had been violated, was by no means creditable to our arms—if our sober voice had been listened to in the cabinet, instead of the lofty notes of the Right Honourable President of the Board of Control, the speech of his Britannic Majesty to his Peers and Commons should have run as follows :

His Majesty has the satisfaction to inform you, that intelligence has been received from India, which holds out a hope that the lamentable contest in which we have been long engaged with the Burmese would soon be brought to a close. The bad faith already experienced, however, from the Burmese court would not warrant any firm reliance on the preliminary treaty being ratified; nor that the peace, if concluded, will be long preserved. Though the terms of pacification are far from advantageous or honourable to the British name, it is consoling to reflect, that during a war, unjust and impolitic in its origin, disastrous in its progress, and disgraceful in its termination, the British arms have sustained their wosted lustre; and that during the hoped for suspension of hostilities the fury of a brave and injured nation may gradually subside, till, by the intervention of wiser councils in the Government of British India, our relations with them may be ultimately restored to a footing of permanent security, founded on the sacred principles of justice and sound policy, as well as the solemn injunctions of his Majesty's Government against wanton oppression and extension of territory.

Having thus taken the liberty of respectfully differing from his Majesty and his Ministers, and the event having proved that we were right while they were wrong, as the Burmese war *has* been renewed with fresh vigour, we shall now take the liberty of again differing from those "best public instructors," who make this the subject of melancholy augury. We now think a speedy peace far more probable than it was a month past. If we mistake not, the news of the fall of Bhurtpoor will soon humble the crest of the King of Ava. We trust the British diplomatists will also embrace this favourable moment for offering suitable terms of accommodation. If, however, the golden opportunity be neglected, as more than half the fair season has already been lost in fruitless negotiation, we foresee that another British army will be ruined, during the next rains, in this desperate struggle; for the farther we advance from the sea amid the intricacies of an inland navigation, on which we depend for supplies, the more our difficulties accumulate, and the more the enemy acquire facilities of cutting off our rear. The nation has already long mourned over the miseries of the army, of which nearly

one half perished of sickness and famine at Rangoon. We have been again afflicted with accounts of the still more appalling mortality at Arracan, though both these were quite within the reach of our ships. But woe to that army which is doomed to winter in the vicinity of Amerapoorā; in the very heart of the enemy's country; assaulted with all the strength of their resources; and above four hundred miles from the ocean, the best ally, the great bulwark of British power! The few surviving English, whose eyes, after such a campaign, might behold the distant skirts of the cerulean mantle of their native isle, might well exclaim, *Θαλαττα, Θαλαττα!* with greater joy than veer did the residue of the hardy ten thousand of Xenophon, on catching a glimpse of the waters of the Euxine.

Whatever be the result of this war, the millions of treasure which have been wasted, the thousands who have fallen, and the thousands of widows and orphans who have to deplore them, will form a source of deep and lasting regret. No eventual success can atone for the error that has been committed in commencing it; and no extent of conquest can compensate for the loss of that character for justice and moderation which we might have acquired, or the shock given to that reliance on our honour and good faith, on which the security of our empire must rest, if it is ever to be perfectly secure. It is hardly possible if we fail to conquer them now, that the Burmese should henceforth be sincerely at peace with us, or be other than a dangerous enemy, believing themselves to be invincible. And to those who think we may get rid of this danger by annihilating them as an independent state, we would say, almost in the words of Lord Chat-ham concerning America, "You cannot conquer Burmah." They are a people too poor, too brave, too faithless, to be reduced to submission. Their country is too wild and barren to be kept military possession of; and the people hate and despise you and your Indian subjects too much ever to submit quietly to you or your detested yoke. If all the force of England could not reduce the infant states of America, it will not be surprising if the innate feebleness of the Indian Government, whose treasury is already bankrupt, fail in its efforts against Ava. Having premised so much, we here insert an account of the recommencement of hostilities:

The following is the official account of the renewal of hostilities with the Burmese, as contained in a letter addressed to Commodore Sir James Brisbane, by Captain Ch ds. of his Majesty's ship *Alligator*, and transmitted by Sir James to the Admiralty:—

"MELLOUN, JAN. 20, 1826.—The time granted for the receipt of the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Court of Ava, having expired on the 18th instant, and the Furman Chiefs continuing to act with base duplicity and evasion, no alternative was left the Commander of the Forces (Sir A. Campbell) than the painful one of renewing hostilities, which was done yesterday, and was attended, I rejoice to say, with the complete defeat of the enemy, and the capture of Melloun, with all the ordnance, boats, commissariat stores, and a small quantity of treasure.

"Sir A. Campbell having made his disposition for the attack of Melloun,

about eleven o'clock, and in a short time having made the necessary impression, the works were stormed in a fine, gallant style. The enemy fled in the utmost confusion, with great loss, leaving, us in possession of the stockade, with, I regret to say, the gallant Colonel Sale and Major Friih severely wounded, and about twenty casualties.

[Here follow the names of officers who distinguished themselves, &c. and other minor details.]

“ I have the honour to remain,

“ H. D. CHADS, Captain of his Majesty's ship
Alligator, in command of the flotilla.”

Return of killed and wounded on board the flotilla, at Melloun, Jan. 19, 1826:

Boats of his Majesty's ship Alligator—Killed, none; wounded, 4 severely; 1 slightly.

3d Division Hon. Company's gun-boats—Killed, 1; wounded, 6 severely.

4th Division Hon. Company's gun-boats—Killed, 1; wounded, 1, dangerously; 1 slightly.

5th Division Hon. Company's gun-boats—Killed, 2; wounded, 1.—Total, killed, 4; wounded, 14.

(Signed) H. D. CHADS, Captain of his Majesty's ship, *Alligator*,
in command of the flotilla.

J. Brisbane, Commander.

(From private sources.)

By an arrival yesterday from the Cape of Good Hope, information was communicated of the *Tamar* frigate having reached Colombo on the 8th of February, from Rangoon, with news of the renewal of hostilities with the Burmese; and we understand that despatches to a similar effect have been received at the Admiralty from Sir James Brisbane, who commands the naval force on the Irrawaddy. The circumstances which have transpired relative to this event are as follows:—

Sir Archibald Campbell, whose head-quarters were a short distance in advance of Promé, on the road to Hummerapoora, had been induced to suspect treacherous intentions on the part of the enemy, by observing, that, subsequently to the signature of the preliminary treaty, an augmentation had taken place in the force stationed on the opposite bank of the river, and that the Burmese were busily employed in forming new stockades. He therefore kept his troops as closely together as possible, and awaited the termination of the period fixed on for the ratification of the treaty, which it had been stipulated should arrive from the capital in fifteen days—i. e., on the 18th of January. That day passed over without any notice or communication that the ratification had arrived. Sir A. Campbell, therefore, felt at once convinced of the treachery of the Burmese, and of the necessity of striking some decisive blow, in order to teach them that a British negotiator was not to be trifled with. Having completed all his preparations, he passed the river on the 20th, and stormed the enemy's camp with such signal success, that the Burmese fled in all directions, leaving their military stores and the whole *materiel* of the camp in the possession of the British. A large sum of money is said to have been found there on the occasion, and the whole of the stockades formed by the enemy were destroyed. It is not stated what the intentions of Sir Archibald Campbell were with respect to further military operations in consequence of the breaking off of the treaty, but it was supposed he would continue to occupy the position he then held, until some information could be obtained of the future plans of the enemy. He had issued, it is said, a proclamation, in which those provinces ceded, or placed under the protection of Great Britain by the treaty, were called upon to declare themselves independent of the King of Ava, and promising them the support of Great Britain in maintaining them as separate states. The design of making Rangoon a free port, another stipulation of the treaty, it is further stated, will be carried into effect under the same guarantee.—*Times*.

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We have lately had the good fortune to receive a complete file of the new publication established in Calcutta, entitled, 'The Columbian Press Gazette,' from the commencement of the series in June 1825, up to the end of last year. Highly as we esteem the principles and the talent which characterise this new journal, what we still more admire, is a manly spirit and firm tone of independence, which we hardly hoped ever to find again in any periodical published in Bengal, under the thralldom of the present laws. It appears, however, and is plainly stated in the public papers, as well as in private communications, that, from whatever cause, a license is now allowed to the press which was totally unknown during the ephemeral reign of censor Adam, and the early days of Lord Amherst. Whether it be that his Lordship has become ashamed of his former puerile hostility to freedom of discussion, or that he now knows, by the experience of several hard campaigns, that he has more dangerous enemies to fear, or that his friends at home have sent him a hint to save them from the just reproofs of Mr. Hume, Sir Charles Forbes, Colonel Stanhope, and other friends of India, certain it is, that his Lordship and his colleagues, since freed from the councils of "the great Indian statesman, now no more," have returned to the liberal policy of Lord Hastings regarding the press, in so far as the pernicious laws, devised by Mr. Adam and Serjeant Spankie, will suffer a return to the former comparatively salutary state of things. But, in truth, the breath now allowed to public writers in Bengal is justly characterised as merely sufferance, not liberty. What is allowed to-day, may be punished to-morrow: it rests merely with the pleasure of one man, whether the truth, and the whole truth, or even any part of the truth, shall be told with impunity; or whether the publisher shall be condemned to the entire destruction of his literary property, and, in addition to that, perhaps, if an Englishman, expulsion from India, or banishment from his friends and his prospects for ever.

The enormous injustice of such a law, and the wanton cruelty displayed in its exercise, are rendered the more flagrant and striking, by the innumerable proofs afforded by these papers, that things, infinitely more offensive than those for which Mr. Buckingham was proscribed from India, or for which Mr. Arnot was imprisoned, transported, exposed to the dangers of shipwreck, and afterwards banished a second time, are published with perfect impunity, without an expression of censure. We cannot select a better case in point, than the following letter, from the 'Bengal Hurkara,' on the identical subject, a slight advertence to which caused the two acts of deportation above referred to:

DE, BE' G: AND THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkara.

SIR,—For the sake of reference at future period, it may perhaps be useful to put together the following quotations from the remarks contained in the ortho-

two columns of the 'John Bull,' on the subject of its Reverend Proprietor's removal from the office of Clerk to the Stationery Committee by a second order, lately received from the Court of Directors.

1. "On these orders reaching India, the Supreme Government took upon itself to resist their execution, and a reference was made borne on the subject, pointing out, as we understand, (from whom?) the injustice and cruelty of removing Dr. Bryce."

In this short passage are included two charges against the constituted authorities; one, against the Local Government, for "resistance offered to the execution of an order received from the Court of Directors," and the other against the Court of Directors themselves, for "injustice and cruelty" in issuing that order.

2. "That reference or resistance was unavailing, and the order was repeated, and received within these few days."

Here the actual execution of an order already stigmatised as "unjust and cruel," leaves the Court of Directors, the authors of that order, under the imputation of "injustice and cruelty" towards Dr. Bryce, in removing him from the situation of Clerk to the Stationery Committee, to which he had been appointed by Mr. Adam.

3. "Now we really apprehend that our Reverend Friend has the best reasons in the world to complain of what took place on the occasion of Mr. Hume's motion."

This refers to Mr. Wynn's conduct on Mr. Hume having moved for the production of papers connected with Dr. Bryce's appointment, when the former declared "that some delay in removing him (Dr. Bryce) had taken place, but that the orders had been repeated." Here Dr. Bryce said "to have the best reasons in the world to complain" of the conduct of the President of the Board of Control, to whom he would prescribe a different line of conduct from that which he pursued. Query—Are the columns of the John Bull the proper channel for giving utterance to complaints made by a clerk to the stationery committee against the authorities in England?

After charging the Court of Directors with "injustice and cruelty," and after giving vent to "complaints" against the President of the Board of Control, the 'Bull' most strangely adds as follows:—

4. "We are very far from meaning disrespect to the authorities at home by these remarks; but we owe something to the authorities here, and to the humblest individual who may appear to have been unfairly dealt with."

Here the 'Bull' evidently proceeds upon the maxim "divide and conquer." Having thus separated the two authorities in question, and having sided with the lesser one, he boldly asserts that he must act in opposition to the greater; for, says he, "we owe something to the authorities here." He further charges the authorities in England with having "unfairly dealt with the humblest individual," referring to Dr. Bryce, to whom also, "he owes something," when the relative merits of parties come to be considered.

5. "The ends of public expediency ought never to be consulted, without due regard to what is also owing to private character and reputation."

Here is a plain and unequivocal tone of dictation towards the authorities in England; implying that they have compassed "the ends of public expediency" at the expense of "private character and reputation," which they ought never to have done.

Then comes the crowning passage of the whole.

6. "He (Dr. Bryce) is made a sacrifice to a supposed (not real) expediency, which, however much it may answer its purpose for a time, will speedily recoil upon those who have recourse to it."

In other words, this is like saying to the authorities in England: "Very

well, gentlemen, you have done your worst towards me ; but I shall take care that the blow you have aimed at me, will recoil upon your own heads."

The foregoing is a hurried sketch of the ' Bull's' remarks on the occasion referred to ; and I am sure that nothing equal to them ever appeared in the pages of the late ' Calcutta Journal.' The present is a *personal* quarrel between Dr. Bryce, late Clerk to the Stationery Committee, and the combined authorities in England ; and it should be remembered that the former avails himself of his situation of editor and proprietor of the ' John Bull' newspaper, to give vent to his complaints and grievances against the latter.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ONE OF THE PUBLIC.

Calcutta, October 21, 1825.

We are not a little flattered to find that the contents of this work furnish so much matter of discussion for our brethren of the periodical press in Bengal. Every successive Number of the ' Oriental Herald,' as it arrives, seems like a sounding of the tocsin for a fresh onset between the friends and the enemies of truth. The long-cherished hatred of the ' Bull' commentators breaks out monthly with unabated fury, and calls forth the energies of the friends of free discussion to ward off the deadly blows aimed at our unprotected heads. In this distant warfare, our ever-watchful opponents enjoy an advantage of which they do not scruple to avail themselves to the utmost. Among the multitude of facts stated by us in our monthly sketch of passing events, some on the authority of private letters, others on that of public journals, Indian or English, there must be occasionally things in which we are led into errors or misapprehensions. For, as it is well known that many years must elapse before the transactions of any given period can be sufficiently well ascertained that justice may be done to its history, even by those living in the country and possessing the best means of information, it is surely vain to hope that our monthly reports of events happening in a distant country, brought down to the very latest period, and formed from accounts reaching us in detached portions, through a variety of channels, can, in the nature of things, be free from occasional errors. It is idle, it is puerile and contemptible, to charge such errors against us as an unpardonable offence ; those who do so are either grossly ignorant of the difficulties we have to struggle with, in our search after truth, among a mass often of confused and contradictory statements, or grossly dishonest in not making an allowance for them. Yet a few isolated mistakes, real or alleged, selected from the whole, are the grounds seized upon by the ' Bull' party in Calcutta to assail us with the most rancorous abuse, as if every mistake were wilful and malicious, and the faulty passage a specimen of the whole book. Even when the error originated with others, and its source is pointed out, it is notwithstanding charged upon us, without any reference to our authority. For instance, a quotation we made from the London ' John Bull' is cited by its namesake in Calcutta as an example of the "abominable falsehood" of the ' Herald' ! With all this we feel confident the candid and intelligent portion of the public will con-

fees that so true a picture of Indian affairs has never before been presented to Europe as that furnished by the 'Oriental Herald.'

By far the most heinous sin this work ever committed in the eyes of its enemies appears to have been the statement contained in the Number for August last, at page 324, 325, now called the memorable page, like the famous No. 45 of the North Briton. The fame of this page had been resounded all over India by the Rev. Dr. Bryce's pious paper, before his cotemporary of the 'Columbian Press Gazette' obtained a sight of what it contained. Having at last read it, however, the latter says:

We did expect to find in it some extraordinary misrepresentation, some distorted statement, which might have justified an attack upon the 'Herald's' accuracy in some point, though we felt conscious that neither this nor any other page would bear out the enemies of Mr. Buckingham in the charge advanced against him, of being "a cowardly slanderer of the living and the dead!" But we were most agreeably surprised, on turning to page 324 of the 'Herald,' to find, that so far from its containing a single misrepresentation, it is occupied by the statement of a plain unvarnished tale, the truth of which we know, and will avouch, in the face of all the world, if they dare to impugn it,* and give us the opportunity. We except the private pique charged against the master attendant, which can be truly known only to the searcher of all hearts; but the facts stated in that memorable page we defy the Marine Board, or any one connected with it, to disprove; and since the 'Bull' has referred to it with so much confidence, we call upon it to prove one tittle of what it contains to be false. We say, again, its statements ARE TRUE; they are upon record; they have been laid before superiors of that Board here, and they now wait the judgment of its honourable masters at home.

Of the next page (325), in the same Number, the same writer observes, in reply to some charges of rancorous malice, &c.:

If these dark allusions refer to page 325 of the August Number, those who choose to put a foul and infamous construction upon a mere insinuation—that there are those here who have owed their appointments to female influence, rather than to merit—we say, those whose minds are predisposed and poisoned by the influence of scandalous rumours, that spare neither rank, nor sex, nor virtue, choose to put a criminal interpretation upon what, to others, who are free from such influence, conveys no other charge against the individuals in power referred to, than what has been advanced against the Marquis of Hastings himself, viz. that of yielding to "an amiable weakness;" if this is to be construed into a base attack upon those whom every manly mind would spare, those who put such a forced construction upon it are alone responsible for the evil they imagine. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

We are sometimes, however, so unfortunate, as to have differed in opinion even from our friends in India, who then threaten to surrender us up, a helpless prey, into the hands of our enemies. Yet it is quite probable we may, in such cases, be more correct than those on the spot, who are ready to condemn us; as it may sometimes happen that we possess better information than those near the scene of action, where either fear, or party feeling, may induce individuals to withhold what they know from the conductors of the press, whereas, to us in England, they communicate with less

* Italics in the original.

reserve. An instance of this kind occurred in regard to the Barrackpore mutiny: we had very good reason for stating, that the then editor of the 'Bengal Hurkara,' and Deputy Judge Advocate, made that paper an "organ of the Government." We know that he put forth, as editor, the information procured in his official capacity; and had learnt, on good authority, that he was desired by the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he was on very gracious terms, to under-rate the number killed in that lamentable transaction. From this circumstance, we felt warranted to infer that a similar influence had an effect upon his mind, in inducing him to defend the dreadful carnage committed on that occasion. Be this as it may, he *did* defend it; and this constituted, in our eyes, a very grave political offence, which deserved our severest reprobation. In all other respects, (putting aside his system of personality towards the coroner of Calcutta, his tory predilections, and casting a veil over one or two other passages of his life, marked by human frailty;) we have ever regarded the public conduct of the late Deputy Judge Advocate of Bengal, as that of a man of high and independent character; feeling that he had a right to stand proudly on the eminence of real merit, conscious of talent, and resolute to do or suffer nothing unworthy of the gifts with which nature had endowed him. We regret the unfortunate causes which removed him from the situation to which he might have long been a bright ornament; and though we should feel an objection to having the public press so entirely in the hands of Government functionaries, whose official prejudices, or those of their superiors, are thus insidiously communicated to the public, we should never expect to see it in the hands of one who might be more safely trusted, for using it with impartiality, firmness, and independence.

One of the latest Indian papers furnishes us with some pregnant examples of the accuracy of those local monitors, who are so ready to chastise any slip of ours; thus richly deserving to be reminded of the saying, "First pull the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see the more clearly to pluck the mote out of thy brother's eye."

The 'Bombay Courier,' of the 26th of November (says the 'Bengal Hurkara') furnishes a very striking illustration of the superior accuracy and authentic information of the gazettes of authority. The pompous air of official consequence with which it is announced renders the article particularly amusing at this Presidency where we have witnessed, in the actual arrival of the *Enterprise*, the most satisfactory demonstration of its utter fallacy. The following is the piece of intelligence to which we allude:

"The following information may be depended on as correct. The long-expected steam-vessel, instead of rounding the Cape of Good Hope, has bent her course in another direction. Individuals could not be found sufficiently bold to embark as passengers for India, and the purpose for which she was originally constructed has been, therefore, abandoned."

The readers of the 'Bombay Courier' (proceeds the 'Hurkara') will no doubt form a very exalted notion of its infallibility, when they receive the journals

of His Presidency, announcing the interesting event we have alluded to—the arrival of the *Enterprise*, with no less than thirteen passengers, and amongst these a *lady*! and our readers and the public at large cannot but smile at the information, which “*may be relied on*,” that her destination “has been changed,” when they see her off the Banksball.

So much for the authentic intelligence of the Indian gazettes of authority. But, retorts the ‘Bombay Courier,’ “let us advert, for a moment, to the inaccuracies of the *accurate* ‘Hurkaru.’”

About a month ago he announced that an augmentation of the Bengal army of twelve regiments had passed the Council; but as yet nothing has been said on the subject in General Orders.

The ‘John Bull’ of the 16th of December, stated a report of the ‘*Felicitas*’ having brought important intelligence from Rangoon, but contradicted it on the 17th. On the 19th, however, the ‘Hurkaru’ alludes to what we suppose the same intelligence, and has no doubt that the Government Gazette of that evening will contain the despatches. The paper of authority, however, appears, but is completely blank in respect to the interesting news from Rangoon. Again, on the 17th the ‘Hurkaru’ gives us a piece of intelligence, that the Government had purchased the *Enterprise* (steam vessel) for £40,000, and contradicts it again on the 19th. Such is the general accuracy displayed by the ‘Hurkaru,’ relative to circumstances occurring in its immediate vicinity.

Another instance, not merely of error, but of wilful and perverse mis-statement, made by an author writing deliberately in India on Indian subjects, with all the opportunities for consulting authorities and making careful revision before sending his book to the press, which the editor of a periodical publication can seldom do, is given in the letter of a correspondent, who says:—

One of the most stupid of all the books lately written in this country, is undoubtedly Major Galloway’s volume on ‘The Law and Constitution of India;’ and, to say the truth, I could read but very little of that most ponderous production. Such malignity against the author of the excellent work on ‘Colonial Policy,’ such crude, undigested wrong-headedness and ignorance of the first principles of political economy in the body of the text, and such unabashed devotion to the powers that be, I never before saw assembled in one poor volume. At first, I thought that my partiality for long-indulged and deep-rooted opinions might have unfitted me for judging of the book; but, fortunately for me, Sir John Franks, our chief-justice, who amused himself with it on his passage out to India, said, in answer to some inquiry of a friend on the subject, “Yes, the author is singularly wrong on almost all subjects.” You know there is nothing like authority; so, with this one, I decline going into a criticism, of which the work is really unworthy; and thus close my letter.

These are the faithful chroniclers of events passing *under their very eyes*, who, though so often at fault themselves, rise in full cry against us with one accord, whenever they detect in our pages a statement which may either be partially inaccurate, or, what is more probable, contains facts of such a nature, that, though perfectly true, and communicated to us from the most authentic and trust-worthy sources, no one on the spot dares openly avouch or defend. With all due respect for the honesty and judgment of the local editors, we think it necessary to remind them that they are not infallible; nay, that, notwithstanding their locality, our

sources of intelligence must often be better than theirs: for, men living under a despotic government will be cautious what they communicate to editors writing with a sword suspended over their heads, who may at any time be called (as they have before been called on) to surrender up their correspondents, on the pain of instant destruction; while to us they can communicate their thoughts freely and fearlessly, knowing that the enemies of free discussion, who, in their blind hatred, thought to annihilate it entirely, have, by driving us from India, to shift our ground, placed it upon a rock which no human power can reach with its inquisitorial practices. It is this security which enables us now to probe these sores to the bottom, before only slightly touched; and no degree of clamour which may be raised by those suffering under this necessary and salutary operation shall deter us from doing our duty.

CENTRAL INDIA.

We are now enabled to give the detailed account of the capture of Bhurtpoor, of which important event we were only able to state the actual occurrence in our supplementary intelligence last month. The following is the official report contained in the Calcutta Government Gazette:—

Head-quarters, Bhurtpoor, January 19, 1826.

To the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the town and citadel of Bhurtpoor fell yesterday morning to the British army under my command.

Since my despatch of the 11th inst., the whole attention of the Engineers was directed towards the completion of the mines under the projecting bastion on the left, and the north-east angle on the right.

On the 14th inst., a mine, under the bastion on the left, was precipitately exploded, and failed in its object. I therefore directed two more mines to be driven into that bastion, which were blown on the 16th, and, with the aid of a day's battering, an excellent breach was made.

The explosion of the mine under the north-east angle, at eight o'clock yesterday morning, was the signal for the storm, when the columns, composed of Brigadier-General M'Combe's brigade on the right, and Brigadier General Edwards's brigade on the left, advanced with the greatest order, gallantry, and steadiness; and, notwithstanding a determined opposition on the part of the enemy, carried the breaches. In the course of two hours, though vigorously and bravely defended at every gateway and bastion, the whole rampart surrounding the town, together with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in our possession; Major-General Nicholls having moved his column to the left, until he met a detachment of his Majesty's 14th foot, commanded by Major Everard, at the Komher gate. The citadel was surrendered at about four o'clock.

I regret to state that the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, several men of H. M. 14th foot, at the head of the column of attack, lost their lives; and Brigadier-General M'Combe, Brigadier Patton, and Captain Irvine, Major of Brigade of Engineers, received severe contusions.

Having directed Brigadier-General Sleigh, commanding the cavalry, to prevent the escape of the enemy's troops after the assault, I am happy to say that he made such a disposition of his forces, that he succeeded in securing

Doorjun Sal, who, with his wife, two sons, and a hundred and sixty chosen horse, attempted to force a passage through the 8th light cavalry.

I cannot compute the loss of the enemy at less than 4000 killed; and, owing to the disposition of the cavalry, hardly a man bearing arms escaped. Consequently, as by the surrender of the town, all the stores, arms, and ammunition are in our possession, I may say that the whole military power of the Bhurtpoor state has been annihilated. The prisoners, after having been disarmed, were set free.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that the conduct of every one engaged was marked by a degree of zeal which calls for my unqualified approbation; but I must particularly remark the behaviour of H. M. 14th regiment, commanded by Major Everard, and 59th, commanded by Major Fuller, these corps having led the columns of assault, by their steadiness and determination, decided the events of the day. Two companies of the 1st European regiment, leading a small column under Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, co-operating with Major-General Nicolls's attack, behaved with equal gallantry. The 6th regiment N. I., commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Pepper; one wing of the 41st, by Major Hunter; the 23d, by Lieut.-Colonel Nation; the 31st, by Lieut.-Colonel Baddely; the 60th, by Lieut.-Colonel Bowyer; the grenadier company of the 35th, and light company of the 37th, which corps followed the Europeans in the assault, proved themselves worthy the distinguished places they held, as did the Sirmoor battalion, which covered the advance.

I beg to acquaint your Lordship, that since I assumed the command of this army, I have received the most effectual support and assistance from Major-Generals Reynell and Nicolls. The excellent dispositions made by them for the attack, as well as the manner in which they conducted it, entitle them to my warmest thanks, and I therefore beg most strongly to recommend them to your Lordship's notice.

Brigadier Macleod, C.B., commanding the artillery, Brigadiers Hetzler and Brown, as well as every officer and private of the artillery, performed their arduous and fatiguing duties throughout the siege in the most exemplary manner, and will, I trust, meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Brigadier Anbury, C.B., and the engineer officers, as also the Native officers and privates of that valuable corps, the sappers and miners, and the pioneer corps, performed the harassing duties allotted to them with a cheerfulness, courage, and zeal which demand my acknowledgments, and I beg to recommend them to your Lordship accordingly. The result of our operations proves the efficiency of the Brigadier's plans.

The services rendered by Brigadier General Sleigh, C.B., commanding the cavalry, during the whole siege, have been most important, and I beg to recommend him, as well as Brigadiers Childers and Murray, C.B., to your Lordship's notice; and I cannot pass over in silence the general good and active conduct of the cavalry, and the spirited manner in which they volunteered their services when I conceived (before the arrival of the 1st European regiment) that it might have been expedient to employ them in the storm.

I must also bring under your notice Lieut.-Colonel Skinner, and the two regiments of Native irregular cavalry under his command, who have performed every service that has been required of them in a manner which merits my entire approbation.

To Brigadier Generals Adams, C.B., MacCombe, and Edwards; Brigadiers Whitehead, Patton, C.B., and Fagan, my acknowledgments are due for the manner in which they have so ably conducted the duties assigned to them, and I therefore recommend them to your Lordship's favourable notice.

I received every assistance from Major-General Sir Samford Whittingham and Lieut.-Colonel MacGregor, Quarter-Master-General and acting Adjutant-General of the King's troops.

The eminent and zealous services of Lieut.-Colonel Watson and Lieut.-

Colonel Stevenson, Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General of the Army, demand my warmest thanks, and I beg particularly to bring them under your Lordship's notice, as also the officers of their respective departments.

The arrangements made by Lieut.-Colonel Cuncliffe, Commissary-General, for the supply of the army, were most efficient, and I have much pleasure in recommending him to your Lordship.

I also request to bring to your Lordship's notice Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. John Finch, my Military Secretary, and the officers composing my personal staff, from whom I received every aid.

The situations in which Lieut.-Colonel Delamaine, 58th N. I.; Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, commanding a detachment; Majors Hunter, 41st N. I.; Everard, H.M. 14th; Fuller, H. M. 59th, and Bisshopp, H. M. 14th, were placed, gave them opportunities for distinguishing themselves, of which they took every advantage. Captain Irvine, Major of Brigade of Engineers, also brought himself under my particular observation during the course of the siege.

Major-Generals Reynell and Nicolls, and Brigadier General Sleigh, have expressed their entire satisfaction with the assistance they received from the officers of their general and personal staff.

The returns of killed and wounded have not yet been received, but I am happy to be able to state that they are few considering the service on which the troops have been employed. I, however, transmit a return of the officers who have been reported. I regret that the service has lost three valuable officers in Captain Armstrong, H. M. 14th, Captain Pitman, H. M. 59th, and Captain Brown, of the 81st regt. N. I., who fell leading their men on the ramparts. Brigadier-General Edwards, who was wounded gallantly leading his brigade, is, also, I fear, past recovery.

I have sent this despatch by my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Dawkins, who will also take two of the enemy's standards, of which I request your Lordship's acceptance, and in referring to Captain Dawkins for any further information which your Lordship may require, I beg to recommend him to your protection.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

COMBERMERE.

List of Officers Killed and Wounded in the Assault of BARRIPOOR, on the 18th January, 1826.

KILLED—Captain Armstrong, H. M. 14th Foot; Captain Pitman, H. M. 59th; Captain Brown, 81st N. I.

WOUNDED—Staff—Brigadier-General M'Combe, commanding 1st Brigade; Brigadier-General Edwards, commanding 2d Brigade, dangerously; Brigadier R. Patton, C.B. commanding 5th Brigade; Major Beatson, D.A.G.; Captain Campbell, M.B.

Engineers—Captain Colvin; Captain Irvine, M.B.

Artillery—Lieutenant M'Gregor.

14th Foot—Lieutenant Stack; Lieutenant Daly.

59th Foot—Lieutenant Long; Lieutenant Hector; Lieutenant Pitman; Mr. Wright, volunteer.

1st European Regiment—Captain Davidson; Lieutenant Warren; Lieutenant Candy.

28d N. I.—Lieut.-Colonel S. Nation.

31st N. I.—Captain Hepthstall.

41st N. I.—Major George Hunter.

58th N. I.—Capt. John Hunter; Lieut. Turner; Lieut. Lumsdaine.

N.B. This is from private information, no return having been received.

(Signed)

W. L. WARREN, A. G.

Published by command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

GEORGE SWINTON, Sec. to the Gov.

General Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

Fort William, 20th January, 1826.—A royal salute, and three volleys of musketry, to be fired at all the stations of the land forces, serving in the East Indies, in honour of the capture, by assault, of the fortified city of Bhurtpoor, on the morning of the 19th instant, by the army, under the personal command of his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Combermere, Commander-in-Chief, and of the unconditional surrender of the citadel of Bhurtpoor, on the same day.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,
GEOFFREY SWINTON, Sec. to the Gov.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

During the past month little of public interest has transpired in England with respect to India or Indian subjects. The Public Meeting at the Thatched House Tavern, and the Debate at the India House, will each be found reported under their respective heads. The close of the Session of Parliament, and the elections consequent on this, have so entirely engrossed the attention of all classes, that no other subject could have been listened to if introduced to public notice during the excitement occasioned by these; and even the usual exertions of candidates canvassing for seats in the India Direction have been suspended for a period. The announcement of a new aspirant to this honour has, however, recently been made. Mr. H. W. Hobhouse, brother of the present member for Westminster, originally a civil servant of the East India Company, and subsequently a partner in the great mercantile house of Palmer and Co. in Calcutta, has entered the lists with the many others now running the same race; and will very probably, we think, distance some who have appeared in the field before him. There is no want of candidates it will be readily admitted. But it is equally undeniable that there is abundant room for beneficial changes in the Direction. To say nothing of the notorious incapacity of those whose want of the ordinary qualifications for any post of business is the subject of general remark, we need mention only one instance, to show how little a fitness for the discharge of important duties is considered necessary in an East India Director, and how firmly seated a man may remain long after such fitness, if he ever indeed possessed it, has visibly and undeniably passed away.

The reader will, perhaps, remember in one of our preceding Numbers, the publication of a Circular, addressed to the Proprietors of East India Stock generally, and signed by the whole body of the Directors, recommending certain individuals, on what is called their House List, for re-election to the Direction. He will, perhaps, also remember two separate Circulars, one signed by s

George Abercrombie Robinson, and the other by Mr. Bebb, each recommending in the strongest terms their respective favourite to the several electors, whom they knew would attend rather to their dictation than to the sober exercise of their own judgments. The fact of Mr. Bebb affecting thus to patronize and bring into the Direction any particular individual was, the subject of general remark at the time, inasmuch as it was thought by most persons that he himself had long since ceased to be qualified for the post he held, and ought, in common deference to public opinion, to have retired. Those who thought thus, however, could not have reflected on the tenacity with which men adhere to the possession of patronage and power, clinging more closely to it as it seems to be in danger of eluding their grasp, and consenting to relinquish it only with life itself.

The continuance of Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Elphinstone in office, the former long after his health had compelled him to reside at a distance from London, the latter long after he was confined by age and infirmity to his own residence, are events of but yesterday. But the case of Mr. Bebb is still more remarkable than either of these. Besides his general incapacity for business, from age and the ordinary infirmities of advanced life, he has been for some time past equally deprived of the faculty of hearing and of sight. He can neither profit by verbal discussion nor by written arguments. Both the facts and the reasonings of every measure on which his vote is required must be equally unknown to him. He is so physically helpless as to require to be led about on horseback by a groom, when he takes the slow exercise necessary to sustain his sinking health; and so mentally weak as to be literally incapable of taking the part which one, in the full exercise of such vast power as a Director possesses, ought to be able to take in the consideration of the varied and important subjects that require his decision. Nevertheless he still retains his seat in the Direction, to the great regret of all who wish to see that body efficiently filled, and certainly to the great scandal of those who have not a sufficient regard to their own reputation to urge this infirm and afflicted old man to retire.

The excuse set up for their not doing so is sufficient to show with what views they enter, and on what principles they act when they are once fairly seated in, their places. It is urged that the patronage of a Director is as much his private property as the fees and emoluments of the inferior clerks in office; and that without some act of criminality it would be unjust, on the mere score of age and incapacity, to urge any one to give it up. They are wise enough in their own generation to know, that if this rule were generally adopted, the greater portion of the whole body would be changed; and they are, therefore, prudent, in the ordinary sense of the term, in not setting the example; as, if once begun, no one can say where it may end. They leave such resignation or retirement,

therefore, entirely to the individual himself; and he, it is said, though not insensible to the disrepute brought on the whole body by the superannuated selfishness thus exhibited by an influential member of it, still clings, with the most immoveable obstinacy, to the post for which he has been so long disqualified, because the patronage of the year is not distributed among the Directors until October, and he remains to take his share of this before he can consent to retire!

We have not adverted to the personal infirmities of this gentleman from any feeling of private dislike, or with any view to the gratification of evil passions. It is at all times a melancholy spectacle to witness the decay of life, and the gradual passing of old age into decrepitude. When there is nothing that peculiarly marks this change, the very sight of it engages the best sympathies of our nature, and we not only conceal the mention of it from others, but do all we can to soothe the sufferer himself. The sensations excited are far otherwise, however, when, instead of the quiet decency and disregard of worldly things which ought to mark such a period of decline, we see an insatiable grasping after more power, more places, and more patronage,—though years of full enjoyment have been already passed, in which the most greedy appetite might have been satisfied. It is this which men of all opinions must silently condemn; and it is, therefore, a matter on which all whose duty calls them to express that opinion publicly, may be fairly justified in pronouncing the censure which they think it deserves.

BOARD OF CONTROL.

The following announcement is made in the 'London Gazette,' under date of June 2, 1826:

Whitehall, June 2.

The King has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, constituting and appointing the Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn; Henry Earl Bathurst, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, the Right Hon. George Canning, and the Right Hon. Robert Peel, his Majesty's three Principal Secretaries of State; Robert Banks, Earl of Liverpool, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, First Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury; the Right Hon. Frederick John Robinson, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer; Arthur Duke of Wellington, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; James Brownlow William Marquis of Salisbury; John Baron Tignmouth; the Right Hon. John Sullivan; the Right Hon. Sir George Warrender, Bart.; Joseph Phillimore, Doctor of Laws; and William Yates Peel, Esq. his Majesty's Commissioners for the affairs of India.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

Dr. Gilchrist has, during the past month, brought under the notice of the Court of Directors a Resolution of theirs, passed last year, of a nature so highly injurious, that we should be disposed to make it the subject of severe comment, unless we had understood that it is now virtually abrogated. The Resolution in question had been inserted in some few copies of their 'Red Book,' but

mitted in the past, as if its authors reddened likewise at the thought of publishing to the world so glaring a job as this new literary monopoly. Having, by accident, fallen upon a copy of the book containing this fugitive piece of the Honourable Directors, we here preserve it;

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 15th of August, 1825.

Resolved—That the parents and friends of cadets for the Company's artillery and engineer corps be encouraged to place their young men, from fourteen to seventeen years of age, either under Dr. Andrew, of Woodford Wells, or Dr. Firminger, of Edmonton; with the view of forwarding them, as much as possible, in those branches of education which they will have to pursue at Addiscombe.

That the above two establishments form depôts, from which the Company's military seminary be in future completed; and that, during the proceure of a want of officers, reference be always made to these depôts before vacancies at the seminary are filled up by strangers.

That the young gentlemen remain at least six months at one of the depôts, previous to being called away for examination at Addiscombe; and that, at the expiration of that period, they be taken in succession as wanted; but, if not found qualified, they be returned to the depôt for a further period of at least three months.

That, as an encouragement to cadets to exercise due diligence, both at the depôts, and subsequently at the Company's seminary, it be held out to the cadets, that if they pass their public examination to the entire satisfaction of the military seminary committee, within eighteen months of joining the seminary, and actually proceed to India as artillery or engineer cadets, but not otherwise, they be complimented with £50 to defray their six months' preparatory education; but that, if they pass within twelve months, they be complimented with £70 towards the like expenses.

That no cadet be admitted from these depôts without a certificate from the masters thereof of their good character, conduct, and application to study, with a declaration of their having paid up all expenses incurred by their preparatory instruction under them.

That, in the event of the seminary not being completed from these two depôts, recourse be then had to the individual nominations of the court as at present; that those who can pass be received, and those who cannot pass be sent to one or other of these depôts for a period of not less than three months, to qualify themselves; but that, in all cases, these auxiliary cadets have priority of admission into Addiscombe, when qualified, over new or subsequent nominations; and

That it be left exclusively to the parents to select the depôt to which they will send their sons, according to their ability or inclination in matters of expense.

Now the simple English of all this is, that a premium, at the rate of £50 or £70 for each pupil, be given from the Company's treasury to Messrs. Andrew and Firminger, for taking a number of young men under their charge for a few months' education. Without meaning to throw any disparagement on the merits of these worthy doctors, or questioning their claims to the favour of the Company, (which is so careful of their interests as to admit no cadet without a certificate that their expenses are all paid up!) we should think it exceedingly injudicious thus to create a monopoly which would take away the stimulus to exertion in other men of learning who may cultivate the Oriental languages with the hope of making them a source of

employment by qualifying young men for the Company's service. Even with this inducement, at present no doubt operating to some extent, it is a reproach to this country, having so intimate a connection with the East, that Oriental learning is so much neglected. Any such monopoly will certainly increase the evil.

**EXAMINATION OF THE VEPEERY MISSION SCHOOLS OF THE SOCIETY
FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.**

(From the Madras Government Gazette of the 20th December, 1825.)

THE annual examination of the Tamil and English schools of the mission of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge at Vepery, took place on Saturday last (Christmas eve) in the New Church, and was honoured by the presence of Lady Munro, the Honourable Sir Ralph Palmer, the Honourable Mr. Taylor, the Venerable the Archdeacon, the clergy at the Presidency, and many ladies and gentlemen of the settlement. The examination of the Tamil school, consisting of 64 boys and 44 girls, was conducted by the Reverend Dr. Rottler; and the Reverend W. Roy, senior chaplain at the Presidency, obligingly undertook the duty of examining and catechising the English classes, composed of 140 boys and 77 girls. Medals and minor rewards were distributed to the children who had distinguished themselves during the year by exemplary diligence or general good conduct; and at the conclusion Lady Munro was kindly pleased to confer a particular mark of distinction on the first boy and first girl of the English school, by presenting each with a bible and prayer-book, elegantly bound, and also books containing sets of instructive stories. The children then returned to their respective school-rooms, where the visitors were much interested in viewing the different employments in school exercises, needle-work, book-binding, printing, cutting and casting types. The accuracy and quickness with which the several exercises were performed in all the branches of the examination afforded the most pleasing proof of the success which continues to follow the persevering efforts of the reverend mission ries entrusted with the care of this valuable institution; and we heartily congratulate them on the happy result of their anxious and pious labours. The interest of the scene was much increased by the circumstance of the examination being held for the first time in the new church, which was opened for the occasion. The building, which is a Gothic structure, and of large dimensions, was much admired for the suitability of its architecture, and for its simple elegance; and we have great pleasure in giving a place here to the inscription, which appears on a stone slab at the principal entrance of the church.

"The first stone of this sacred Edifice was laid on the 8th day of December, 1823, in the reign of his most gracious Majesty King George IV., in the government of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart. K. C. B. The venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, at the earnest solicitation of the pious and reverend Thomas Fanshew Middleton, first Bishop of Calcutta, contributed principally to the expense of the building, which was completed by the munificent liberality of the Honourable East India Company of England, 1825. John Law, Architect."

Another correspondent, who was present at the examination, has obligingly sent us the following notice:—

"We had the gratification of witnessing, on Saturday last, the opening of the new church erected at Vepery, for the use of the mission of the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

“ The old church has long been found very inadequate to the proper accommodation of the congregation assembling there, and has fallen greatly to decay. The Madras district committee, therefore, anxious for the welfare and efficiency of the society’s ancient establishment at Vepery, solicited the assistance of the parent society at home, and their representations being most earnestly supported by the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, a liberal grant of money was immediately voted, which, aided by the bounty of the Madras government, has enabled them to raise an edifice, which is highly ornamental to this city, and which, when the fitting up of the interior has been completed, will be every way sui able to those holy purposes to which it is to be appropriated, and worthy of the venerable society under whose auspices it has, by God’s blessing, been erected.

“ The church is built in the style of architecture usually denominated Gothic. The roof is supported by pointed arches, which rest upon light and elegant columns; at the western end is a small tower; the tracery of the splendid window at the eastern end is highly finished and extremely beautiful. And we most sincerely congratulate all parties concerned in the choice and execution of the plan, on the success which has attended this first attempt to introduce into the ecclesiastical edifices in this Presidency, a style of building so peculiarly adapted to the solemn uses of the sanctuary.

“ The annual public examination of the children educated in the English and Tamil schools of the Vepery mission, which was held in the church, and which rendered the occasion of its opening to public inspection yet more highly interesting, exhibited a scene calculated to excite the most pleasing sensations in every benevolent mind. The number of children examined was, we believe, little short of 350. These are receiving the blessings of a Christian education, and, we hope, are in a course of preparation for becoming useful members of society and heirs of eternal life. Some of them are clothed and supported from funds placed at the disposal of the mission.

“ Lady Munro, in the most obliging manner, did the committee the honour of being present during the examination. The Hon. the Chief Justice, the Hon. Mr. Taylor, the Venerable the Archdeacon and the clergy, and a large proportion of the ladies and gentlemen of the Presidency, also attended. After the children had joined in prayer and praise, the examination took place, ably conducted by the Rev. Mr. Roy, senior chaplain, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Rottler and the Rev. Mr. Haubroe, the society’s missionaries; and the state of proficiency to which many of the children appeared to have attained, under the Madras system of education, was not less gratifying to those who had the happiness of beholding it, than creditable to the reverend missionaries by whose ability and zeal these cheering results have, under the favour of Divine Providence, been produced.

“ Medals and rewards of books, and other useful articles, were afterwards distributed amongst the best proficient in the various classes and departments by Lady Munro; who, in addition to the honorary distinctions conferred by the society, was pleased to present, to the best boy and the best girl respectively, a very handsome bible and prayer-book.

“ After having quitted the church, her ladyship and the visitors proceeded to view the printing-office, type-foundry, and the various work-shops of the society. Specimens of needlework, knitting, writing, printing, book-binding, &c., prepared by those employed on the mission premises were exhibited, after which the company separated, expressing the most unqualified approbation at the scene they had had the satisfaction of witnessing.”

The committee for building the church originally consisted of—the Rev. W. Roy; Richard Clarke, Esq.; John Gwatkin, Esq.; Major Randall; Captain Mountford; and John Goldingham, sen., Esq.

After the death of Captain Mountford, the Rev. R. W. Moorson was nominated a member of the committee.

PUBLIC MEETING AT THE THATCHED HOUSE.

On Saturday, June 3, a public meeting was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's-street, pursuant to the following notice :

PUBLIC MEETING THIS DAY.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL, M.P. in the Chair.—The object of the Select Committee, appointed by the House of Commons, to inquire into and report on the case of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, having been entirely defeated by the prorogation of Parliament, before their labours could be brought to a close, a Public Meeting will be held This Day, at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's, at two o'clock, for the purpose of considering whether any further measures can be taken to avert the impending calamities which threaten to overwhelm Mr. Buckingham, by the severe and disproportionate punishment to which he has been subjected, without trial, and without necessity, by the Government of India. On this occasion, the attendance of all Englishmen, who feel an interest in preventing a fellow-countryman from being crushed and ruined by an arbitrary destruction of property, altogether unprecedented in English history, is earnestly solicited.

Although this notice had been issued only two days before, and the period was extremely unfavourable, from the circumstance of almost every one connected with public life having left town in consequence of the approaching elections, yet, before the appointed hour, the great room was completely filled with most respectable company.

On the motion of Mr. Hume, seconded by the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, LORD JOHN RUSSELL was called to the chair.

Dr. GILCHRIST begged leave, before the proceedings commenced, to deliver a message from the Hon. Ramsay Maule, who had desired him to state that he was prevented from attending the meeting by business which required his immediate presence in Scotland; and to add that but for this he would have been happy to come forward on the occasion, to prove himself the firm friend of rational liberty, and the determined foe of every thing in the shape of oppression.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL then spoke nearly as follows:—Gentlemen, I believe that I have been requested to take the chair on this occasion, because it was my fortune to present to the House of Commons a petition from Mr. Buckingham, praying for redress, and because a committee having been appointed on my motion, to inquire into that gentleman's case, I was nominated chairman of it, and have consequently heard all the evidence which has been produced; and which, though not brought to a conclusion, still extended to considerable length whilst the committee sat. I am, of course, in possession of the facts which were laid before the committee, and if it can be of any value to Mr. Buckingham, I am prepared to state, that having attentively listened to all that transpired in that committee, my opinion of the harshness suffered by Mr. Buckingham is, instead of being weakened, materially strengthened by the experience and knowledge which I have thus acquired. (*Applause.*) With respect to the constitutional question of the treatment which Mr. Buckingham has suffered from the Indian Government, I conceive that Parliament having decided on the propriety of instituting an inquiry into it, and as it probably will again come to a similar decision, it is not a proper subject for the consideration of this meeting. What we have met here to consider is, the great hardships and grievous losses sustained by Mr. Buckingham, in consequence of conduct, which so far from attaching any blame to him, is, in my opinion, highly honourable and praiseworthy, and perfectly conformable to those rules of conduct, and those examples of freedom, which we are accustomed to admire, and to hold up for imitation by others of our own countrymen. (*Loud applause.*) It is probably in the knowledge of every gentleman present, that Mr. Buckingham arrived in India with a license to reside there, at a time when he was in the vigour of life, and in

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the possession of talents which would probably have enabled him to acquire a fortune in any of those various paths which, it is well known, India opens to a man of enterprise and ability. It happened, however, that Lord Hastings had about that period abolished the censorship of the press, and the cry of a "free press" resounded through India. This cry, so animating to the ears of a man born and bred in England, enticed and allured Mr. Buckingham, and he was induced to undertake the conducting of a newspaper, by which he hoped to promote free discussion, to advance the cause of rational knowledge, and to promote the general improvement of that great portion of the British empire, whilst, at the same time, he consulted the interests of his own fortune. In consequence of transactions which I need not now detail, the Indian Government considered that a free press, instead of being useful, was injurious, and issued an order for the removal of Mr. Buckingham from India. That, however, is not the greatest hardship of Mr. Buckingham's case: the peculiar hardship is, that, after he had left India, in the full confidence that the property which he left behind him was secure under the protection of the laws, it was, from no fault of his own, but by a series of measures, wholly originating with others, utterly destroyed; and the competency which he had acquired by his talents and industry was altogether overwhelmed by one single wave, and sunk and buried in the ocean. (*Hear, hear.*) This is a case which calls for the sympathy of the people of England, they should feel that one of their countrymen residing in a distant part of the globe, but at the same time retaining the feelings of an Englishman, and ruined, for acts on account of which no blame can be imputed to him, is entitled to expect that those who happen to be placed in a more fortunate situation than hims^{lf}, should at least come forward to support him under his misfortunes. (*Applause.*) There is but one reason which could induce us to withhold our support from an individual labouring under such a calamity. This reason would exist if Mr. Buckingham, in the course of his connection with the press in India, had abused his privilege of communicating knowledge to his fellow men by converting his paper into a vehicle for personal slander, and had disgraced himself by a factious opposition, exhibiting not so much a just indignation at oppression as malignity against those in authority; but for my own part, having lately had an opportunity of reading all the articles published in Mr. Buckingham's Journal, which were particularly found fault with by the Indian Government, I can undertake to say that there is not one of those articles, although they must have all been written and inserted in the hurry inseparable from the publication of a daily paper, which not only does not reflect the slightest stain upon the character of the writer, but are such as would do honour to any man possessing an honest zeal for the welfare of the community in which he lived, and such as, there is every reason to believe, were written and published with a perfect conviction on the part of the author and publisher, that he was serving the cause of truth, and was, therefore, entitled to the thanks of his fellow subjects, and the approbation of a wise and benevolent government. (*Applause.*) I will not now trespass further on your attention, as there are others present more fully possessed of the particulars of Mr. Buckingham's case, who will address you on the subject. (*Lowd applause.*)

THE HON. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.—A resolution has been put into my hands to move, which I will take the liberty of reading before I offer any observations :

"Resolved—That the case of Mr. Buckingham appears to this meeting to be one of such unusual hardship and unmerited severity, as to give him the strongest claim on the benevolent sympathies of his fellow countrymen; and every other avenue of hope for immediate relief being now unfortunately closed, they earnestly solicit the liberal contributions of the British Public in his behalf, in order to repair, in some degree, the ruin of his fortunes, and to rescue his family from impending destruction."

I believe that Mr. Buckingham's case is now sufficiently known to the British public to command their sympathy for the misfortunes which have been

brought upon himself and his family. Mr. Buckingham is entitled to sympathy, as a gentleman of unimpeached character, who is suffering under a great calamity, without being in any degree the author of his own misfortunes. But there are peculiar circumstances attending his case, which would render an extension of public sympathy productive of more good than, I believe, ever could have attended any similar measure before. Mr. Buckingham is at this moment the victim of the acts of power which emanate from this country, but is placed at such a distance from his oppressors, that the terrible and cruel effects of its exercise cannot be controlled by the mere expression of public opinion here; and it is admitted by the Government at home, that they would rather sacrifice individuals, than cast any censure upon the conduct of its officers abroad. Mr. Buckingham has, at a very great expense, at the sacrifice of much money, as well as time and labour, gone before the constituted authorities in this country—the Privy Council, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control,—appealing to each of them against the conduct of the Indian Government. But the result of all his labours shows that it will in future be absurd for any oppressed individual to appeal to any of those authorities for redress: for they reply, that the constitution of the Indian Government is such, that it is impossible to censure any one of its acts. On that ground it is that Mr. Buckingham has been refused redress. There is not an individual Director who would not, with all his heart, make Mr. Buckingham some compensation for his unmerited sufferings, but for this reason. There is not an individual in the Direction, with whom I ever conversed on the subject, who did not say that Mr. Buckingham's was one of the hardest cases he had ever heard of. They all acknowledge that they have not a word to say against him as a man and a gentleman; they would willingly meet him on friendly terms in a private room; "but," say they, "if we afford him redress—if we save him from destruction, we pass censure upon the despotic power exercised ten thousand miles off, and that we dare not do." (*Hear, hear, hear.*) There are 40,000 Englishmen living under that despotic power; and it is melancholy to think how many return home possessed of great wealth, with their minds not only tainted, but paralysed, by the baneful influence of the arbitrary rule which they have been accustomed to see exercised around them. The only means of counteracting this evil, is to be found in the powerful efforts of the free press of this country. What the British public is now asked to do, is in furtherance of this object; and not merely to enable Mr. Buckingham to pay his debts, and to relieve him from the painful burthens which now weigh down himself and his family. Mr. Buckingham, being denied the liberty of speaking to his countrymen in India through the press established there, came home, and in the full confidence that the valuable property which he had left behind him was perfectly secure, he embarked his supposed fortune in a publication here, contracting engagements to the extent of four or five thousand pounds, under the idea that he possessed property in India to more than eight times that amount. This publication is now the only fair channel of communication between the two countries; it is the only instrument by which the wrongs done in India can be made known, both to the public there and to the people of England; and it is the only means by which we can hope that the vices of the Indian system of government will be corrected. Mr. Buckingham possesses the sympathy of nearly the whole of the community in India, though they dare not express it. Our countrymen there, notwithstanding the despotism under which they live, cannot easily forget the liberal sentiments which they imbibed in their native land; and they will rejoice to see us come forward to enable Mr. Buckingham to extricate himself from the difficulties in which he has been plunged, in consequence of his unabated zeal in their cause; and to make him the instrument, through the '*Oriental Herald*,' of spreading useful intelligence in India, and procuring for the millions under our rule the blessings of a good government, which have always been the great objects of Mr. Buckingham's life.—(*Cheers.*)—Under these circumstances, I say, that to enable Mr. Buckingham to fulfil his engagements, will be not only doing an act of justice to him, and of pleasure to ourselves, but will at the same

time be doing one of the greatest possible acts of public utility, by supporting the only channel of free communication between this country and India. Mr. Buckingham's friends have not made this appeal to public sympathy on his behalf, until every other attempt to obtain compensation for the wrongs which he has suffered have failed. The East India Company have refused to grant him the sum of £5,000 out of their ample funds, although this was but a small proportion of his losses, and although there is no Director, with whom I have ever conversed, who does not acknowledge that he never heard of a stain upon Mr. Buckingham's character. All that he could be charged with was "contumacy," (I think that is the word,) in not obeying the "warnings" to abstain from writing freely in India. To talk of writing freely, however, would seem absurd; for if I were to quote the articles which were so considered in India, and there thought indicative of a desire to overturn the Government of that country, there is not a gentleman present who would not laugh in my face. I will give only one example: a Dr. Bryce, a Scotch clergyman at the head of the Presbyterian church, was appointed to the office of Clerk of the Stationery, whereupon Mr. Buckingham, in a very good-humoured manner, suggested that the appointment was incompatible with the sacred character of the reverend gentleman, and for doing this Mr. Buckingham was sent from India. (*Hear, hear.*) It is material to mark what followed. The principal members of the Church of Scotland decidedly disapproved of the conduct of Dr. Bryce, in having thus degraded his cloth by accepting the appointment in question; and the Court of Directors felt it necessary to send out orders for the removal of the reverend gentleman from his office, in which the Board of Control concurred; and yet Mr. Buckingham, for his merely commenting on the impropriety of the appointment thus subsequently condemned and annulled, was sent out of India, without a trial, a hearing, or any of the usual formalities of law. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The other subjects of complaint against Mr. Buckingham were equally frivolous with that which I have mentioned. Lord Hastings, whilst he remained in India, was frequently applied to by the Members of his Council to send Mr. Buckingham away. On those occasions, public and official letters were addressed to Mr. Buckingham, but Lord Hastings was always satisfied by the judicious reasoning with which that gentleman supported and maintained the positions he had advanced. It has been said, that Lord Hastings, if he had remained in India, would have found it necessary to banish Mr. Buckingham, as had been done by his successor. But I have it under Lord Hastings's own hand, that Mr. Buckingham never wrote anything, and he (Lord Hastings) believed he never would have written anything, which could induce him to resort to so severe a measure. (*Hear, hear!*) I state this under his Lordship's own hand, and with his authority to make it public. For my own part, having had frequent and almost uninterrupted personal intercourse with Mr. Buckingham, from the moment of his arrival in this country up to the present period, I can declare that I never met with a gentleman who, under the difficulties and distresses with which he has had to contend, behaved with more constancy and uprightness, or showed a greater disposition to behave in a fair and conciliatory manner. (*Hear, hear!*) It is not a little to his credit, that after standing before the public eye for so long a period, with the most searching scrutiny applied to every incident of his public and private life, no man can lay his hand upon his heart and point out any one of his acts, as dishonourable. (*Lowd applause.*) On every ground, therefore, he is entitled to the sympathy and support of his countrymen in England, as well as in India.

The hon. gentleman concluded with moving the resolution which he read at the commencement of his speech.

Mr. HUME.—It was not my intention to have addressed the meeting at the present moment, but to have deferred what I had to say to a later period; as, however, some points of importance in this case have not, in my opinion, been dwelt on so strongly as they deserve to be, I will now attempt to supply the deficiency. On the present occasion, however much I may be disposed, as I hope every Briton is, to support the propriety of freedom of discussion in this

country and in India (on which subject I agree with all that has fallen from my hon. friend, Mr. Kinnaid), I think it becomes us more especially to look at the facts of Mr. Buckingham's case which occurred subsequent to his removal from India, and to consider him as an Englishman who, after his deportation, had a property which it can be proved was worth £40,000 totally destroyed by the acts of Government, and by no fault of his own. The value of Mr. Buckingham's property was estimated at £40,000 a few months only preceding Mr. Buckingham's removal; and that this valuation was not an unfair one is proved by the best of all possible tests, namely by his having sold one fourth share of the whole for £10,000. At the time this valuation was made, neither Mr. Buckingham nor any other person could have had any idea of what has since happened, and therefore there was no apparent reason for affixing a fictitious valuation upon the property in question. At that period the income returned to Mr. Buckingham by the '*Calcutta Journal*' was £8000 a year. It had a wide circulation, and received the approbation of the great majority of persons in the East India Company's service, a strong presumptive proof that its tendency was not to overturn the Government, for on the stability of that they depended for support and promotion. Every person is aware of the importance of the press in this country, and they can easily conceive the use to which it can be applied in India in correcting the abuses which creep into establishments of all kinds; such an instrument, however, instead of being dangerous to a good government, would only have the effect of consolidating its power. It was in that view that the Indian community supported Mr. Buckingham's *Journal*, as a vehicle for exposing the abuses committed in the departments, which the dependent situation of persons employed would prevent them from making known. Any person who is aware of the despotic nature of the power which prevails in India must know, that a junior who should venture to challenge the conduct of his superior must, be he right or wrong, expect to experience the enmity of that superior, for having, in the honest discharge of his duty, exposed abuses, with a view to their correction. In India, the collectors of the revenue are, in some instances, removed to the distance of a thousand miles from the seat of Government, and two or three Europeans are left in charge of immense tracts of territory; under such circumstances mal-practices must be tenfold more dangerous than in a country like England. Mr. Buckingham's paper was considered the best means of exposing the abuses which existed in this and other departments, and thereby consolidating the British power in India, and of rendering our sway acceptable to the community. A fourth of this paper was, as I before stated, disposed of, for £10,000, to 100 individuals, who thus became co-proprietors with Mr. Buckingham to the extent of their shares. It is evident, therefore, that at the time of Mr. Buckingham's removal from India, his share of the property amounted to £30,000, and would have yielded him, under any tolerable management, if not destroyed by the Government, an income of upwards of £8,000 a year for life. Now, admitting, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Buckingham's removal from India was a proper proceeding; what followed? The moment he got on board ship the Government first passed a law, placing that property entirely at their disposal, and then, acting on this law, took away the license of the paper, and refused to restore it so long as he, or any of his former co-proprietors, had any share in it whatever; so that the property which Mr. Buckingham supposed to be safe there, under the protection of the laws, was, by these proceedings of the Government, entirely destroyed. The pretence upon which the license was taken away will state: My hon. friend, Colonel Stanhope, published, in this country, a pamphlet, pointing out the advantages of the liberty of the press to India; this pamphlet was republished in the '*Calcutta Journal*,'—Mr. Buckingham, be it recollected, being then in England, and having no power or control over the paper. (*Hear.*) He had left the management of it to two editors, and they thought they could not employ its pages better than in making them the means of communicating to the Indian public the very sensible observations of Colonel Stanhope on the subject of the press. The Government allowed the whole of the pamphlet to be republished in separate portions, without making any objection to the

proceeding; but, some days after the whole was completed, they then pretended that their orders had been disobeyed, and, therefore, they withdrew the license. (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. Buckingham's agents, Messrs. Alexander and Co. (one of the most respectable houses in Calcutta) used every means to obtain a renewal of the license. Several months passed in this negotiation, and during that time a large portion of the very expensive establishment of a daily paper was kept up. At the end of four months, Mr. Buckingham's agents were informed, that so long as that gentleman had any property in the paper the license never would be renewed. I ask whether it is possible to find a stronger instance of persevering hostility to an individual than this transaction presents? Mr. Buckingham's case ought not to be considered as an isolated one. Every one who feels for the situation of his countrymen in the colonies, where despotic power prevails, ought to make common cause with him. (*Hear, hear.*) Every man should consider that, in supporting Mr. Buckingham, he is supporting the rights of Englishmen in the colonies. This may be called a colonial question. It is one of great importance, and I hope that, when it becomes properly understood, Mr. Buckingham will receive the support to which his talents and misfortune alike entitle him. I have taken a very warm interest in the case from the first moment it was made known to me. The statements which were originally made by Mr. Buckingham have been most fully borne out by the evidence given before the Committee of the House. I do not speak of the evidence of Mr. Buckingham, or his friends, but of the documentary proof afforded by the East India Company themselves. (*Cheers.*) Under these circumstances I consider Mr. Buckingham's case to be not only one of great individual hardship, but also of infinite general importance, as it may be the case of any Englishman placed in the colonies, where such power as that to which Mr. Buckingham has been the victim prevails. By supporting Mr. Buckingham, the Indian and the English public will at once manifest their admiration of his conduct, and their detestation of the power by which he has been oppressed. I, therefore, with great pleasure second the resolution proposed by my hon. friend, and beg pardon for having occupied so much of your time, although I thought what I have stated was necessary to complete the history of Mr. Buckingham's persecution. (*Applause.*)

Mr. HILL.—When I entered the room, I had no intention of offering any observations to the Meeting, because I was not aware of the exact nature of the proposition to be submitted; but believing that I can add something to what has already been stated, to strengthen Mr. Buckingham's claim to the sympathy of the British public, I should consider myself inexcusable did I not advance it. (*Cheers.*) If Mr. Buckingham were a person of doubtful or even of decidedly bad private character, yet when I look to what his public conduct has been, I think the public is bound to support him; for when a man labours for the good of the public, he labours for the welfare of every individual composing that public. It has fallen to my lot, however, to be appointed one of the counsel to defend Mr. Buckingham against a charge which originated in the selfishness and malice of one individual, (Mr. Bankes) but which was propagated all over India, and sent home before Mr. Buckingham returned to this country, for the purpose of ruining his private character, and through that of bearing him down in his public capacity. Under such circumstances, Mr. Buckingham's private character becomes a part of the case which we have to consider. It therefore gives me great satisfaction to have it in my power to state, (which I do with the same solemnity and the same regard to responsibility as if I were on my oath,) that after a most severe, and, I may say, suspicious examination of every document connected with the charge, (which, as it is not finally disposed of in the courts of law, I shall not more particularly allude to,) I regard it, in its origin and progress, as one of the most foul conspiracies against the private character of a man against whom not only no charge, but not even the shadow of a charge could with any justice be brought, as ever came to my knowledge. (*Cheers.*) Looking at Mr. Buckingham as an Englishman who had used his best exertions to benefit the community in which he was placed in India, his countrymen are bound, in common fairness and honesty to join in preventing his utter ruin. Let us look, however, at Mr. Buckingham's case, as it

affects us nearer home in relation with that great empire of India, which England has to satisfy for a heavy debt of misgovernment. Perhaps it is not known to some present, that an act of Parliament exists which authorises the Indian Government to make such regulations as shall not be repugnant to the law of England. It may happen that some whom I address may now hear, for the first time, that one of the highest legal tribunals in this country, the Privy Council, after grave argument and mature deliberation, has published to the world, as its solemn opinion, that regulations which have utterly annihilated the liberty of the press in India, and placed it at the beck and call of every Governor-General, are not repugnant to the law of England. (*Hear, hear.*) Though Mr. Buckingham was unsuccessful in his appeal to the Privy Council, it arose not from any want of exertion, or talent, or sacrifice of property, on his part to bring it to a favourable issue. I must confess I was surprised to find that the great question before the Privy Council was so little attended to by the country at large. I have always observed, in the course of my reading, that when any attack was meditated on the liberty of the press in this country, the cry of alarm resounded from shore to shore. In this instance, however, the alarm raised by Mr. Buckingham fell dead, and not an echo was heard. But if we have not the manliness to stand forward, as Mr. Buckingham has done, to oppose this gross stretch of power, at least let us repair the misfortunes which he has suffered for his superior honesty, courage, and zeal. "If," as one of our wisest monarchs said, "we are not honest ourselves, let us admire honesty in others." No man better knows the constitutional history of this country than our Noble Chairman; and no man has a better hereditary right to that knowledge. (*Applause.*) His Lordship will no doubt recollect that when a question connected with the liberty of the press was argued before Lord Camden, (whom I will take the liberty of calling the *great* Lord Camden, notwithstanding that he was a lawyer), his Lordship commented upon the opinion delivered by the twelve judges in the infamous reign of Charles II., whose opinion was such as any twelve judges would give in such times, namely, "that the crown had a right to control the press"—and that that decision had become only a matter of curiosity. "Keep a thing seven years," says an old proverb, "and it will come again into fashion." And here indeed is an illustration. But is it not extraordinary that tho' only a few years since Lord Camden had pronounced those barbarous maxims as fit only to be placed on the shelves of a museum as curiosities, they should now have become the governing principle of one of our highest tribunals. "The mother of mischief is no bigger than a midge's wing" says another proverb. A cloud no larger than my hand is now seen in the East, how long it may be before it spreads over the whole of our political horizon, I will not pretend to determine; but this I know, that it is pregnant with danger, and ought to rouse us to prepare against the coming storm. In conclusion, I trust, that the British public will not be slow in discharging the debt of gratitude to Mr. Buckingham: and that we shall see the community of India and of England cordially unite to rescue him from destruction. (*Continued applause.*)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. HUME.—Before the next resolution is read, I will state the progress which has already been made in the subscription which is now inserted.

[The hon. Gentleman then read a list of subscriptions already received, which will appear at the close of the proceedings, where a complete list will be given of the whole.]

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I think it necessary to state that these contributions were not meant to be made known to the world. They were made at a time when no idea was entertained that it would be necessary to make an appeal to the public on Mr. Buckingham's behalf. This subscription was made for the purpose of staving off the evil day, until Mr. Buckingham obtained justice from the quarters whence he had a right to expect it. But now that the constituted authorities have refused to do that which they ought to have done, it has been thought right to make an appeal to others on his behalf. The public in general cannot, of course, be expected to shape the amount of their contri-

butions by those which have been read; but as the smallest subscriptions will help to swell the general amount, they will be equally acceptable. The sum of £5,000 will, I believe, enable Mr. Buckingham to meet all those engagements into which he had entered, under the idea that the property which he left in India was perfectly secure; and without this sum be raised, those engagements cannot be fulfilled; and the '*Oriental Herald*,' to which Mr. Buckingham has devoted his time, and labours, and money, with a zeal which does him honour, must fall to the ground. (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir CHARLES FORBES.—In rising to propose the second resolution, I beg, in the first place, to return my thanks to Mr. Kinnaird for the very proper manner in which he has explained the circumstances under which the subscription already raised was entered into. The money which I have subscribed for myself and for others, who will, I have no doubt, readily approve of what I have done, was paid without any reference to the present meeting, or any idea of having the transaction made public. On this occasion, however, it is only necessary for me to refer to what I have already done, to show what opinion I entertain of Mr. Buckingham's conduct and character. (*Applause.*) I certainly should not have set down my name as a subscriber in favour of any man of whose conduct and character I did not entertain the highest opinion. Mr. Buckingham, when he came to this country, brought with him letters of recommendation from Mr. John Palmer, a gentleman well known to all connected with India, than whom a more honourable or humane man does not exist. I have found that Mr. Buckingham has, ever since his arrival, acted up to the character which Mr. Palmer gave him. The more I have seen of Mr. Buckingham, the more highly I think of his character and talents. A more humane man than he is, does not, to my knowledge, exist; and there are persons present who can testify that he has afforded relief to others at a time when he has been very much in want himself. (*Hear, hear.*) I do not wish to enter upon the general question, which has been so ably treated by the previous speakers, particularly as my opinions with respect to the liberty of the press do not entirely accord with theirs. I wish, on all occasions, to be understood as not going the length of advocating the unrestrained liberty of the press in India. (*Hear, hear.*) This is a most important question, and requires serious consideration. I am not yet prepared to say how far the liberty of the press in India might prove beneficial or injurious. Thus much, however, I am ready to avow, that the press, as it exists on its present footing in India, is most disgraceful. (*Loud applause.*) I would infinitely rather have the press put down altogether, than that it should exist in its present shape, as an instrument of tyranny and oppression—open only to the praise of Government, and shut against the just complaints of individuals. (*Cheers.*)

The worthy Baronet concluded with moving the following resolution:

That Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, Lombard-street, and Messrs. Ransom and Co. Pall Mall East, having signified their readiness to receive, at their respective banking-houses, the subscriptions of the public to this benevolent object, the following Gentlemen be appointed to act as a Committee to carry the necessary measures into execution;

Hon. Douglas Kinnaird
Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.
John Stewart, Esq.
E. B. Lewis, Esq.
Joseph Hume, Esq.
Hon. Leicester Stanhope
Sir John Doyle, Bart.

M. D. Hill, Esq.
John Bowring Esq.
M. T. Bains, Esq.
Captain Maxfield
J. T. Rutt, Esq.
Dr. J. B. Gilchrist.

Sir JOHN DOYLE.—I had no intention of trespassing on the attention of the meeting when I entered the room, and I rise now only for the purpose of seconding the motion of my honourable Friend. As I agree entirely with all that has fallen so eloquently from the gentlemen who have preceded me, it is the less necessary that I should occupy much of the time of the meeting. As a Proprietor of India Stock, however, and having heard all that has been said

for and against Mr. Buckingham at the India House, I may be excused for alluding to one circumstance. I understand that one of the strongest arguments relied on in another place (the House of Commons) against Mr. Buckingham, was, that on his last appeal to the Court of Proprietors, the majority decided against him. Fortunately for your Lordship, you have little or nothing to do with that Court; for my sins, I have had a good deal to do with it. (*A laugh.*) When it is stated that the majority of the Court of Proprietors decided against the just claims of Mr. Buckingham, all that should be understood is, that the two gentlemen filling the chairs in that Court, and therefore technically called "the chairs," had decided against them. (*Applause.*) Every body, who had occasion to address that respectable Court, must know that all argument or reason was of no avail, if these same two pieces of wood, these two wooden machines called Chairs, think fit to decide against it. (*Applause and laughter.*) It is not that there are not many individuals of respectable and amiable character and ability belonging to the Court in question, but it happens, some how or other, that all great bodies are moved by oratory. Now there is scarcely any thing more eloquent than a cadetship; but the arguments of a writership are wholly irresistible. (*Cheers and laughter.*) This may, perhaps, account for the majority which the Court presented against Mr. Buckingham's claim. There is another peculiar circumstance attending this Court all public meetings usually diminish in numbers in proportion to the length of time occupied in the discussion; but the contrary is the case with this Court. Towards the close of the debates, the Court is always favoured with an influx of gentlemen, who never, on any occasion, take any other part in the proceedings except voting; and it is the business of these mutes to strangle the debate with their silent votes. I took no part in the last debate at the India House respecting Mr. Buckingham, because I saw that all the eloquence and ability of my friends were of no avail, and that I should stand no chance against the votes of my mute friends. The only argument, if argument it could be called, which was used on that occasion against Mr. Buckingham, was, that the Government did right in sending him from India. That, however, is not the question. Taking it for granted that the Government acted properly in sending him away, the thing which is complained of is the destruction of his property in his absence. No person knows better than our noble Chairman, that, according to the law of England, no man should be punished twice for the same offence. It appears to be one of the strongest points in Mr. Buckingham's favour, that the offence for which he was punished, not by his being sent from India, but by having his property destroyed, was committed by deputy, he himself being in this country at the time. Why, because a person in India does a wrong thing, (which, however, he could hardly suppose it to be, since it was only the re-publication of the opinions of his gallant friend, Colonel Stanhope,) another man in this country should be punished, by the total destruction of his property, I cannot understand. The gentleman who opened the debate against Mr. Buckingham at the India House said, that it was for his sins in India he was punished; but the argument of the speaker who followed him was not that Mr. Buckingham had done wrong in India, but that he had done wrong in England, by persevering in his appeals to the Court of Proprietors for justice. This puts me in mind of the school-master who flogged the boy till he made him cry, and then flogged him for crying. (*Laughter and applause.*) I heartily second the resolution of my honourable friend, whose character is a sufficient guarantee that the cause which he advocates is honest and honourable. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. RUTR.—I feel a strong desire to express to this meeting, which I am happy to see so numerous and respectable, the opinion which I entertain of Mr. Buckingham. I had the pleasure of being introduced to his acquaintance by the Hon. Colonel Stanhope, to whom I feel greatly indebted for the pleasure I have derived from that circumstance. When I knew the nature of his valuable work, I felt disposed to offer him my occasional assistance; and nothing can be more gratifying to me than the opportunity I have thus enjoyed of appearing sometimes in the pages of the '*Oriental Herald.*' I consider that work

to be of great importance, whether as regards the interests of England, or of that vast empire, to which it has been truly said this country owes a heavy debt for misgovernment. With respect to Mr. Buckingham's character, I have always found him to be a man of most amiable disposition, not desirous to excite animosity, but, in return for the "evil" which he has suffered, doing all the "good" in his power, by using his talents for the information and benefit of mankind, and on all occasions anxious to promote "peace on earth, and good will among men." (*Applause.*)

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I consider that Mr. Buckingham deserves support on public grounds, leaving the merits of his private character out of the question. His private character has been established upon such a satisfactory foundation that I shall turn from it to dwell upon his public character. I shall be sorry, if, in consequence either of what passes here this day, or of the subscriptions which I trust will emanate from it, this vital subject shall be lost sight of by Parliament. I hope that the ensuing Parliament will take it up with the care which it deserves, and that they will not abandon it till they have probed it to the bottom. (*Hear.*) The evidence has not been completed within this session, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament. The Committee, as I am informed, would not permit the examination of all the witnesses who were ready to have been brought forward, and the witnesses who were not examined are exactly those who would furnish the most damning testimony as to the motives of Mr. Buckingham's persecutors. Your Lordship knows —

Lord JOHN RUSSELL.—I would request the worthy gentleman to abstain from the topic, which he now seems about to discuss. I need not mention to him the reasons why it would be improper for me to take any part in such a discussion. (*Hear.*)

Dr. GILCHRIST.—In deference to the noble Lord, I will waive that subject, as I am happy in following the able and gallant general, who favoured us with so good humoured a speech, and entertain strong hope that I shall say nothing calculated to disturb that infusion of good temper which he has cast in among us. I consider England, my Lord, to be in a state of danger, so far as the liberty of the press is concerned. From India to England, by the Cape of Good Hope, which, from recent proceedings, I should rather call the Cape of Despair, and from Sydney to England by Cape Horn, there has been a general insurrection on the part of the Government against the liberty of the press. (*Hear, hear.*) When oppression begins at a distance from the seat of government, those who reside at the centre are not alarmed. The individuals, however, who join wisdom to the love which they bear their country, will, when they see despotism stalking abroad in its foreign dependencies, and directing all its virulence against the press, feel convinced that its ravages will soon be made nearer home, and will therefore think it more fitting to strike the monster down, whilst he is busy at the extremities, than to defer the blow, till he is tugging at their heart. Despotism, I must also remark, is most detrimental to mankind, when it is wielded by good men. When it is in the hands of villains, it is so odious in itself that hope arises even out of the excess of despair; for baneful as it is, it still carries its antidote along with it. Apply this remark to the case of the press in India; and if you do so, I think that you cannot but agree with the honourable Baronet, who told you that it would be better for the interests of India and of England to have no press at all, than to have it in the degraded condition in which it now suffers existence in our Indian empire. (*Hear, hear.*) I am sorry to say that, instead of being applied to noble and beneficial purposes, it is perverted to purposes the most disgusting and the most dangerous, for it blackens the motives and calumniates the character of every good man, who is honest enough and bold enough to tell the constituted authorities that they are doing wrong. (*Hear.*) Unfortunately, he who tells this unpalatable truth to the powers that be, is immediately set down as a wretched reptile, and every man in office places his foot on his neck to crush him to the ground. If then we do not show our sympathy for Mr. Buckingham upon the present occasion, we may depend upon it that the evil, under which he has suffered,

will soon become too powerful for us to withstand. If, however, we show to the colonies, by our sympathy for Mr. Buckingham, that there is a strong feeling in England on behalf of the liberty of the colonial press; those, who seek to crush it, will take the warning, which they say they gave to Mr. Buckingham, and we shall hear no more of this species of oppression, which, at this moment, appears to have been exercised at one and the same time, in three or four parts of our distant colonies. (*Hear, hear.*) I cannot help observing that it will be a great pity, if we suffer this meeting to separate without carrying along with it those feelings which the honourable and gallant general endeavoured to infuse into our minds. I thank him heartily for the speech which he so eloquently addressed to us. At the same time I cannot but notice the able and perspicuous manner, in which the two speakers, who gave us a detailed account of these transactions, expressed themselves. I must also thank my able friend near me (Mr. Hill) for the manliness which he displayed in the remarks he offered to our consideration. There was so much warmth of heart about them, there was such an honest plainness in their style, there was such an uncompromising straightforwardness in every syllable that he uttered, that I never should have suspected him of being a lawyer. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) I think that the honourable and gallant general, in telling you that the proprietors of East India Stock were governed by two chairs, told you the plain truth; but that would not be so bad, if there were not leaden heads in Leadenhall. (*A laugh.*) If the proprietors, who are present at the general courts, will not stand up for the rights of the proprietors, who are absent, they will soon be reduced to mere cyphers; they will meet for no other purpose than to register the acts of the Court of Directors, and their debates and their meetings will be looked upon as mere farces. I will mention one fact to show how far they are sunk already. We were lately called upon at the East India House, to give a vote on a mass of papers, of which we knew nothing, except from the hurried manner in which they were read over to us by the clerk. Now, when the executive body presumes to tell the deliberative body that it must decide without deliberation, all check upon the two chairs is lost entirely; and unless some new, and some better blood be infused among us, we shall be as badly off for a representation of our sentiments as those who now live under the legal jurisdiction of India. I say under the legal jurisdiction, for it often happens that what is legal is not just. Many Acts of Parliament, sanctioning gross enormities, have been legal enough; but the repeal of them, which the good sense of the people of England insisted upon, proved, that though they might be legal, they could never consider them as just. I shall intrude no longer upon the meeting, except to thank it for the patience with which it has listened to my remarks.

MR. J. B. LEWIN.—I can assure the meeting that it is not my intention to trespass upon its patience at any length at this late hour of the day; but there are one or two remarks, which I feel it necessary to press upon its attention. I recollect that it was a saying of a man, whom you all must revere, I mean John Locke, the great champion of English liberty—that “where law ends tyranny begins.” In the case of Mr. Buckingham this adage has received a striking illustration. For, whoever investigates Mr. Buckingham’s case, from the commencement to the close, will see in it nothing like law, the measure of justice, nothing like legal prosecution, nothing like any intelligible delinquency. He will see in it, however, that which has always been considered an attribute of the Judges of Hell—execution without trial. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I therefore say, that the adage of Locke has received, on this occasion, an illustration most unfortunately apposite. But in addressing an assembly of Englishmen, met for the benevolent object which has this day brought you together in this room, I am not depressed by the recollection of that circumstance; for I also recollect, that where tyranny begins in England, there the story is by no means at an end. (*Applause.*) I hope that this observation will be completely verified in the present case; for never yet has there been an instance, or, if there has, I am ignorant of it, in which an individual, who performed his duty fairly to the public, by standing manfully in the breach,

when the rights of the public were invaded,—who risked his all, and that all not a little, in upholding the principles of freedom, who spurned every consideration of danger in a firm reliance on his own consciousness of acting rightly,—never, I repeat, has there been an instance, in which the English nation has not started forward to give a substantial indemnity, as far as money could do so, to such an individual, for the injuries he may have sustained, and to give him an indemnity still more precious to his heart,—namely, its unbought suffrage and testimony as to the value of his conduct. (*Applause.*) I will not weary you with going into a dissertation on the private and public merits of Mr. Buckingham. On that point I believe that we are all agreed; the only difference between us, if any difference there be, is as to the point, whether any public man could have braved better than he has braved the particular difficulties of his situation. The question before you, which, in point of fact, I believe to be no question at all, is this, Do you not yearn with sympathy towards a man, whose private conduct has been admitted on all hands (for what Mr. Buckingham has done, has not been done in a corner) to be entirely free from reproach, and whose public conduct, though open and manly in the extreme, has been productive to him of nothing but suffering and disappointment? (*Applause.*) Mr. Buckingham; has done well, and has suffered well for your sake; be it yours to provide that he is also indemnified well for the losses he has sustained. If ever man deserved the support of his fellow countrymen, it is Mr. Buckingham, and with that conviction upon my mind, I take my leave of you all for the present. (*Hear, hear.*)

CAPTAIN MAXFIELD.—In rising, my Lord, to address you at this late hour, I can assure you that it is not my intention to trespass long either upon your attention or upon that of the respectable meeting whom I see before me. I rise to mention a fact, which, as it is known to me alone, it would be unjust to Mr. Buckingham to withhold from the knowledge of the present meeting. It will perhaps be supposed, by those, who may read the description of our proceedings to day, that it is only the original friends of Mr. Buckingham who are now assembled to support him. Now this, as I shall prove to you, is by no means the case. I stand forward here to encourage the work in which you are engaged, from a belief that Mr. Buckingham has not only been injured in this country but also in Calcutta. It was that belief, which first attracted my sympathy to him, and made me determine to bestow upon him all the little patronage which was in my power. I had originally interests diametrically opposed to those of Mr. Buckingham; for I had several shares in a newspaper established at Calcutta, before Mr. Buckingham arrived there. As a newspaper proprietor, I could not view his arrival in the same field with myself with any great satisfaction, and you will credit that assertion, when I tell you further that the paper which he established excelled, and ultimately ruined, all the papers which existed previously to it. The exertions, which Mr. Buckingham made in behalf of his paper, so far reduced the value of mine that I quitted it; and after I quitted it and ceased to write for it, no dividend ever took place. You will see from this statement that so far as my pecuniary interests are concerned, I have no great reason to be satisfied with Mr. Buckingham. I afterwards wrote for some other papers. Mr. Buckingham, I must now tell you, had inserted in his paper a correspondence under the signature of "Sam Sober-sided," in which he attacked our Indian Government, and compared it with that of Batavia. I felt that the Government was unfairly treated by that comparison, and I stated so in another paper. I there entered into a full defence of the Government, and, strange as you may suppose it, Mr. Buckingham inserted in his next number those paragraphs in my letter which were the most flattering to the Government. I mention this circumstance to convince you that Mr. Buckingham was not, as has been stated, the general calumniator and abuser of every measure which emanated from Government. I found out, however, shortly afterwards, that the writing in any paper made the writer obnoxious to the ruling powers, and I learned, in a very little time, that even I, who had defended them, was marked out for one of their victims. I went from Calcutta to Madras, and, whilst there, staid with the Secretary to Go-

vernment who happened to be an old and intimate acquaintance of mine. In the course of conversation he said to me, "I wonder who was the author of the defence of the Government inserted in such a paper," mentioning its name, "for I see that Buckingham has republished it." I replied to him, "you need not wonder long—for I can tell you;" and in confidence I told him that I was the author of it. He said to me in return, "I am concerned to hear it—for you are supposed to be just in the opposite scale; I am sorry, very sorry for it—for you have been a considerable sufferer in consequence of the mistake which has prevailed as to your principles." Shortly afterwards I returned back to Calcutta, and then I received a communication from those in authority, that if I wished to enter into any commercial speculation, I should have the advantage of all the patronage of Government. I refused the patronage, because I could not accede to the terms which I knew were tacitly connected with it. I saw that Mr. Buckingham was proscribed, because he dared to think, feel, and write like an Englishman. I saw that all his friends were in a similar situation; and I likewise saw that the taking in of his paper was an offence, in the eyes of Government, likely to deprive the offender of his place under it, on the first plausible opportunity that occurred for doing so. From that moment I began to write in Mr. Buckingham's paper; and I will say that, during the time that I was acquainted with it, I never read any thing in it, which was not fair and gentlemanly, or any discussion that was not calm and temperate. It contained the arguments on both sides of every question, which other papers generally refused to insert. Yet, notwithstanding this, the officers of Government discouraged the circulation of it by every means in their power. I mention this fact to you, Gentlemen, because I think it fair, that, as you have been told that Mr. Buckingham had repeated warnings from the Government as to the course which he was pursuing and as to that which he ought to pursue, you should also be told that Mr. Buckingham had also repeated goadings from it, goadings, which he could not fail to feel, and to feel bitterly. (*Hear, hear*). I before told you that the Government discouraged, by every means in their power, the taking in of his paper; will you believe me, when I tell you, that it was even offended at individuals reading it? Many however, who did not dare to take it in openly, read it by stealth, borrowing it in private from such of their friends as were possessed of stronger moral courage. By this statement you will see, that long before the Government prosecuted Mr. Buckingham openly, as in the case of the six secretaries, where they failed most lamentably, they had instituted against him a private and scarcely less detrimental system of persecution. I rose to make this fact known to you, and having done so, I shall take my leave, but not without wishing success to the exertions in which we are all engaged at present in support of Mr. Buckingham. (*Cheers*.)

Mr. BOWRING next addressed the meeting.—I sympathize sincerely, said he, in all the feelings which have been so well expressed by the speakers who have preceded me, and so strongly re-echoed by the respectable meeting to whom they were expressed. I am glad that I can bear my testimony thus publicly to Mr. Buckingham's excellent character, to his great activity of mind, to his unwearied, industry and to his unceasing perseverance in every course which is wise and liberal. (*Loud applause*.) I leave those topics, however, without further remark, because Mr. Buckingham's merits are too well known to you to require any illustration. I approach to the subject of the persecution which he has endured, because I feel that some part of the shame, which is wholly due to his unprincipled persecutors, will recoil back upon us, unless we, by our voices this day, cover with disgrace the oppressive measures by which he has been sacrificed. (*Great applause*.) I need not remind you that only once excuse has been offered for the bitter sufferings which have been inflicted upon him; sufferings, which have been most cruel in their effects, and for which the only apology that has been and that can be made, is, that they were not intended. If they were not intended, then I say we are bound to protect Mr. Buckingham against them; and if they were intended, then I say that the despotism which crushed Mr. Buckingham is the more intolerably

cruel and the more incredibly flagitious. (*Cheers.*) It would be unbecoming in me, after what you have already heard, to say much on the sufferings, which Mr. Buckingham has undergone; but this I must say, that I feel them keenly as they relate to Mr. Buckingham, and perhaps still more keenly as they relate to the Natives of India, for whom he made such generous exertions. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice, however, to see that sympathy is at last awakened to the rights and feelings and privileges of so many human beings. I rejoice, because it is calculated to lead to the better government of India, and because the friends of good government are likely to join the friends of England and of India in a common union, of which the result must be productive of a happy influence on the general prosperity of the empire. (*Cheers.*)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Before I put the question upon this resolution, I think it right to inform the meeting that I this morning received a note from Mr. Abercrombie, stating that he would attend here, if he could get from some business, in which he was then engaged. As he has not made his appearance among us, I conclude that he has been detained by it longer than he expected. Mr. John Smith expressed also the same intention as Mr. Abercrombie; and many other gentlemen, I know, would have been here, had they not been prevented by other business, which previously occupied them, and by the shortness of the notice of the meeting preventing their making arrangements in time to attend it.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL then put the resolution to the vote, which was carried unanimously.

MR. BUCKINGHAM.—I should reproach myself, my Lord, for a want of respect to this numerous meeting, were I to continue any longer a silent spectator of its proceedings, without declaring the reasons which have induced me to yield to the solicitations of my friends, and to appear before them on the present occasion. You have heard detailed to you, gentlemen, by those who have taken the pains to make themselves masters of the facts, a history of the series of persecutions which I have undergone. I shall not return to it, because I think those facts speak sufficiently for themselves. There is, however, one hiatus in that history which I, and I alone, can supply, as to the motives which actuated me in those proceedings, which by some have been deemed to be erroneous, and by others, such as do honour to my character. When I first landed in Bengal, it was believed that discussion existed there on the same footing as it did in England. If I had not entertained such a belief, I should have considered it a degradation to quit the profession to which I then belonged—that of the sea,—to ally myself to a press which was in a state of thralldom and slavery. In the course of my stay there, however, circumstances occurred, which led me to perceive that there was no fixed standard on which I could rely for my guidance; that discussion in India was regulated sometimes by the law, sometimes by the caprice of Government, sometimes by a mixture of both; in fine, that prosecution, negotiation, threats, and compulsion, were all resorted to by turns, to give to the press such a tone as the local Government wished it to adopt. It might with truth indeed be said, that the most capricious standard, which the mind of man could invent, was not more capricious than that by which I was required to act as the conductor of a public journal. (*Hear, hear.*) I repeatedly said to the Government, “Leave me not to such a changeable system; give me a rule, which shall be binding upon others as well as upon myself; and by that rule I am willing to stand.” (*Hear, hear.*) I mention this circumstance, gentlemen, not because I think there is any peculiar merit in obeying the wishes of a Government, but because I hold that every man, so long as he receives protection from a Government, is bound to follow its laws, whenever he knows what those laws are. I consider it to be the most powerful apology for every thing that I have done, that in no one instance can any contumacy or premeditated insult to Government be laid to my charge. When I say this, I think it right to add, that I have the testimony of an individual to the correctness of my assertion, which all the world must deem decisive—I mean that of the Marquis of Hastings; (*cheers*;) testimony, which is so much the more honour-

able to that illustrious nobleman, as he gave it, after the propriety of his own conduct had been submitted to discussion, in a letter to Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, which he has given that gentleman full liberty to make public. (*Cheers.*) With regard to all the varied proceedings between the Indian Government and myself, I do not think it necessary to recapitulate them now; I shall merely state that, in the interval which elapsed between the time of my receiving notice to quit India and my actual embarkation, being persuaded that the property which I had in Bengal was perfectly safe, though I was not present to superintend and protect it, I left it there, paying thereby a great, but, as it turned out, an undeserved compliment to the Government which banished me, and saying publicly to them and to the world, "Although you transport me, without trial, on the authority of an Act of Parliament, your power to do which is no doubt legal, though in this instance, as I conceive, abused, yet I leave my property under the protection of the laws; for the reliance I have upon your justice is still sufficient to convince me that you will never take measures to injure and destroy it." (*Cheers.*) Very frequent mention has been made of the spirit which actuated my behaviour, during the whole of these proceedings; a few words will suffice to show the nature of this. A code of instructions, for the regulation of my paper, was left behind me, when I quitted India, and this has been produced in evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons; a reference to this will show, that at the very moment, when the foot of Government was upon my neck,—at the very moment, when it had determined to crush me to the earth, and had even commenced the carrying of that determination into effect,—at that very moment, when it was natural that I should feel indignation, and when it would have been almost reproach to one's manhood not to feel indignation, (*cheers*)—my directions were, that all possible caution should be exercised towards the Government, and that no studied offence should be given to either public bodies or individuals in the country, no matter whether they were my enemies or not. (*Cheers.*) Nevertheless, it has come to my knowledge, since the perusal of the documents produced from the India House before the Committee of the House of Commons, that the Government were, at that very moment, pursuing a series of measures towards me of the most treacherous description, which were followed up immediately after my departure, and which ended by bringing on me that calamity with which all of you are now acquainted. As far as I am individually concerned, I will say, that if that calamity had fallen upon me, from the failure of any mercantile speculation, from the wreck of my ship, from the bankruptcy of correspondents, or from any other of those accidents to which men of business are liable, I should have been the 1st person in the world to have permitted any appeal for relief to have been made on my behalf to the British public. But what I have suffered has fallen upon me entirely because of my zeal and exertions in the cause of others rather than myself; and therefore I consent that they shall be asked to step forward to my relief. When I left India, indeed, and stated that it was my intention to lay my case before the Parliament, the Privy Council, and other legitimate tribunals of my country, I was met with the taunt that the people of England would not trouble their heads at all about my grievances, as they took place in India. I replied that, wherever the sufferer was an individual who had made the law the guide of his actions, and had only endeavoured to protect the rights of Englishmen in her distant dependencies, an appeal on his behalf to the people of England would never be made in vain. My prediction was laughed at then, and many individuals even now make it their boast that the people of England are too apathetic to listen to any such appeal. Their constant assertion is, that the people of England do not, and will not, interest themselves in the fate of their countrymen in the colonies. I trust, however, that the proceedings of this day will show them they are mistaken; for it is not my fate alone that you are now called upon to consider. An expression of indignation at the wrongs I have suffered will be a pledge of sympathy and support to every one of your oppressed countrymen and fellow-subjects in the East. (*Cheers.*) There you have a large conquest, teeming with wealth, and life, and population, which only wants

a good government to produce an empire, not only unparalleled in extent, but also unparalleled in every thing which can adorn and dignify human nature. (*Cheers.*) The Natives of that empire have now no advocate permitted to plead for their rights and privileges on the spot, where it can be done with the greatest effect. But, though that advocacy has been removed to so distant a scene, I shall always recollect with pleasure that the best means of improving their condition occupied a larger space in the discussions, of which my paper was the medium, than any of the topics which are usually addressed to European readers. I have the consolation of knowing, that, in consequence of my exertions on their behalf, I bore away with me from India, when I quitted it, the regrets and the blessings of all the more intelligent part of the Native population,—an assertion which, if necessary, I can verify beyond all possibility of its being impugned. On my return to England, I might have resumed my original profession of the sea; for which, thank God, though my health has been so shattered by the sufferings of mind and body that I have undergone, I am not yet unfit; but having once set my hand to the plough in this great work of the regeneration of India, I should have been ashamed of myself, had I turned back from it as soon as I found that there were difficulties in my path. Still, however, I am bound in honour to tell you, that had it not been for the kindness of some of the benevolent individuals who have this day addressed you, my efforts to promote the happiness of the Natives of India must, ere now, have been brought to a close. (*Hear, hear.*) They have the merit, and let them enjoy the praise of having sustained in England the only publication devoted to the advocacy of the rights of the Natives of India; though I have no doubt that when this is known in that country, hundreds there will hasten with equal zeal to join them in this benevolent duty. (*Cheers.*) Here, however, we have arrived at a crisis. My whole fortune has been destroyed by those to whom I never did wrong, and I have made every possible appeal for redress in a legal, a temperate, and a constitutional manner. It is not, therefore, until every effort has failed, and the dissolution of Parliament has proved that my last hope was as delusive as all the former ones, that I have consented to allow this appeal to be made on my behalf to the people of England. Gentlemen, I thank you for the patient attention with which you have heard me. Neither my health nor my spirits are at this moment such as to make the task easy or agreeable to me: and though it has been said "that out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh;" yet on this occasion, I feel that very fulness to operate more powerfully in fettering my expressions, and must let the strength of my feelings plead for the feebleness of their utterance. (*Cheers.*)

SIR JOHN DOYLE. I believe your Lordship has hitherto gone along with us in every thing that has been done in this case. Whether I shall carry your Lordship along with me in the motion which I am now going to make, I will not pretend to decide. But, gentlemen, you have all seen how his Lordship has presided over the proceedings of this meeting; you have all seen the fairness, and temper, and freedom of discussion which his Lordship has promoted this day, I therefore think that if I propose a vote of thanks to his Lordship, I shall not be in a minority now, whatever I may have been during the greatest part of my public life. I confine myself wholly to what you have witnessed this day; for though I could call your attention willingly to the general merits of the noble Lord, I shall abstain from doing so on the present occasion. I move that the thanks of the meeting be given to Lord J. Russell for his impartial and amiable conduct in the chair. (*Lowd cheers.*)

The motion was put, seconded, and carried by acclamation unanimously.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL. I thank the meeting for their kindness, and assure them that my exertions in this cause have been given with as great sincerity as zeal.

The meeting dispersed about six o'clock.

The following is a copy of the Appeal recently forwarded to India, soliciting support from that quarter; but the urgent pressure of the embarrassments adverted to, and the great length of time that must necessarily elapse before any returns can be had from that distant country, renders the aid of the British community of the greatest importance; and in the hope of obtaining their cordial and general co-operation to promote the *speedy* accomplishment of so desirable an end, the statements it contains are accordingly submitted, as equally entitled to their consideration:

" To the European and Native Community of India.

" The case of Mr. Buckingham is too well known to every one in India to render any details necessary. His difficulties and his distresses are undoubted and imminent. Do they merit attention and relief? and if so, by what means can such be most readily and effectually given?

" The history of his life seems to establish for him a powerful claim to respect and sympathy, from all who esteem persevering integrity. But his exertions, when placed by circumstances in a public character,—his losses, his sufferings, and his zeal in what he considered a public duty, give him a more especial claim on all his fellow-subjects in India,—whether Native, Anglo-Indian, or European,—in whose case, as he conceived it to be, he has made shipwreck of his fortune; and to whom he now turns an eye of hope for sympathy and relief, in the hour of his distress.

" But there are circumstances in Mr. Buckingham's recent conduct, which none can well know or duly appreciate, except such as have been resident in England of late years. The testimony of such persons may be of use to him at this crisis, and is the chief object of this address;—that testimony referring to matters of fact, and leaving out of consideration opinions on political questions involved in his protracted struggles.

" The fidelity with which Mr. Buckingham has adhered to what he honestly believed the good cause of Indian improvement, ever since his return to England,—the perseverance manifested by him under discouragements that would have driven many men to despair,—the expenditure of the remains of his Indian savings, in trying every legal channel of redress for public evils and private wrongs,—and the purity of his private character, amidst his difficulties and embarrassments, are well known and rightly estimated by all unprejudiced men.

" The Undersigned, having had opportunities of witnessing the exercise of those virtues in the conduct of Mr. Buckingham: most readily bear testimony to them, as well as to his present distresses: and on these grounds, they make this appeal to the community of India,—of whatever rank, class, or condition,—imploreing them to contribute, in the mode and measure best suited to their position, and most agreeable to their feelings, to the relief of a man on whom misfortune has fallen with so heavy a hand, and whose intentions are believed to have been entirely pure and honest. The subscribers would fair hope, by this means, to rescue him from impending destruction, and restore him to that place in society to which his habits and acquirements entitle him.

" The contributions of all who desire to promote this benevolent object, may be effected through any house of business in Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, by gentlemen directing their agents to transfer any specific sum from their private accounts to the subscription opened for the relief of Mr. Buckingham. There is no intention to risk offence, in any quarter, by the publication of names,—if, indeed, offence could be taken at the exhibition of good feelings towards the unfortunate:—But, by removing every possible ground of objection, the work of benevolence may be extended; and while the relief will thus be more effectual, the satisfaction of contributing to this end will be proportionally greater from that consideration."

The original, of the foregoing Appeal, bears the signatures of the following noblemen and gentlemen:

Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M. P.	Lord Nugent, M. P.
John Smith, Esq. M. P.	William Vizard, Esq.
James Barnett, Esq.	Colonel Torrens, R. M. F. R. S.
John George Lambton, Esq. M. P.	Rowland Hill, Esq.
William Babington, Esq. M. D.	The Hon. C. H. Hutchinson, M. P.
Thomas Wilde, Esq.	Walter Coulson, Esq. Gray's Inn
The Hon. Douglas Kincaid	Michael Angelo Taylor, Esq. M. P.
Edward Benjamin Lewin, Esq.	John Borthwick Gilchrist, Esq. LL. D.
Thomas Denman, Esq. M. P.	James Inverarity, Esq.
The Hon. Leicester Stanhope	Gen. Sir R. C. Fergusson, R.C.B. M.P.
Sir Francis Bardett, Bart. M. P.	The Rev. W. J. Fox
Gen. Sir John Doyle, Bart. G. C. B.	Matthew Wood, Esq. M. P.
Sir James Mackintosh, M. P.	James Macdonald, Esq.
John Forbes, Esq.	James Grant, Esq. M. P.
The Hon. W. Ramsay Maule, M. P.	Mathew Daveport Hill, Esq.
John Stewart, Esq.	James Leman, Esq.
Lord John Russell, M. P.	Sir Robert Wilson, M. P.
James Scarlett, Esq. M. P.	Nicholas Hankey Smith, Esq.
J. Ashton Yates, Esq.	James Paterson, Esq. M. D.
Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P.	John Towell Rutt, Esq.
The Rev. Robert Aspland	John Bowring, Esq.
John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. M. P.	James Morrison, Esq.
John Melville, Esq.	Henry Meredi h Parker, Esq.—who
Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P.	adds, after his signature, the following
Richard Gurney, Esq.	sentence:—"Differing entirely
Wm. Philip Howard, Esq. M. P.	from Mr Buckingham in politics, but
Michael Bruce, Esq.	convinced that he is a sufferer for
John Williams, Esq. M. P.	conscience-sake; and, by an inter-
Jeremy Bentham, Esq.	course of ten years, in India and in
Edward Ellice, Esq. M. P.	England, that he is an upright, ho-
Captain Maxfield	norable, and excellent man."
The Hon. James Abercrombie, M. P.	

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS ALREADY RECEIVED.

Sir Chas. Forbes, Bart., M. P.	£500	0	Reverend Robert Fellowes	£50	0
Ditto, for his Native Indian			An Indian Friend	100	0
Friends	500	0	James Morrison, Esq.	50	0
Ditto, for John Palmer, Esq.,			An Indian Chaplain	20	0
Calcutta	300	0	James Cropper, Esq., of Liver-		
James Young, Esq., Bengal	300	0	pool	50	0
A Retired Indian Civilian	300	0	Robert Benson, Esq., of ditto	50	0
The Hon. Douglas Kincaid	100	0	John Smith, Esq., M. P.	50	0
John George Lambton, Esq.,			James Barnett, Esq.	50	0
M. P.	100	0	Joseph Hume, Esq., M. P.	50	0
The Hon. Leicester Stanhope	100	0	Captain Maxfield	50	0
John Stewart, Esq., of Bom-			John Melville, Esq.	50	0
bay	150	0	Dr. J. B. Gilchrist	50	0
Sir Francis Bardett, Bart., M. P.	100	0	E. B. Lewis, Esq.	50	0
Sir Henry Strachey, Bart.	100	0	J. C. Remington, Esq.	25	0
John Forbes, Esq.	50	0	An Indian at home on leave	5	0
Sir Alexander Johnston	50	0	Robert Rickards, Esq.	100	0
Robert Grimshaw, Esq., of			J. T. Rutt, Esq.	5	0
Glasgow	150	0	John Miller, Esq.	50	0
William Fitzbone, Esq., of			Sir R. C. Fergusson	5	0
Liverpool	50	0	A Bengal Officer	100	0
J. Ashton Yates, Esq., of ditto	50	0	Alexander Young	50	0
A Retired Indian Officer	50	0	The Examiner Newspaper	5	0

Two Indian Friends (through Lord John Russell)	£100 0	Thomas Wilkinson Esq.	£50 0
M. D. Hill Esq.	5 0	A Fellow Sufferer from Oppression	10 0
Wm. Greig, City-road	5 0	A Secret Friend	2 0
F. G.	1 1	Charles Ferguson	1 0
The Globe and Traveller	20 0	Wm. Low	5 0
T. L. H.	10 0	A Voter against Bankes	5 0
T. W. Hill and Sons	20 0	H. T. P.	5 0
Lor John Russell	50 0	A Proprietor of India Stock	10 0
A Proprietor of India Stock	25 0	R. Dixon	2 0
M. T. B.	2 2	W. S. L. Trelawney, Esq.	10 0
Lansdown, Cooke	5 0	W. Jackson	1 0
John Gordon	2 0	An Enemy to Punishment without Trial	10 0
Thomas Low	1 0	J. Campbell	1 0
James Milcolmson, Esq.	10 10	Sir Gregory A. Lewis	1 1
John Henry Rogers	1 1	A Printer	2 4
Wm. Spejman Ayeis	1 0	B. B.	1 0
Mr. Campbell	1 0	John Green	1 0
Wm. Bennett	5 0	George Colvin	2 0
John Chee	2 0	An Englishman	1 0
J. T. Bennett	5 0	Edward Brodie, Esq. Versailles	10 0
James Wallace	2 0	William Henry	1 0
A Leeds Man	1 0	A Lady	5 0
J. A. St. John	5 0	J. M. Taylor, Esq.	10 0
O. (not) with his head—a Sovereign for Buckingham	1 0	H. M. P.	5 0
E. C. Macnaghten Esq.	10 0	J. Mackintosh	5 0
A Newspaper Proprietor	5 0	An Officer's Widow	1 1
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John Williams Esq.	5 0	General Sir John Doyle, Bart.	10 0
John Brown	1 0	P. B.	3 3
David James	1 0	Lord Kindaird	20 0
An Enemy to Oppression	1 0		

It will be seen that the contributions already received for Mr Buckingham's relief, have been sufficiently liberal to mark the high sense entered into of his character and wrongs by the benevolent contributors. But, as it is desired that the subscription should be in every sense of the word a public one, and embrace all ranks and classes of society, whether in India or in England, the smallest sums will be cheerfully received, with a view to mark the extensive and general sympathy which it is considered that this case is calculated to excite in every truly English bosom.

Subscriptions will be received by all the agency houses in India; by the principal bankers in England; by most of the large booksellers; at the leading literary and other clubs; and by the editors of all the public journals in the kingdom; of each of whom it is requested, that all sums received on this account may be remitted to Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, Mansion-house Place; Messrs. Ransom and Co., Pall-mall East; or to the Committee for relief of Mr Buckingham, at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's.

(signed)

LEICESTER STANHOPE, Secretary.

Committee Room, London, June 1836.

* * As this Subscription will be kept open a sufficient time to admit of including the returns from the country, and even from India, a faithful report will be made from time to time, of the additional sums which may be transmitted by Subscribers, who, from distance or any other causes, have not yet had time or opportunity to contribute their aid towards its object.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

East India House, June 21.

This day a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held,

BURMESE WAR.

The Chairman (Sir George Robinson) took his seat at 12 o'clock, and the Minutes of the proceedings of the last Court having been read,

Col. STANHOPE rose to speak, but—

The CHAIRMAN said, that if the hon. Proprietor rose for the purpose of bringing forward the motion, of which he had given notice, he begged leave to inform him that the present was not the proper time for doing so. The hon. Proprietor would have an opportunity of bringing forward his motion after the business which the Court had been specially summoned to attend to was disposed of.

Col. STANHOPE said, he merely wished to ask a question, namely, whether any official accounts of the renewal of the war with the Burmese had been received from India, and whether the statements recently made to that effect were true?

The CHAIRMAN.—With respect to that part of the hon. Proprietor's question, the object of which is to ascertain whether any official accounts of the renewal of hostilities with the Burmese have been received by the Court of Directors, I can answer in the negative. No such accounts have been received. At the same time, I entertain not the least doubt of the fact, because the statement is contained in a letter from Sir James Brisbane to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

The CHAIRMAN then stated, that certain papers, which had been presented to Parliament since the last General Court, were now laid before the Court, agreeably to the by-laws.

General THURSTON asked, whether it was not usual to print the papers, for the information of the Proprietors?

The CHAIRMAN replied in the negative.

Captain MAXFIELD asked whether Proprietors were at liberty to take copies of the papers?

The CHAIRMAN replied, that any Proprietor might take copies if he pleased. The papers were public papers, to all intents and purposes.

Dr. GILCHRIST hoped that the papers would be accessible in the Proprietors' room, if called for.

The CHAIRMAN.—Certainly.

The CLERK then read the titles of the papers, and they were laid upon the table.

THE DIVIDEND.

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court, that the Court of Directors, on the 20th of June, came to a resolution, recommending that the dividend on the Company's stock, from the 5th of January to the 5th of July, should be 5½ per cent. He moved that the Court do confirm that resolution.—Carried unanimously.

BY-LAWS COMMITTEE.

A Gentleman said, that in the absence of the Chairman of the Committee of By-laws, who was confined by indisposition, he was deputed to present the report of the Committee.—The report was laid upon the table.

The CHAIRMAN said, that, in pursuance of the 6th section of the 2d chapter of the by-laws, it was the duty of the Court to appoint a new committee of fifteen to inspect the by-laws. He then proposed the following gentlemen as

members of the Committee: Humphrey Home, Esq.; the Hon. D. Kinnaird; George Cumming, Esq.; Patrick Heatley, Esq.; Henry Smith, Esq.; George Grote, Esq.; David Lyon, Esq.

General THORNTON.—Before you proceed further, Sir, I wish it could be ascertained how many times the gentlemen, who sat on this Committee last year, attended. If it should appear that any of them were in the habit of not attending, it would be better to appoint others in their place. In some places, I know, it is the custom to set down the number of times that a member attends the Committee to which he belongs.

A PROPRIETOR.—I do not recollect how many members may have been present on particular occasions, but can undertake to say, that, in general, the attendance was very regular.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I take it for granted, that the statement of the hon. member is correct; and therefore, if I should, on a future occasion, move that an entry should be made of the number of times the members may attend, those who are punctual in their attendance cannot be offended. I think it essential that some regulation should be adopted for securing the attendance of members. I will move, if I may be allowed to do so (for I am not well acquainted with the forms here); that a register shall be kept of the attendance of the members of the Committee.

Mr. DIXON.—I rise to order.—I conceive that no motion of this nature can be made at the present moment. The hon. Member must give notice for a future day. I object altogether to the motion. I think it improper that the gentlemen should be treated like schoolboys, having the hour at which they come in the morning marked; it would be a dangerous precedent.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I always understood that a General Court was assembled for general purposes, and that any Proprietor was at liberty to propose what he might think beneficial for the Company. I proceeded on that understanding; but if it be not proper to make the motion which I described now, I will give notice for another day. I am far from thinking my proposal objectionable. Men of business, instead of feeling any shame at having their proceedings watched, ought rather to glory in being found always at their posts. Allusion has been made to schoolboys: the discipline of schoolboys was of advantage in youth, and might prove beneficial in old age. I do not, however, wish the hours of attendance to be remarked; but only the days.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have, perhaps, been guilty of a little irregularity in suffering this conversation to go on; because, the proper mode of proceeding was to appoint the Committee, instead of allowing myself to be thus interrupted. At the same time, I am aware, that after the Committee shall be appointed, it is competent for any member of the Court to give notice of any motion he may think proper on the subject. I may, however, take this opportunity of stating, that the fact before my eyes affords the best possible answer to the observations which have been made respecting the attendance of the members of this Committee. It consists of fifteen members, and at the present moment there are twelve in Court. (*Hear.*) I now beg leave to move that the following gentlemen, in addition to those I have before named, be appointed members of the Committee:—Robert Williams, Esq.; Benjamin Barnard, Esq.; Sir Henry Stacey, Bart.; John Darby, Esq.; John Henry Tritton, Esq.; John Carstairs, Esq.; Richard Twining, Esq.; and Sir James Shaw, Bart.

All the above gentlemen were unanimously elected.

THE SHIPPING SYSTEM.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have to acquaint the Court, that on the 10th and 24th ultimo, the Court of Directors resolved to engage several ships by private contract, which resolution I now lay before this Court agreeably to the by-laws.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I beg leave to observe, that the handsome explanation which the Chairman gave respecting the Committee of By-laws has completely

missed my third, and I do not now wish to give any notice on the subject. When gentlemen perform services gratuitously, we ought not to be too nice with respect to them.

Captain MAXFIELD.—At an early period, I shall feel it my duty to submit a motion, touching that part of the 58 George III. which relates to the hiring of tonnage. That act seems, as it were, to have driven us into a corner; it compels us to take up new ships if old ones should happen to be burnt, whether we need them or not, I beg leave to ask whether any ship has been taken up in consequence of the burning of the Royal George?

The CHAIRMAN.—I thought the hon. Proprietor would have been aware that no tonnage could be taken up this year to supply the deficiency occasioned by the Royal George. In consequence of the increased demand for tons during the last year, new tonnage has been taken up, in order to bring an additional quantity to this country next year.

Captain MAXFIELD.—The evil which appears to me grow out of the Act of Parliament is this, that the owners of a ship which may be burnt are at liberty to lay down another keel, which must be hired at the same rate of tonnage as the former vessel, let that rate be ever so high. Suppose it should be found inconvenient to engage any more ships of 1200 tons, yet if a vessel of that description should be burnt, the owners are allowed to lay down a keel of similar dimensions, and the Company are obliged to hire it. There is also another part of the Act which I will take the liberty of remarking upon; it is that respecting the Marine service—

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg to call the hon. Proprietor to order. When a Proprietor gives notice of a motion on any subject, it is quite irregular to enter into a discussion on the merits of the case; the proper time for that is when the motion comes before the Court. We are not now competent to come to a decision, and discussion, therefore, at the present moment, is absolutely thrown away.

Captain MAXFIELD.—I was not going to dilate on the subject, but merely to observe that the Supreme Government was about to act illegally, from not adhering strictly to the Act of the 58th George III. I will bring the subject before the Court on a future occasion.

CAPTAIN MICHAEL.—THE TANSORE COMMISSION.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the Court was made special, for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors, for their approbation, a Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 2d inst., providing, that Captain Michael, of the Madras Establishment, upon his resigning the military service, in order that he may continue to act as Mahrattah Translator to the anjore Commissioners in England, in which capacity he receives a salary of £682: 10s. per annum, shall be granted, upon the terms and conditions therein stated, a continuance of that salary for life. And farther providing, that whenever the period shall arrive, at which, if Captain Michael had continued in the Military Service, he would have succeeded to the command of a Regiment, and a share of Officers' reckonings, the said salary of £682: 10s. per annum, be increased, from that date, to £1,050 per annum for life.

The CLERK read the resolution of the Court of Directors.

The CHAIRMAN moved, that the Court do approve of the resolution of the Court of Directors.

Captain MAXFIELD.—I beg to ask whether the business of the Carnatic Commission is completed; and if not, what remains unsettled, and how much has been accomplished within the last twelve months? It is, I understand, some time since the Commissioners in India completed their part of the business. I have been informed, that the time of the commissioners here has been much occupied with questions relative to the salaries of the servants of the late Nabob. It never was the intention of the Act under which they are appointed that such should be the case. It was to settle the claims brought against the Nabob both by Europeans and Natives, that the Commissioners

were appointed, and not to adjust arrears of salaries. The Commission has been going on for many years at a large expense, and it is not unfair to ask therefore in what state the business is, and whether it is likely to be soon wound up. If there be any record in this house by which the present state of the business could be ascertained, it is desirable that we should know it. If the affair had got into Chancery, it might have been settled by this time.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Court is in possession of information relative to the proceedings of the Commission. A report on the subject has been laid before the Court, and is accessible to the honourable Proprietor when he pleases to resort to it. I know that he will learn that the labours of the Commissioners are not yet concluded: It may be necessary to state, that independently of the claims of large amount which were to be expected, claims of a minor description have been brought under the consideration of the Commissioners, I am not aware that in the Act under which the Commissioners were appointed any distinction was made as to the description of debts to which they were to direct their attention. I believe that the whole of the Carnatic debts were referred to them, whether those debts were large or small in amount. In justice to the commissioners, I must state, that they have been extremely anxious to bring the commission to a close. (*Hear.*) In order to effect that object they have suggested the propriety of admitting, without further inquiry, a certain description of debt which is too small in amount to be worth investigation, inasmuch as the expense of doing so, would, in all probability, exceed the amount of debt. This is the present state of the business, and I am certain and am sure the Court must feel that the Commissioners most anxiously desire to bring it to a close as soon as possible: but whilst the Act remained in force every claimant was entitled to have his claims investigated and reported on. With respect to the Commissioners acting in India, it is also very much their wish that the Commission should be put an end to. The Act of Parliament rendered it imperative that the Commissioners there should be selected from the Bengal establishment and not from the Madras, and therefore the offices were by no means objects of desire to persons of respectability and talent, because, on being appointed, they were separated from all their friends and connections.

Mr. Dixon.—I beg to propose a question for the sake of information, for old as I am, I am never ashamed to learn. The Resolution of the Court of Directors proposes, that a salary of £1000 shall be given to Captain Michael for life. Now it appears to me that this recommendation is improper, inasmuch as the salary may last longer than the life of the Company. I submit that it would be better to continue the salary during the pleasure of the Court; and I am quite sure that no person, who conducts himself with propriety in any office under the Company, will ever feel any lack of liberality on their part. I am not disposed to call in question the amount of the allowance; and would not, for the world, say a word to injure Captain Michael; but I wish to know whether the custom of the Court renders it imperative that the salary should be for life?

The CHAIRMAN.—It certainly does not; but there is nothing new in the principle of this grant. Pensions, when granted by this Company, are granted for life. With respect to the present case, it is founded on an agreement or stipulation. Captain Michael was the only person in this country competent to translate the Maharratta language. The period of his furlough was nearly expired; and it became absolutely necessary that he should give up his situation of interpreter, in order to retain his hold of the service. It was not worth his while, for the consideration of £682 a-year, (his salary as interpreter,) to relinquish the advantages which the military service held out to him. The first proposition which he made was, that, whilst he retained his situation of interpreter, he should continue to hold his rank in the army, with the privilege of returning to India when his services here should no longer be required. To this proposition there was a decided objection on the part of the Court of Directors; an objection which I hope will always be entertained in every instance where such pretensions are put forth. I trust that no officer

will ever be permitted to remain in this country; and retain the advantages of the service abroad, to the prejudice, be it recollected, of the officers here. (*Hear, hear.*) It was on that ground that Captain Michael's proposition was rejected. However, as the Company had need of the services of this gentleman in this country, it was necessary that the pecuniary part of the question should be considered. When it was evident that Captain Michael must give up all chance of rising in his profession, it was only a fair proposition on his part, that this loss should be made up to him. It was, therefore, agreed, that when the period should arrive at which Captain Michael, if he had remained in the service, would have been placed in command of a regiment, his allowance should be increased to the extent proposed, in order that he might not be a sufferer by remaining in this country. As it was resolved to give this gentleman an income for life, it was stipulated that the Company should have his services in any other Oriental department that might be required. I am happy to say that the Company has an opportunity of benefiting materially by his services at the college, during the time that he is not occupied with the Tanjore commission. On the whole, the arrangement which has been made with Captain Michael, is one which I can safely and conscientiously recommend. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. DIXON.—I did not mean to call in question the propriety of the allowance.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—This is a subject with which I have some little acquaintance, and I therefore may be allowed to make a few observations upon it. I am not one to find fault with the Directors for employing men of talent and integrity in their service; and so far am I from thinking the sum proposed to be given to Captain Michael too much, that I am of opinion it is hardly enough, considering the duties which he has to execute. If the Court of Directors have stipulated, that, when Captain Michael is not engaged with the Tanjore Commission, he shall go to the college, they have certainly got their pennyworth for their money; and, as merchants, they have done right. This gentleman, taking warning, perhaps, by the manner in which some literary characters have been treated, has stood out, and made a prudent bargain; which, if I had done, I should have been in a very different situation from that in which I am placed. I am glad to find that literary men are becoming worldly wise, that they look to what is to come by and by, and will not give their services till they receive what they are worth. If I had pursued that course, my situation would have been very different; but as for the self, I despise it. I look upon that, as compared with my name, as trash, and unworthy of my attention. I hope the present case will be an example for future imitation, and that military men, on their return to this country, will be employed by the Company in the way for which their talents may fit them. It appears to me singular, that in the report respecting the Tanjore Commission, not a syllable is said about the Mahratta language. I do not deny the utility of the language. All the languages spoken in India are, I think, more useful than the dead. I should, however, be glad to know why the persons connected with the commission in India do not send the translations to this country ready cut and dried. I do not find fault with the appointment: God forbid that I should. I am glad to see the Court of Directors behaving with liberality, though another person than myself be the object of it.

The motion approving of the resolution of the Court of Directors was then unanimously agreed to.

MEDICAL SCHOOL FOR NATIVE DOCTORS.

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court that it was further made special, in pursuance of the following requisition:

“To JOSEPH DART, Esq., Secretary to the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

“SIR.—We, the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, duly qualified, solicit you to lay before the Hon. the Court of Directors of the United

But this Company the following motion, that it may be admitted to the Court of Proprietors, at a General Court, which we request may be called for the purpose.

"That it is strongly recommended by the Court of Proprietors, to their Executive Body at home, to encourage and support every rational attempt on the part of the Governments abroad to communicate useful knowledge among the whole of their British Indian subjects, more especially those branches of beneficial information now taught at the Medical School, some years ago established in Calcutta, by Marquis Hastings, and warmly countenanced by the present Governor-General, Lord Amherst, for instructing the Native Doctors, attached to the Bengal army, in the modern art of surgery, and the existing practice of physic, including those indispensable sciences also, on which the successful application of medical art ultimately depend.

"We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very obedient Servants,

"LEICESTER STANHOPE,	JAMES PATERSON, M.D.
JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST,	WILLIAM THORNTON,
JOHN WILKS,	JOSEPH HUME,
J. ADDINELL,	R. RICKARDS."
CHARLES FORBES;	

"London, June, 1826."

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I think that my hon. friend Colonel Stanhope's motion, should take precedence of mine, as it was first brought under the notice of the Court. I am ready to give way to him, if I am, by the rules of the Court, permitted to do so.

The CHAIRMAN.—By the ordinary practice of the Court, the motion of the learned Proprietor would take precedence, because the Court was made special with respect to it; but this practice is by no means imperative; and if the learned Proprietor is disposed to give way to his hon. friend, I have no objection to the arrangement.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I am always glad to yield to a gallant soldier

BOMBAY POLICE.

Col. STANHOPE.—Though I think that, in reason, I have a right to bring forward my motion first, I nevertheless feel much obliged to the learned Proprietor for voluntarily giving way to me, because I am not very well, and might, if I had waited longer, been incapable of addressing the Court. I rise for the purpose of describing to the Court the shameful system of police which prevails at Bombay, and of calling on you, as good men, to vindicate the laws of your country, and to protect the King's subjects, in a distant part of the globe, from oppression. In ancient times, it was considered one of the proudest duties of a Roman citizen to defend the rights of distant colonies; and I conceive, that, in these enlightened times, it cannot be less our duty to pursue the same straight forward and honourable path. I will demonstrate to you that the police magistrates of Bombay have been pursuing a system of discretion, instead of law; that they have been acting illegally, by banishing, by flogging, by preventing men from obtaining the writ of *habeas corpus*, and by calling on prisoners for large securities; and I will then ask you to put an end to this system of club-law. I will, at the outset, endeavour to give a slight sketch of the history of the police of Bombay. In the course of my address, I shall find it necessary to quote from a very important charge to the Grand Jury of Bombay, by the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West. I have been fortunate enough to get an authentic copy of this charge, with which I have compared the report in the *Oriental Herald*, and find the latter perfectly correct. I will read a passage from Sir Edward West's charge, in order to show that this police has always been acting contrary to law. The history is chiefly borrowed from an official document, framed by Sir James Mackintosh, shortly before he quitted Bombay.

On the 10th day of July, 1779, the Grand Jury from the town and island of Bombay, presented one James Todd (then Lieutenant of police) as a public nuisance, and his office of police as of a most dangerous tendency; and earnestly recommended that it should be immediately abolished as fit only for a despotic government where a Bastille is at hand to enforce its authority. The office, however, was not abolished upon this presentation, but continued in force during eleven years afterwards, when the same Todd was tried for corruption, and convicted, and the name of Lieutenant of police abolished.

In the year 1794, the same office, and, strange to say, the same powers were vested in an officer denominated the Superintendent of police. A circumstance had previously occurred respecting the police of Bengal, which rendered, as Sir James Mackintosh observed, this appointment still more extraordinary. Immediately after the Act of 1773, the Governor-General had framed a system of police at Calcutta, agreeably to the provisions of that Act, establishing a superintendent of police with powers very cautiously limited, both respecting the magnitude of the crime and the extent of the punishment, and under the obligation of laying his proceedings before the Governor-General and the Chief Justice. Yet even this system, with such limited powers, was soon complained of in the Supreme Court; it was publicly called a "deformity" by the excellent Sir William Jones; and his Majesty was at length pleased to disallow it by warrant under his sign manual as inconsistent with the rights of his subjects. Eleven years after his late Majesty had given this signal proof of that hostility to despotism which becomes a British monarch of the house of Brunswick, continues Sir James Mackintosh, the very system which he had been graciously pleased to annul was established at Bombay though in a more mischievous state; Sir James Mackintosh proceeds to state his reasons for considering the system of police illegal. The summary convictions and punishments of the police are illegal on every ground.

"1st. They are illegal, because they were inflicted under rules which, from 1753 to 1807 were not confirmed by the Court of Directors; and since 1807, have not been registered in his Majesty's Court.

"2d y. They are illegal, because they were not convictions before two magistrates, as required by the 39 and 40 George III.; introduced into this island by the 47 George III.

"3rdly. They are illegal, because many of them are cases of felonies respecting which no power of summary conviction is vested in justices of the peace in England or India.

"4thly. They are illegal, because the punishments of banishment, and condemnation to hard labour in chains, on the public works, are not such as can be inflicted either in England or India, upon summary conviction. Every rupee of every fine imposed since 1753 by the police, may, therefore, in strictness of law be recovered by the party fined. Every stripe inflicted upon them has been an assault and battery, for which they are entitled to compensation in damages, and every detention makes its authors liable to an action for false imprisonment."

Having (continued Colonel Stanhope) given, from the best possible authority, this short sketch of the history of the Bombay police, I will now proceed to a consideration of its acts. First, I will read the cases tried; secondly, I will give an account of the sentences, and then I will state the opinions of Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Edward West, with respect to their proceedings. "In the summary," says Sir Edward West, "which extends from the 6th of January, 1823, to the 31st of March in the same year, a period of about three months, there are thirty-five instances of banishment; and, in the next summary, which extends from the 7th of April, 1823, to the 30th of June in the same year, there are thirty instances of that punishment. You will observe, also, the proportion which these punishments bear to all the offences tried by the petty sessions. The whole number of cases tried by the petty sessions, during the first period, is sixty-one, including many offences of a trivial nature,

such as 'driving without licence upon factories,' 'using abusive language,'—and 'selling liquor without a licence.' Out of these sixty-one cases, there are thirty-five sentences of banishment: A frequent mode of expressing this sentence of banishment is, 'that the prisoner do receive a pass note,' Thus the first sentence in the summary is—'that the prisoner do receive one dozen lashes and a pass note.' In a few cases the sentence is—'that the prisoner do receive a pass-note to his own country' but of these latter, the proportion is but very small, there being in the first summary but eight of this description out of the thirty-five. In very many of the cases, in the different summaries the sentence is, 'that the prisoner be sent off the island;' in some, that "he be banished." Sir Edward West states his opinion as to the legality of these proceedings in the following words: 'To warrant this punishment, a punishment inflicted on summary conviction, there is not a shadow of authority, even for say, the most heinous offence.' You shall now hear Sir James Mackintosh's opinion on the same subject: he says, "Banishment and hard labour in chains on the public works are penalties, not such as the statute calls moderate and reasonable corporal punishment, nor such as the law of England ever inflicts upon summary conviction, before even two magistrates. They are appropriated to the higher order of crimes, after a trial by a jury, and generally in commutation of the punishment of death." Notwithstanding this, the police magistrates of Bombay have continued to pursue the course thus reprobated by these two enlightened men. I have heard of flog-law, whether or not that title should be given to the Bombay police system, I do not know; but, at all events, it is clearly contrary to the statute. I will now proceed to the barbarous subject of flogging. I may premise, that this barbarous practice is now much discountenanced amongst civilized nations. Previous to the French revolution, Marshal Broglio attempted to introduce the German system of flogging into France, and the result was, the desertion of 80,000 men. Mesurier states, that this was one of those causes of discontent which led to the revolution and the decapitation of the king of France. The French Government, after the revolution, wisely set their faces against this beastly punishment, and Napoleon also banished it from Italy. I grieve to say, that since the restoration of legitimacy in France, the flogging system has been again established, though not to the same extent as formerly. The effect of this system in Prussia, from whence France borrowed it, may be known from the statement made by Frederick the Great, that when he took the field, he calculated upon the desertion of one-third of his army. It, however, gives me pleasure to state, that owing to the exertions of Generals Charnowitz and Von Stein, this system is now nearly abolished in Prussia. In England, owing to the powerful oratory of Sir Francis Burdett, and the writings of Mr. Cobbett, the practice is, in a great measure, discontinued. In Russia, and other barbarous countries, the practice still remains in full force. In India, in former times, and under the Native governments, the punishment of flogging prevailed, but it was never inflicted but upon persons of the lowest rank. Having made these general observations, I will now state what is the law on the subject, as regards India. By the 39th and 40 h of George III. the Governor-General and Council are empowered to appoint moderate and reasonable corporal punishment, which, however, could only be inflicted upon a conviction before two justices of the peace. Now I will state the nature of the punishment: the sufferer is usually tied to a tree, and the punishment is inflicted on his bare back, with a rattan. The punishment is so dreadfully severe, that, in some cases, the prisoner's body is enclosed in a kind of lethera cuirass, in order to mitigate the severity of the powerful blows. I now beg leave to state the opinion of the Sheriff of Bombay, with respect to this punishment; and that gentleman having been a military officer, is competent to draw a comparison between the process of flogging by the cat-o-nine-tails and the rattan. The Sheriff speaks thus, in a letter to the Chief Justice: "My Lord, the infliction of punishment by the rattan, as now practised in jails, being attended with extraordinary severity, drawing blood at every stroke, and sometimes taking off with it small pieces of flesh; and in full assurance that a measure so extreme will not, when known, be sanctioned by your Lordship, I beg leave, in consequence,

respectfully to propose that a drummer's cat be made use of in the jail, in lieu of the rattan; which, however formidable it may be in appearance, is far less severe and injurious in its effects. In support of this opinion, I may be permitted to state, that there is now in my custody, a battalion sepoy, who, on the 3rd inst., received 300 lashes on his left shoulder by the drummer of his corps, and on the 13th of the same month (being committed to jail), 18 lashes with the rattan were inflicted on the other shoulder. On being questioned as to the difference, in point of severity, of the two punishments, he declared with confidence, that they did not bear comparison, and, was one or the other to be repeated, and a choice given, that he would gladly take the former." The opinion of Mr. Smytton, the physician to the jail, is corroborative of that of the Sheriff. In his letter to the Chief Justice, he says: "In reference to your inquiries on the subject of certain punishments, I have the honour to state as my opinion, that flogging, with the rattan is a very severe punishment in so far as I may be allowed to judge, from my limited experience of such cases in the jail. When inflicted on the bare back, in the manner usual in jail here, one stroke is equal, I think, to at least a dozen with the cat, and it is liable to be much aggravated by any accidental splitting of the cane."

I hope, gentlemen, (continued Colonel Stanhope, addressing the reporters,) that you will make this known to the people of England. Sir Edward West proceeds by saying: "According to the information which I have received, and on which I can rely, the wounds of the first infliction are frequently scarcely healed before the second is suffered. Gentlemen, the scars of these wounds are never obliterated but by death, and consequent dissolution of the body; and you may observe the scars on many a Native as he toils along the streets of the town under the burthen of a palanquin." Sir Edward then quotes the description given by the Reverend Mr. Jackson, of the flogging of a Native, who had been convicted of stealing some cloth: "The prisoner was thin, and his bones projected considerably, consequently the effect of the stroke was most severe, and the sufferings of the poor wretch appeared great beyond description. The two first strokes distinctly left on the back the marks of the cane. The magistrate, on seeing the dreadful effect produced, humanely ordered the policeman to strike with less violence; but notwithstanding this, the prisoner, on being released, was unable to stand; he was supported to an adjoining shed, and some water brought to restore him. The punishment was most severe, and, to me, most disgusting." This is the comment which Sir E. West makes on this statement: "Gentlemen, the infliction in this case was but six blows; what must be the effect of six times six, or three dozen blows, some of them necessarily falling repeatedly on the same place, upon the wounds made by the first blows?" I have the authority of Sir E. West for stating, that the punishment of flogging is inflicted upon British as well as Native subjects, on summary conviction before a magis-^{tr}ate. When an individual is sentenced to be flogged, he is not taken back to jail, but immediately suffers the infliction of the punishment; the consequence is, that an individual has not an opportunity of appealing to the Supreme Court, even if he have the means of doing so. This is a hardship which Sir E. West points out. He next complains of the improper practice of requiring securities from prisoners without specifying the amount, and gives one instance of the evil resulting from the practice: "On the 6th of Oct. 1817, a man named Abdul Rahim Seedy, was sentenced to hard labour, till he should find securities. Under this sentence, he remained in jail till July, 1823, a period of six years, when he died in jail." It may be said, Why do not the judges prevent these illegal and oppressive proceedings? The answer is plain: The judges have no power to do so, unless on an application from prisoners; and they are usually too ignorant or too poor to seek for redress from the judges. I think it would be productive of much good, if the judges were empowered to revise the proceedings had before the magistrates. I hope that the introduction of the jury system in India, an act which does honour to Mr. Wynn and the Court of Directors, will be of avail in checking these abuses. I think I have said enough to prove that the whole system of Bombay police is illegal, and that

the Court of Directors, as they have the good of the Indian Empire at heart, are bound to take some steps for putting an end to it. Sir James Mackintosh has stated, that, under this system, hundreds of persons have been punished like galley-slaves. This is the opinion of one of the greatest statesmen, and one of the most honourable judges, this country ever produced. I will now trouble the Court with a short passage from the Grand Jury's reply to Sir E. West's charge: "After a full consideration of the points therein discussed, and, persuaded as we are of their great importance, we have only to observe, that, presuming it is the expediency alone, and not the legality, of the police regulations in practice, that is submitted to our consideration, upon the latter of which we evidently are not competent to decide, we are of opinion, that, considering the peculiar circumstances of Bombay; as adverted to by his Lordship, any reduction of the power of the police magistrates, as at present exercised, would be attended with the greatest danger, and would add much to the increase of crime. With regard to the removal of aliens, who are offenders of bad character, from the Island, and to the penal consequences of their return, and with regard also to the punishment of flogging as at present inflicted, we are of opinion, from our own experience, strengthened by that of the oldest magistrates in the place, that no change is expedient, either in the frequency or a variety of those punishments, or in the instrument with which they are inflicted; we think, however, that the instrument should in all cases be of one uniform standard, to be fixed by the proper authorities."

What was this but a perfect state of anarchy? There were the magistrates of Bombay setting themselves up in opposition to the law and calling it *expedient*! Was ever such fallacy as this heard of? Was not such conduct calculated to destroy all government? I fancy what I have said is sufficient to show that the entire system of the rules and regulations in force at Bombay is a system of oppression, and I maintain that, if it is allowed to go undisturbed, the reign of law is at an end, and that of anarchy commenced. The Bombay Government is evidently acting in opposition to the Chief Justice. It is doing this in the first place by supporting a regulation that is contrary to law; in the second by countenancing those magistrates, who are stipendiary magistrates and removable at their pleasure; and thirdly, this opposition is shown in the conduct of Mr. Warden, the chief Secretary to the Government, who, I understand is the censor of the press, and the proprietor of a newspaper, and who allowed the proceedings of the Supreme Court to be gazetted. About this circumstance Mr. Warden had indeed declared that he knew nothing; but I maintain that as censor of the press he could not be ignorant of it. In a word, it is as clear he was acquainted with it as if he had confessed the fact. When a man finds he has committed an error, and acknowledges it, I am always happy to hear the acknowledgment and to pardon the fault; but when he endeavours to gloss it over by false or flimsy pretences, I cannot sufficiently condemn him. As another proof of the opposition displayed towards the Chief Justice, I have to observe, that, two attorneys and five lawyers had, in defiance of the repeated remonstrance of the Chief Justice established, a complete monopoly of the proceedings of the Court. (*Hear.*) These personages have in fact arrayed themselves against the Chief Justice, who, though a man differing from me in political opinions, is, I can safely assert, an honest, upright and impartial judge. (*Hear.*) On this part of the case I have nothing further to say, and I will now state that the flogging system is not confined to Bombay alone, but prevails throughout the whole land. In support of this assertion I will produce facts, for facts I am fond of. In the first instance I will mention the case of Munnee Doss. This person, a rich Zemindar, was liberated from prison on a limited bail. His child having died, he was anxious to discharge the last duties to the deceased, and broke his bail to carry that purpose into effect; and I must say, had I been the father of the child I would also have broken bail, that I might perform those honours to the dead and direct those religious ceremonies which it is the duty of every Hindoo to do on such occasions. Now what followed? a police officer was despatched after the man who took him into custody, and then the treatment

he received was of the most shameful description. He was hurried from house to house, and not allowed a palanquin as would have befitted a man of his station. No—he was dragged along and immediately brought before a magistrate, by whom he was ordered to be flogged. He was tied to a stake at the back of a British Court of Justice and received a flogging. Four days after this Munnee Doss died, and his remains were not treated with that degree of respect which was due to his rank in life. Proceedings were had against the magistrate who had ordered him to be whipped, who was acquitted by the Jury, a defence having been set up that the man died of the *cholera morbus*. The proceedings in this case I have read with very intense interest, and I have come to the conclusion that Munnee Doss did not die of the *cholera morbus*, but in consequence of the flogging he received. I must now ever say, that had I been one of the Jury, I must have coincided in the verdict, because I am convinced the magistrate had no more intention of flogging the man to death than I had. But let us consider what would be the effect produced in this country, if a man of rank, say the Duke of Norfolk or the Duke of Richmond, was to be dragged before a magistrate, in consequence of having broken bail, tied to a tree and flogged? What would people think, if, in four days after, the person thus punished, were to die, and we were to be told that he died of *cholera morbus*? Would not every British heart be fired at such an outrage? Would not every arm be raised against such a horrid oppression? I will next call your attention to the case of Moadee, a private in the 5th Regiment of Native Cavalry; who, having been sentenced to be flogged, cut his own throat to escape the ignominy of the punishment. He did not succeed in effecting his purpose, and nine days after he received a severe flogging. At this time it happened that the troops were about to change their position, and this soldier, while his wounds were yet unclosed, with his mangled throat and lacerated back, was marched in front of his regiment. (*Hear, hear.*) And here allow me to observe that there formerly existed a most excellent regulation in the Bengal army. When a man received a whipping he was thenceforth considered as unworthy to remain in the regiment and was consequently kicked out of it. Now I believe no such practice prevails, for flogging is no longer regarded as an indelible disgrace. I shall be happy to hear a contradiction of this fact, if I have misstated it, from my hon. friend-opposite (Colonel Lushington). How many ashes do you suppose a court martial in Bengal has the power of ordering to be inflicted? Why 1000! and the man received this punishment I have now given you a history of in three illegal and extrajudicial proceedings. But dreadful as these punishments are, revolting as such a course of injustice undoubtedly is, yet unless a reformation is effected the ulterior consequences will be more dreadful and revolting still, for the contagion of example is so infectious, that the unlawful power at present exercised by the Government will, in the end, be practised by every individual. The baneful influence of this system, I am grieved to say, is already manifested through the land. I have travelled through that country and have seen not merely the servants of the Government, but young individuals and beautiful women order her servants to be flogged. She had been accustomed to the system by its prevalence, and having lost all the sympathy of her sex, she had likewise rejected all womanly feeling. The system, as I stated, was become so extended and prevalent that prior to the arrival of Lord Hastings it was a common practice for the superior domestics to order their underlings to be whipped. Having now explained my sentiments on this subject, I will read to the Court the motion I shall presently have the honour to submit to your decision, and let me implore you, however you dispose of that motion, to put an end at least to that abominable, revolting, illegal, and I may add anti-English practice. These are the terms of my motion:—

“1. That by the 5th Article of the Honourable Company's Regulations, 1st of 1814, it is declared lawful for one of the magistrates of police, upon complaint made by any master or mistress against any servant of human, and on such complaint being established by the oath of one credible witness, to

punish the offender, by causing any number of lashes, not exceeding twelve for each offence, to be inflicted on him or her so offending.

" 2. That this regulation (acted upon at Bombay) is utterly illegal; for any power of the petty Sessions at Bombay to inflict the punishment of whipping, must be derived from regulations made under the statute 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 79. s. 18., according to which corporal punishment can only be inflicted on conviction before two Justices of the Peace.

" 3. That in defiance of this statute, and the wise admonitions of Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Edward West, men have been fined, and flogged, and banished; and these monstrous practices are still obstinately persevered in by the magistrates, and sanctioned, by the Grand Jury of that settlement.

" 4. That this Court do humbly recommend the Court of Directors to the repeal the 87th article of regulation, 1st of 1814, which is opposed to the 39 and 40 George III., and to check the barbarous practice of flogging in British India.

" 5. That returns of all the convictions and punishments, had and inflicted before the magistrates sitting jointly and separately, and also before the petty sessions at Bombay, since 1811, be laid before this Court; and that the King's judges at Bombay be requested to call upon the magistrates for the said returns.

" 6. That a list of the sentences of Regimental Courts Martial, which occurred in the Honourable Company's army, from 1820 to 1825, be laid before this Court."

You will, by supporting this motion, support at the same time the character of your country; but if you shrink from doing your duty on this all-important occasion, then, I must say, you are not fit to have matters of human beings under your control.

Dr. Gilchrist.—In rising to second the motion, I think it proper to observe, that, in my opinion, the Court is infinitely indebted to the gallant and honorable officer who has introduced it to us: No one, surely, who has paid the least attention to the subject, as detailed by the gallant Colonel, can fail to admit; that the statements made that day are calculated to excite disgust in every humane, every manly, and, though last, not least, in every Christian breast. It gives me pain to observe, that, since the opening of the gallant Colonel's address, many gentlemen have retired from the Court, and others, instead of being struck mute with horror at the frightful details they heard, were chatting and laughing with each other, as if they were at table eating roast-beef and plum-pudding. Such conduct spoke, in very plain language, their sentiments on the subject—that they considered it one of no importance. It surely makes no difference in the atrocity, because the complexion of those who have been treated in the way described by my hon. friend, is black. Can that be any reason for turning a deaf ear to their complaints? The soul of one of those unfortunate beings is, unquestionless, as dear to his Maker as that of him who happens to be fair. It grieves me very deeply to find that the system of flogging has been carried to an extent in India so disgraceful; and I am sorry to say, that, since I left that country, no steps have been taken towards mitigating it. I can speak of it as a medical man, and am sorry to be able to say, that, among the Company's troops, the practice, far from being on the wane, had actually increased. I believe that gentlemen in this Court occasionally look into a publication, called '*The Asiatic Journal*;' and especially when an honest member of this Court, my hon. friend, Mr. Hume, happens to be roughly handled in its pages. They might have seen, lately, in that Journal, a long epistle from "A Retired Madras Officer," who, I believe, lived at Colchester. This person, in alluding to corporal punishments in the gallant army on that establishment, writes in these terms: "When I was on board ship, and in case of emergency, I received a specific order from the Quarter-masters, to try a prisoner, in a Court, composed of myself and my own three Native officers. I wrote the proceedings in English, and forwarded

them to head-quarters for confirmation, when two additional drummers were sent from thence to assist mine at the punishment, at which a Native Doctor attended to watch over the life of his fellow-creature." What an extraordinary statement is this? The idea of a British officer writing such an account as this, in the face of an Indo-British public, and at this time of day, perfectly astonishes me. He tells us that his own drummers, and how many of them he had at his command I know not, not being sufficient, three or four additional ones were sent him from head-quarters. Could the commission of any crime, unless it was of the most revolting description, justify the cutting of a man in pieces after this rate? It would be better to shoot a man at once, if he commits a crime deserving of such a visitation as this. Talk, indeed, of the tortures of the inquisition! They were nothing in comparison to those now practised in British India—in the British colonies—and, I am almost ashamed to say, in the British navy! The writer does not tell us the result of this proceeding, where four or five drummers lashed one of their miserable countrymen within hair's-breadth of his life; nor indeed does he even mention the offence the poor man had committed. The gallant officer, who furnished the account, if he were in Court, could doubtless enlighten us on the subject; and I hope, if he is here, that he will do so. I should very much like to be informed of the crime the man committed; and, perhaps, at a future period I may move for the proceedings of the court martial. I do not doubt but the gallant officer, who wrote the account, will support me in a motion for the production of those proceedings, for they seemed (though it may seem strange in a British officer) to have afforded him matter for boasting. I have been in the situation of assistant-surgeon myself in India, and had once the disagreeable office to perform of standing by while a private in the artillery was flogged, in order to see that he did not lose his life by the severity of the punishment. This poor fellow was attended by me in the hospital a short time previous to this punishment, where he was confined with an inflammatory disorder. My opinion of these punishments is, that, when a man is taken out on a sultry day—a day as hot as can well be imagined, the infliction of the punishment should be as lenient as possible. For aught I know to the contrary, the soldier I speak of was condemned to receive 500 stripes; at all events, he certainly was to receive a very great number of lashes. In a many of these horrible lashes, those strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, across the prisoner's back, which was soon as raw as a piece of meat hanging at a butcher's shop. I now began to bethink myself how far, as a man of honour and humanity, I could suffer the punishment to proceed, wit on warning the officer, that if he lashed the man any more, he would endanger his life; and, giving him notice, that, if he lashed him to death, the fault would lie at his own door: as, I thank God, I am never afraid of speaking my mind before any man, I did go up to the officer, and address him in words to that effect. The officer was a good man. He was a hot-headed Irishman; but he had a warm heart. He was very much surprised at my representation, and said, "You must be aware, Sir, that if the 500 lashes are not inflicted now, the poor devil must receive them at another time; so that your humanity, instead of being reasonable, will be injurious to him." I answered, that he and the prisoner might feel and act as they pleased, but that I would pin my faith on no man's sleeve, but would proceed on my own impression. The unfortunate man might die a few days after the infliction of this punishment, and I should not relish being tried by a court martial for not interposing. I therefore warned him, that if he ordered one single lash more to be inflicted, he should take the consequences on his own shoulders, as I washed my hands of the proceeding. The officer then began to think a little upon the matter, and he saw that it required consideration, whether he should take away the life of a brave soldier, who had committed some trifling offence, by inflicting 500 lashes on him. He foresaw that he might be called to account for the man's death. The officer, in consequence, ordered the punishment to be suspended; and having performed what I thought to be my duty, I gloried in the result. The officer, however, afterwards began to believe that my interference had been unavailing, and

forthwith a very warm correspondence ensued between us. He was Pat, and I was Saunders; and perhaps, in the course of this correspondence, I went beyond the bounds of prudence and temper. This dispute was carried on to that point, when there seemed to be no other way of settling it than by a personal meeting. Now, I can assure you, I would rather eat my breakfast any day, than go out to fight a man. But here there was no alternative; and I could not get rid of the affair, without resorting to that mode of adjusting it. The commander-in-chief, however, happened to hear of it, and he was determined that the lives of persons, whom he valued, should not be sacrificed, merely because one of them had done what he conceived to be his duty as a medical man. The consequence of the mediation of the commander-in-chief was, the mutual return of our letters. We shook hands, and continued the firmest friends until the death of the officer. But for the intervention of the commander-in-chief, the officer might have shot me dead, or I might have done the same for him.

I am perfectly convinced that the practice of flogging tends to render the feelings callous. Men who are most estimable characters in all the social relations of life, invariably become hardened and insensible to human suffering, by merely witnessing the revolting custom of flogging. My experience has convinced me, that a man may be brought almost to do any thing, by treating him with mildness, no ciliation, and reason; but that the same individual will be rendered obstinate and ungovernable, and almost converted into a brute beast by the contrary regimen. What is then any thing surprising if those who are subjected to the lash, forget their nature and act improperly. It is high time that the Court should adopt a new system entirely with respect to flagellation in India. We should consider the effect it is likely to have on the minds of the Natives of India, when they see their fellow-countrymen dragged along the streets, bearing the marks of this indelible disgrace on their backs: an exhibition of such a nature is calculated to do much more harm than the system of flagellation will ever do good. This system of punishment was at all times held in horror and detestation. Among the Romans, and God knows they were not very famous for their humanity, the abhorrence of the practice was so great, that they would never permit a citizen to be flogged. He had merely to say, "I am a Roman," and that demoralizing punishment could not be inflicted on him. And had it be said that in this reformed Christian age, we have less humanity in our composition than the Romans could boast of. My hon. friend has very justly observed, that in the French army this kind of punishment was very seldom resorted to. And what was the reason of this? Why, I am informed, that every French soldier, even a private in the ranks, has the spirit of a gentleman, and would never be able to hold up his head among his compeers for military glory after suffering a flogging. We would sooner shoot himself, or the officer who ordered his punishment. Were a similar spirit of honest shame and manly pride encouraged in our army, the most beneficial results would be the consequence. To act up to this principle in the most extended way, would go near to render our military and naval service perfect. Our sailors could not then have to reproach the Legislature with the fact that the Americans did not suffer flogging in their navy. I trust the Court of Directors will, under all the circumstances, take the proposed resolutions into the most serious consideration; and I sincerely thank the gallant colonel for having brought them forward. I should not have got up on the present occasion, had it not been for the absence of an hon. Bart., (Sir C. Forbes,) who I believe would have seconded the motion had he been present. It must have been something of extreme importance which has kept the hon. Bart. away. I am sorry the gallant Colonel has been thus deprived of the exertions of the hon. Bart., which I have no doubt would have been much more efficient than I can offer. What is asserted, and without the least attempt at contradiction, that the Natives of India are treated like galley-slaves, I would ask, whence is it that the Company derive their riches? The natural answer is, that they are drawn from the hands of those whom we subject to such great suffering; and if humanity does not call for the alteration of the system, gratitude and justice surely demand it.

Captain MAXFIELD.—I am aware of many instances in which this species of punishment has been arbitrarily inflicted; but I must bear testimony to the fact, that wherever the Court of Directors has been appealed to, they have invariably interposed, and done justice to the complaining parties. I recollect a case in which an officer behaved in an extremely cruel way to his servant. The Government did not, on that occasion, do its duty; but the Court of Directors did not fall in theirs. They ordered the offending officer home to this country, considering him unfit to live among the people of India. (*Hear.*) I have now in my eye one of the most able and intelligent officers who, perhaps, had ever served the Company, who, when he was at Calcutta, was the means of preventing the Magistrates from acquiring an accession of the power of inflicting punishment. The individual I allude to, thought that an addition to that power would be cruel and infamous. There are, of course, many cases of arbitrary punishment which can never find their way to the Court of Directors; but I am sure that they never received a statement of that nature without immediately paying attention to it. There is but one feeling, I believe, on both sides of the Court, with respect to this question, and that is, to prevent the improper infliction of punishment.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am confident that no person who hears me will suppose I rise for the purpose of advocating the practices described by the hon. Proprietor. My object is to say a few words in justification of the Court of Directors, not only with relation to their past, but to their future conduct. In the first place, however, I will endeavour to correct the assertion which the worthy Proprietor (Dr. Gilchrist) has most unjustly made, that the gentlemen assembled in this Court manifested a degree of levity whilst the hon. mover was expressing his sentiments. I cannot for a moment believe those gentlemen have merited such a charge; on the contrary, I am convinced, that the utmost decorum and order prevailed in the Court at the time the hon. Proprietor was submitting his motion. I will put it to the hon. Proprietor himself to say, whether he had ever experienced in any public assembly of which he was a member,—whether, in fact, there could have been a more undivided and serious attention paid to any public speaker than was paid by the Court to him? But let us allow that subject to drop, and permit me to observe, that I am far from pretending to uphold or justify the article of regulation (the 1st of 1814) of which the hon. mover had complained in the resolutions he laid before the Court. Whether or not that regulation is consistent with the state of the law I do not consider myself prepared to assert, but my impression is, that it is not so consistent. But it is a regulation duly passed, under the prescribed law, and consequently ought to be obeyed, in order to give due effect to the regulations for the government of the different Residencies. It is a by-law which was passed by the Governor in Council of Bombay, and transmitted, according to the provision of the Act of Parliament, to be registered in the Supreme Court of that Presidency. There was nothing irregular in the course of proceeding. It might have been the Government was not fully aware what degree of consistency existed between this rule and regulation, and the provisions of the act quoted in the motion; and it was to the members of that court of justice, that blame, if blame were any where to be given, is to be attached, for allowing a regulation to be registered which was contrary to, and at variance with the law. In my opinion, the Court of Directors will do well to examine whether there is no agreement between the rule and the law, and if they find none, it will certainly be their duty to discontinue its exercise. (*Hear, hear.*) I shall not detain the Court very long with observations on the gallant Colonel's detailed statement. It is not my business, nor that of the Court of Directors to take notice of all matters which come before us in the shape of reports merely, and of the accuracy of which we are officially ignorant. It would be highly wrong in us to be influenced by statements, of the correctness or incorrectness of which we absolutely know nothing. We cannot be called upon to give a decision in matters on which, from the want of reports, we cannot regularly form an opinion. In the absence, therefore, of such necessary information, I will not venture to que-

tion the accuracy of any of the hon. mover's statements, with one exception only. The gallant Colonel has said, that until the arrival of Lord Hastings in India, the system of flogellation was universally practised and enforced in the Government House. Now, I have had the honour of being a member of the family of two Governors-General, during a successive series of years, before the Marquis of Hastings proceeded thither, and I will, without the least hesitation, take upon me to assert, in contradiction to the gallant Colonel, (I beg, however, to assure him, that by the expression, contradiction, I do not mean to be understood in any offensive sense,) that from the experience I have personally gathered, I can bear witness to the fact, that such a practice never did exist, nor was in any instance resorted to.

The hon. Colonel STANBORN.—I beg leave to correct the hon. Chairman, I merely said, that these floggings took place at the Government House during the early part of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and that that noble Lord had put an end to them.

The CHAIRMAN.—I certainly understood the gallant Colonel to say, that the practice of flogging at the Government House was prevalent during the administrations of the two Governors-General who preceded the Marquis of Hastings, and was suppressed by that noble Lord. If I am mistaken in my idea of what dropped from the gallant Colonel, I sincerely regret it. The fact, however, that I have borne testimony to, is not therefore invalidated, namely, that during a number of years in which I was a member of the families of two Governors-General, no such practice as the gallant Colonel has mentioned ever prevailed. The observations I have made will, perhaps, serve to explain to the Court under what circumstances the regulation alluded to in the motion came before them. If fault is to be any where attributed in giving force to that regulation, it is, as I before stated, to be laid to the account of the Recorder of the Supreme Court of Bombay, by whom it was registered; and after the registering had taken place, the magistrates were perfectly justified in acting upon it, and inflicting corporal punishment. The second resolution proposed by the gallant Colonel pronounces the regulation in question to be utterly illegal; but I should think, that on a *prima facie* view of the case, the simple fact of a registration would be a sufficient justification on that point. But this, as I before stated, is a consideration which will receive its due share of attention in the proper quarter. The third resolution asserted, "that in defiance of the statute of the 39th and 40th Geo. III. and the wise admonitions of Sir J. Mackintosh and Sir E. West, men have been flogged, hogged, and banished; and these monstrous practices are still obstinately persevered in by the magistrates, and sanctioned by the grand jury of Bombay." Now, for this resolution, it is quite impossible that I can vote, because I know not, by any record before this House, that the allegation it contains is correct. The allegation is, it is true, stated in a publication which was some time since sent forth to the world; but not having read a single word that publication contains, it can hardly be thought I shall take the statement as a sufficient ground for giving my concurrence to a measure which is founded upon it. The gallant Colonel, in his fourth resolution, advised the Court of Directors "to repeal the 5th article of regulation, (1st of 1814,) which is opposed to the 39th and 40th of Geo. III., and to check the barbarous practice of flogging in India." I have before stated my opinion, that if the regulation alluded to should be found to be opposed to the law, it ought to be set aside. This is a point which deserves the strictest investigation, and should it be found at variance with the statute, the proper legal measures will certainly be adopted for its removal. (Hear.) I am not prepared to describe the nature of those legal measures, or to say what they ought to be. Whether it is in the power of the Court of Directors, by sending out any instructions to the Government abroad, to set aside and annul a law which has formally passed, I cannot determine. There is no question, however, that some means or other will be found to effect the gallant Colonel's object, if the regulations should be found at variance with the law;

and, I can assure him, I shall be ready to afford him all the assistance I am able in devising those means. The fifth resolution calls for "returns of all the convictions and punishments had and inflicted before the magistrates sitting, jointly and separately; and also before the petty sessions at Bombay, since 1811, to be laid before this Court; and that the King's Judges at Bombay be requested to call upon the magistrates for the said returns."

It is far from my intention to make trifling observations on the terms of this resolution; but I may remark, that no communication exists between the Court of Directors and the judges and magistrates of India. The judges being appointed under the charter granted by his Majesty to the Company, can only be corresponded with through the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. It is evident, therefore, that the Court of Directors could not require from them any such returns. The Court, I trust, will, however, believe that every possible means will be resorted to by the Court of Directors to obtain all the necessary information, to the end that a step may be put to any illegal proceeding that may at present be prevalent. (*Hear.*) Under all the circumstances of the case, perhaps the gallant Colonel will see the propriety of leaving the matter in the hands of the Court of Directors, who will give it due attention, and forbear calling on them to act in a way they are not authorized to do. While I am on this subject, I must, however, observe, that the laws of England recognize the legality of flogging. There are offences which, by the statute-law of this country, are punishable by corporal chastisement, as well as by fine and imprisonment; and I cannot see why a law which applies to England, should not, in some degree, apply likewise to India. In this view of the matter, I shall not be justified in promising that the Court of Directors will be ready to send out instructions which shall put an end to that kind of punishment. It is a subject which rather calls for the interference of the Legislature than that of us. (*Hear.*) I hope the Court will give me credit for that humane feeling, which I possess, I trust, in common with every gentleman in it; and, on the part of the Court of Directors, I can assure them that every means will be used by them to prevent cruelty in the exercise of that punishment. I am not much conversant with the facts the gallant Colonel has alluded to; but I am ready to admit, that cases may occur in which the punishment of flogging might be carried to an extent far beyond what I and others are willing to have it enforced; and the circumstances of such proceedings would be extremely disgusting. The subject is one which requires investigation; and I hope, after what I have mentioned, that the gallant Colonel will determine to leave it in the hands of the Court of Directors, who are bound, by the situation they fill, as well as by the feeling which animates every British heart, to enter upon a consideration of its merits with calmness and deliberation. I trust the gallant Colonel will see the propriety of abstaining from pressing these distinct resolutions, they must, under the circumstances I have alluded to, meet with opposition.

General THORNTON.—The gallant Colonel, to whom we owe so great obligations for bringing the subject forward, after the very candid speech which has been made by the honourable Chairman, will, I am sure, see the inconvenience that must arise if he press his resolutions. We are not only obliged to the gallant Colonel for introducing this question; we must also feel extremely gratified by the way in which the honourable Chairman, and the other Directors, have attended to his statements. My principal object in rising is to show (and from having seen much, I am qualified to speak on this subject) that the practice of flogging is productive of much evil, and that great benefit will arise from suppressing it. Those who have frequently witnessed spectacles of this nature become familiarized to its horrors, and do not view the question with that degree of abhorrence in which it is regarded by those who are unaccustomed to it. The former of these persons are used to think that there is no other way of enforcing discipline but by the terror of punishment. When this course is resorted to, the battalion usually degenerates into a savage state. I remember, that, during the period of the short peace, a few years ago, certain

flank companies were separated from their battalions and brigaded together. Of these men, I believe, there was not one but one time or another received corporal punishment. Now, it was seen when they returned to their battalions, that several of them were in a savage state. They were, however, placed under the command of a humane officer. This officer adopted a different system of discipline, and the consequence was that the men were reformed. This showed what was the effect of carrying punishment to so great an extremity. I am, however, well aware that other methods of producing discipline might and have been put in practice with the best effect. Soldiers were sent to the black hole, and other punishments of a similar nature were occasionally resorted to, and produced the intended effect.

I do not speak this from report, but from my own knowledge and personal observation; and I have come to the conclusion, that the greatest evils arise from resorting to the punishment of flogging. For myself, I have no doubt that better means of procuring subordination may be practised, and the punishment of flogging entirely scouted from the British army. It was stated by the hon. Chairman that this practice is recognised by law. I know it is so, but no comparison can be held between flogging in jail, and the severity of that which took place in the army, and it was a most distressing spectacle for those who were necessitated to be witnesses of it. I am inclined to believe, however, that in consequence of the attention of the public having been directed to the subject, that the punishment is now very seldom resorted to; or, at least, is never inflicted to the extent it formerly used to be.

It was at one time the fashion to punish by flogging, but now that is not the case. I believe the practice is discouraged by the Commander-in-Chief, and the principal officers in the army, I, therefore, hope that in a short time the practice will be entirely laid aside. I never knew a man who did not become more depraved after he had received corporal punishment. I have always noticed that a man on whom the lash has been used never continued so good a soldier as before. I repeat it, that whenever the practice is enforced, mischief is always found to be the consequence, and good has, on the contrary, always resulted from its abstinence. I again beg to declare my conviction, that the Court is under great obligations to the gallant Colonel for bringing the question forward, but I think that after what has fallen from the hon. Chairman, it will be advisable to withdraw the motion, and leave the subject in the hands of the Court of Directors.

Mr. TRANT.—I beg leave to say a few words respecting the particular species of punishment alluded to by the gallant officer, and which he has not very accurately described. The species of punishment denominated the "corrah," is inflicted by a long leathern strap, and was something similar to the knout. The gallant Colonel was rather in error, when he spoke of a leathern guard placed on the criminal's back when a certain description of punishment is inflicted. The guard is, on the contrary, placed on the breast, in order to prevent the flogging instrument, when it twisted round, from lacerating that part of the body. I need hardly say, that I should be very glad to see the system put an end to altogether, but I conceive the matter more properly belongs to the Court of Directors. I can of my own knowledge assert, that it is attended with the most evil consequences. I would not advocate its existence in any part of Europe; but we should bear in mind, when the criminal code of India is spoken of, that offences in that country are very rarely punished with death, whereas here, that extremity of punishment is frequently resorted to. The gallant Colonel has stated that the observations which have fallen from the hon. Chairman gave him great pleasure. A more humane, temperate, and honourable statement, I must say, I never heard from any individual. (*Hear, Hear.*) The hon. Chairman said, that flogging is recognised by the laws of England. True, it is so—but in what way? Why under due restraints, and regulated by proper legal forms. Flogging is never practised here as it is in India, arbitrarily and illegally. When I last addressed the Court on this sub-

Just, I forgot to mention, regimental courts martial in this country have not power to inflict above 300 lashes in any one instance; while, in India, 1000 may be inflicted for one offence. My gallant friend (Colonel Lushington) can easily set me right if I have mis-stated this fact. The hon. Chairman observed that the regulation, which authorised flogging, was registered in the Supreme Court at Bombay; but I believe the hon. Chairman will be found to be in error in that particular. With respect to the authenticity of the documents I read, that I am ready to vouch for. Indeed, I have in my possession a report of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, corrected under the supervision of the learned judge, and beside I quoted from a correct report of what took place at a court martial. I introduced none but authentic documents, though the hon. Chairman seemed to deny that fact.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I said, that the only documents to which we can have access for the the purpose of directing us in our decisions are, such as are regularly and formally enrolled in this house. Now a charge given to a grand jury by the Chief Justice is not a document of this description. It is not a record on which we can proceed with propriety. It has not come officially before us, nor have we seen it in any other shape than as an article in a publication.

THE HON. L. STANHOPE.—That appears to me to be a very great defect in your constitution, for, in my opinion, it would be proper that the reports of the Chief Justice and the great officers of the crown, under whose direction the laws were administered, should be sent home to the Court of Directors. The hon. Chairman says that this flogging regulation is registered; but in that statement I do not believe he is correct. To prove this fact, I will read the reasons urged by Sir James Mackintosh for considering the proceedings, under this regulation, illegal: Sir James Mackintosh says,—"The proceedings are illegal, because punishment has been inflicted under rules, which from 1768 to 1807 were not confirmed by the Court of Directors, and which, since 1807, had not been registered in the Supreme Court." The defence of the hon. Chairman is, that the regulation is registered in that Court, and that if it had to be attached to any one, it is to the Chief Justice of Bombay, for having registered that which was illegal. Now, if the Chief Justice should be found to have acted irregularly in this instance, and in this instance alone, would the statement made by the hon. Chairman be correct? For he is not himself aware of the fact. The hon. Chairman likewise says, that he ascribed the practice of flogging was generally prevalent in the Government House, previously to the arrival of the Marquess of Hastings in India. That assertion I certainly did make; having observed that the practice prevailed for some time after the arrival of that noble Lord, and, that it was speedily put an end to by him, I naturally enough concluded that it had previously been in force. It appears, however, from what the hon. Chairman has observed, that I was mistaken in this particular. The hon. Chairman treats the address of the Chief Justice as not authentic, because he has never received or read that document. I do, however, contend, that it is of an authentic character, because it was sent by the Lord Chief Justice to Sir Charles Forbes, who was so obliging as to place it in my hands. It was stated by the hon. Chairman, that no connection exists between the judges in India and the Court of Directors. This statement greatly surprises me, if, however, it be not in the power of the Court of Directors to furnish the means sought for in my motion, I consider it would be advisable to make an application to the Secretary of State for the Home Department for their production, as they are highly important documents. I wish, before I sit down, to correct one or two mistakes into which my hon. friend, Dr. Gifford, has fallen. My hon. friend observed that due attention was not afforded to me whilst I was addressing the Court. Now I believe (as far as I am able to judge, of the matter) that a proper degree of attention was shown. My hon. friend likewise observed, that the flogging system is only partially practised in the

French army. Now the fact is, that it is never resorted to at all in the French army. I have nothing further to say, but with the greatest willingness leave the subject in the hands of the Court of Directors.

Dr. Gilchrist.—I hope I may be permitted to explain for myself; for I will not suffer even my gallant friend to do that office for me. I will re-assert, that during the address of my gallant friend, much indignation was manifested in the Court; as my gallant friend was occupied in speaking, he could not be expected to have observed it. I have more than once noticed in this Court cold sneers and contemptuous shrugs of the shoulders, which were directed against those gentlemen who, holding liberal opinions, were regarded as innovators, and, therefore, subjected to derision. I have seen this practice pursued on more than one occasion, and having seen it, I consider myself authorised in stating the fact. If the gentlemen I allude to will rise and contradict me, I shall stand corrected; but I have a pair of eyes, and they are a little too sharp to be easily imposed upon.

The CHAIRMAN.—That I may set my self right with the gallant Colonel, I will read the regulation alluded to in his motion. [The hon. Chairman here read the regulation authorising the magistrates, on the testimony of one credible witness, to order the infliction of a certain number of lashes on the individual convicted.] This regulation was passed in Council, on the 23rd of March, 1814, and was registered in the court of the Recorder of Bombay, on the 29th of June, in the same year.

Colonel LUSHINGTON.—I rise for the purpose of explaining some obscure variations which dropped from my gallant friend (Colonel Stanhope) respecting courts martial. There is a difference in the King's and the Company's troops. The Mutiny Act, which is confined to the government of the King's troops, is passed annually, and from time to time alterations are made in it, particularly with reference to limiting the number of lashes which a court martial shall be empowered to inflict. Now, the Act which relates to the government of the Company's forces is an old one, passed in the reign of George II.; and in which the alterations have since been made. I can, however, venture to assert that the spirit of the regulations which prevailed among the King's forces, is abated upon with regard to the Company's troops, and that on no occasion are more than 800 lashes given for one offence. An hon. Proprietor (Dr. Gilchrist) has said, that for some years past, the practice of flogging has increased in the Indian army. I am enabled, on the contrary, to assert, not only as the commander of a regiment, but as one who has been entrusted with the command of a brigade, that the practice has, of late, been very much diminished among the Company's troops; and that it has now become the pride of an officer to show, by his returns, that no such punishment had been enforced in the company under his command. I am extremely happy in stating the fact, that for months and months no trial has happened among a very large body of men. Any person who is conversant with the subject, and if there are any officers in his Majesty's service now in Court, they will be ready to support my assertion, that the number of punishments inflicted in the Company's army bears no sort of comparison with those which are weekly and monthly inflicted among the Native troops. The severe orders of the Court of Directors, for preventing young men hastily punishing those who are placed under their orders, are attended to with the utmost strictness.

Colonel STANHOPE's motion was then withdrawn, with leave of the Court.

EDUCATION OF NATIVE DOCTORS.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have to inform the Court that it is further made special in consequence of a letter signed by nine proprietors, which I will direct the clerk to read. [The clerk then read the requisition.]

Dr. GILCHRIST.—In rising to introduce the motion of which I have previously given notice, I am happy to say that we shall have behind us a very disagreeable subject, and proceed to the discussion of one which I doubt not will give general

satisfaction. It has been my lot to be styled, as I once happened to call myself, an opposition man. I certainly am an opposition man, in this sense, that whenever I see a body of men acting wrong I shall endeavour to set them right whatever may be said of me. Now if I saw the members of this Court proceeding in a course of conduct that would be likely to do us an injury with the British public, I would do every thing that lies in my power to stem the course and effect its change. It strikes me that such an opposition as this may be considered an honour rather than a reproach. Lord Amherst lately addressed the young men at the College of Calcutta in a style which does him the greatest credit. By this address that Noble Lord proves himself to possess as honourable feelings as ever inspired the human breast. I will stand up in this Court and declare, that his Lordship has done much towards placing the interests of British India on a permanent basis; and this basis is established in the hearts and affections of the Native population, whom that address was calculated to conciliate. The Noble Lord commenced his address in the following words:—

“ I cannot omit the opportunity of congratulating you on the new advantages which the well-timed liberality of the Honourable Court of Directors have intended to you. Of the benefits none can be more touching than the facility which will be afforded to you of revisiting your native land; and of strengthening and renewing home feelings and home attachments. May your conduct in the stations to which you are now about to proceed be ever such that on your return to England you may with an honest pride claim to have maintained her honour to have advanced her interests, which are those of India, and to have acted on the principles becoming the citizens of so great and so singularly favoured a country.

“ The General Committee of Public Instruction have continued, during the last year, to direct their attention towards the great object of diffusing gradually, but steadily, an improved system of education throughout British India.

“ A communication has been established between the Committee and the College acceptable to its conductors, and calculated to maintain the Institution in that efficacy which can alone entitle it to public support. The progress made in the English language at the Anglo-Indian College, as determined at the last annual public examination, at which the President of the General Committee presided, was, in many instances, respectable, and the dawn of an acquaintance with the elements of science was displayed. The information acquired by the students in this latter respect, is derived from a course of lectures on natural and experimental philosophy delivered by a Professor attached by Government to the College, in order to render available to the seminary an apparatus of some extent, presented to it by the British Indian Society. Measures have also been sanctioned to render this apparatus more complete, and in the continuation of the lessons to which it will be applied it is to be expected that much useful knowledge will be imparted and much liberal curiosity excited, by which further proficiency may be attained. In connection with this establishment, measures have also been taken for providing a collection of useful books, both in literature and science and the other arrangements for the more advanced cultivation of both have been suggested by the Committee, which awaits the sanction of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

“ The duties of the Committee of public instructions are of the most elevated and important description. It is their aim to raise and strengthen the character and understanding of the people. They seek not only to give us more able and better agents for that important part of the civil administration of the country which devolves on Natives (an object in itself of infinite importance, and one which Government will strenuously lend its co-operation and patronage to secure) but gradually to introduce our Native subjects to every species of knowledge that can enlighten their minds and improve their moral feelings.

“ It gives me the sincerest pleasure to state thus publicly that in the proceedings of the Committee under their respected President, I have perceived

the happiest possible union of zeal and of discretion. With a just sense of the suspicious advantages of our own country, there is no overweening contempt of what others dearly prize.

“ The attention to the feelings and prejudices of the Natives appears to have gained, as it deserved, their fullest confidence: and their policy being one of candour and conciliation can scarcely fail to secure the safe and certain attainment of their salutary ends.

“ It must at present, therefore be our chief object to facilitate the progress of the higher classes of the Native population in those studies which are by them considered most useful or interesting, to lead them, whenever opportunity offers, into new and more improving paths, and above all, to habituate their youth to the system of order, assiduity and perseverance, which cannot fail of being highly advantageous to the development of their intellectual faculties and of producing a beneficial operation on their character through life.

“ In noticing the progress of the instruction for the encouragement of education among the Natives, it is proper to advert to the school founded by Government in the year 1829 for the instruction of Hindoos and Mohammedans in medical knowledge.

“ The management of the institution has been confided to the zealous and able superintendence of Dr. Breton and that gentlemen has already prepared, in the Native languages, various *essays* and *short treatises* calculated not only to promote the instruction of the pupils under his charge, but gradually to disseminate amongst the Natives of India, a highly useful knowledge of the principles of Medical science.”

I will not (Dr. Gilchrist continued) take up the time of the Court by reading the long list of treatises here alluded to by his Lordship; but I can assure the Court they are every one of them of a highly useful nature. It gives me great pleasure to find that Dr. Breton, another gentleman of the medical profession, is endeavouring to raise a structure—the Native Medical School, which, if supported with proper spirit, will be productive of the most beneficial results. I, who am likewise a medical man, am the humble individual who before the establishment of any college in India, made the first efforts to advance the interests of education in India. I know this declaration may be styled egotistical on my part, but when a man is conscious he has done his country a service, he can hardly be blamed for mentioning it. The medical body in India, though but a small one, has, I am bound to say, done the Company much service. Some of our charters, and some of the greatest benefits we enjoy, have been obtained through the means of that body. But to proceed with Lord Amherst's address. In that part of it which I am now going to read, his Lordship alludes to a subject which gives me a great deal of pleasure. He adverts to the exertions made by the respectable Natives themselves, for the purpose of diffusing education. He says, “ It is impossible to quit the subject of the measures taken for the diffusion of education, without advertg. to the meritorious interest exhibited by two Native gentlemen on this important subject. Raja Calisunka Ghoss and Raja Hurrinath Roy have placed at the disposal of the general Committee severally the sums of 20,000 and 22,000 rupees, to be applied by them in any way that they may deem the most conducive to the objects of the Committee, an act of liberality which does honour to the public spirit, and the enlightened judgment of those from whom it emanates. It is to be hoped that the example may not be set in vain, but may point out to the elevated and opulent, the path by which they may best befriend their countrymen, and perpetuate their own reputation. The means at the disposal of any government must be always inadequate to the education of the people, but they are especially disproportionate in a country where the demand is so general as in India, and where the endowments that had accumulated, through successive years, have been wholly swept away by public disorganization, or from their purposes by private cupidity.

It is now necessary to begin again, and whatever success may be attained by the efforts of the ruling power, it must necessarily be limited, and partial, unless those efforts are seconded by enlightened individuals, and finally crowned by the concurrence and exertions of all." These are the enlightened and liberal views of Lord Amherst, with regard to education in India. I may naturally be asked by the honourable members of the Court, why I am taking this subject—could no other person be found to bring it forward? Now I am neither a John Bull nor a bulldog; but I am what is a great deal better—I am what is usually denominated a Caledonian ferret or Scotch terrier, and whenever I can lay my paw on a pole-cat or a rat, the noisome smell of the one nor the versatility of the other shall not deter me from giving them a gripe, which should prevent them from eluding my clutches. I will now explain the reasons which urged me to take up the subject. It is because it is of considerable importance, and because no person else seemed inclined to pay any attention to it. It is the plague of my nature to have something to do; and if I were to remain in a state of idleness, this world would be a purgatory to me. Now it so happens that Dr. Broun has sent me a letter, which I will read to the Court, because it will at once vindicate me for bringing the subject under the consideration of the Court. This is the letter I allude to:

"My dear Sir. My friend Mr. Roberts, of the firm of Mackintosh and Co., wrote to me some time since, that you had been kind enough to notice, in favourable terms, the Native Medical Institution, lately established in Calcutta, for the instruction of Hindoos and Mohammedans medical knowledge.

"Of all the sciences studied by the Asiatics, that of anatomy and medicine is the least understood and cultivated, and therefore, in India, it is universally admitted that the British Government could not have established an institution calculated to be of greater public benefit, not only to the civil and military branches of the service, but to the Natives generally, than the Native Medical Institution.

"You who have been in India are well aware of the acquirements of the Native medical practitioners. Their knowledge of anatomy borders on necessity, and their skill in physic is not far above their anatomical knowledge. What a blessing then it will be to the Natives generally to have amongst them their own countrymen, educated on a system to the medical profession, and capable of alleviating human affliction, which at present consigns to a premature grave myriads of diseased inhabitants of our Eastern empire.

"The Native students are beginning to make themselves useful; eight having been already posted to corps, and four are about to be attached to two detachments, now forming for the relief of the suffering Natives; and, in the account paying records, you will observe a pleasing public testimony of the students' exertions in arresting the progress of that dreadful scourge the *cholera morbus*; and I have no doubt that, in course of time, they will prove a highly useful class of public servants of the British Government in India.

"Notwithstanding the acknowledged utility, and, indeed, necessity of the Native Medical Institution, the Honourable Court of Directors have unfortunately, with a view to economy, ordered its abolition; but the Government of India, bound by their sacred duty to their Native subjects, have unanimously recommended, in the strongest possible terms, its continuance, and the institution remains pending, however, the result of the forcible remonstrance to the honourable Court against its abolition.

"The late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, it is reported, avowed his sentiments in council, that as there was a great deficiency of medical officers, Native doctors became indispensably necessary to afford medical aid to the numerous detachments from corps in the extensive dominions of India; and, as it was not possible to procure them when required, it behoved Government to establish some kind of institution from which capable Native doctors might on all occasions of exigency be obtained, and it rested with Govern-

ment to consider whether a better or more economical system could be devised, than that which existed in the school for Native doctors. His Excellency further observed, that without a due compliment of medical staff, he could not answer for the efficiency of the Bengal army, a point, of vital importance to the state. This occurred in April last, and, fortunately, the general voice being in favour of the institution as it stood, an unanimous vote was given for its permanency.

“ The expense of the school for Native doctors is not worthy of a thought, being in reality nothing in comparison with the benefits likely to accrue from the institution: The latter is pleasingly adverted to by the Governor-General in his speech to the College council, and hailed by the Natives with gratitude.”

“ The anatomical plates and works published from time to time, for the use of the Native students, are printed at the government lithographic press, at no other expense to Government than that of ink and paper. In short, while every measure is adopted to ensure the utility of the school for Native doctors, rigid economy is studied and observed, and on the score of expense, the honourable Court of Directors will never have reason to complain. Indeed, the medical institution may be said to be in unison with the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges, established for the dissemination of general knowledge among the Natives of India.—I am, my dear Sir, your obliged and obedient

P. BRETON,

“ Superintendent of the Native Med. Instit.”

“ Calcutta, October 31, 1825.”

“ This is the statement of Dr. Breton with respect to the Native Medical Institution, and I could read to the Company testimonies in favour of it from the highest authorities in Calcutta. For, from the Governor-General down to the lowest public functionary whose opinion was worth asking, every one has expressed himself in favour of this institution. Some days ago, I put the question to the honourable Chairman, whether it was the intention of the Court of Directors to put down this institution; and I was told, in effect, that, at that time, I could get no information on the subject. I, therefore, as a man who respected the Company, and had its interests as much at heart as any person on the other side of the bar; I (let me be what I may) felt I was entitled to call upon eight of my friends to sign with me a requisition, in order to bring the subject properly under the consideration of the proprietors. I need hardly say I am very sorry to observe the Court so thinly attended, because the subject is certainly one of the highest importance. Any measure which may have a tendency to keep the Natives of India in a state of ignorance would not only be unjust, but extremely impolitic; much more advisable would it be to sound their affections by enlightening their minds and giving them instruction in every shape. If the Natives are despised and trampled on they would naturally return such ill conduct with hatred; but if the Company afforded them the means of acquiring knowledge and treated them like men; they, on the contrary, behave towards us honestly and faithfully. It is not a matter of trifling importance that the Natives should have the means of instruction in medical knowledge afforded them. It is often the case that detachments are sent out with only one European surgeon; now if this surgeon should happen to be cut off, let the Court consider in what a situation the detachment would be placed. That he might be so cut off, was by no means impossible, for I myself was once nearly struck by a Mahratia rocket. In such a case it is more than probable a Native surgeon cannot be found with a tourniquet to stop the blood of any gallant officer who happens to be wounded. It would thus be necessary to wait until a European surgeon could be procured, and in the mean time death might render his assistance useless. Besides European surgeons cannot be always had at command, and therefore such a course of education ought to be afforded to the Native doctors as would enable them not only to save the lives of gallant officers but also of useful civilians. The Court

of Directors will not then eradicate this institution ; they will not surely level it to its foundation. It is an institution, undoubtedly, of as useful a kind as was ever established in India, and with proper care it may grow to a head of which we have no idea. It was indeed impossible to calculate the extent of the advantages which may result from the diffusion of a correct knowledge of surgery among the Natives. The common run of the Native professors are at the present time as ignorant of the art as the barbers and shavers who, 300 years ago, professed the art of surgery in this country. I will now call your attention to the testimonies in favour of this institution, which I mentioned. I will not detain you by reading the whole of them, but will only quote one or two, which have emanated from individuals of high character and talent, and if they shall not be considered sufficient to convince you of the utility of the establishment I will proceed to the rest. I have in my hand a letter from a Native gentleman who understands the English language as well as I do myself. He is a gentleman of very extensive information, and well versed in the arts and sciences. I speak of the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy : He writes thus :—" I beg you will accept my best thanks for the valuable present of your productions. They are indeed full of instruction and better calculated to furnish the Natives with useful knowledge than all the works in this country on abstruse subjects." This letter is dated the 4th of May, 1825. In a letter of a later date Ram Mohun Roy thus expresses himself, in recommendation of the labours of Dr. Breton. " Alas ! as I have been, I have perused with great pleasure the tracts you kindly sent me ; and while reading them I could not help anticipating the blessings which these and similar publications are calculated to bestow on the Natives of this part of the globe ; since they contain real facts, established by experience, and not mere speculations supported by prejudice and opinion. I hope and pray that your exertions may be crowned with success." Here is a Native of India writing in our own language and expressing sentiments, the force, truth and justice of which would do credit to any man in this Court, however enlightened he might be. Another Native of great respectability, *Radhakant Deb*, has likewise written strongly in favour of the exertions of Dr. Breton. He says " I have attentively perused the work (on cholera) and find the observations, symptoms and remedies of the dreadful malady contained in it to be very wise, proper, beneficial, and effectual. I shall introduce and recommend your advice and medicine both here and in the interior ; and the human lives which will thereby be saved, will I trust be an ample reward for the trouble you have taken, and the expense incurred in publishing and circulating the pamphlets gratuitously." I will next proceed to the public functionaries, and show in what light they view the matter. I will read the sentiments of Captain Macan, the Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief. Captain M'Cann is a gentleman, I believe, well known as an Oriental scholar, and a person who stands high in the estimation of the Government. In a letter to Dr. Breton, he says, " None but Oriental scholars can properly appreciate the difficulties you have encountered, and as you have got over the first step, which is always the most difficult, I sincerely hope you will get on. Hitherto we have been instructing the Natives in their own erroneous system of philosophy, and particularly astronomy, and it is only by doing in other branches of science what you are doing in medicine that we can hope to give them the light of truth." Now the gentleman who thus expressed himself is a military man, an officer I believe in the King's service, and I take it to be a circumstance much in his favour, that he has applied himself to the study and made himself master of the Oriental languages. It is a proof of his being a thinking man, and it renders his testimony of additional weight. I will now call the attention of the Court to the testimony of Captain Ruddle, secretary to the College Council of Fort William, who, in a letter addressed officially to Dr. Breton, spoke, in these terms, the sentiments of that body : " The College Council were so much pleased with your pamphlets presented to them that they expressed a wish to see the whole published and distributed throughout the country." The Medical Board have also expressed their opinion in the following language :

"Sir, adverting to a letter from the military secretary to Government containing an extract of the proceedings in the judicial department, with reference to a correspondence with the Government of Bombay on the subject of education, I am directed by the Medical Board to request that you will be pleased to send to this office, at your earliest convenience, five copies of each of the different works composed by you for facilitating the acquisition of medical and physical knowledge by your pupils, in order that they may be forwarded to Bombay. The Board cannot omit this opportunity of congratulating you on the usefulness of your labours, and the important advantages which seem likely to be derived from them by the medical branch of the service throughout the three Presidencies.

(Signed)

"J. ADAM,

"Secretary Medical Board."

"Fort William Medical Board Office,"
18th August, 1825."

Now a higher medical authority than that I have just quoted could not be adduced in support of the exertions of Dr. Breton. I will now lay before the Court a letter from Mr. Bayley, chief Secretary to the Government, and who is now a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal. You cannot, I am sure, but acknowledge him to be a proper official authority, and an individual on whose opinion great reliance may be placed. Mr. Bayley says, in a letter to Dr. Breton,

"My dear Sir,—It has occurred to me, that if your Treatise on Cholera in Bengalee, were widely distributed in Calcutta and its neighbourhood just now, it would be useful. Perhaps the best way would be to send all the spare copies you have to Mr. C. Barwell, at the Police-office, tomorrow; thence they might be given to the Native doctors employed under the police, to the thaddas, and other Native officers, who can read Bengalee, and to the Native schools: a new edition to a considerable extent might be struck off; and if you will report the expense, which may be incurred in doing so, either I will pay it myself or ask Government to pay it. A few copies in Persian might also be usefully distributed from the Police-office.

"Yours, sincerely, W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec."

Mr Bayley considered the distribution of this excellent treatise on cholera of so much importance, that he offered, in the most generous manner, to pay for the printing and publishing of the work himself. I will now submit to the notice of the Court an official communication, from the Government to the Magistrates of Calcutta, dated the 1st of December 1825, which passed through the department of Mr Bayley. It is expressed in the following terms: "The temporary employment, with the sanction and concurrence of Dr. Breton, of twenty of his most experienced pupils, in those parts of the town where the sickness chiefly prevails, as well as the distribution of Dr. Breton's Treatise on the cure of the cholera, in the Native languages, appear to Government to be measures calculated to be of great immediate advantage; and his Lordship in Council, desires that you will communicate to Dr. Breton the sense which Government entertains of his prompt and zealous co-operation with you and of his compliance with your suggestions at a time when an official reference for formal sanction would have involved serious delay and inconvenience." Here we find the Government itself approving, in terms the most unqualified, not the conduct only but the treatise of Dr. Breton on the cure of the cholera morbus. The next letter which I shall read, is equally honourable to Dr. Breton. It is signed by Mr. Barwell, the Chief Magistrate, and Mr. Blaquiere, a Magistrate of the Calcutta Police Office. They say, "We beg leave to inform you, that the decrease in the number of cases of cholera in the town will now admit of the aid of your students being withdrawn, and request the favour of you to recall them. We cannot let this opportunity pass without recording our approbation of their conduct, and the great benefit derived from their skill and attention. We beg leave to inclose the copy of a paragraph of a letter

from the Chief Secretary to Government, expressive of the sentiments his Lordship's Council entertain of the measure adopted in the institution of your students; and we thank you for the hearty co-operation we have experienced from you personally in averting the calamity with which the town was afflicted." The testimony of Mr. Harrington is the next I shall lay before you in praise of Dr. Breton's exertions; Mr. Harrington is, I believe, well known to the Court of Directors. For humanity, and for that knowledge which is essential to the security of peace and happiness in India, in a word, for the exercise of every virtue, I believe Mr. Harrington is not exceeded by any man in India, that country where I had the pleasure of knowing him for thirty years! He thus expresses himself: "Mr. Harrington is very much obliged to Dr. Breton for his kind and valuable present of books, which cannot fail to be of the greatest use to the Native students of the Medical Institution, as well as more generally to the Natives of India."

I will not trouble the Court further with any testimonies in support of the usefulness of this institution. I have, I conceive, stated sufficient to convince every individual, on whichever side of the Court, of the necessity there is for upholding it. I will therefore entrust the matter entirely to your own feelings, to your own honour, to your own sense of what is due to myriads of Hindoo-British subjects. Would you, I ask, for the sake of saving a few thousands of pounds, put an end to the existence of an institution, which all the functionaries on the spot joined in praising? This surely cannot be called a job, Dr. Breton was not the person to be connected with a transaction of such a nature: he would disdain to lend himself to a job. It has been said, sometimes, when I have spoken on particular subjects in this Court, that I have been seeking for a job: but a job I detest and despise; and I would throw, with indignation, the charge into the face of him who shall make it. I fancy I need not intrude further upon the attention of the Court; though, if documents were wanting to support the usefulness of the institution, I have many more to produce. If the Court of Directors perseveres in overthrowing it, they will indelibly injure their own character, and disgust the Natives of India. Those people would say, "You take whatever you can out of our pockets, but you refuse to enlighten our minds. You deny us a drop from the bucket which we ourselves have filled; you begrudge giving us that food—the food of the mind, which is more valuable than any thing on the face of the earth to those who estimate the mind above the body." Now, let me entreat you to consider the matter well, before you resort to a line of conduct which will lead to such a result as this. Imagine not I stand here, on light and frivolous motives, to oppose any measures which the Court of Directors may think proper to adopt. Far from any thing of that sort being my intention, I proclaim myself their friend—aye, their very best friend, because I am resolved, on all occasions, to let them know the truth. I never, in my life, gave countenance to a lie; and I never will do so as long as I live; and I can assure those who may think otherwise, that they are much mistaken in their estimate of my character. It was with great pleasure I gave way to the motion of the gallant Colonel; but I am extremely sorry to observe that almost all the Proprietors have now withdrawn from the Court, except the gentlemen behind the bar. These, however, who have at all considered this question; ought fairly to appreciate its importance. The Company are a great body, and ought to show, by their liberal treatment of the Natives of India, that they possess a soul as great as his body. You can only maintain it by performing acts of the kind recommended in my motion; and when the time for the renewal of your charter comes round, acts such as this will afford, in the eyes of the Legislature, the best reasons to adopting measures for securing the stability of the Company. The hon. Proprietor concluded by moving a Resolution, conformable to the substance of the Request.

Captain MAXFIELD.—The Court, I hope, will give this motion all due attention, and support it as it deserves. I must beg leave to remark, that I re-

collect, when I was at Calcutta, that the secretary of the Medical Board was the superintendent of this establishment. Now, I ask, is the secretary of that Board a proper person to receive such an appointment? In my idea, that individual has quite sufficient to employ him, without taking upon him the additional duty of superintending the institution. If the Court decide that money is to be laid out on the establishment, I trust it will be expended wisely; and that a person is appointed to superintend it who shall devote the whole of his time to the duties connected with it, instead of making the post a sinecure. The individual who filled that post at the period I allude to, is dead, but if he were present in this Court, I would still protest against the appointment as improper. My maxim is to pay well, but not to give several appointments to one individual. I can mention a list of appointments of the most objectionable description; I can, indeed, point out one instance of eight or nine offices being conferred on one individual; and, in my opinion, it is entirely impossible that a single man can, be his talents what they may, properly fulfill the duties of those different offices. I repeat it, if money is to be expended in support of this, or of any other establishment, let persons be appointed who are able and willing to devote the whole of their time to the performance of the duties connected with it. I think it right it should be known; and my chief object in now rising is to state the fact, that one half of the appointments in India are filled by persons who cannot devote their time to the fulfillment of the necessary duties. I am disposed to afford to the Natives of India the means of deriving information on every subject; but to the support of an establishment, formed merely for the emolument of a few individuals, I will never consent. Many useful reforms can no doubt be made in the administration of the law in India; and I fancy, if you wish to raise a monument to perpetuate your name in India, you may do so by introducing the English language into your courts of law.

Dr. GILCHRIST.—I beg to be allowed to make one or two observations in explanation, in consequence of what has fallen from the hon. Proprietor who has just sat down. Was I not convinced that Dr. Breton devoted all his energies, both of soul and body, to the affairs of this institution, the subject would never have been brought forward by me; for I yield to no man in my hatred of pluralities of every kind. The labours of Dr. Breton, however, are before the public; his exertions in favour of the advancement of medical knowledge are well known, and it is clear that he is a zealous labourer in that vineyard. I now hold in my hand a work on *Cholera Morbus* written by him, and I say, that the man who has published eight or nine such volumes as this cannot be considered idle. Dr. Breton has no plurality of appointments. He is merely a surgeon in the Company's service, and does not receive a farthing beyond the amount of his pay. It is an honour to the medical service to have among their body a gentleman who proceeds as Dr. Breton does. Whatever was done, has been effected at his own expense, and Government has given him credit for his services. I will boldly assert that Dr. Breton has served the Company in the most essential point in which they can be served, in affording instruction in medicine to their Native subjects. I would ask Hindoostanee and Naguree scholars to look at the books published by Dr. Breton, and say whether he can be considered an ignorant or unskilful man? He is, I maintain, neither the one nor the other. Neither is he a sinecrist nor a pluralist; but a man who deserves encouragement for his honest exertions. It is a common saying that "genius jumps," and the variety of Dr. Breton's acquirements is a proof of it. It is rather a curious coincidence, that Dr. Breton has employed his talents in translating into the Hindoostanee language, and in the Naguree character, a Treatise on Spended Animation from the Effects of Subversion, Hanging, Obnoxious Air, or Lightning, and the Means of Resuscitation; at the same time that I was rendering into the same language a work of a similar nature, a pamphlet, entitled "The Methods of Treatment for the Recovery of Persons apparently Dead, from Brousing, Apoplexy, Heat, Cold, &c. &c. Recommended by the Royal Humane Society," and to which is annexed, "The Persian and Naguree Versions," by Mr.

Myers, of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is impossible to calculate the advantages of disseminating a knowledge of the Oriental languages. I some time ago visited the school of a pupil of mine, who learned the Persian and Naguree characters in the course of three months, and I was surprised to find that some of his pupils were superior to those I have under my own care. I have, at a considerable personal expense, and a great deal of trouble, endeavoured to establish occidental and Oriental institutions in different places. Several are in Lon on; there is one in Edinburgh, and I hope that some will soon be formed in Dublin. I observe, however, in looking over the Company's Red Book, with no small surprise, that they contemplate making a monopoly of this description of education. In that publication two only are named as proper places for instruction, previously to the admittance of a young man into the seminary at Addiscombe. Now, this appears to me to be the very worst species of monopoly,—worse than the monopoly of tea and sugar, for it is a monopoly of an article essential to our well-being—learning. Why should not the people of Scotland enjoy having their own children educated under their own eyes? What reason can be named for obstructing so desirable a system? I am happy to hear, however, that the proposition for establishing such a detestable monopoly is not understood as likely to be acted upon. Had it been persisted in, I certainly should have demanded of the Court to show what right the Company had to establish a monopoly in literature. I am obliged to the gentleman who has informed me the idea is abandoned. It was one of your own body (*addressing the Directors*) who gave me to understand that it was a hasty regulation, published without consideration, and very properly withdrawn. I sincerely hope no obstruction will be thrown in the way of individuals in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in giving their children instruction in the Asiatic languages at home, and then sending them to Addiscombe. A London university will, in a short time, be established, and if the excluding regulation had been persevered in, the Oriental department of their institution would be of no utility whatever. The thirst for education is now become universal. It is travelling into every corner of the world. While I am on this subject I will read to the Court one or two resolutions relative to the Scottish Military Academy, which was formed last year while I was in Edinburgh. This academy is patronized by the nobility and gentry of Scotland, and is now in a flourishing state. From its constitution, it is likely, I am convinced, to do the Company a great deal of service. These resolutions will, at least, show the enlightened spirit that is stirring abroad,—a spirit which narrow, illiberal, and selfish views will never be able to put down.

I have again to mention the satisfaction I feel at the withdrawal of the Red Book, and am glad that those who proposed it did so withdraw it on seeing they had taken a false view of the subject, without being reminded of that fact by others. The course of education at the Scottish Military Academy, is on the most extensive and liberal scale. It was resolved by those with whom the plan originated, "That every branch of military and gymnastic exercises shall be taught at the academy; also the modern languages, viz., Hindoostanee, Persian, French, Italian, German, Spanish, &c.; likewise fortification, surveying, navigation, mathematics, and every other branch of education that to the Committee may seem progressively useful and expedient." It is seen that in this enumeration, Hindoostanee holds a very distinguished place. It is at the head of the modern languages, and is doubtless considered of such importance from its being so intimately bound up with the interests of British India. Let not this prospectus be sneered at. It emanates from the capital of an ancient kingdom, whose inhabitants are not gratuitously to be deprived of the right of educating their own children.

[The learned Doctor here read a passage from the prospectus, pointing out the advantages likely to result from such an establishment.]

While such a spirit as this is abroad, can you think of establishing literary

monopolies or instituting exclusive depots of learning—whether under Dr. Andrews or any other person? If you do, you will stifle in the outset every useful establishment. I have often been told by gentlemen in Scotland, that they would be glad if they had the means of educating their children in the Oriental tongues in their own country. I offered my services, and taught the individual who is now employed in giving instruction in the Oriental language in Edinburgh. I rejoice to see the progress of education, and will use my endeavour to extend it. I am content to rest my good name on this basis, and a good name, in my opinion, is superior to every other earthly consideration.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am of necessity compelled to oppose this motion, because on its face it implies a censure, and an undeserved one, on the conduct of the Court of Directors. It charges them by implication, with doing what they are entirely guiltless of; for before I sit down I will prove that the Court of Directors, far from having neglected the subject, have bestowed the deepest consideration on it, and had treated it with the liberality of feeling it deserves; because if any subject more than another requires the strictest attention, it is that of education. The Court of Directors can say with truth, that they have entertained the most anxious desire to propagate education throughout India, were there any extraordinary merit in that desire, and that they have acted in furtherance of that object, the usefulness of which is readily admitted on all hands. (*Hear.*) I hold in my hand a paper which will explain what has been done in extending the means of education in India.

[The hon. Chairman here read a list of the different schools established in Calcutta, in the provinces under Bengal, Madras, Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca, and stated the expense incurred by the Company in maintaining them.]

Now, (continued the honourable Chairman,) it must seem the most absurd, the most extraordinary charge against the Company, to say that they have not bestowed a proper degree of attention on the subject. (*Hear.*) In justification therefore of your Executive Body, I must not suffer this motion to be withdrawn, but am determined to meet it by a direct negative. The implications it contains I deny *in toto*, and I am sure that every one who has listened to the reading of the document will see that the denial is founded on just grounds. The motion may be separated under two heads: the first respects education in India generally, and the second refers to the instruction of the Natives in medical knowledge. I have explained myself, I trust, sufficiently on the last point already, and I will now proceed to explain what the Court of Directors have done with reference to the latter. In May, 1822, the Medical Board represented to the Government, that as considerable difficulty had been experienced in procuring Native Doctors to supply vacancies in the different Regiments, it would be advisable to establish an institution for the purpose of instructing the Natives and qualifying them to fill up the deficiencies. The points of regulation the Medical Board proposed for this establishment were: that a superintendent should be appointed to instruct the pupils in the elementary branches of medical science, and to preside generally over their education; that the pupils should be attached to the Residency General Hospital, the King's Hospital, the Native Hospital, and the Dispensary, as the most convenient for their acquiring a knowledge of Pharmacy, Surgery, and Physic; that the pupils should receive a monthly pay of eight rupees, as long as they prosecute their studies, and they were to be allowed to contract to serve for a given period, and as vacancies occurred they were to be appointed, if reported duly qualified. The representations of the Medical Board had the effect of inducing the Government to set the Institution on foot, which happened in the June following. Mr. Jameson, the Secretary to the Medical Board, was appointed the superintendent, with a salary of 800 rupees per month, in addition to his other salary. I admit that this appointment constitutes the very worst feature of the business. The Court of Directors felt this, and therefore applied themselves to a re-consideration of the subject of the Institution, and to look around at the system established in

other places. They saw that the object recommended by the Medical Board was effected under the Madras Residency without a superintendent. There the Native Doctors receive their education at the different hospitals. The Court of Directors then conceived that the same principle which prevailed at Madras, might be acted upon in Calcutta, and the office of superintendent abolished. In acting thus, the Court cannot be accused of not approving the plan of educating Native Doctors for the service of the Company. They merely recommended the adoption of the Madras system, and the removal of the superintendent. Mr. Jameson afterwards resigned, and this post was filled by Dr. Breton. After the opinion of the Court of Directors was expressed, they received a remonstrance or representation of the Bengal Government, in which the support of the Institution in question was strongly recommended, on the original system, and the reply given to this communication, when the subject was discussed in 1823-4, was to this effect:—The Court pointed out to the notice of the Bengal Government the plan in force at Madras, where boys, half-castes taken from the Asylum schools, were attached to the Hospitals, and received a course of instruction in order to qualify them to act as assistants in those hospitals. The Court expressed their fear that the difficulty apprehended by the Medical Board themselves of educating Natives in the higher branches of medical science would prevent ultimate success, and they desired to be informed whether their fears had been justly founded. The Court disapproved of only one part of the system, and that was the appointment of the superintendent. They conceived the continuance of that office would cause an interference with the Hospital Surgeons, and engender an unpleasant collision of authority between them and the superintendent. The Court besides expressed an opinion that the best instruction was likely to be conveyed by the Surgeons of the Hospitals. The Court therefore directed that at all events the office of superintendent should be discontinued. I have now given you the history of this business, and conceive that the Court of Directors are strengthened in the propriety of the view they took of it, by the practice adopted at Madras, which is productive of better practical effects, though less expensive, than that established at Calcutta: I say better practical effects, because it is certain the students will be rendered more proficient in the practical part of the science, by being under the eye of the Surgeon in charge of an Hospital, than from hearing a series of lectures. The Government at Bengal has lately transmitted a reply to the communication of the Court of Directors.

[This reply was read by the hon. Chairman, and expresses in strong terms the conviction of the Bengal Government as to the efficiency of the Medical school as originally constituted.]

A report alluded to in this reply has not (said the hon. Chairman) been received, and the Court of Directors are therefore not able to say what degree of encouragement ought to be extended to this institution. Mr. Jameson's appointment in the first instance, cannot be defended, because his duties as secretary to the Medical Board were quite sufficient to occupy the whole of his time. Of Dr. Breton, the present superintendent, the Government spoke in the highest terms of commendation. He has, it appears, been employing himself in translating the 'London Pharmacopœia' into Hindoostanee; and has also in a state of forwardness several other publications on the subject of medicine.

[The hon. Chairman here stated the items of emolument attached to the office of superintendent, which together amount to 2180 rupees per month.]

The whole question (he continued) turns on the necessity of the post of superintendent. We have decided in the negative, but did so without permitting private feelings to influence our decision. Did I conceive the existence of such an office necessary, there is no man I would sooner appoint to fill it than Dr. Breton.

The hon. Chairman concluded by proposing the following amendment:—

“That in the opinion of this Court it is wholly unnecessary and inexpedient to adopt the recommendation contained in the motion now before the Court, as due attention appears to have been paid by the Court of Directors to the important subjects therein mentioned; and the Court is satisfied that the subjects alluded to are very properly left in the hands of the executive body.”

Mr. TRANT.—I rise for the purpose of expressing my entire satisfaction at the amendment proposed by the hon. Chairman, and if the hon. Proprietor (Dr. Gilchrist) knew as well as I do what is now going on in India he would never have introduced his motion at all. The line of conduct pursued by the hon. Chairman has given me much gratification. Were the motion allowed to be withdrawn, an inference might go abroad, that a kind of compromise had been effected; and the Court of Directors would not have appeared as they now do, to have done their duty in affording the utmost possible means to the Natives of India for the acquirement of knowledge.

If we look back on the last ten years, we shall find that the Government of India, backed by the Government at home, have been adopting every safe and expedient measure, for facilitating the object recommended by the Legislature, viz. the instruction of the Natives of India. It appears that the Company have more than tripled the sum appropriated by the Legislature for this object. It would hardly be fair to expect that the Proprietors should defray the entire expense attending the instruction of the Natives. I am one of those who consider that the community at large, both English and India, ought to bear a share of that expense. I am therefore glad to hear of the present made by the British-Indian Society of the philosophical apparatus, alluded to by the learned Doctor (Dr. Gilchrist) to the Anglo-Indian College

I beg leave to say a few words relative to the late Dr. Jameson, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. Those who did not know that gentleman might be led to suppose that his acceptance of the office of superintendent of the institution was a job, but those who at all knew him would bear testimony to the fact, that he was a man of very extraordinary powers, and might therefore conscientiously and efficiently undertake to discharge duties which any other individual would shrink under.

Sir J. DOYLE.—I have to express the satisfaction I feel, that I did not leave the Court before the hon. Chairman gave his explanation. The statement made by the learned Doctor certainly impressed me very strongly. But the clear and ample detail made by the hon. Chairman has quite delighted me. Whether the office of superintendent is necessary or no, is a point best known to the Court of Directors, as they have the best means of information. I am glad to find that so much attention has been paid to the extension of education in India, and I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing my approbation of the system adopted with regard to that object.

Captain MAXFIELD.—I am very ready to bear testimony to the powers of Dr. Jameson, but still I think it is impossible for any individual to perform the duties which that gentleman undertook. But his is not the only case of one individual holding various situations in India. What will you say of an individual holding two situations, and living fourteen miles distant from the spot where the duties of one of them ought to be performed?

It has I am aware been directed, that the surgeon who has in charge the hospital of the insane at Calcutta, shall be resident there; but I am also aware that those directions have been disobeyed. The surgeon is absent, and the hospital is left to take care of itself. So far is it from being the fact that pluralities are not often seen in India, that the records of the Bengal Government will show, not only that they are not uncommon, but that they are of universal occurrence.

Dr. GILCHRIST spoke at some length in explanation. He had feared, as the hon. Chairman had declined on a former occasion to give him an answer to a question on this subject, that it was the intention of the Court of Directors to put an end to this institution, without reference to the office of superintendent. —He had never accused the Court of Directors of not expending a sufficient sum for education; but Lord Amherst, in his address, says, "The endowments (for the purpose of education,) that had accumulated through successive years, have been wholly swept away by public disorganization, and diverted from the proper course." Now this charge showed at least, that formerly a great deal of money was expended to very little purpose. Perhaps, said he, Col. Lushington will say whether the sub-assistant surgeons, spoken of by the hon. Chairman, and the Native doctors are the same? (To which Col. L. replied they were not.) Then have I and the hon. Chairman been speaking on two different points. I cannot help repeating my opinion, that if a superintendent is not appointed to the institution, it will speedily sink to nothing, because what is every body's business is nobody's. The Madras establishment does not bear the slightest analogy to the Medical Institution at Calcutta. Every regiment has three or four Native doctors attached to it, and these cannot be properly educated, unless schools for them are established. Except a few young men who have gone through my hands, there is not one, save Dr. Breton, who can explain to the Natives, in their own language, the terms of anatomy and physic. If Lord Amherst had given too large a salary, that did not afford a sufficient reason for getting rid of the office of superintendent. It does not give me much concern to find that my motion is to be met by a direct negative. The Chairman has endeavoured to persuade the Court that I wish to cast a censure on the Court of Directors. I have no such intention. My only object is to preserve the credit and character of the Company, and I am therefore desirous that this Court should act in such a way as to induce the people of India to look upon them as a liberal and enlightened body of men. I was happy to hear what had been said in explanation to day. A few years ago I might have expected such an explanation in vain, and therefore on that account, at least, I have reason to be satisfied.

The original motion was then negatived, and the amendment unanimously agreed to.

The Court then broke up.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Dec. 8.—The Hon. F. J. Shore, Assistant to the Commissioner in Kamaoon.—16. Capt. Alex. Davidson, 13th N. I. Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General on the North East Frontier; Capt. A. White, 59th N. I. ditto ditto.—29. Mr. J. J. Harvey, Register of the Zillah Court of Ghazzeepore.—Jan. 5. Mr. J. Sanford, Senior Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Calcutta; Mr. R. Walpole, Third Judge of ditto ditto; Mr. H. Oakely, Fourth Judge of ditto ditto; Mr W. M. Fleming, Second Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Patna; Mr. J. B. Elliott, Third Judge of ditto ditto.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Dec. 26.—Lieut. E. F. Spencer, 32d N. I. transferred, at his own request, to the Invalid Estab.—30. Lieut. Col. Com. M'Innes, 61st N. I. to have the command of the South Eastern Division, v. Brig. Richards, who has resigned his command.—Jan. 20. Lieut. Col. Com. W. Richards, to be Commandant of the Fortress of Agra, in the room of Lieut. Col. Com. D. M'Leod, C. B., who has obtained Furlough to Europe; Lieut. G. H. Cox, 62d N. I., to officiate as Superintendent of Gentlemen Cadets at Fort William, v. Blake, permitted to proceed to Europe.

PROMOTIONS.

Infantry—Maj. H. W. Wilkinson to be Lieut. Col. in suc. to Collyer retired.

8th Regt. N. I.—Capl. William Kennedy to be Maj.; Lieut. W. B. Henderson to be Capt. of a company, and Ens. T. S. Price to be Lieut. in suc. to Wilkinson prom.

24th Regt. N. I.—Ens. H. Maynard to be Lieut., v. Wilson placed on half-pay.

27th Regt. N. I.—Ens. A. B. Ogilvy to be Lieut., in suc. to Robe, dec.

32d Regt. N. I.—Ens. J. Woods to be Lieut. in suc. to Spencer, transferred to the Invalid Estab.; Ens. A. P. Graham to be Lieut. v. Bolleau, dec.

33d Regt. N. I.—Lieut. G. Barker, to be Capt. of a company, and Ens. A. F. Tytler to be Lieut. in suc. to Agnew, dec.

40th Regt. N. I.—Lieut. G. F. Agar to be Capt. of a comp. in suc. to Macintosh, dec.

65th Regt. N. I.—Ens. R. H. De Montmorency to be Lieut. in suc. to Lawe, dec.

Regt. of Artillery.—1st Lieuts. F. S. Sotheby, R. C. Dickson, E. W. Huthwalte, G. R. Crawford, and H. Delafosse, to have rank of Capt. by Bre vet.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Dec. 26.—Assist. Surg. J. Stewart, lately attached to service of the King of Oude, placed at the disposal of his Exc. the Commander in Chief.—Jan. 6. Messrs. Hart and A. Reunick, surgeons, appointed, temporarily, to do duty as Assist. Surg. on this Estab.—20. Assist. Surg. J. Innes, to be Residency Surg. at Malacca; Assist. Surg. F. S. Matthews, to have Medical Charge of the Civil station of Balasore, v. Barker; Mr. F. Malcolm admitted to the service as an Assist. Surg.; Assist. Surg. T. Luxmoor, to be Surg. in suc. to Hartman, dec.

RETIREMENTS FROM THE SERVICE.

Dec. 26.—Lieut. Col. J. Clark, 44th N. I. on the pension of his rank.—Jan. 13.—Lieut. Col. J. J. Leith, 55th N. I. ditto ditto.

CADETS ADMITTED AND PROMOTED.

Dec. 26.—Mr. F. S. Burt, for Eng. and prom. to 1st. Lieut.—30. Mr. J. F. Middleton, for Inf., and prom. to Ens.—Jan. 20. Mr. G. Rehl for Cavalry, and prom. to Cornet; Messrs. A. F. Macpherson and H. Spottiswoode for Inf., and prom. to Ens.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Dr. Walter Ogilvy, 1st Member Medical Board, on account of his health; Assist. Surg. C. B. Francis, on ditto; Lieut. A. W. W. Fraser, 8th L. C. on ditto; Lieut. R. Steward, 8th N. I. on ditto; Lieut. J. Donnelly, 10th N. I. on ditto; Superintend. Surg. Jas. M'Dowell, on ditto; Maj. J. C. Grant, 22d N. I. on ditto.

To the Cape of Good Hope.—Capt. W. Cunningham, Garrison storekeeper, for the recovery of his health, for twelve months; Lieut. Col. Com. Penny, 33d N. I. ditto ditto; Capt. T. Williams, 2d Extra N. I. ditto ditto; Maj. J. P. Boileau, Principal Dep. Com. of Ordnance, and Maj. F. Sackville, 55th N. I. ditto ditto.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Dec. 22, 1825.—Lieut. Col. Wilson, H. M. 4th Light Drags. to command Northern Districts of Guzerat.—Jan. 2. Enz. Giberna, 20d N. I. to have command of Local Corps in Candiah, v. Lieut. Marjoribanks, dec.

PROMOTIONS.

Artillery.—Lieut. T. E. Cotgrave, Adj. to 2d Bat. to be Maj. of Brigade of Artillery, v. Foy dated 19th Dec.

Infantry.—Sen. Maj. N. C. Maw to be Lieut. Col. v. F. F. Staunton deceased, date 26th June 1825.

1st Europ. Regt.—Sen. Capt. J. Elder, to be Maj. v. Maw dec.; and Lieut. G. Walter to be Capt. v. Taylor, placed on Pension List.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Dec. 16.—Acting Assist. Surg. Black to officiate as Assistant to Civil and Garrison Surg. at Surat, in lieu of Mr. Ormand.—17. Assist. Surg. Power, attached to 44th Madras N. E., to execute duties of Civil Surg. at Sholapore.—24. Sub. Ass. Surg. Dickson to have charge of med. duties of Company's cruiser *Teramo*, in room of Ass. Surg. Fallo, reported to be sick.—Jan. 2. Surg. J. Bird to be Residency Surg. at Settera.—3. Assist. Surg. W. Eiskine to be Civil Surg. in Kattywar; and Assist. Surg. H. Johnstone to be Civil Surg. at Bussora.

MADRAS.

NEW EXTRA REGIMENTS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 2, 1826.—The hon. the Governor in Council having resolved that four extra regiments of Native Infantry shall be raised for the service of this Presidency, is pleased to request that the officer commanding the army in chief will give the necessary orders for their immediate formation.

Each regiment to consist of ten companies of the same strength and establishments in all respects (excepting the European officers and subalterns) as a regiment of Native Infantry of the line.

Each regiment will be commanded by a Captain Commandant, with one Adjutant, one Quarter-Master, Interpreter, and Paymaster, being subaltern officers.

The extra regiments will be raised at the following stations,—viz. 1st extra regt. at Palamcottah; 2d. extra regt. at Bangalore; 3d. extra regt. at Cuddapah; 4th Extra regt. at Ellora.

The hon. the Governor in Council also directs, that the extra regts. shall be paid, clothed, and equipped in the same manner as the regular regts. of this

establishment, and that the commanding officers and staff shall draw the same staff pay and allowances as the officer commanding and the regimental commissioned staff of a regular regt. of Native Infantry.

APPOINTMENTS.

1st Extra Regt. N. I.—Capt. J. Leighton, 27th N. I. to command; Lieut. F. J. Warren, 39th N. I., to be Adj.; and Lieut. H. L. Harris, 15th N. I., to be Quart. Mast., Interp., and Paymaster.

2d Ditto.—Capt. W. Stewart, 2d European regt., to command; Lieut. G. Hammond, 50th N. I. to be Adj.; and Lieut. W. G. T. Lewis, 46th N. I., to be Quart. Mast., Interp., and Paymast.

3d Ditto.—Capt. A. M'Farlane, 16th N. I., to command; Lieut. G. Lagan, 41st N. I., to be Adj.; and Lieut. J. Fitzgerald to be Quart. Mast., Interp., and Paymast.

4th Ditto.—Capt. H. Kyd, 2d Europ. regt., to command; Lieut. W. R. A. Freeman, 46th N. I., to be Adj.; and Ens. F. Easor, 47th N. I. to be Quart. M.st., Interp., and Paymast.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the Indian Gazette.]

APPOINTMENTS.

Head-quarters, Camp before Bhurtpoor, Dec. 11.—Lieut. Ahmuty, 11th L. Drags. to be Aid-de-camp to Brig.-Gen. Sleigh, v. Maxwell, proceeding on Sick Certificate; and Lieut. the Hon. J. Amherst, to be Extra Aid-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Nicolls.—S1. Capt. Wetherall, 13th L. Drags., to be Extra Aid-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Sir T. Pritzler.—Jan. 9. Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, 69th Foot, to act as Adj.-Gen. of H. M. Forces in India, until the arrival of Lieut.-Col. Macdonald; to take effect from the sailing of Maj.-Gen Sir T. M'Mahon, Bart

BREVET RANK.

The undermentioned subalterns of fifteen years' standing, are to take rank of Capt. by Brevet, in the East Indies only:—Lieut. J. M'Dermot, 14th Foot, from 13th Dec. 1825; Lieut. T. B. M. Sutherland, from 41st Foot, from 23d Aug. 1825; and Lieut. R. C. Newman, from 14th Foot, from 28th Sept. 1825.

PROMOTIONS.

[From the London Gazette.]

13th Lt. Drags.—W. J. Hooper to be Cornet by purch. v. Evered, prom.

16th Ditto.—Corn. W. Van, from Cape Corps, to be Corn., v. Brown, prom.; H. F. Bonham, to be Corn. by purch. v. Penleaze.

1st Foot. Capt. C. S. Hopkins, to be Maj. by purch., v. Glover, prom.; Lieut. W. Carter to be Capt. by purch., v. Hopkins; Ens. H. W. Neville to be Lieut. by purch., v. Cross, prom.; W. B. Johnston to be Ens., v. Wood, dec.

6th Ditto. Lieut. W. H. Hill, from half-pay 14th Foot, to be Lieut., v. M'Queen, app. to 4th Foot.

13th Foot. St. G. Cromie to be Ens., by purch., v. Browne, prom. in 44th Foot.

14th Foot. J. May to be Ens., v. Layard, prom.

44th Foot. Lieut. S. M'Queen, from 6th Foot, to be Lieut., v. E. H. Clarke, who retires on half-pay.

45th Foot. Lieut. W. Trevelyan, from Engineers, to be Lieut. v. Kearney, app. to 96th Foot.

47th Foot. Lieut. P. J. Douglas, from half-pay 9th Foot, to be Lieut., v. Walker, whose app. has not taken place; J. B. Wyatt to be Ens., v. Wyatt, who resigns.

54th Foot. Capt. J. Arnaud, from half-pay 34th Foot, to be Capt., v. J. Gray, who exchanges.

67th Foot. Brev.-Col. N. Burslam, from half-pay 14th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col., v. R. Gubbins, who exchanges.

69th Foot. Lieut. E. Hopwood, from half-pay, to be Lieut., v. the Hon. R. King, who exch., rec. diff.

89th Foot. Lieut. T. G. Twigg, from half-pay 18th L. Drags., to be Lieut., repaying diff., v. Peck, app. to 84th Foot.

97th Foot. Ens. T. R. Travers to be Lieut. by purch., v. Maires, prom.; C. Nagel to be Ens. by purch., v. Travers.

Ceylon Regt. Lieut. A. Montresser, from 78th Foot, to be Capt. by purch. v. Auler; Lieut. R. G. Davidson, from half-pay 99th Foot, to be Lieut., v. Nowlan, app. to 13th; J. Woodford to be 2d Lieut. by purch., v. Van Kempen, prom.

Allowed to dispose of their Half-pay. Lieut. G. Hagar, 46th Foot; Lieut.-Col. C. Maxwell, 30th Foot; Maj. W. Stewart, ditto; Capt. D. Grahame, 6th Foot; Mai. D. Gregorson, 31st Foot; Capt. A. Ptole, 53d Foot; Capt. J. H. Holland, 69th Foot; Lieut.-Col. W. Percival, 67th Foot.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

1st Foot. Assist.-Surg. W. Dillon, from 8d Royal Vet. Batt., to be Assist.-Surg.

2d Foot. Hosp.-Assist. T. Atkinson to be Assist.-Surg., v. Campbell, prom.

13th Foot. Assist.-Surg. J. Paterson, from 45th Foot, to be Surg., v. H. Hamilton, who retires on half-pay.

Ceylon Regt. Hosp.-Assist. W. Lucas to be Assist.-Surg., v. Williams, app. to 2d Foot.

FURLOUGHs.

To Europe: Lieut. Donnithorne, 44th Regt., for one year, for the purpose of retiring on half-pay; Capt. Waring, Queen's Royals, for two years, on account of his health; Surg. Alexander, same Regt., for ditto; Brev.-Capt. Patience, 20th Foot, ditto, ditto; Surg. Jackson, 14th Foot, for one year, on furlough.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Dec. 18. Mrs. L. Sweeting, of a still-born male child.—20. Mrs. J. D. Cruz, of a son and heir.—31. In London Buildings, the lady of H. P. Russel, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son.—Jan. 7, 1826. At Chowringhee, the lady of H. Shakespear, Esq. of a daughter.—10. In Fort William, the lady of the late Capt. D. Thomas, Superintendent of Government Cadets, of a daughter.—12. At St. James's School, Mrs. Platts, of a daughter.—13. The wife of Mr. T. Lawrence, of a daughter.—14. At Chowringhee, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Com. J. A. Paul MacGregor, Deputy Military Auditor-General, of a son.—15. At Chowringhee, the lady of Dr. W. P. Birmingham, H. M. 67th Foot, of a son.—18. The lady of Colin Lindsay, Esq. of a son.—19. The lady of A. Landale, Esq. of a daughter; in Harrington-street, the lady of John Lewis, Esq. of a daughter.—21. The lady of Welby Jackson, Esq. of the Civil Service of a son.—20. The lady of W. T. Berry, Esq. of a son.

Marriages.—Jan. 7. George, eldest son of W. Wood, Esq. to Charlotte Evans, youngest daughter of the late Col. Brietzoke, Bengal Military Service.—18. M. A. Lackerteen, Esq. of the firm of Messrs. Lackerteen and Co., to Miss J. Dissent.—H. C. Watts, Esq. second son of E. Watts, Esq. late of Calcutta, to Amelia, only daughter of the late Mr. J. Weldon, of the H. C. Marine.—21. Mr. L. De Almeida, fourth son of the late J. B. De Almeida, Esq. to Mrs. A. M. Rebeira.—23. E. Maxwell, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Service, to Rosina, youngest daughter of the late W. Hogg, of Lisburn, county

of Austrin, Esq.—24. Mr. C. Crichton, to Mrs. D. Pearson, relict of the late Mr. J. Pearson; J. Marshall, Esq. Surgeon, on the Bengal Establishment, to Mrs. E. Lyons, relict of the late Capt. D. Lyons, H. C. Military Service; J. D. Herklots, Esq. to Miss M. C. Gibson.—25. D. M. N. Liddell, Esq. to Miss I. Davidson, third daughter of J. Davidson, of Murrayshire, Esq.—26. Mr. J. J. Carapet, to Anna, widow of the late Arratoon Gaspar, Esq

Deaths.—Dec. 28. Mrs. L. Carrow, relict of the late Capt. J. Carrow.—31. Mrs. R. Linsedt, widow of the late W. Linsedt, Bengal Military Estab.—Jan. 1, 1826. H. M. Elliott, Esq. fourth son of the Right Hon. H. Elliot, late Governor of Fort St. George.—2. Mrs. R. H. Money, relict of the late H. W. Money, Esq. aged 25.—3. Mrs. J. Williams, relict of the late Mr. C. Williams, house builder, aged 42.—6. At his house at Garden Reach. Col. Hesling, formerly attached to the army of Maha Rajah Scindeah, aged 44.—8. The Rev. J. B. Warden, Missionary, from the London Missionary Society, aged 26.—12. Robert Fulton, Esq. late of Mynensing, aged 55.—13. Mr. A. Jewell, junior, aged 28.—15. Miss E. E. Swaine, daughter of Thomas Swaine, Esq. aged 18.—20. Julia, infant daughter of W. H. Oakes, Esq.—23. Mr. C. Jansen, late an indigo planter, aged 49.

MADRAS.

Births.—Dec. 7. The lady of W. S. Binny, Esq. of a son.—27. The lady of Cap. Maberly, of a son.

Marriages.—Dec. 19. Capt. R. S. Wilson, Fort Adj. of Fort St. George, to Catherine Alicia, fourth daughter of J. Ewart, Esq.—Jan. 5, 1826. At S. Thoma's Mount, Lieut. Middlecoat, Artillery, to Miss Hampton.—25. S. Crawford, Esq. of the Civil Service, to H. P. Dyer, eldest daughter of S. N. Dyer, Esq. M.D.—Capt. H. Robison, Nizam's Service, to Mrs. Thomson.

BOMBAY.

Births.—11. At Colabah, the lady of Capt. Maclean, Queen's Royals, of a son.—31. At ditto, the lady of J. Morley, Esq. of a son.

Deaths.—Dec. 20. Mrs. R. D. Pinto, third daughter of Sir Roger de Faria.—Jan. 3. At Bycullah, Lieut.-Col. John Ford, C.B. Madras N. I.

OUT STATIONS.

*Births.—Dec. 1. At Sangor, the lady of Doctor Urquhart, 43d N. I. of a daughter.—7. At Bellary, the lady of J. Burton, Esq. Garrison Surg. of a son.—8. At Rutnagurry, the lady of Dr. Shaw, of a son.—13. At Vellore, the lady of T. V. Stonhouse, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.—17. At Poonah, the lady of Maj. Hardy, Artillery, of a son.—18. On board the H. C. ship *Java*, the lady of Professor Craven, Bishop's College, of a son.—19. At Masulipatam, the lady of Lieut. Codrington, 46th N. I. of a daughter.—25. At Pullyghur, the lady of Lieut.-Col. S. Nation, Commanding 23d N. I. of a son.—26. At Malda, the lady of J. W. Grant, Esq. of a daughter.—28. At Delhi, the lady of Lieut. Quart.-Mast. Griffin, 24th N. I. of a daughter.—At Meerut, the lady of Capt. D. Bruce, Assist. Com. Gen. of a daughter.—29. At Poonah, the lady of C. Dacat, Esq. Civil Surgeon, of a son.—30. At Bhowndy, the lady of Maj. Roome, of a daughter.—Jan. 1. At Cawnpore, the lady of J. Wemyss, Esq. of a daughter.—2. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Brig. Maj. Macneill, of a son.—4. At Jessore, Mrs. J. B. Lomoss, of a son and heir.—11. At Barrackpore, the lady of C. Govan, Esq. M. D. of a daughter.—At Nagpore, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Urison, Rifle Corps, of a daughter; at Bardwan, the lady of Henry Ricketts, Esq. Civil Service, of a daughter.—14. At Chandernagore, the lady of J. Bluett, Esq. Planter at Hanskalle, of a daughter.—23. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Maj. Malandaine, 35th N. I. of a daughter.—25. At Midnapore, the lady of Lieut. Shortland, Fort Adj. of Fort William, of a son.*

Marriages.—Dec. 30. At Palmacotah, Ens. L. E. Duval, 27th N. I., to Miss J. A. Lutter.—37. At Vellore, Lieut. O. F. Sturr, 16th N. I. to Harriet Thompson, fourth daughter of the late J. D. White, Esq. of the Med. Board.—Jan. 8, 1826. At Chandernagore, Mr. C. F. Pinnetz, to Miss F. Bouchez,

daughter of Capt. Bouchez, French Naval Service.—8. At Chinsurah, Mr. J. Ogilvy, of Kishnagar, Indigo Planter, to Miss Jane Bumbow, of Chandernagore.—11. At Chandernagore, G. E. Hudson, Esq. Attorney at Law, to Miss J. E. DeChall; and on same day and at same place, E. W. Hudson, Esq. to Miss A. R. DeChall.

Deaths.—Nov. 9. At Prome, Ens. G. P. Smithwaite, 24th N. I.—Dec. 1. At D'poblee, Southern Concan, the lady of Lieut. W. F. Allen, 24th N. I.; near Prome, Lieut. Southerland, H. M. 41st Regt.—11. At Prome, Capt. W. F. Lewis, Madras Horse Artillery; on board the H. C. frigate *Hastings*, off Low Island, Lieut. Charles Boye, aged 22.—12. At Arracan, Assiet. Surg. Harrison in medical charge of H. M.'s 54th regt.—13. At Wallajahbad, John Anthony, 1st son of Lieut. G. Brady, 83d N. I.—17. At Broach, Lieut. H. W. Hardie, Regiment of Artillery, aged 21.—18. At Roysepooram, Harriet Lydia, daughter of the Rev. J. Kindleuger; t Sea, on board the ship *Carnatic*, on his passage to Penang, Capt. H. B. Scarborough, Country Service.—20. At Anantapoor, G. R. Gosling, Esq. acting head assistant to collector and magistrate of Bellary.—27. At Cuttack, Lieut. J. G. Gordon, 80th N. I. son of A. Gordon, Esq. of Belfast.—29. At Colapore, in the southern Mahratta country, Lieut. W. Lewis, 4th Regt. L. C.—31. At Dacca, John Carter, Esq.—Jan. 2, 1826. At Trichinopoly, Anne Caroline, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Wahab, aged 31 months.

EUROPE.

Births.—May 4. At Wimbledon, the lady of Capt. D. M. Daniell, Hon. E. I. Company's service, of a daughter.—5. On board the H. C. ship *Princess Charlotte* of Wales, on her passage from Bengal, the lady of Captain R. H. Sneyd, of a daughter.—June 10. At Jersey, the lady of Maj. Gen. Sir C. Halkett, of a son.—On the 16th March, at sea, on board the H. C. ship the *Farquharson*, the lady of Cloud Queiros, Esq. of Singapore, of a daughter.

Marriages.—April 24. At Carlisle, Sir G. G. Aymer, bart., of Donadie Castle, county Kildare, to Maria, eldest daughter of the late Col. J. Hodgson, Bengal estab.—26. At Paris, H. Harvey, Esq. of St. Audrie's, Somersetshire, to Agnes, daughter of A. Ramsay, Esq. formerly of the E. I. Company's Civil Service.—May 11.—At South Brent, Capt. E. Herring, 57th Bengal N. I. to Charlotte, 2d daughter of W. Lee, Esq. of Glazebrook-house, Devon.—17. Capt. H. Carleton, of the Bengal army, to Eliza, 2d daughter of J. Cosart, Esq.—June 1. At the new church, St. Mary-le-bone, Capt. G. Probyn, of the E. I. Company's service, to Alicia, daughter of Sir F. W. Macnaghen, late one of his Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta.—10. At St. Pancras new church, Mr. C. Ingram, of the Hon. E. I. Company's service, to Miss A. E. Bidges of Highgate.—15. At West Lodge, Elgin, Capt. C. A. Muuro, of the Hon. East India Company's Military service, to Lucy Eliza, eldest daughter of Maj. J. Jones, of the same service.—17. At Cheshunt, Herts, Mr. F. Joyce, to Jane, 3d daughter of the late J. Hill, Esq. of the East India House.—Lately, at Bristol, Lieut. Thomas Clendon, E. I. N. S., to Faany, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Bower, Esq. of that city.

Deaths.—March 21. At St. Aubin's Jersey, Maj. John Morris, 21st Regt. Bombay estab.—April 16. At Nantwich, county of Fife, John Bruce, Esq. author of "Annals of the E. I. Company's Plans for the government of British India." &c. &c.—May 23. At Warfield, Berks, Sarah, widow of the late Samuel de Castro, Esq. formerly of Madras.—June 16. Charlotte, only daughter of the late John Morrison, Esq. of the Bombay Civil service.—21. In Stritford Place, Maj. Gen. Haldane, C. B., in the service of the Hon. E. I. Company.—Lately, at sea, on board the *Nutland*, on her passage from Bombay, Lieut. Col. Tucker, Deputy Adjutant General of the Bombay army; At Waterloo, Jean Dacosta, the peasant who was compelled to act as guide to Napoleon in the memorable battle of the 18th June;—At Beloe, the Empress Elizabeth, widow of the late Emperor Alexander;—At Bimbourg, in France, Catherine, eldest daughter of the late Lieut. Gen. Deborough.—On the 6th April, at sea, on board the H. C. ship the *Farquharson*, Helen, the infant daughter of Claude Queiros, Esq. of Singapore.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1826.					
May 27	Portsmouth	Buckinghamshire	Glasspoole	China ..	Jan. 6
May 27	Weymouth	Prin. Charlotte	Biden ..	China ..	Jan. 24
May 29	Portsmouth	Guildford ..	Johnstone..	Bengal ..	Jan. 1
May 29	Helvoet ..	Wilhelmina	China
June 3	Portsmouth	Windsor ..	Havise ..	China ..	Jan. 16
June 5	Downs ..	Ld.Hungerford	Talbert ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 6
June 5	Portsmouth	Bombay ..	Charrtie ..	China ..	Jan. 16
June 5	Off l.of Wight	Coldstream ..	Hall ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 2
June 5	Off the Start	Palembeng ..	Hyde ..	Batavia ..	Jan. 5
June 7	Weymouth	Duke of York	Locke ..	China ..	Jan. 30
June 7	Weymouth	M. Wellington	Blanshard..	China ..	Feb. 2
June 8	Liv'pool ..	Columbia ..	Chapman ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 16
June 8	Portsmouth	David Scott ..	Thornhill ..	Bengal Dec. 22, 1825	..
June 9	Liverpool ..	Perseverance	Brown ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 20
June 9	Off Dover ..	Spring ..	Newman ..	Singapore	Jan. 21
June 15	Off Brighton	Madeline ..	Hayes ..	Ceylon ..	Feb. 9
June 15	Off Dover ..	Emily	Batavia
June 17	Liverpool ..	Alfred ..	Lamb ..	Bombay	Jan. 10
June 19	Off Brighton	Victory ..	Farquharson	Bengal ..	Feb. 4
June 19	Portsmouth	Kingston ..	Bowen ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 23
June 19	Portsmouth	Sabah ..	Tucker ..	Bombay	Jan. 23
June 19	Portsmouth	Julie ..	Keutz ..	Singapore	Feb. 13
June 20	Off l.of Wight	War. Hastings	Rawis ..	China ..	Feb. 8
June 20	Off l.of Wight	War. Hastings	Mason ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 4
June 20	Weymouth	Eliza ..	Sutton ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 22
June 21	Portsmouth	Maitland ..	Studd ..	Bombay Dec. 26, 1825	..
June 21	Off Brighton	Albion ..	Weller ..	Bengal Dec. 29, 1825	..

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1826.				
Jan. 9	Bombay ..	Triumph ..	Green ..	London
Jan. 30	China ..	Orient ..	White ..	London
Feb. 6	Madras ..	Resource ..	Tomlin ..	London
Feb. 10	Ceylon ..	Clyde ..	Munro ..	London
Mar. 23	Cape ..	Hope ..	Burns ..	London
April 1	Cape ..	Coventry ..	Purdy ..	London
April 5	St. Helena ..	New Times ..	Clark ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1826.				
May 27	Deal ..	Sarah ..	Miller ..	Bengal
May 27	Stockholm ..	Calcutta ..	Mollen ..	Bengal
June 3	Deal ..	Heros ..	Fotheringham	Batavia
June 6	Deal ..	Prince Regent	Richardson..	Mauritius
June 7	Portsmouth	Hope ..	Flint ..	Madras and Bengal
June 8	Plymouth ..	Success ..	Stirling ..	Mauritius
June 8	Deal ..	Hannah ..	Shepherd ..	Bombay
June 10	Deal ..	Ann & Amelia	Ford ..	China
June 10	Deal ..	Asia ..	Stead ..	China
June 13	Deal ..	Boyne ..	Pope ..	N.S. Wales & China
June 14	Deal ..	Asia ..	Balderson ..	Madras and Bengal
June 14	Deal ..	Lord Amherst	Craigie ..	China

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
June 16	Deal ..	John ..	Dawson ..	Bengal & Mauritius
June 17	Deal ..	Royal George ..	Ellerby ..	Bombay
June 19	Deal ..	Corsair ..	Petrie ..	Singapore & Manilla
June 20	Deal ..	Francis ..	Heard ..	Bengal
June 20	Deal ..	Florentia ..	Oldham ..	Bengal
June 20	Deal ..	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	Madras and Bengal
June 21	Deal ..	Monmouth ..	Edghill ..	Bengal
June 22	Deal ..	James Sibbald ..	Forbes ..	Madras and Bengal
June 23	Deal ..	Hercules ..	Vaughan ..	Madras and Bengal
June 23	Deal ..	Malcolm ..	Eylis ..	Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Malcolm*, Captain James Eyles, for Bengal: Sir J. E. Colebrooke, Bart.; Lady Colebrooke; Miss H. Stewart; Mrs. Col. Waters; Mrs. Carleton; Miss Smith; Major Littler, Bengal N. I.; Capt. Carleton, Bengal Art.; Capt. J. Smith, Bengal N. I.; Capt. D. Scott, ditto; Capt. G. Jenkins, ditto; M. Ffrench, Esq., barrister; C. M. Caldecott, Esq.; Mr. J. H. Mayow; Mr. E. S. Mackay; Mr. Wm. Cox; Mr. J. S. Alston; Master Thos. M. Ffrench.

By the *Buckinghamshire*, from China:—J. Fowler, Esq.; T. J. de Pagna, Esq.; M. Therald, late 5th Officer of the *Royal George*; M. Tighe, late H. C. S. *Lonther Castle*; Mrs. Colebrook and family; Mr. and Mrs. Hemming and family; Lieut. Treasdale, H. M. 13th Light Drags.; Lieut. Troward, H. M. 55th Foot; Messrs. Gretham and Ives, late of the *Perserance*; Mr. Partridge, late of the *Lonther Castle*.

By the *Madeline*, from Ceylon:—Mr. Mead, Ordnance Store; Capt. Williams, H. M. 16th Foot; Lieut. Grant, do.; Mr. Rodney; Mr. Oswen; Rev. M. Galloway, Wesleyan Missionary; Mr. Roach, Surgeon; Masters Renny; Lieut. Shepherd, from the Cape; Mrs. Gastin, died at the Mauritius; Misses Gastins, left at the Cape.

By the *Bombay*, from China:—His Excellency and Lady Baron Vander Capellan, late Governor of Netherlands India; Baron R. Van der Capellan; Col. and Aid-de-Camp to His Excellency.

By the *Cambridge*, for Madras and Bengal, Capt. Barber: Capt. and Mrs. Grove, and Capt. and Mrs. Lang, H. M. 13th Dragoons; Mrs. Keymer; Mrs. Thomson; Miss Torrane; Miss Drew; Capt. Drew and Lieut. Taylor, Madras N. I.; Lieut. Trinecomb, and Ens. Dainty, H. M. 54th regt.; Ens. Burrows, Gregg, H. M. 30th regt.; Ens. Donnellan, H. M. 48th regt.; Mr. Poole, Assist. Surg.; Messrs. Gomm, Kenny, Groube, Durant, Gordon, Douglas, Grant, Manly, and Mayhew, Cadets.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Princess Charlotte of Wales*, from China:—Mrs. M. Cleave; Mrs. MacDowall; Mrs. J. Sneyd; Mrs. H. Sneyd; Mrs. Atkinson; Mrs. Webster; Misses Russell and Patterson; Lieut. Com. D. Macleod, C. B.; J. MacDowall, Esq., Superin. Surgeon; Surgeon J. Atkinson; Major J. C. Grant, 22d regt.; Capt. J. Pritchard, H. M. 47th regt., commanding the Invalids; Capt. Walker, 7th regt. N. I., die 16th March, 1826; G. Malcolm, Esq.; J. Pillar, Esq.; Miss MacDowall; Masters Sneyds; Misses Sneyds; Masters Atkinson; Miss Fare; Master Lockett; Miss Chase; Masters Chase.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

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CONSIDERATIONS ON THE RELATIVE DUTIES AND INTERESTS OF MOTHER COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

In reviewing the various features by which England is distinguished from all other nations of the earth, there is not one more striking or more important than the vastness of her distant possessions, and the successive conquests and complete control which the little island we inhabit has established over separate portions of the globe, each exceeding in size and population the country on which it is dependent, and forming, in the whole, much more than sufficient for the colonies of every nation in Europe. If, therefore, it be an object of importance to any people, to understand clearly the relative duties and interests of Mother Countries and Colonies, it is pre-eminently so to the people of England. And yet, it is no exaggeration to say, that there is no country in Europe where the true policy on this subject is so imperfectly understood; nor any country, either in ancient or modern times, that ever behaved practically towards its foreign dependencies with so little wisdom or so little justice as England. This will be considered, no doubt, a bold assertion by some. But we think it will be satisfactorily supported by the evidence of fact and reasoning, before we conclude. And that we may reach this conclusion through the progressive stages of patient inquiry and legitimate deductions, we will begin at the fountain head.

The universal passion—the love of power—which shows itself at every stage of human life, from infancy to old age, and in every state and condition of man, from the lowest extreme of barbarism to the highest pinnacle of refinement, is alone sufficient to account for that thirst of foreign conquest which has, at different periods of the world, led men in large bodies, first to explore, and then to enslave and bring under their dominion, countries weaker than their own. The “glory” of subduing millions to the will of one, has been the only avowed motive of nearly all the great invaders who, from time to time, have quitted their own countries to overrun, if possible, the whole habitable earth. Alexander of Macedon, though achieving more than most of his successors, was but a

faithful type of that class, of which, his age and prowess place him by universal assent at the head. He did, indeed, for himself, what others of less enterprise and energy have been content to have done for them by delegation. His desert-marches, his hard-fought battles, and his gorgeous triumphs, were alternately endured and enjoyed by him in person; so that, if he grasped at universal dominion, he did not, like others of less pardonable ambition, shrink from the toils and dangers by which alone it was to be won. The same may be said of his imitators in later times, whether among the Romans, the Mongols, the Tartars, the Arabs, or even the French; whose latest and greatest leader, Napoleon, was not content to sigh in the voluptuous repose of sovereignty, for "ships, colonies, and commerce," but encountered cheerfully the perils of battle and the rigours of opposing elements, to open himself a path to these objects of his intense desire. It is on this principle, and with this view of extended dominion alone, that Asia has been so often overrun by swarms of invaders from the West and North; that the Roman empire, after being itself built up by the conquests of other lands, fell a prey to the Scandinavian hordes; the Greek empire, to the wandering tribes of Scythian Turks; the northern belt of Africa, to the Eastern Moslems; and the splendid kingdom of Grenada, to the warlike Moors. In this succession of nations struggling in continual strife for mastery, every portion of the ancient world, and much also of the modern, has alternately been placed in the condition of master and slave; the lords of the universe have become the dependents of some power once inferior to themselves; and each, in its turn, has shared the common fate of being a colony, an appanage, or a dependency on the will of others, seated at a distance from the spot itself.

It is true, that conquest by arms is not the only means by which such colonies or dependencies have been formed. The ancient Greeks established colonies in Asia Minor and Sicily, which appear to have consisted of large bodies of men, dissatisfied with their condition at home, from political or other causes, and emigrating, voluntarily and in concert, under some leader of their own choice, making war on no one, but taking peaceable possession of favourable situations for the establishment of infant states, wherever the soil, climate, and other considerations induced them to remain. The Romans had also other colonies, besides those acquired by conquest, formed by the occasional separation of certain portions of the population from the main body of the nation, settling in some province of the empire, yet still continuing subject to the laws by which the other portions were equally governed. But the latest, and, on the whole, the most remarkable of the modes in which colonies have been planted, are those which led to the possessions of the British in Asia, in America, and in the new continent of Australasia. There is something sublime in the spectacle of Columbus traversing the Atlantic in search of a shorter route to India, and planting the

standard of his loyalty and faith upon the shores of a new and hitherto unheard-of world. There is that which commands universal admiration in the daring spirit of Da Gama weathering the tempestuous Cape, and forcing his way through all the threatening horrors of an unknown passage, to the "farther Ind." But the manner in which we English have acquired, planted, and used almost all our distant possessions, has in it a mixture of meanness, perfidy, and folly, disgusting to contemplate, and the stain of which will require ages of good government to wipe away. Religious persecution, that most hateful, and hitherto most incurable, of all the plagues by which the world has yet been afflicted, first led to the peopling with exiled Englishmen of the wilds and savannahs of America. The outpouring of her jails and dungeons first led to the settlement of Australasia with her most incorrigible criminals. And the mean and treacherous manner in which our first footing was obtained in India, where a few merchants, humbly demanding permission to build warehouses for their goods on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, had scarcely entrenched themselves within the asylums afforded to them, than they turned the very protection for which they had sued, against the power that granted it, is not to be surpassed in baseness and ingratitude by the annals of the world, rich as they are in every variety of crime.

If, however, the manner in which we have *acquired* our distant possessions be less glorious and less honourable than that pursued by other nations, the manner in which we have *used* these possessions is still more remarkable for its difference. It was the boast of the Greeks, that they carried into Asia a fixed design to impart to the barbarians whom they subdued, the superior knowledge and civilization of the Western world; and although the Indians of that day were much higher in the scale of all that dignifies existence than we have found them in their present more degenerate condition, no one can doubt but that a large infusion of useful knowledge followed the march of Alexander to the Indus, and that he left behind him more splendid and more durable monuments of Grecian excellence than the altars he erected on the banks of the Hyphasis. The colonies of Asia Minor, it is well known, made more rapid advances in all the arts and elegancies of life than even the mother country that had planted them. And the state of Egypt, Syria, and the Decapolis, while colonies of Rome, was such as to prove, beyond all doubt, that so far from any restrictions being placed on the full development of their resources of wealth and power, the highest degree of encouragement must have been given by the parent state, to have brought her offspring to the proud condition in which they lived; the very ruins of their cities exhibiting, after a lapse of nearly twenty centuries, greater indications of splendour and enjoyment, within a square of *one* single degree of latitude and longitude, than is to be found at the present moment in all the dependencies of England put together, though these are now consi-

dered to be in the zenith of their prosperity, and present a surface of more than a thousand times the same extent!

This almost incredible degree of inferiority to those who have gone before us in the self-same path, as far as the mere *possession* of distant dependencies is concerned, though the mode of acquisition and of treatment were so different, ought, one would think, to humble the pride of those who so preposterously proclaim themselves to be the greatest of people, and seriously believe their constitution to be "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." The folly of our countrymen is not, however, greater than their ignorance, in all that concerns the welfare of their distant possessions. They know just enough to repeat, in cuckoo notes, the thousand times reiterated assertion, that "India is the brightest jewel in the British crown." But they know nothing of the dark and deadly spots by which the lustre of that jewel is bedimmed. They defend the separation of the Spanish colonies in America from the mother country, on the ground of unjust treatment by the parent state. But they do not know that their own conduct towards their Colonies in India, is more base, more impolitic, and more tyrannical than any ever pursued by Spain towards either the Spaniards, or the Indians, of which her American viceroalties were composed: And even with the splendid success of the United States before their eyes, the successful revolt of the Haytians within the same hemisphere, and the still more striking, as well as more recent, example of the whole continent of South America shaking off the fetters that bound them in vassalage to their European masters,—the English Government, and the English nation, go on in that contented ignorance and apathy on every question involving the happiness or durability of their Eastern empire, as if it were a colony of the moon, or a dependency of the Georgium Sidus, with which we had no more concern than with the changes of the temperature in those distant planets. Never was there so great a responsibility, moral or political, imposed on any nation, as that which places the fate of a hundred millions of sensitive and intelligent beings in our hands in India. Never was there a trust so lightly regarded, so shamefully neglected, so grossly abused; and, it may be safely added, never was the guilt of such conduct on the part of the Government more deeply participated by, or more justly chargeable on, the people of England, than in this particular instance. When abuses of power on the part of rulers occur, and notwithstanding every effort of those who perceive and abhor the injustice to redress it, the strong arm of authority maintains its vigour, and defeats every mode adopted to obtain relief, the tyrant and the tyranny may alone share the blame. But when, as in the case of India, the most crying abuses, the most odious oppressions, not only happen, but are proclaimed in every street, and at every corner, and yet those self-named "faithful sentinels" who affect to live only for the purpose of exposing and resisting the enemies of liberty and mankind, are mute as the

tongueless slave; and deaf to every call,—what is the natural, nay, the necessary conclusion, but that their apathy and their silence is even more criminal than the deeds of the perpetrators? For passion, and a thousand allurements, may tempt to the one, while nothing but native indifference to virtue and vice, or the most abject and grovelling slavery of soul, could lead to or even account for the other.

But we must pass from these general reflections, important as we deem them to be, to the more detailed consideration of the duties and interests of Mother Countries, proposed to be examined in the present article. We are aware of the various distinctions which have been so nicely drawn between colonies and settlements, classing them according to the motives which led to their formation, or the modes in which they are perpetuated and governed. But, to avoid all ambiguity on that head, we desire to be understood, as meaning, by the word Colony, any port, place, island, or continental possession, remote from the Mother Country, yet subject to her dominion, garrisoned by her troops, wearing the national flag, and governed by individuals deriving their authority from the parent state and acting under orders received from thence. This definition will, we believe, equally embrace the Canadas, Halifax, Bermuda, the West Indies, Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape, the Mauritius, Ceylon, India, and Australasia, to the whole of which we think the term may be equally well applied; for though there are distinctive differences in each, if classed according to the divisions alluded to, yet, in the great general features described, they are strictly Dependencies or Colonies, and come equally within the range of our inquiries.

In pursuing these, we shall concede at once, that the duty of each is to pursue its own separate interest; and endeavour to show, at the same time, that this separate interest does not, and cannot be promoted by the sacrifice of the other; but that, on the contrary, the interests of each will be best promoted by that mutual interchange of productions, industry, and friendly assistance, which it is as much the welfare and happiness of nations as of individuals to cultivate. If we succeed in showing that this is the best mode of advancing the interests of each, few will dispute that it is their duty. And this point being established, we may pass, if our space admit, to the consideration of how far the Government of our own country has performed its duty, or pursued its interests, in the policy observed towards our own dependencies. At present, however, we shall consider the question as broadly and as generally as possible.

The subject naturally divides itself into two branches,—first, the interests of the Mother Country; secondly, the interests of the Colony. Endeavouring, as we incessantly strive to do, through the medium of this publication, to advocate the rights and interests of the weaker party, which is always sure to be found in the latter, and to point out the injustice of the stronger party, as invariably found

in the former, we should have been disposed to reverse the order of this arrangement ; but there are two very powerful reasons which induce us to oppose the bias of our own inclination in this particular : the first is, that the Mother Country has almost always been the first moving party in the alliance, sending out to conquer or to cajole, to subdue or to seduce, dependencies ; but these rarely or never sending expeditions to seek the protection of distant or powerful states. The second, which arises out of this order of things, is, that whatever can be shown to be the interests of the Mother Country will obtain a favourable hearing in the parent state, while the interests of the Colony would be regarded as of very inferior importance : so that it is prudent at least, if not indispensable, first to open the consideration of that which may be heard, in order to prepare the way for that which, the first point being well established, will the more readily obtain attention.

Supposing, then, the origin of the connection between a parent state and its dependency to have arisen either out of conquest, discovery, or commercial intercourse, we think it will be admitted that in each and every of such associations, it must be clearly the interest of the Mother Country to make the Colony,—first, as productive of wealth from its own resources,—secondly, as formidable to resist invasion from a hostile power,—and thirdly, as happy and as contented with its allegiance to its superior,—as possible.

Without the first of these, it will not only be useless as a source of gain to the parent state, (the principal object for which modern colonies at least are sought,) but it will be unable to defray its own expenses ; and therefore, instead of a benefit, become a burthen to the state. Without the second, it would be liable to be easily wrested from its original possessor by any neighbouring power, who could thus come into the enjoyment of all its matured advantages, without the expense with which the first settlement and organization of all such dependencies must be accompanied. Without the third, it would be in danger of perpetual commotion from internal dissensions and open revolt, and either require an overwhelming force to crush every symptom of rebellion before it appeared, or be in momentary danger of the dependency separating itself, and carrying with it not merely animosity and a desire of revenge, but much of the materials of knowledge and war, gained from the Mother Country itself, and capable of being turned with advantage against its oppressor.

Neither of these evils can be avoided, without pursuing the line marked out, for rendering colonies productive, formidable, and contented : and as it may be safely assumed that the motives with which nations seek colonies, are, to turn them to the utmost account while under their dominion, and retain that dominion for the greatest length of time, it is clear that the purpose of the Mother Country itself is best answered by observing the policy described. We

proceed therefore to consider by what means these ends can be most speedily and effectually attained.

The riches of every Colony must consist, first, in its agricultural capacity to produce a surplus in articles of food, and materials of manufacture, beyond the wants of its own population, which must of course be first fed, clothed, and furnished, from the productions of their own country, before there can be any to exchange for foreign commodities, or to form a surplus, in the shape of wealth, of any kind. But this capacity of production, beyond the wants of the immediate population, although an indispensable ingredient, and indeed the foundation of all national wealth, is not the whole that is requisite towards its formation. Under a certain state of knowledge and government, Egypt, whose capacity to produce has never altered, could maintain little more than a million of human beings: under another state of intelligence and rule, she could support as many as fifteen millions on the banks of her own majestic river, and pour out her horn of abundance to feed surrounding nations besides. Under the theocracy of the Jews, the rocky hills and burning plains of Palestine maintained a teeming population in affluence, and afforded a vast surplus for the richest commerce that belonged to ancient days, when Tarshish, Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Ezion-geber, and Ophir were marts of commercial opulence, hardly surpassed in modern times. These, to say nothing of Sicily, Greece, and Mauritania, each in their day the storehouses and granaries of the ancient world, are all now as much distinguished for their unproductiveness and abject poverty as they were formerly for their fertility and wealth: while the small island we inhabit, which in the time of Cæsar could be accounted as little better than a barbarous country, just capable of maintaining its own population, without skill in agriculture, and manufactures almost unknown, has advanced even more than the countries already named have receded; being able, at the present moment, under any tolerably just and intelligent system of government, to grow and procure by the sale of her skill and labour, sustenance enough for double her present population, and to furnish articles of clothing and luxurious enjoyment to the whole civilized world! And yet it is undeniable, that the mere *capacity* of the soil to produce materials of food or manufacture has not decreased in the countries which have fallen into such abject poverty, nor increased in this, which has risen from lean and hungry barbarism to a pampered plethora of wealth, in the same period of time in which other nations have been as rapidly declining. The soil, the climate, the rivers, the shores, the valleys, and the hills, remain as before. Even the numerical strength of the population has not much altered: or, if it has, it is clear that any increase of this beyond a just proportion to the sustenance required for their subsistence, would be injurious rather than beneficial: as the stationary, or rather, retrograding state of China, with its 330,000,000 of inhabitants, will

prove. But, since it is neither an increased nor decreased *capacity* of production which has caused these stupendous and appalling changes in the fate and condition of the several countries we have named, there must be other causes; and these, we conceive, will be found alone in an alteration in the state of knowledge, and of liberty to apply that knowledge to the promotion of the general good. It would be easy, indeed, to construct a scale, by which it might be shown that wherever knowledge and liberty have decreased, there nations have proportionately declined; and wherever these have increased, nations have proportionately advanced from the station they held at any given period. It is only necessary to name America, England, and France, in support of the latter position; and Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, in illustration of the former. If, then, it be admitted that it is the duty and the interest of the Mother Country to make the Colony as productive of wealth from its own resources as possible; it has been shown, from the experience of history, as well as by reasoning, that the only way to do this, is, not merely to admit freely, but to encourage, to invite, and to reward, the introduction into the Colony of as much of the skill, capital, and enterprise of all other countries as can be procured, but more especially from the Mother Country itself, for the purpose of improving, by the free and vigorous application of all these, the natural productions and artificial manufactures of the country, so as to make it, instead of a burthen, a source of happiness to itself, and of wealth to the parent state.

Next to the wealth of the Colony, we consider it important that it should be as secure as possible from foreign invasion. The detailed plans by which this can be best effected, will of course differ greatly according to the size, situation, and description of the possession itself, whether insular or continental, large or small, near or remote. But this at least may safely be assumed as a general rule, applicable alike to every variety of case: namely, that the Colony should be as thickly peopled as its resources will admit, with persons either born in, or directly descended from, the Mother Country, and strongly imbued with national attachment, and sensibility to national defeat or dishonour; that these also, in addition to the bond by which patriotism alone would bind them, should have a deep personal and pecuniary interest in the soil and property of the country they inhabit; so that, in case of invasion, they should not, like foreign mercenaries or mere sojourners, be ready to desert their posts at every cry of danger, but that, in defending their national honour, or their "altars"; if these were dearer to them still, they should be also defending their "hearths" and their "homes" with all the energy and firmness with which men of every race will shield the partners of their bosoms and the offspring of their affections from harm. A Colony held by a few ruling individuals, unconnected with the great body of the people over whom they rule, and having for their defenders no fellow-subjects

influenced by the ties described above, must be liable to fall a prey to any invader who may be able to turn the mass of the population against them. But that country is most secure from foreign aggression, and even from internal revolt, which is most thickly peopled with individuals of the same nation, class, and caste, as the governing body; and who, besides the mere inconvenience of being driven from one certain spot to some other not so agreeable, which is all that happens to a defeated army of mercenaries, will, if they do not repel their invaders, be despoiled of all their property, and either turned destitute on the world, or reduced to perpetual slavery on the spot.

The last in order, and, as far as the cares of Mother Countries in general extend, no doubt in their estimation the last also in importance, is the duty of making the subject-residents of such Colonies as contented with their condition and as firm in their allegiance as possible. Without this, we have seen that the parent will be in continual danger of losing the services of her offspring; and the means by which this can be best secured need but little consideration to determine.

If love of power be *par eminence* the universal passion, love of ease may claim to share dominion with it over the heart of man. But neither ease nor power can be attained without a free enjoyment of the means by which wealth, knowledge, reputation, and all the other component parts of that expressive quality or attribute, "influence," is acquired. If the natural taste of man leads him to prefer the breathing free air and drinking pure water, to pining in an obstructed respiration, and thirsting for that which he cannot obtain, it needs no prophet to foretel that he will regard with unfriendly eyes whoever may obstruct him in his enjoyment of that which is equally desired by all. Among the first truths that men in a social state discover, and to which in theory universal assent is given, (even by those whose practice is at perpetual war with such an admission,) whether in Mother Countries or in Colonies; in savage tribes or civilized communities, are these: that every man should be free to use the powers of thought, motion, speech, and action, with which Nature has endowed him, whenever by so doing he can benefit himself without injuring another, or impeding the legitimate objects of the state; that property lawfully acquired should be secured to its lawful possessors; and that no man should be punished without a trial by other parties than those against whom the alleged offence is committed. These are the first principles of legislation, which the rudest nations discover and act upon in their intercourse with each other, in all cases in which the tyranny of some one man does not substitute his will for reason, and his sole mandate for law. But even then, the violation of these simple maxims is soon perceived, and breeds in the bosom of the injured, vengeance against their violators.

By ascertaining first what we ought not to do, the way is clear to the discovery of what we ought to do. And in the present instance, we accordingly perceive, that the surest way to make the inhabitants of any colony contented with their condition and faithful in their allegiance, is to admit them by graduated ranks to a participation in the power of government;—to assimilate them as much as possible to the governing body, in information, habits, freedom, influence, &c. ;—to give the utmost scope for the free enjoyment of all the means that may offer for the improvement of their property and condition;—to make that property, under all circumstances, secure to its lawful possessor;—and so to rule them with mildness and equity, and by the smallest possible amount of contributions on their industry, that on a comparison of their condition with that of every other colony or country on the globe, they may be convinced of the superiority of their own state, and be disposed, from that conviction, to reject every offer, and to resist every temptation, that might be presented to draw them from their allegiance.

To recapitulate:—We have endeavoured to show that the *first* duty of a Mother Country towards its Colonies is to make them highly productive, by a full development of all their resources, in order, while it enriches its children, to draw from their industry the greatest portion of gain that can be received consistently with the prosperity of both; and that this can only be attained by freely admitting, encouraging, and rewarding, the introduction into the Colony, of all the capital, skill, and industry to be had from every other quarter, but especially from the Mother Country itself. That the *second* duty of a parent state towards its dependencies is, to make them as formidable as possible to resist invasion; which can be best attained by studding the Colonies thickly with subjects of the Mother Country, and giving them a deep pecuniary interest in the soil and general prosperity, as well as in the institutions of the land. That the *third* duty is, to make the Colonists as contented and as faithful as possible, and that this can only be done by admitting them to a participation in those enjoyments which all men desire, and so ruling them that they shall see no state or country whose condition they should envy as superior to their own.

Possessions that will not admit of such means of happiness and allegiance do not deserve to be retained, and it would be far better to be without them. Mankind are beginning to perceive that even good things, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, may be too dearly bought; and certainly among these are to be numbered the costly colonies of different nations, and of our own especially, that may be said to belt the earth and stud the sea, so that the boast of Philip of Spain may be repeated by his royal cousin of England, upon whose dominions the sun now never sets.

But history and experience, if they could teach any thing to modern statesmen, (which may well be doubted,) ought long ago to have taught the instability of such greatness as this, and have shown the means by which these mighty fabrics of distant empire were destroyed. Nineveh the great, and Babylon the queen of nations, are undistinguishable heaps of dust. Thebes and Memphis are without a habitable tenement remaining, though their gigantic temples and everlasting pyramids still indicate their former splendour, Tyre and Carthage, the mother and daughter of maritime commerce, are no more; and Palmyra, the most splendid triumph of the industry of man, in turning the barren wilderness into a travelled way, and making the arid desert fertile with the streams of human industry and enterprise, though it lives in its magnificent remains, a theme of admiration to the end of time, sees not a human being amid its pillared porticoes, except when a hovering tribe of Bedouins may lead their flocks for shelter among the fragments of its former glory, or some wanderer from the West may come to pay his homage to the memory of Zenobia in the gorgeous Temple of the Sun. The Great Mogul, whose splendour was the wonder and envy of the whole earth, has not a rood of land to call his own, and scarce a shelter for his miserable progeny. The Doge of Venice, who wedded the Adriatic with imperial pomp, whose fleets covered the sea, and whose fortresses fringed the shores of half the Mediterranean, is an Austrian slave. The "Portugal," as he was termed, whose admirals, generals, priests, and merchants, won for him the greater portion of the Eastern world, is a mere monk, without a revenue sufficient to maintain even the mummeries of his monastery. The "Spaniard," who haughtily styled himself King of both the Indies, is a poor bankrupt borrower, whose splendid empire in the West has been split into innumerable independent states, while he is almost reduced to beg a bare subsistence; and America, but late a convict-colony of England, has, in even a shorter space of time than this, sprung from her degraded position as the slave of an arbitrary mistress—become the first republic of the world—beaten her parent upon her own element—extended her commerce to countries unexplored by England, and derived even from her trade with India, without the expending of a single dollar for possessions there, infinitely greater advantage than Great Britain, with all the enormous load of debt with which she has so blindly purchased even the little doubtful advantage she flatters herself she at last enjoys.

All these changes have taken place with nations and people who were not inferior in greatness to ourselves. In philosophy and arts, we still regard the Greeks as our superiors. To the eloquence, the courage, and the grandeur of the Romans, we still pay homage. To the maritime enterprise of the Venetians, Genoese, Portuguese, and Spaniards, of their best days, we are not even now but equal; and all circumstances of time and knowledge considered;

we have nothing in our own history that can surpass the daring of Columbus and Da Gama;—while the palaces of the Incas, the mines of Potosi, and the argosies of "Acapulco," call up associations of wealth which nothing in the history of our own acquisitions can rival or eclipse.

Since, then, it is undoubted, that no line of policy has yet been observed which could secure to Mother Countries the full advantages that Colonial dependencies might produce to them, it becomes a subject of the highest importance, to a nation distinguished from all others by her vast possessions of this description, to inquire wherein the Government of this country has done wisely, or has erred, in the policy pursued by her towards her dependent settlements. She has already lost one, by misgovernment—America, which will as assuredly sway the destinies of the world as Rome did before her. She is about to abandon another—Sierra Leone, which it would have been wise never to have founded, since the experiment intended to be tried there, needed no peculiar spot for such a purpose. There is a third—the settlement in the interior of the Cape District—which must, ere long, share the same fate: while Canada and New South Wales will each, no doubt, become independent countries in opposite quarters of the globe; leaving India, perhaps, to be the last retained of all the great possessions of England at any considerable distance from its own shores.

If it be desirable—first, to make the most advantageous use of this splendid dependency, for so it may be truly called;—and secondly, to retain those advantages for the greatest length of time;—we think we have shown that this would be best accomplished by the means already pointed out. But so far from this being the case, the policy pursued by Great Britain towards India is the very reverse of that which wisdom would dictate in each of the three great leading features detailed. It not only does not encourage, but it ignorantly and unjustly opposes, the full development of its resources of wealth. It not only does not give it the best security against invasion, but it stupidly prohibits the ingress and settlement of the only class of defenders on which it could safely rely in the hour of danger. And so far from doing any thing to make the people happy and contented in their allegiance, the whole course of their conduct is not only calculated to produce, but absolutely does produce, such hatred to their dominion, that one of their best officers and highest authorities, Sir John Malcolm, has publicly avowed his conviction, from knowledge, that there is scarcely a Native of rank or intelligence in the country who does not long for a safe opportunity, and who does not, on all favourable occasions, do his utmost to incite his fellow-subjects, to rise and expel from their shores their odious white tyrants! These are the distinguished General's own words, and this his own voluntarily drawn picture; and as he enjoyed an experience of thirty years in

the country, with more extended, varied, and intimate intercourse with all classes of Natives, than falls to the lot of one English officer in a century; as he was, moreover, at the time of uttering this opinion, an aspirant for honours and rewards at the hands of his masters, and delivered it in their presence at the India House, it can hardly be suspected of being a partially unfavourable one.

It is high time, therefore, that the Legislature of England should appoint a Commission to inquire into this important subject; or that such of the people as have more virtue than their legislators, should form an Association for the purpose of instituting such an inquiry, and proclaiming the result. But if both remain silent and inactive, on their heads be the disgrace. We have performed our duty in calling their attention to the subject. It is for them to inquire, and to execute. One of the most intelligent foreigners that has recently visited this country for the purpose of prosecuting his researches into what are considered, on the Continent, our superior laws and institutions, says, in a letter, written within the present month, from the heart of the manufacturing districts: "I am more struck than I can express with the complete apathy of this country relative to whatever is done out of its limits. The English never think about Greece, which they have doomed to destruction; nor about India, where they are answerable for all the good that is *not* done." We can sympathize with him in his surprise at such criminal indifference; and posterity, when they read this as matter of history, will join their indignation to our own, that the fates of two such nations, and the interests of a hundred millions of oppressed human beings, should scarcely excite a passing paragraph in the journals of the day, while the fight of a lion at Warwick, the disgusting crimes of a hoary hypocrite in lawn, or the death of an elephant at Exeter Change, shall occupy the public prints and public conversation of the whole country for months in succession! This it is to be "the most thinking people of Europe"! Never was phrase so misapplied.

We shall reserve, for another article, the consideration of the second branch of our subject—the interests of Colonies—and endeavour to show, more in detail than we have here attempted, wherein the interests of India more especially are wantonly sacrificed at the shrine of the meanest, most selfish, and most contemptible system of avarice, supported by fraud and oppression, that was ever dignified with the name of Government, or ever disgraced the people of a country calling themselves moral, intelligent, and free.

ON SELF-INSTRUCTION.

MEN seldom begin to educate themselves, till they feel the want of education. But so soon as this deficiency is experienced, they who have capacity and courage sufficient to sustain them through their undertaking, generally strike out some peculiar method for themselves, which they consider adapted to their particular circumstances. Perhaps no plan of study taken up after the period of early youth could ever compensate for the want of proper instruction during boyhood; but as few things are *all* disadvantage, it seems that one benefit at least men may reap by educating themselves: they can avoid overcharging their minds with knowledge, which they are sure must always remain barren and unprofitable. Education, in fact, is only valuable in so far as it enables a man to effect more completely the useful and honourable purposes of life. Every thing that directs beside this aim is frivolous or pernicious. Were human life less transient, a great part of education might be beneficially deferred till towards the verge of manhood, when it would be possible for an individual to understand his own aims, and to select such intellectual accomplishments as might enable him to reach them. As it is, however, youth must generally be the only season of preparation; for we enter upon manhood and the business of life at once, and must afterwards fight our way through with the weapons we come first provided with.

As we seem designed to accomplish certain purposes in this world, the first object of education should be, to nourish, invigorate, and enlarge those faculties of our mind, by the instrumentality of which we must, if at all, succeed; but, as we may haply fail, education, we apprehend, should have an eye to that also, and fit us to bear, on an emergency, the blows and bitterness of fortune. It is in this latter part that the method of old Greece and Rome chiefly excelled our own. In genius they were not superior to ourselves; but their institutions were better calculated to call it forth, and to give it that loftiness and self-dependence which render men steady and unrepining in adversity.

The tendency of public education in this country has, we fear, been to exalt knowledge above wisdom, and capacity above conduct; so that many a young collegian, perfectly competent to lecture upon the whole theory of ethics, and to demonstrate incontestibly the vast superiority of freedom over servitude, is very often found too weak to resist the allurements of incontinent beauty, or the hollow bounties and deceitful distinctions held out by the court to all able betrayers of their country. The intermeddling of the clergy in the business of education exceedingly contributes to counteract its beneficial influence. Statesmen and soldiers, merchants,

physicians, lawyers, &c., require a kind of knowledge, and sentiments, and habits, which may fit them for action and business, and should by no means be taught to consider any future period of their existence as of more importance than the present. The clergy, however, have been appointed professors of that portion only of morals which has a reference to a *future state*; of this they are the proper teachers, and to their discourses men, thoroughly conversant with life, and desirous of pushing their speculations beyond it, should have recourse. But the state betrays its own interest, and encroaches unwarrantably on the rights of its members, when it devolves the task of instructing men in their moral and political duties, which have reference merely to *this* world, upon an order of persons whose whole science relates to those modes of thinking and acting which befit us for *the next*.

All governments that desire permanence and internal tranquillity, and especially those founded on the monarchical principle, should monopolize the business of education; because, as men declare, by congregating together, their earnest desire to hunt after happiness in packs, they should be guided by exactly the same scent, and trust to the nice senses of the foremost. The rack of heaven is driven about in different directions before a thunder storm, and political convulsions are preceded by contrariety of ideas, and fluctuating and uncertain motions in the minds of the people. To prevent these, the monarchies of modern Europe have hitherto confided in the exertions of the clergy, but have frequently been thwarted in their views by the fiery headstrong zeal of their instruments. For the well-meaning enthusiasm of pious men, who, for the most part, mistake the object of their calling, very often originates in the state a system of thinking, or, rather, of believing, which obstructs the designs of the legislator.

But the most dangerous symptom that can appear of innovation, is the propensity of the multitude to educate themselves! For it cannot be denied that, of all men, such as are self-taught are least fitted to bend to power and authority. The reasons are obvious. Such persons, relying upon no prerogatives of birth or rank, and owing little to others, are vehemently inclined to be proud contentmenters of those advantages from which they themselves have derived no aid, but, on the contrary, have experienced obstruction and injury. Besides, chance or compulsion may confer on the most ordinary minds the stores of knowledge which are communicable by education, but nothing short of genius can snatch those blessings in spite of fortune, and appropriate them to itself. All the world acknowledge, that for a person, born in indigence, to pass honestly from his original condition to a state of opulence and distinction, is a business of vast difficulty; but it is trifling compared with that of raising a mind from the depths of prejudice and ignorance, to converse with truth and wisdom on the steep heights where they

reside. None but very poor men are driven to depend entirely on self-instruction; and such, having the best portion of their lives consumed by labour, which, when it ceases, leaves them a prey to lassitude and fatigue, can only devote to study the spare remnants of those days which others give to it entire. If, therefore, they produce with these scanty means results which others, with ten-fold advantages, scarcely ever do, it is not at all surprising that they should entertain a high respect for themselves, and be inclined to venerate those qualities only which nature, or her handmaid, labour, has conferred.

At present, all liberal persons are full of the mighty results to be produced by universal education; and it is esteemed a mark of Toryism, or exceeding narrowness of mind, to seem to doubt in the least of the saneness of these expectations. For our own part, however, we *do* doubt, notwithstanding. It will be allowed, perhaps, by most persons, that while society shall subsist at all, men will always be distributed into various ranks and conditions; that these different ranks of men will have duties and labours peculiar to their station to perform; and that it must be for the lasting good of society that each rank should faithfully execute the task assigned it. Whatever men have to do, they will best perform it if the instruments they use be exactly suited to the matter in hand, and not to some other thing of inferior, or of vaster magnitude. Education is an instrument, or rather, it is that which creates that vast instrument—knowledge—by which men operate all the labours of life. Now, it will hardly be maintained that the education of a senator, is that which a wise legislator would provide for peasants and husbandmen. The daily labourer would hardly perform his task the better for being conversant with Locke or Bacon; for having read Shakspeare; or mounted, with Milton, beyond the “visible diurnal sphere.” On the contrary, finding a vast disproportion between his powers and his employment, he would probably grow dejected and melancholy, and either quit his life of labour for more agreeable adventures, or drag on a miserable existence in repining and discontent. In all old legends of necromancers and magicians, mention is often made of unskilful practitioners, who raise spirits which they cannot afterwards lay. Knowledge is a spirit of this kind; and those who call it forth indiscriminately in the people may, perhaps, discover, when too late, that they have put a principle in action which in the end, will shatter society to pieces. In fact, we fear that ignorance is an ingredient no less necessary than knowledge to the composition of a perfect commonwealth.

No doubt it is very easy to make the panegyric of education and knowledge; but it is not quite so easy to determine the exact measure of each which should be communicated to the people. Perhaps, mere reading and writing ought to be the boundaries of

that instruction which the *State* is interested in diffusing; all beyond being most safely left to the taste and inclination of individuals, who should be allowed the fullest liberty to acquire whatever description of knowledge they pleased. But there is a very wide difference between giving birth to an artificial *craving* after knowledge, and affording to minds naturally noble and energetic, the proper facilities for expanding their powers. The latter course, we apprehend, would, in the long run, prove most beneficial to the people; incapacity and mediocrity would rarely venture beyond the province prescribed them by nature; they would labour contentedly on in unpretending obscurity; while the fire and enthusiasm of genius would lead it to burst over the barriers which fortune places between the different ranks of society, and enter into the lists with the proudest and wealthiest of the world.

It is true, the self-taught man has two childhoods, as it were, to pass through, before he can enter upon even terms into the struggle of honour with those to whom fortune has been more favourable; but when he appears, he comes with virtues and accomplishments all his own, with the habit of labour, of perseverance, of overcoming difficulties. Regular scholars sometimes affect great disdain for the anomalous acquirements of persons who educate themselves, because they are less methodically arranged, and display here and there marks of imperfection and negligence; nevertheless, while these scholars receive their ideas by pre-organised tradition, and are entitled to little more than the praise of docility, the man who gathers his conceptions himself, and digests them into order by his own single capacity, approaches the merit of an inventor. It is pardonable in such a man if he now and then falls into error; his mistakes are the mistakes of a discoverer, for those regions of knowledge which he explores without a guide, are, to him, as undiscovered countries.

The transmission of knowledge by the ordinary processes of education is favourable to uniformity of thinking. There are always many points upon which, owing to this, whole nations are agreed; for example, the fundamental doctrines of religion, the principles of government, laws, manners, dress. We have already said, that men destined to live and act together, ought to think and believe as nearly alike as possible. Truth and correctness in these things are pretty nearly out of the question. No nation ever reduced its creed to the pure truth; and no government was ever conducted upon the principles of pure justice and wisdom. Yet the Mohammedan believes his church infallible; the Hindoo and Chinese do the same; and the inhabitant of Great Britain considers Church-of-Englandism and limited monarchy the very essence of truth and good government. If it be desirable to preserve this belief in all its purity and simplicity, the most effectual way to secure this would be, to give the government the sole direction of

education in this country, that it might affix its signature to all ideas, before they should be put in circulation ; just as it stamps the king's image upon our money, in order to impress upon us from our cradle the twin ideas of wealth and royalty.

Persons who act as their own preceptors, are guilty, in some measure, of contumacy and rebellion, since they assume a greater share of certain good things than the government thinks proper to confer on them. It is no wonder, therefore, if such individuals grow by degrees to entertain democratical ideas, since they coin not their thoughts in the public mint, but set up a petty engine of their own, where they manufacture strange and unauthorized notions. To them the veneration with which European nations have so long upheld the "monarchical principle" is perfectly unintelligible : they can see nothing particularly wise in shutting out from the hopes of all the great men of a country, the office of first magistrate, that great aim of ambition and patriotism in republican countries ; they comprehend not the utility of maintaining a noble *caste*, in the possession of privileges and immunities which are an insult and a degradation to the rest of the community ; they can never be convinced that property, not character, ought to be the indispensable qualification of a senator or an elector ; they are, in fact, a headstrong, intractable kind of people, and therefore, no doubt, it is that the *wisdom* of Parliament is constantly exerted, if not to extirpate, at least to confound, to repress, and to counteract what they deem their pernicious and heretical opinions.

LINES TO A FRIEND WHO HAD COMPLAINED OF LATE HOURS.

WHEN sinking slowly in the west
The setting sun invites to rest,
How sweet to find my toils are o'er,
And rigid duty claims no more.

But doubly sweet, if, when they 're past,
To thee, my much-loved Friend, I haste,
To court relief from every pain,
And find my long-lost home again.

How swift the moments fly along,
In grave debate, or cheerful song—
With accent bland, and beaming eyes
Spell bound, in vain I strive to rise.

Too late I sit—I own it true ;
Yet surely part the fault 's in you.
While the winged hours pass thus away,
Tell me, my Friend, who would not stay ?

LETTER TO SIR CHARLES FORBES, ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF
INDIAN AFFAIRS. BY A CIVIL SERVANT.*

THE public spirited and benevolent conduct of the honourable Baronet to whom this letter is addressed, and the deep and sincere interest evinced by him on all occasions where the welfare of India and the happiness of its Native inhabitants are concerned, has necessarily obtained for him a degree of celebrity, which, leading to the frequent consequence of being publicly addressed as the principal depository of Indian knowledge and Indian feeling, may not be so agreeable perhaps to the individual himself, as an exemption from such liability to be called on by every combatant in the field of controversy. This, however, is the unavoidable tax of popularity: and while Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, and other distinguished members of the British Government, are made the medium of addressing sentiments to the world at large, on subjects connected with our European policy, the course seems fair and natural to select some one individual, equally distinguished for his knowledge, experience, and liberal feeling, on subjects connected with our Indian rule, as the medium of offering, to the rest of mankind, the sentiments entertained by any public writer on our Indian system of government.

The present is the third occasion on which we have had to advert to letters addressed to the same individual: first, the admirable letters of a Proprietor of East India Stock, on the Freedom of the Press in India, than which, we will venture to affirm, a more logical or unanswerable series of conclusive arguments, admirably arranged, never appeared in any publication on that all important subject;† the second, the letter from the Native Inhabitants of Bombay;—and the third, the letter of a Civil Servant in England, the contents of which it is the object of the present article to examine.

The writer, whose assumed title is an indication of some previous experience in the country and government on which he offers his observations, and who is, on that ground at least, most likely to be favourably heard, commences by apologizing for a more hasty composition than he could have wished, being hurried to immediate publication “from a fear of losing the advantage of temporary interest, by which alone so imperfect a production could be justified.” Where an author thus disarms criticism by crying “quarter” at the onset, it might seem severe to exercise the power he so much dreads. But as the haste

* A Letter to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P., on the Administration of Indian Affairs. By a Civil Servant. London, 1826.

† See *Oriental Herald*, vol. ii. p. 878.

applies to the "arrangement" of the thoughts, and the "composition" of the language in which they are expressed, and to these alone, we shall grant all that is asked, in making every allowance for want of order in the one, or deficiency of elegance in the other; and proceed to consider the value of the "thoughts" themselves: for these, being the result of many years experience in the service of the East India Company abroad, and of much subsequent reflection and deliberation at home, may be supposed to be matured to all the perfection of which the author considered them capable. We shall give, therefore, such portions of the work as appear to us of the greatest importance, and offer our remarks on the extracts as we proceed. The author says:

' In looking at the constitution of the Court of Directors, to whom the daily and detailed superintendence of Indian affairs is intrusted, the first remark that I would offer is, that it is not presumed that the whole time of the members, admitting the usual seasons of vacation, is devoted to the business of the court; on the contrary, the Directors have various other occupations; and it may be said, almost without incurring the imputation of injustice, *that the time of many of the Directors is chiefly taken up in answering the various applications, to which their immense patronage renders them liable.* If, indeed, the various interests by which the Directors are originally appointed, and, as the practice has become, retained, *durante vita*, in their situations, be considered, official qualification would seem to be of little moment;—once in that court, courtesy and *manœuvre* maintains them to the end of their natural lives—there is no superannuation for an East India Director; and the security of his seat is not affected by the degree of application that he may give the duties of the really important situation in which he has been placed.'

On this short paragraph it would be easy to write a very long chapter; but we shall endeavour to be brief, as there are other topics also to pursue. With persons of any judgment or reflection, indeed, the bare mention of such defects in a system would be sufficient to carry conviction of its injustice or absurdity. Not so, however, with the great body of East India Proprietors: they are either blind and cannot see,—or corrupt and will not remedy, defects the most glaring that could well mark a system of government, which, being more recent in its origin and formation than most others, ought on that account alone to have less antiquated folly, and more modern improvement, in its composition, than older and more intractable systems of rule.

It is a remarkable, but we believe an undeniable fact, that in the affairs of this "admirably-governed" world, in proportion as the situations of men are held to be unimportant in rank and remuneration, the necessity for their attendance is held to be indispensable; while, in proportion as they rise in the scale of estimation and emolument, so may their personal exertions and immediate attention to their duties be disregarded altogether. A candle-snuffer at the Opera House, though certainly not the most important personage there, and whose absence could only be attended with a slight diminution of the usual brilliancy of the lights, would be dismissed

from his place for one night's absence, and no apology would be received by the indignant audience ; while Pasta or De Begnis affect a cold whenever it suits their convenience, and their caprice commands universal indulgence. A messenger or a door-keeper of the House of Commons would lose his place if not found punctually at his post, but honourable members may make journeys over half the world, or never appear at their places though they remain at home, and yet continue in undisturbed, nay, even in undisputed, possession of all their privileges as firmly as if they attended every debated question. In like manner, a clerk at the India House, or even a robed porter who exhibits his scarlet cloak and well-fed figure at the portals of that lofty edifice, would, without doubt, if he were absent for a week, be speedily replaced by other aspiring candidates for these distinguished honours ; while any half dozen of his Honourable Masters may breathe the bracing air of the Scottish hills, inhale the breezes of the sea-coast, or even take up their permanent abodes among the mineral springs of Bath—without being missed, or without losing a single one of all the many privileges belonging to their exalted station !

If we inquire into the principle on which any difference could be reasonably made between the license for absence and inattention which might be fairly granted to any one class of servants, and withheld from any other, we should conclude, that in proportion as the duties of the office were important, and the remuneration high, so would be the necessity, as well as the justice, of exacting punctual attendance and exclusive devotion to the duties thus held to be of great moment, and for that reason alone be speedily rewarded. Now, it can hardly be said, that a copying clerk at the India House has more important duties than a Director to perform ; that the absence of the former would be productive of greater injury to the public than that of the latter ; that there were not so many spare clerks to supply the place of a missing one as there would be spare Directors ; or that the remuneration of the humble coper of despatches was greater than that of his masters, who had the higher duty of originally framing them. And if this be true, which we presume no one will dispute, on what possible ground, can the punishment to the *one*, by loss of place in case of slight inattention, and complete impunity to the other, in case even of perpetual absence from his duties, be defended ?

Again, if a humble individual were to become a candidate for the place of a street-keeper, a watchman, or any other of equal insignificance, his having some other occupation, which would necessarily engage the more valuable portion of his time, would be an objection fatal to his success. An East India Director, however, may have half a dozen other highly important pursuits, each sufficient to engross the whole of his time and powers, without their affecting, in the slightest degree, his perfect eligibility. One

would suppose, that the business of a ship-builder, a general merchant, a banker, &c. would be sufficient for any one individual; but the East India Direction contains persons who are all these, and Elder Brothers of the Trinity House, and Members of Parliament besides.

The same objection would, no doubt, equally apply as a disqualification for members of the legislature itself. But there is at least this difference, that members are not largely paid for performing their duty in Parliament, but, in many instances, purchase their places at enormous prices; while East India Directors reimburse themselves within the first year for all the outlay in obtaining their seats, and hold a mine of wealth and patronage at their disposal for ever afterwards. We would willingly see the principle of liberal remuneration and strict responsibility, for punctual attendance and faithful discharge of duties, extended to both Houses of Parliament, as well as to all other public bodies, in whose hands the interests of any portion of the public is placed. But with the East India Company, there is not even a plausible excuse for admitting any individual to a seat in the Direction of its affairs, who is not ready to devote the whole of his powers, as well as his time, to the duties of his office, and ready to relinquish his seat the moment that anything should occur to prevent his so doing.

The candidates themselves, indeed, are so sensible of this being the general impression, that in all their addresses to the "Ladies and Gentlemen" by whose suffrages they hope to obtain "the honour of a seat in the Direction," they invariably profess this prospective devotion to "the faithful discharge of the important trust which they solicit at their hands." It is just barely possible that some few who make these professions really mean at the time to redeem their pledges if they succeed, though they very soon forget them. But it would be much nearer the truth to conclude, that by far the larger majority of them consider this, like the phrase of "obedient humble servant," which is used towards persons for whom the very writer of it entertains the utmost contempt, as a mere profession of course, and no more meant to be observed than the pledges of "eternal friendship" which pass between nations on every treaty of peace, though the least breath of change makes them hasten again to cut each other's throats.

To those who have been able to penetrate beyond the mere surface of things, all this is intelligible enough. The motives which lead men to seek seats in the East India Direction are two-fold: 1st. To obtain for themselves that influence and consideration which the extensive patronage at their disposal is sure to command. 2dly. In the dispensation of that patronage, to make as early a provision for their immediate offspring and family connections as the places and appointments in their gift will enable them to do.

There are some, perhaps, who, in the freshness of their virtue, while candidates, hope to add to these primary and private objects the promotion of many secondary ones, connected with the better administration of public affairs. There are even some who, after they have become seated in the Direction, may continue to indulge this wish; but, alas! the power to effect it never comes to them until they are either superannuated by age, or so contaminated by a long career of subservience, as to be both unable to rouse themselves to noble resolutions, and incapable, if moved, of carrying them into execution.

That the motive of individual elevation in rank and importance, as well as that of providing handsomely for children and dependents, deserves every praise and encouragement, no man can reasonably doubt. These, like the acquisition of wealth, which is sought but as an instrument with which to effect some ulterior view, form the universal pursuit; and without the stimulus of this passion for improving their condition, mankind would first become stationary, and then retrograde into barbarism. It is not the end that is deprecated, it is the means by which that end is obtained; and, inasmuch as the honest acquisition of wealth is always a subject of commendation to the acquirer, while the open plunderer and the insidious swindler, who reach the same end by other paths, are deservedly execrated by the rest of mankind; so, we contend, that although the accession to power by the unbought suffrages of free people, and its retention by the faithful discharge of the duties it involves, are the highest honours that man can enjoy; yet, on the other hand, the forcible acquisition of such power, by combinations, bribes, and influence, in the shape of promised places and appointments—or the delusive solicitations of the same authority accompanied with pledges never meant to be redeemed—are nothing better than plunder and swindling on a larger scale, a forcible or a fraudulent scheme to raise what is more valuable than money on false pretences; and the perpetual retention of such power and such resources so obtained, by the very means through which it was first acquired, is a crime against society which should be punished with much greater severity than the conduct of a robber or cheat, who first forcibly or fraudulently obtains the property of another, and then seeks, by means of the very power and wealth so wrested from him, to effect its lawful owner's entire destruction.

Strong as this parallel may appear, we solemnly avow our conviction, that it is a just and faithful description of the greater portion of the India Directors; and, until the Proprietors of East India Stock shake off the degrading fetters by which they suffer themselves to be bound in a slavery, the more disgraceful because it seems to be courted and gloried in by those subject to its debasing influence; or, until the people of England shall demand an alteration in this system of iniquity and folly combined, so it will continue

to remain. The system is not merely defective, but detestable ; and if any excuse is to be found for the few good men who enter the Direction with virtuous intentions, and ultimately abandon them, it is in the hideous depravity of the system itself, which is enough to contaminate the purest. But this, while it might be urged in personal exculpation, is one of the most powerful of all the reasons that could be urged for the necessity of its immediate reform ; because, while it continues, it will, like the deadly Upas, poison all that comes within its destroying atmosphere.

Official qualification, the author of the ' Letter' (and, be it remembered, he is himself a Civil Servant of the India Company) admits has little or no weight with the electors or the elected. Persons of every possible variety of character and acquirements announce themselves every year ; and each puts forward his own pretensions ; according to which, a mere indifferent spectator would imagine— 1st, that the Direction would be quite incomplete without the individual in question, whether he be a lawyer, a merchant, a ship-builder, a soldier, a banker, a doctor, or a private gentleman ; and 2dly, that the Proprietors, having no other standard by which to direct their choice than the perfect eligibility of the professing candidate, weigh well his pretensions, and elect the one who can bring into the Direction the quality most wanted at the moment, whether it be a perfect acquaintance with the laws of the turf and the decisions of the Jockey Club, the learned chicanery of an experienced Chancery lawyer, or the art of bleeding and physicking, so well known to every tropical doctor. But, whoever should conclude, either that the qualifications professed, or those really evinced, by the candidates, had any influence with the large body of electors, would be greatly deceived. The motives of these are quite as selfish and wide of the proper object of the power they possess, as that of the candidates themselves ; and they, perhaps, like the base and venal voters who sell their voices to persons of whose principles they literally know nothing in Parliament, have no just ground of discontent. But the millions that are disregarded by both parties in India, and the great mass of the people who must ultimately bear the burthen of the debt accumulated under such a system in England, have both a right to complain ; and it is on their behalf alone that we think it necessary to enter our protest against its continuance. The writer of the ' Letter' continues :

* But if official qualification were the main ground of appointment, the distribution of the business is such, as to render for years that official qualification useless. A gentleman who may have held the highest office in India, that of Member of the Supreme Council in Bengal ; who may have reached that distinguished situation after a series of years passed in the political department of the service, is employed for some years of probation in the Committee of Warehouses, and of Shipping, as if the object were to expel all previously acquired knowledge from his memory, and thus ultimately fit him for the Committee of Correspondence. Military talent and service

would have also to run the same course, and it may, therefore, fairly be presumed that, on admission to the Committee of Correspondence, the Member of Council and the Military Commander will have reached in the descending, the same point as the Shipowner and Merchant in the ascending scale, so that there will be no decided superiority of knowledge to affect the value of their respective opinions.'

The absurdity of this division of labour must strike every one. We have pointed it out, again and again; but as it is, the Proprietors have no real interest in seeing that their affairs are well managed, since to them the individual gain is the same, whether the general welfare of India be promoted or retarded; and as the majority of the Directors have a strong interest in maintaining a system by which all new candidates are excluded for many years from a participation in the power, influence, and consideration belonging chiefly to the elders, it is likely to continue to the end of the charter; while, to expect any voluntary alteration in the system which makes the Director's places endure for life, while they can prevent it, would be as unreasonable as to expect that the House of Commons, or any other house, would have virtue enough to reform itself, however "singular" it may appear to the author of the 'Letter' that such a result has not already happened. He continues:

'A more frequent change in the composition of the Court, than the courtesy practised towards the House List (as the six members out by rotation are designated) would be desirable,—a life-interest in such an office as that of one of the ministers for conducting the affairs of India, resting merely upon integrity and *decency of behaviour*, is much too secure a tenure, and leaves too little motive for continued exertion. It would also be advantageous that the Chairman and Deputy should be chosen by the Court of Proprietors, an election to take place every four years. Under such a mode of election, some reference to general qualification, and to fitness for conducting the intercourse with his Majesty's Government, might be expected, for without intending any invidious allusion, or the slightest personal disrespect, it may be assumed that the deck of a merchant vessel, or the recesses of a London counting-house, are not likely scenes for acquiring the knowledge or habits best qualified to discuss great questions of empire, either in deliberation with, or opposition to, the Cabinet of Great Britain.'

The reasons why such frequency of change is not likely to take place, as well as the utter indifference to the Proprietors at large who is the Chairman or who his Deputy, are summed up in the single fact, that no elector finds himself at all the better or the worse for any changes that occur; and as long as he received his full dividend and promised share of jobs or appointments, he would as soon see the chair filled by a barber's block as by the wisest head in the nation; nay, if, under the former, he received his profits without trouble, while, under the latter, he was called on to take some share in the labour of thinking and acting for the general good, he would prefer the block to the head of Bacon, Locke, or the greatest philosopher that ever lived. The wished-for changes and desired elections will, therefore, never have the general support of the Proprietary Body; and never, therefore, be effected, till some

contrivance be made to show them that they will gain by the innovation.

We conclude that the "Civil Servant" has not read Mr. Bentham's 'Book of Fallacies,' although we strongly recommend it to his attention. If he had, he never could have fallen into the vulgar error displayed towards the close of his paragraph, in assuming that a ship's deck or a London counting-house had anything in them hostile to the study and consideration of the greatest questions that could occupy the human mind. In point of fact, there is no material difference between "the deck of a merchant vessel" and the floor of the House of Commons, which in many respects resemble each other. One individual might pass the greater portion of his life in pacing the one, and yet become the profoundest thinker and most enterprising actor of his day; while a second individual might attend every debate that took place on the other, and see the mummery of removing the mace by big-wigged messengers a million of times in his life, and be no wiser at the end than at the beginning of his career. Columbus, Da Gama, Anson, Cooke, Prowse, and a hundred other brilliant names, might be mentioned as showing what powers of mind, as well as enterprise of action, may be attained by those who trod through a great portion of their lives "the deck of a merchant vessel." And while such men as are even to be numbered among the most inferior minds of English senators, from his Highness of Clarence down to Sir Joseph Yorke and Sir Isaac Coffin, are not deemed ineligible for the highest honours of the state, or unfit to take their part in the great councils of the nation, it would be the height of absurdity, as well as injustice, to suppose that the same career of life, whether passed on "the deck of a merchant vessel" or that of a ship of war, might not produce men equally capable of filling the arduous posts of East India Directors! The fallacy of supposing the "recesses" of a London counting-house to be also an unworthy school for the great lessons to be learnt, is still more remarkable. The deck of a ship, supposing a man to be always confined to it, and his mind never occupied by anything but trimming sails and vociferating noisy orders to a crew of unruly sailors, might, by an unreflecting person, be thought unfavourable to higher speculations of thought or action; but a London counting-house has generally been considered a nursery in which the greatest men might safely be bred. One would have thought that the names of Baring and Ricardo would have occurred to the writer as he penned this sentence; or, if this did not happen, we wonder how he could have overlooked the fact, that Mr. Pitt obtained, and Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning still continue to receive, the greatest assistance from the counsel and information of those men of whom the writer makes so light, because they come from the "recesses" of a London counting-house.

The truth is, that although, supposing the genius of men equal, some situations are more favourable than others to the develop-

ment of talent, yet, where there is real capacity and strength of mind, no situation of life will prevent its breaking down the barriers that oppose its progress; and while we remember the names of Shakespeare, the deer-stealer,—Cooke, the cabin-boy of a collier,—Franklin, the journeyman printer,—Davy, the shoeless errand-boy among the Cornish mines,—and Napoleon, the obscure adventurer;—each reaching the very pinnacle of the respective heights to which they aspired; and many others, which will rush to every one's recollection, it will be in vain, by such miserable fallacies as assuming “the deck of a merchant vessel” and “the recesses of a London counting-house” to be unfavourable to the acquisition of knowledge of any kind, to make men decide that they are so, contrary to the evidence of reason, fact, and experience. Indeed, if there be any two occupations which afford greater facilities than others for the acquisition of such knowledge as must be most essential for a statesman to possess, it is more likely to be found in those of a sea-captain, if his voyages are at all varied and made subjects of inquiry and reflection, and a metropolitan merchant: for both enjoy opportunities of seeing and knowing more of various countries, their laws, institutions, productions, interests, powers, and peculiarities, than could be acquired on the “floor” of the House of Commons, or in the “recesses” of a university, in the longest life that man could pass in either. Whether the parties possessing such opportunities, have either the industry or ability to turn them to account, is another question. Other men, in other walks, may fail in this as well; but we think it is clear, that it is quite a vulgar error to suppose that the sea is inferior to the land for acquiring useful knowledge, or a counting-house inferior to a college.

The writer goes on to say, that the present form of dividing the labours of the Directors takes its rise in the mercantile character of the Company. But he thinks that this will be hardly admitted as a plea for the retention of “institutions unfitted to the times and inadequate to their objects,” because, as he believes, “we do not live in an age in which antiquity of form is much respected.” We wish this were true: but we differ so entirely from the writer in this particular as to believe, that this respect for antiquated forms is so strong and so general, as to be in itself a greater hindrance to the progress of improvement in almost every department of knowledge, than any other single cause that can be named. After contending that it is for the interests of the Proprietors, as well as of the Directors, (which it clearly is not either for the one or the other,) to make a new distribution of the labour of the Directors, “less cramped by the maxims and practice of the counting-house,” (by which it is not at present cramped at all,) and observing, that “the Chairmen of the Court are generally no more fit to decide on the fitness of any Governor-General to be sent to India, than on that of any Ambassador to be sent to Paris or Vienna,” (though

it is strange that they alone should be disqualified, since every Proprietor of East India Stock, including infants, old women, and the most imbecile of individuals, may pass a vote of approbation or censure on every Governor-General when appointed,) he says :

‘In later years, to remedy this admitted want of knowledge in the Committee of Correspondence, gentlemen of *literary qualification* have been induced to accept the office of examiners or senior clerks ; they are the *readers* and *prompters* of the Court of Directors, but the ablest reader and best prompter can never transfuse, with sufficient correctness and rapidity, his knowledge, so as to secure the principal actor from the appearance of incapacity. Among the Proprietors are to be found individuals fully qualified for the discharge of the important duty of Directors, but there must be no perpetuity in the office, no recommendation from authority of members out by rotation—in truth, a quadrennial election of the entire number, and that number itself reduced to twenty-four, would be the arrangement best calculated to secure fitness and assiduity. Where that fitness and assiduity had been displayed, re-election, though no longer a certainty, would be the probable consequence and reward. As the uncertainty of re-election would necessarily, under the head of patronage, diminish the value of a seat in the Direction, an increase of positive salary would be reasonable,—the present salary is so inadequate, that the patronage must be viewed as the remuneration ; and when it is considered that a Director may be said to be elected for life, if he enjoy that patronage twenty years, the value in writerships, cadetships, &c., is quite enormous.* This distribution of patronage, while equal to the highest, much exceeds the ordinary services rendered to the Company by the East India Directors, and, in the aggregate, much transcends, as to positive value, that possessed by any one minister of the crown. Any measure which opened the election of Directors, and diminished the duration of individual interest in the office, would have the effect of diffusing patronage, and, therefore, strengthen the argument in favour of renewing the charter, which is derived from the constitutional objection to concentrate that immense patronage, by placing it in the hands of the crown.’

All this, however well it may sound to the ears of the superficial, is mere verbiage. The writer evidently does not *see* the real evil, which lies deeper apparently than he can fathom, although it is covered by the thinnest possible disguise. What is wanted, is not persons of “*literary qualification*” to prompt the Directors ; nor would it be any better if these prompters were made themselves the actors, so as to get rid of the writer’s difficulty as to their infusing their knowledge into others. The root of the evil is *this* : that according to the absurd system sanctioned by the “*wisdom of Parliament*,” and built up amidst fears and prejudices of the weakest description, no part of the governing body in England, from the Board of Control downwards, including the Directors and Proprietors, have any *interest* whatever, either political, pecuniary, moral, or reputational, (if one might coin a word for such a purpose,) in the good government of the country. On the contrary,

* It was said, that last year the patronage of each Director consisted of three writerships and fourteen cadetships, exclusive of appointments of assistant-surgeons. Taking the value of writerships at 3000*l.* each, and that of cadetships at 800*l.*, the whole amount of patronage will be, without the assistant-surgeons, in value 20,900*l.*

all parties have a direct interest in its misgovernment, up to the extreme limits to which its resources can be made to cover the most profligate and unprincipled expenditure. Mr. Mill, the historian of British India, has very truly said :

‘ No proposition, in regard to government, is more universal, more free from all exception than this, that as Government always spends as much as it finds it safe to extract from the people. The government of the mother country itself cannot keep its expenses within bounds. It takes from the people all it can possibly take, and is still going beyond its resources. But if such is the course of Government at home, things must be worse in the colonies. The farther servants are removed from the eye of their master, the worse, generally speaking, their conduct will be. The government of the colonies, managed by delegates from home, is sure to be worse, in all respects, than the government at home ; and as expense is one of the shapes in which the badness of government is most prone to manifest itself, it is sure, above all things, to be in proportion to its resources, more expensive. Whatever springs operate at home to restrain the badness of government, cannot fail to operate with diminished force at the distance of a colony. The conclusion is irresistible.’*

Now, Mr. Mill is one of the “ gentlemen of literary qualifications” who has accepted the office of Examiner or senior clerk in the India House, for which, it is said, he receives a salary of 1400*l.* or 1500*l.* a year, a sum which, though large, is not beyond the price at which such talents as his might fairly expect to be purchased. It is clear, however, that such a salary would not be given to a mere copyist, and is only to be understood as involving the duty of reading and prompting to the Directors, “ so as to secure the principal actors from the appearance of incapacity.” But of what avail is this ? Not only are the Examiners, of whom Mr. Maculloch is the senior, and Mr. Mill the junior, not able to “ transfuse” their knowledge into the heads of the Directors ; they cannot get them to *listen* to their readings ; or, if they do, it is clear that it is to very little purpose. Mr. Mill, it is to be presumed, has not much changed his opinions since he wrote his admirable ‘ History of India,’ and yet the important lessons taught in that book, aided no doubt by all the power of his occasional illustration and comment in the “ readings” referred to, have been like the corn thrown by the sower, which fell among rocks and thorns, and produced no fruit. Mr. Mill has written in the ‘ Supplement to the Encyclopedia,’ the most powerful essays that have ever appeared on the subjects of Government—Jurisprudence—Liberty of the Press—Law of Nations—Prison Discipline—Education—and Colonies. These were all probably written before his new duties of reader and examiner to the India Directors commenced. But they have since been deemed of such importance to the spread of sound opinions among the people of this country, that they have been printed in separate pamphlets, at the expense of a society of public-spirited and liberal politicians, for the purpose of gratuitous distribution among all classes ; and as this is a

* Mill's Essays.

recent use made of them, and made no doubt with his permission, it is clear that the sentiments and principles they avow and develop, are those still honestly entertained by their distinguished author.

But what has been the result of Mr. Mill's appointment as "prompter" at the India House during the several years in which he has held that office? His published opinions on Government, are republican, or democratical, in the highest possible degree. Few men have gone so far, no man can go beyond him, in the doctrine, that every man should have a share in the government of the country in which he lives, and that the will of the many should be the only admissible standard by which the few should be permitted to rule. But have his doctrines or his influence abated one jot or tittle of the absolute and irresponsible despotism, under which the millions of India groan and suffer to the present hour? Not a feather has been removed from their burthens! His article on Jurisprudence evinces the clearest conception of the evils, and the most masterly details of the remedies, by which the unintelligible and iniquitous systems of law that now afflict mankind are distinguished, and might be removed. Has the jurisprudence of India been in the slightest degree benefited by the application of this knowledge and these remedies since his accession to office? We have never heard an instance of it, if it has ever happened. His article on the Liberty of the Press goes to advocate the utmost degree of freedom that has ever yet been claimed by the most licentious of its advocates; and he supports his positions by arguments that appear to us irresistible. But, since his appointment at the India House, what has been the fate of the Press in India? It has been struck down from the highest eminence of useful liberty that it had enjoyed for a few happy years, and is now trampled ignominiously in the dust, and loaded with fetters worse than even a previous censorship! Has Mr. Mill ever read his admirable advocacy of its freedom to the Directors at the India House, or taken any one step, which his influential situation as "prompter" might give him the opportunity of doing, to rescue the Indian Press from its degradation? We believe, never! He is an enemy to the punishment of men without trial, he is a professed friend of the abolition of licenses of residence, and thinks favourably of Colonization. But, more men have been punished under this odious system since his "readings" began, than for years before, and the Directors are as much averse to the colonization of India as ever!

What, then, does all this prove? Certainly, either that Mr. Mill and the other "gentlemen of literary qualifications" do not perform the duty which it is supposed they do, that of reading to, or prompting the Directors, and are therefore appointed to office under false pretences; or, if they do so promptly, that the Directors neither hear nor attend to their promptings; and that their offices are not

merely useless but pernicious, as serving to delude the world with hopes of improvement, which, under such a system, are never likely to be realized.

All the petty changes which the "Civil Servant" would effect in making quadrennial elections of the whole body, and reducing the number to twenty-four, would do no more to diminish the evil, than if he were to attempt to repress tyranny in the Navy, by changing the Captain of each ship every four years, and giving frigates three Lieutenants instead of four. It is worse than idleness to fancy that this would do any good: neither the number of the Directors, nor their period of service, is of much consequence, compared with the worst feature of the whole system, namely, that all parties connected with the East India Company, excepting only the millions of helpless Natives, "the suffering many," for whom Mr. Mill, in his writings, so humanely pleads, have a direct interest in its misgovernment; and gain the accomplishment of all their desires much more speedily and effectually by a profligate expenditure of human life, and of the produce of human labour, plundered or taken without their consent from the Natives of the country, than by all the ameliorations which could be introduced into their system of government at home or abroad.

First: the Director who goes in, doing so mainly for the patronage placed at his disposal, is interested in increasing that patronage, which can be best done by extorting the utmost possible amount of taxation from the country, and increasing, by wars, and other equally justifiable pretences, the number of civil and military appointments in the country,—saddling, in short, all the dependents he can upon its exhausted resources; because, the greater their number, the larger will be his portion of the patronage that appoints them.

Secondly: the Proprietor of India Stock,—vesting his money in that fund chiefly because of the jobs, contracts, and appointments to be had for friends or dependents, in return for the votes he gives to individual candidates before they become Directors, and to the whole body in cases where their votes are required to support the measures of those in authority,—has the strongest possible interest in supporting every measure that favours the extension of that patronage and expenditure, for the sake of the portion which it will fall to his share to receive; and in maintaining the part taken by the Directors, whatever that may be, as, without that undeviating subserviency, he would be in danger of getting out of favour, and losing the principal object for which he bought his stock. At the same time, while his interest is so powerful in increasing the taxation of the people, supporting the most wasteful expenditure, and adding to the debts of the Company, he has no interest whatever in lessening taxation, reducing expense, or paying off debt: because, whether the Company's affairs yield in reality a profit or a loss, he is quite secure in his receipt of 10½ per cent dividend on his stock: and as, if the

investment be desirable at all, it is advantageous to render it permanent, the more the burthens of the Company are augmented by wasteful expenditure, and the larger the debt becomes, the less probability is there that the King's Government will take such a bargain off their hands.

Thirdly: the civil and military servants in India generally can have but one interest, which is, to quit it and return home as fast as possible. During their stay in India, therefore, they are all deeply interested in seeing produced from the Natives as much revenue as possible; in securing all the booty that can be captured; in encouraging wars for the sake of prize-money and promotion; in raising taxes for the sake of admitting increased salaries;—this interest continues from the beginning to the end of their career in India: and when they leave it to come to England, they fall into the ranks of Proprietors or Directors, sending their children and connections out to keep up the ever-revolving circle.

Lastly: the Board of Control and Parliament have no interest beyond the mere appointment of Governors, Generals, Commanders-in-Chief, Judges, and other officers; and how they regard the welfare of India, let the quickly-deserted benches of the House, when its very name is mentioned in that "august assembly," bear damning witness.

These are all the classes who are admitted to have a voice in the matter. As to the people of England, they are more "nobly" occupied with the momentous subjects of which the British Press keeps them so fully informed here. And as to the people of India, if their existence even be admitted, after such wise heads as Mr. Adam's, and all the enemies of the press, have denied that there is any Public at all in that highly-peopled country, their tongues are tied, and they have no power of utterance for any wish or thought hostile to the existing system.

To imagine, therefore, that reducing the number of India Directors from 30 to 24, and electing or re-electing the whole every four years, would root out such evils as these, bespeaks at once the nature of the mind that could perceive an efficient remedy in such a change. The writer proceeds:

But, it may be asked, Does not the Board of Control supply *all* the qualifications that may be wanting in the Court of Directors? Are not the Commissioners for the affairs of India taken from the same class as the Commissioners of the Treasury or Admiralty? Have we not here men with the *views of statesmen*, and with minds habituated to the *largest questions of government*? This may be true, but the general operation of the Board of Commissioners is that of control and supervision, not of origination or execution; and it is not to be expected that a public man can, under the practical duties which, as President of the Board of Control, he has to perform, *ever take the same interest*, or apply the powers of his mind and character with the same *intensity*, to a superintendence *at second hand*, as if he had an original exercise of authority over the details and circumstances of the Indian administration: This is the less to be expected, when it is recollected that the affairs of

India form a subject little connected with the other branches of administration, and which, consequently, does not enter into the course of previous study and practical information deemed necessary to a parliamentary career. It may be affirmed, that to control the details of Indian affairs efficiently, the acquisition of a *new language* is necessary. The terms of judicial, revenue, and military detail are different from those of Europe; the principles of administration, in their application, exhibit great difference and variety: these terms, these differences, must be acquired before the correspondence from India can be understood; and although the composition of the Board or Control be, in point of general knowledge and parliamentary talent, *unexceptionable*, it is not to be supposed that any *three individuals*, however able, can be, without previous study or local information, qualified to control the details of an administration abounding in peculiarities, and differing essentially from that with which they have been before conversant.

This description of the Board of Control is sufficiently flattering, though few beside the writer would recognize it as at all applicable to the body so named. If the persons who now fill the principal offices of that Board may be considered to have "the views of statesmen," with "minds habituated to the largest questions of government," it may be as truly affirmed, that the writer of the letter before us is either Burke or Junius: which some perhaps might dispute. We will nevertheless say thus much to his honour, that he is much nearer to either of the illustrious personages we have named, than any members of the Board of Control that we have yet seen can be said to approach great statesmen. But the paragraph under review is remarkable for a very singular admission, namely, that the President of the Board of Control cannot take a very deep interest, or apply his mind with great intensity (which the writer thinks desirable) to the superintendence of Indian affairs, because he does it at *second hand*, and is not the originator of the acts of administration. This is, first, a fallacy: as may be shown by simply observing, that if men could not take a deep interest in that which originated with others, there would be no parties interested in the conduct of ministers but themselves, and no critics but authors; both of which we know to be contrary to experience. It is, in this sense, the only one we apprehend in which the author meant to apply it, a fallacy; but there is another sense, in which he has evidently not applied it, in which it conveys a truth of great importance indeed; and it is this,—that it is quite impossible for any person either to understand or regulate affairs not under their immediate superintendence, so well as if they were on the spot where the events themselves are happening. The author has discovered, that a Board of Control at Westminster cannot study so intensely, or regard with nearly so much interest, measures originating in the City of London, although, being only three miles off, they may know them on the very day they happen, although they are in frequent communication with the actors and originators, and although they have the power to stay the execution, if disapproved. But the same writer has not discovered, that a Board of Directors in London are not likely to take a deep interest in mea-

stures originating fifteen thousand miles away, of which they are not the authors, of which they can know nothing till six months after they have occurred, of which they scarcely ever see the personal originators, and which they cannot stay the execution, nor even disapprove, till twelve months after the mischief to be produced by them is over, and even then, have their orders treated with the utmost contempt. If ever there was a case in which a second-hand superintendence was inefficient and worthless, it is in the case of the Directors pretending to superintend what they cannot effectually control. The "Civil Servant" has in his wisdom discovered this evil where it can scarcely be said to exist; but where it reigns in full vigour, and flashes on the conviction of all observers, he has not made the discovery!

The puerility of supposing a new language necessary to understand the details of Indian affairs, is really such as one could not have expected: there is no difficulty of this kind which may not be conquered in a month. But, when it is said or insinuated, that the *three* individuals now composing that Board, meaning Mr. Wynn, Dr. Phillimore, and Mr. Courtenay, are great men and able statesmen, we come at once to a more perfect estimate of the author's understanding, than by any page in his book. To show what these three men are, we need only mention three things, one of each, as complete illustrations of their several characters and understandings.

Mr. Wynn makes a speech in Parliament, well knowing that such speech would be printed in all the papers of England, copied into all the papers of India, and spread therefore by thousands over every part of Hindoostan, in which he says, "that the numerical inferiority of the English to the Indians, is a strong reason why we should dread their attempts at revolt." He adds, "that if this fact of their numerical superiority to us were told to them, it would set the whole country in a blaze of rebellion." He, on that ground, denounces the freedom of the press in India as fraught with danger; while, at the very same moment, he takes the greatest pains to spread among the Indians, in the most effectual manner, the very knowledge he so much dreads; and tells them, in his official capacity, and with all the solemnity of a public assembly, that if they only reflect on the fact he now makes known to them, it ought to excite them to instant revolt, for the purpose of throwing off their subjection!—This is Mr. Wynn, the President.

Dr. Phillimore is a practitioner of Doctors' Commons, the "recesses" of which did not occur to the "Civil Servant" as unfitting a man for a statesman, though debates on divorces and crim-cons are not much more elevated topics than those discussed on "the deck of a merchant vessel." In a Committee of the House of Commons, the Doctor hears an individual say, that a certain pamphlet on the Indian Press, universally attributed to Mr. Adam, a copy of which was in the hands of most of the members of the Committee, is found

on a comparison to correspond, word for word, with a *Minute* contained in a public despatch, then lying on the table of the Committee-room, and both opened to point out the exact resemblance. The learned Civilian, in a burst of anger, denounces this as a gross attack on Mr. Adam, uncalled for, and wholly out of the way; and winds up his violent ebullition by calling this attack ungenerous, because Mr. Adam was dead, and unable to defend himself!—This is Dr. Phillimore.

The other distinguished member of this Board, of which the "composition" is so "unexceptionable," is Mr. Courtenay. In the same Committee, this gentleman was examining a witness on the subject of the remarks contained in the *Calcutta Journal* of February 8, 1823, on the appointment of Dr. Bryce to be Clerk of the Stationary Committee; and when it was alleged by the witness, that these remarks imputed nothing more than that the appointment was an inappropriate one for a reverend clergyman, which might have arisen from error of judgment in the quarter in which the appointment originated; the honourable member gravely asked, whether the witness did not think it was a very serious breach of the laws, and a highly offensive act, to *suppose* error of judgment in any public functionary!—This is Mr. Courtenay.

We think we might challenge any Board whatever, to produce three such men, and three such anecdotes, all happening within a day or two of each other: and these are the three *able* individuals, the calibre of whose minds appears so gigantic to their "Civil" eulogist. He concludes thus:

'It is not by these observations intended to deny the utility, or the constitutional necessity, of the Board of Control; the sole point which is meant to be established is, that as the *mutability* of the members of the Board of Control, and the *general pursuits* of public men in England, render the possession of detailed knowledge very improbable, an improved constitution of the Court of Directors becomes indispensable, to secure the exercise of efficient superintendance from home over the affairs of our Indian empire. In the parliamentary responsibility to which the members of the Board of Control are subject, for the *general* conduct of Indian affairs, the nation has, unquestionably, a *great security* that no act of public or private oppression will be committed by the servants of the East India Company; and it would be doing great injustice to the *ability* and high character of the individuals by whom the offices in question have been and are still held, not to express a conviction, that the duty of control has been *conscientiously* and *beneficially* exerted. This control and parliamentary responsibility is the more necessary, as the Court of Directors, as a body and individually, appear to be *irresponsible*; and there can be no doubt, that neither the interests of the Indian empire, nor the rights of individuals, could be considered, in theory, secure, under the secret and uncontrolled exercise of an authority, that is not practically subject either to removal or to public investigation.'

On this we have to offer a very few remarks. In the case of the India Directors, it was the *permanency* of their continuance in office which was chiefly objected to, and it was proposed to make them more mutable. The same writer here discovers, however, that the *mutability* of office in the members of the Board of Control is

an evil, although these members do not change so often as every four years, the shortest period at which he thinks it necessary to change a Director. But the climax of all is the assertion, that "in the Parliamentary responsibility to which the *members of the Board of Control* are subject for the *general* conduct of Indian affairs, the nation has, UNQUESTIONABLY, a great security; that no *act of public or private oppression will be committed by the servants of the East India Company*"! Gracious heaven! Has not this Parliamentary responsibility always existed as much as now? Was not Hastings impeached under it? And has there been no act of public or private oppression since then? The issue of that seven years' trial plainly proved how worthless was that security against any oppressions, public or private, great or small: and to say that the liability to such responsibility, on the part of a *few individuals* forming the Board of Control *here*, is a great security that no oppressions will be committed by any of the *thousands of individuals* in the service of the East India Company, in that distant and extensive country, is to make an assertion, which must be seen to involve an absurdity by persons of the lowest class of intellect to whom it may be addressed.

Whether the duty of control, such as it is, (and, according to the author's previous showing, it is but imperfect at best,) has been conscientiously and beneficially exercised, is a matter of fact and opinion, on which persons may think differently, according to their degree of knowledge on the subject. Thus much, however, we will venture to assert, in contrast to such an assumption, that in all the cases of which we have any knowledge, in which the Board of Control has been appealed to for judgment against the oppressions of the Company's servants in India, or, the refusal of the Directors to afford the injured party redress here, they have invariably taken part with the oppressors, and only lent their aid to trample the victim still lower in the dust.

As the portion of the work under review which we have last quoted, brings to a close the section on what is called the Home Administration of Indian Affairs, we shall for the present suspend our remarks on it here, and resume the subject in our next, by analysing the opinions of the author on the Indian Administrations at the several presidencies or seats of Government there. After going through this, we shall probably sum up a judgment on the whole, separating the useful from the worthless, and coming to some general conclusion, stating the evidence on which it will be founded. For the present, we must content ourselves with saying, that although the writer appears to be actuated by just and benevolent motives, and has the capacity to see, and the candour to admit, that *irresponsible power* is not favourable to the interests of the community, or the rights of individuals, yet, in his apprehension of the remedies by which he conceives this irresponsibility may be connected or coun-

teracted, he appears to us to be as completely blind as if he were born without intellectual vision : and those who follow such a guide cannot fail to share with him the fate scripturally predicted of those who in that helpless condition attempt to lead each other.

THE DANCING GIRL OF DELHI.

DARK was the night, and loud the wind,
And heavy fell the sullen rain,
But, gloomier far than all, the mind
Of her who cross'd the plain.

She stood beside the Jumna's flood,
That darkly roll'd its waves below ;
In agony of soul she stood
And listen'd to its flow.

A shivering babe lay in her arms,
A babe made fatherless that day,
The first-fruit of her youthful charms,
The theme of many a lay.

For he, its sire, who fell beneath
The Mogul's sanguine brand,
Had deck'd his brow with song's bright wreath
In Persia's tuneful land ;

In Khorasan and Candahar
Had raised his lofty strain,
And, following in the wake of war,
Breathed death on many a plain.

But now all mute his vocal lyre,
All cold the hand that touch'd its chord ;
And, ah ! extinct that softer fire
We paint by softest word !

And she, whom once it warmed and cheered,
Forsaken now, and friendless grown,
With blighted heart, and bosom sear'd,
Feels cold, and sad, and lone ;

And seeks by night the howling flood,
And dreams, as wild she hears it rave,
Her murder'd Mirza's gushing blood
Still red upon the wave.

Now to her heart her babe she press'd,
And, bending o'er the angry stream,
Plunged deep within its tossing breast,
And vanish'd like a dream.

Bron.

**THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE LAW OF LIBEL
IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.**

No. IV.

Theoretical View of the Law of Libel in England.

THE *fifth*, and last argument that I shall offer in favour of unlimited toleration, is founded on the failure of the latest and most elaborate attempt which has been made to give to the law of libel the utmost improvement of which it is supposed to be susceptible. I allude to the bill which Mr. Brougham brought into the House of Commons in 1816. The principles on which it proceeded are fully developed in an able article in the *Edinburgh Review*, which concludes with the following summary of its provisions :

' 1. It first takes away entirely the power of filing *ex officio* informations in cases of libel and seditious words. 2. It next abolishes the power of reply, unless where the defendant has adduced evidence; thus placing the crown prosecutions upon the same footing with all others. 3. It farther prevents any such trial from being by special jury, unless both parties consent; thus placing the offence in question upon the same footing with all crimes of the highest nature,—viz. treason and felony, and with all misdemeanours, the proceedings for which do not come from the Crown office. 4. The bill proceeds to take away the distinction between written and spoken slander, and to provide that the latter be prosecuted as a misdemeanour. 5. In the next place, it allows the defendant, in all prosecutions for libel, or seditious or defamatory words, to give the truth of the statement in evidence, after due notice to the prosecutor; but it provides that the jury may, notwithstanding of such proof, find the defendant guilty: and that the court, in passing sentence, may consider such proof in aggravation, or in mitigation, and may also consider the giving notice without offering evidence in aggravation. 6. The next provision is for enabling the defendant to prove that the publication was without his privity, and the jury to convict notwithstanding such evidence. 7. It farther takes away the distinction between words imputing an indictable offence, and words generally defamatory, declaring both to be actionable, and thus removing also the distinction between written and spoken slander. 8. Lastly, it prohibits the truth of the statement from being pleaded in justification to an action, whether for libel or for words; but enables the defendant, upon due notice to the plaintiff, to give it in evidence under the general issue, and the jury to take such evidence into their consideration, but to find a verdict for the plaintiff notwithstanding if they shall think fit.*

It will be found that the changes above enumerated are mere apparent than real, and would have existed more in theory than in practice, insomuch, that though some of them seem to extend, and others to contract, the liberty of discussion, yet, if the bill had passed, it is highly probable that its influence on the state of the press would have been absolutely imperceptible. Upon the whole, the friends of toleration who rejected it as *less* favourable to the

* *Edinburgh Review*. No. 58. p. 142.

rights of the subject than the existing system, acted more reasonably than those who shrunk from it as an excessive relaxation of the restraints which the law now supplies. From the sentiments, indeed, which stand in the front of the article referred to, it is evident that the views of the author of the plan coincided pretty exactly with those of the advocates for the law as it is, except in so far as his impatience of private libels incited him to seek the means of rendering proceedings against them more effectual.

'The works of former writers (says the Reviewer) afford but slender assistance, consisting generally of vague declamation or sweeping theory, in which the grand object of practical utility has been lost sight of. The labours of legislators have been still more defective, varying only between the opposite, and almost equally pernicious extremes of strict prohibition and unrestrained license; nor has any attempt been made, as far as we know, even in the codes fashioned by speculative men, for new communities to reconcile the two great objects of protecting free discussion, and checking attacks upon character.'

No improvement on the law of libel could certainly be expected from one who considered "unrestrained license," which is in fact practically exhibited by the state of the press in England and North America, an extreme "almost equally pernicious with strict prohibition" or censorship; and who attempted to reconcile freedom of discussion with the arbitrary imposition of penalties on whatever might happen to be construed into an attack upon character, whether written or spoken. The more the subject is reflected on, and the more carefully the most plausible objections are examined, the more we shall be convinced that there is *no point* between the two extremes of "unrestrained license" to speak and write, and "strict prohibition," at which it would be wise, just, or safe to stop; and that every attempt to reconcile the free exercise and full influence of intellect, as a check on the baser propensities of our nature in the conduct of human affairs, with the punishment of erroneous or uncandid speculation, is but a reservation of openings through which individuals and parties may annoy those who dissent from *their own* partialities, principles, and prejudices. But let us examine the provisions of Mr. Brougham's bill in the order in which they have been given:

'1. It first takes away entirely the power of filing *ex officio* informations in cases of libel and seditious words.'

In 1816, such a reform might have been supposed to relieve the press from a most vexatious species of control; but the operations of the 'Constitutional Association' have since demonstrated, that private and irresponsible persons may harass their political adversaries with a war of indictments, more active and rancorous than that which depended upon the temper of an Attorney-General. Sir John Hawles has well observed, that "the true reason of a grand jury is the vast inequality of the plaintiff and defendant, which in an indictment is always between the King and his subjects;" but as in most cases of libel the contest is between opposite parties in church or state, the protection of a grand or petty jury can little

avail a defendant; the true plaintiffs may be in the jury-box, and if they are not, the prosecutor has little hope of a verdict. Those who admitted that owing to the peculiar nature of the sin of libel, it is a "much more important question whether any given publication shall be prosecuted or not, than whether it is libellous or not,"* should have deduced this inference, that since an impartial prosecutor could not possibly be found, nor generated by any legislative contrivance, and it was even a solecism to conjoin the two words, libelling was a species of crime which ought *never to be* prosecuted. If a jury cannot be trusted, whither shall we resort for an equitable judgment? In respect to all *other* crimes, it is so far from being more important to decide whether they shall be prosecuted, than whether they have been committed, that it has been contended that "in all cases in which a grand jury sends a man to his trial, *it does neither good nor evil*; for the man is tried, and sustains the consequences of his trial exactly as if no such thing as a grand jury had been in existence." † To be sent to trial is said to be no evil in any case; but it is obvious that there has been an omission, from inadvertence, to except cases of libel, for, in respect to them, the fate of the defendant is in a great measure decided by an affirmative or negative resolution respecting his being submitted to the ordeal of a trial. It follows, therefore, that the abolition of *ex officio* informations would afford no material alleviation of the evils arising from the present law of libel.

* 2. It next abolishes the power of reply, unless where the defendant has adduced evidence; thus placing the crown prosecutions upon the same footing with all others.

This amendment is not open to any objection, though its importance may easily be overrated. The effect of a defence against a charge of libel depends so much on the disposition of the persons to whom it is addressed, that there are many instances of the most pertinent and effectual reply having been considered as an aggravation of the original offence. He who is accused of teaching sedition or blasphemy can only justify himself by reasserting his statements, reinforcing his arguments, and unfolding all the grounds on which he endeavours to establish those propositions which constitute the crime for which, in so seemingly preposterous a manner, he labours to exonerate himself. If the jury are predisposed to regard the man who maintains the propositions in question as a criminal deserving of temporal punishment, they will be confirmed in that opinion by the tenor of the defence; and if they are predisposed to regard him as meritorious, excusable, or harmless, as worthy of applause or contempt, all defence is superfluous. Under such circumstances, therefore, the prosecutor's privilege of reply is of little consequence.

* Edinburgh Review, No. LXXIII, p. 117.

† Edinburgh Review, No. XXXIII, p. 107.

3. It farther prevents any such trial from being by special jury, unless both parties consent; thus placing the offence in question upon the same footing with all crimes of the highest nature,—viz. treason and felony, and with all misdemeanours, the proceedings for which do not come from the Crown-office.

This would undoubtedly be an improvement; but it is very remarkable, that the main reason why special juries are objectionable,—namely, the unfair mode of striking them, is not once suggested nor alluded to in this article! For persisting in that mode, instead of “balloting for the jury out of a number of freeholders *possessed of estates of such a value,*” * no excuse whatever can be offered, nor any plausible reply to the conclusive objections which have repeatedly been preferred against it. But even if special juries were fairly struck from the same class of persons of which grand juries are composed, there would still be reason to prefer the judgment of a petty jury in all cases of libel; persons in that rank of life being less imbued with the feelings, and less susceptible of the influences whence intolerance proceeds,—pride, ambition, and timidity. The substitution of petty juries would therefore mitigate some of the evils inherent in the present system, but as such a body would still be liable to pronounce erroneous verdicts, and would not be intrusted with the apportionment of the punishment, such a change would not remove half the objections which may be brought against the law of libel.

4 The bill proceeds to take away the difference between written and spoken slander, and to provide that the latter may be prosecuted as a misdemeanour.

It is needless to say, that this part of the bill deserved unqualified reprobation. The objections against prosecutions for written libel exist in tenfold force against prosecutions for spoken libel, whether relating to the petty quarrels and frivolous turmoils of private life, or the political topics which are in the mouths of all men, and afford occasions to the most treacherous dilations and gross misrepresentations. If it requires but a moderate degree of magnanimity to despise written libels, what must be the rancour or feebleness of those who would hunt “winged words” into a court of justice, and seek penal retribution for the injury thereby inflicted on private or public integrity of character?

5. In the next place, it allows the defendant in all prosecutions for libel, or seditious or defamatory words, to give the truth of the statement in evidence, after due notice to the prosecutor; but it provides that the jury may, notwithstanding of such proof, find the defendant guilty; and that the court in passing sentence may consider such proof either in aggravation or mitigation, and may also consider the giving notice, without offering evidence in aggravation.

This was esteemed the most important provision in the proposed bill, that on which its friends and enemies chiefly rested their opposite opinions of its merits, and one which would make an era in the history of the law of libel. And if the practice of the existing law corresponded to its theory, as would have been the case but for trial by jury, and it had been proposed to make the truth of the

* Lord Lyttleton's Letter to a Member of Parliament, 1736.

statement a complete justification in all cases, the advantages of the enactment in question could not well have been exaggerated. But, in the first place, in almost all public, and in many private libels, the truth of the facts involved in the discussion is not questioned, but only the propriety and tendency of the inferences drawn from them, the epithets applied to them, and the comment with which they are accompanied. What the jury have to consider is, not the truth of the facts, which is matter of notoriety, nor the abstract severity of the animadversions and vehemence of the invective, but whether the publications "proceeded from a *malicious* mind, bent, not upon making a fair communication for the purpose of exposing bad measures, but for the sake of exciting tumult and disaffection." * The defendant would therefore derive little or no advantage from being permitted to support the truth of his "statement" by evidence, and would have stood under the proposed law in very nearly the same predicament in which he is placed at present. Under both systems, the jury would apply their minds to the solution of the same question, namely, the malicious intention of the defendant.

If "the rule which now prevails, operates most injuriously to the great interests of liberty, and of good government in general;" if "it tends to the prevention of public discussion beyond all the fetters that ever were invented for the press;" if "it may be questioned whether a previous censorship would cramp its freedom much more effectually," †—it might be replied, that the rule which was proposed to be substituted, (and which actually prevails in most of the states of North America,) would not sensibly have alleviated a pressure which is described to be so galling. To say, however, that the severe letter of the present law, tempered as it has always been by the interposition of a jury, *tends to the prevention of discussion, BEYOND ALL THE FETTERS THAT EVER WERE INVENTED FOR THE PRESS*, (while it is doubted whether "previous censorship," which is far from being the *worst* description of fetters which have been applied to the press, "would cramp its freedom more effectually,") is an assertion which outrages truth as much as it fails in attaining the object for which it was advanced.

Secondly, the illustrations given of the proviso which permits the jury to find the defendant guilty, notwithstanding that he has proved the truth of his statement, show still more plainly the coincidence between the existing rule and that which was proposed to be substituted. Thus,

* It is manifest that a statement, either against the Government or an individual, may be libellous; or, to use a phrase to which no one can object, may be criminal, although founded in truth. *Undoubted facts may be involved in furious or inflammatory invective.* Some cases may be conceived (though they are exceedingly rare) in which a simple statement of facts respecting the Government would be an offence against the public tranquillity; but inas-

* Starkie on Libel, p. 595.

† Edinburgh Review, No. LIII. p. 119.

usable cases may be put, in which the publication of the truth, without any comment, would be an offence against private individuals. Things disclosed in confidence, or discovered by corruption, and things concealed from motives of prudence or humanity, may be maliciously promulgated to the infinite injury or utter ruin of innocent persons.'

Again,

'That there are public libels, properly so called, which may be criminal, though true, is easily shown. The instances are no doubt rare, but they exist. It may be libellous to state, in an inflammatory way, that which, if plainly stated, would be innocent,—as to address the passions of the multitude about scarcity of provisions, or of soldiers about pay. It may be libellous to address to particular classes, a *plafis* statement of that which, published generally, would be innocent,—as to disperse it among a mob or an army. It may be libellous to state, even plainly, truths of a delicate nature at a particular crisis,—as during an invasion, a rebellion, or a mutiny. Finally, there are certain truths (but the number is extremely small) of so particularly delicate a nature, that the plainest statement of them at any time would be libellous,—as the legitimacy of the reigning Sovereign, his right to the crown generally, his political conduct, for which he is not responsible, his private conduct, of which the law takes no notice. In all such cases, the truth is evidently not of itself a defence; it enters indeed into the question of malice, and is favourable to the defendant as far as it goes, but is not sufficient to acquit him. In all these, on the other hand, the falsehood of the statement is decisive of guilt.'

It is evident, from these examples, that the question in cases of public libel, is not whether the defendant has erred in point of metaphysical and historical truth, but whether he has violated moral and political truth. "The epithet *false*," said the Judges in 1792, "is not applied to the propositions contained in the paper, but to the aggregate criminal result—libel. We say *falsus libellus*, as we say *falsus proditor* in high treason. In point of substance, the alteration in the description of the offence would hardly be felt if the epithet were *verus* instead of *falsus*." What evidence, for instance, could be adduced to the truth of "furious or inflammatory invective"? How could the verity contained in "addresses to the passions of the multitude about scarcity of provisions," or "of soldiers about pay," be established by evidence? Even if no proviso had been inserted enabling the jury to find the defendant guilty, notwithstanding the truth of his statement, they could not have been debarred from finding such statements libels, if repugnant to their own principles and feelings.

It is, however, improving on the narrowest construction of the present law to say, that the plainest and most correct statement of the political conduct of the reigning sovereign, at any time, would be libellous; for Lord Ellenborough allowed that, "as the King may be misled by the Ministers, and a change of system may be desirable from their faults," "if the passage (which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of 2d October 1809, copied from another paper) only meant that his Majesty, during his reign, or any length of time, may have taken an imperfect view of the interests of the country, either respecting our foreign relations, or the system of our internal

* Edinburgh Review, No. LIII. p. 109, 126.

policy; if it imputed nothing but HONEST ERROR, without moral blame, he was not prepared to say that it was a libel." The "plainest" statement of the King's political conduct would surely be a candid and charitable statement; and we see, that though it tended to convict him of having pursued during his whole reign an erroneous system of domestic and foreign policy, yet if it avoided the imputation of partial or corrupt motives, it would not be libellous. Now, to discriminate between "honest" and dishonest "error," to understand what shall be construed to impute the one, and what to insinuate the other,—these are among the "glorious uncertainties" of the law of libel. Though the influence of the affections is predominant over wise or foolish counsels, yet every deviation from wisdom must be supposed to be consistent with the purest intentions; the truth which "bares the mean heart," is proscribed as criminal, and the falsehood which corrupts it with flattery, is protected and encouraged!

While it thus appears that, under the projected bill, a hostile jury would have had exactly the same control over the fate of the defendant that they have at present, the Reviewer offers irrefragable arguments why its author ought to have taken the only step which can really emancipate the press, by withdrawing it from subjection even to the caprices of a jury:

'In truth, (says he,) we might go much farther, and ask what danger can ever result from the most unlimited discussion of public measures? In what circumstances must a government be which ought to fear it? To hamper the press may serve the purposes of a usurper, or a wretched and incapable ruler; a just and lawful government may safely, and even advantageously, encourage the freest discussion. The influence of those at the head of affairs secures them at least an attentive hearing in their own defence; it ensures them also the support of a portion of the press. Even if they are in the wrong, they have so many circumstances in their favour, that it requires all the native vigour of truth, aided by time, to prevail against them. If they are in the right, how much more safely may they trust their support to reason, and rest satisfied with repelling or retorting the attack by weapons of the same kind? What is there so very captivating in error, what so bewitching in excessive violence, what so attractive in gross and palpable injustice, as to make those tremble who stand firm in the consciousness of being right? Surely truth and sense have, at the least, an equal chance in the contest; and if the refutation of sophistry may be intrusted to argument, the exposure and condemnation of literary excesses may be left to good taste; without much fear of their proving hurtful to any cause but that which they are intended to besfriend. *The only risk that just and wise rulers can incur from discussion, is to be found in the consequences of its restriction.* Hamper it, and even the best measures, the purest systems of government, have some reason to fear. No rules of law can prevent something of the truth from getting out; and if a blunder is accidentally committed, the less free the press is, the more likely are distorted and exaggerated statements to prevail. A people kept in the dark are sure to be easily disquieted; every breath makes them start; all objects appear in false shapes; anxiety and alarm spread rapidly without a cause; and a government, whose conduct might bear the broadest glare of day, may be shaken by the delusions which have sprung from unnecessary concealment.'

If the writer entertained these sentiments, if he thought, on such substantial grounds, that he "might go farther," the necessary inference was, that he *ought* to go farther, and censure the inadequacy

of the provisions in the bill under his review. A man may display generosity or weakness in abating something from what he considers himself reasonably, equitably, or legally entitled to; but it is both inconsistent and unjust to compromise the claims of the public, and to propose measures which confessedly come short of their objects.

The utmost that can be said in favour of this part of the bill is, that its adoption into the laws of any country would seem to indicate that such a country is disposed to give a more manly and dispassionate hearing to every case of alleged libel; and more disposed to throw off the last *vestigia raris* than one in which evidence of the truth of the matter published is excluded. Such a conclusion would probably be perfectly well-founded with respect to North America; but the example of France, which allows the truth regarding the public conduct of all public functionaries to be freely published, and is yet very far behind England in the enjoyment of practical freedom of the press, shows that it would not be universally applicable.

'6. The next provision is for enabling the defendant to prove that the publication was wholly without his privity, and the jury to convict, notwithstanding such evidence.'

Such an amendment would be liable to the same objections, on the score of inadequacy, as the one which has just been examined. The rule which now prevails is strictly consonant to the other parts of the law. It proceeds on the supposition that libellous matter is as certainly mischievous, and as clearly distinguishable, as a physical nuisance or poison. "If my servant throw dirt into the highway, I am indictable;" * and "if a druggist have a boy in his shop totally ignorant of the quality of all medicines, and that boy should sell poison, would not such druggist be indictable for a misdemeanour as against the common health and safety of society?" † On these grounds, it is reasonable that the master should be punishable for his vincible ignorance and wilful negligence in employing an incapable servant in so dangerous a trade. Now, if there were a drug supposed to be deleterious, and yet of such difficult analysis that the most skilful practitioners continually differed in opinion respecting its identity, some pronouncing it of the hurtful, and others of the beneficial kind, and so harmless, that it was daily administered to millions of persons without any injurious consequences, it would be most unjust and impolitic to make master or man criminally responsible for the sale of such a drug, thereby incurring the greatest hazard of punishing innocent, or over-punishing culpable persons, and deterring them from the exercise of their discretion in supplying the public with the most useful and indispensable articles. Such a drug is LIBEL.

* Per Holt, Chief Justice. Blackstone's Commentaries, 431.

† Holt's Law of Libel, p. 54.

'7. It further takes away the distinction between words imputing an indictable offence, and words generally defamatory, declaring both to be actionable, and thus removing also the distinction between written and spoken slander.'

This provision is obnoxious to the same objections which have been advanced against the fourth.

'8. Lastly, it prohibits the truth of the statement from being pleaded in justification to an action, whether for libel or for words; but enables the defendant, upon due notice to the plaintiff, to give it in evidence under the general issue, and the jury to take such evidence into their consideration, but to find a verdict for the plaintiff notwithstanding, if they shall think fit.'

The observations on this provision have also been anticipated by those which were offered on the fifth. The fifth, however, did tend, though it may be considered slightly, to relax the severity of the law; but this has in one respect a contrary tendency; it would remove the necessity which now exists for the law of speaking on one occasion at least, the language of unbounded toleration,* and deprive the friends of freedom of some arguments resulting from the contrasted views taken of the public and private damage which libel is capable of inflicting. If a bad man libelled asks for damages, the law says, that "the reputation cannot be said to be injured when it was before destroyed: he had previously extinguished his own character," and cannot "bring an action of damage to a thing which does not exist." † But if he demands the punishment of the libeller, lest he should avenge himself, the law has so much regard to his evil propensities, that it will resent the provocation thus given to him more than it will punish his own extraction of penal satisfaction, if he should resort to such violence. He who brings an action, challenges inquiry into his conduct, and relies more on the impression which the result will produce on the world, than on the amount of damages awarded by the jury. On the other hand, he who prosecutes criminally, tacitly admits that there is so much truth in the charges as to deter him from encountering a scrutiny into them. Both the jury and the public are fully impressed with this opinion; every right feeling is arrayed against the letter of the law, and the consequence is, we are told, that "no one ever thinks of prosecuting. There is hardly an instance of a periodical work being prosecuted at the instance of a private party." ‡ Now, in so far as the proposed change tended to diminish this laudable averseness from prosecution, and to encourage men to look to any other forum than the society in which they lived, for the just appreciation of their character, it would have been a change infinitely to be deprecated; for honest men are never so sincerely respected, nor libellers so severely rebuked, as when the protection of the one, and the punishment of the other, are exclusively intrusted to the unbiassed judgment of the public.

* Blackstone's Commentaries, p. 195.

† Holt, p. 280.

‡ Edinburgh Review, No. LIII. p. 125.

MODERN ENCROACHMENTS ON THE ANCIENT RIGHTS OF HINDOO
FEMALES. BY RAMMOHUN ROY.*

WITH a view to enable the public to form an idea of the state of civilization throughout the greater part of the empire of Hindoostan in ancient days,† and of the subsequent gradual degradation introduced into its social and political constitution by arbitrary authorities, I am induced to give as an instance, the interest and care which our ancient legislators took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community; and to compare the laws of female inheritance which they enacted, and which afforded that sex the opportunity of enjoyment of life, with that which moderns and our contemporaries have gradually introduced and established, to their complete privation, directly or indirectly, of most of those objects that render life agreeable.

* From a scarce Tract, originally printed for private circulation in Bengal.

† At an early stage of civilization, when the division into castes was first introduced among the inhabitants of India, the second tribe who were appointed to defend and rule the country having adopted arbitrary and despotic practices, the others revolted against them, and under the personal command of the celebrated Purusooram, defeated the Royalists in several battles, and put cruelly to death almost all the males of that tribe. It was at last resolved that the legislative authority should be confined to the first class, who could have no share in the actual government of the state, or in managing the revenue of the country under any pretence: while the second tribe should exercise the executive authority. The consequence was, that India enjoyed peace and harmony for a great many centuries. The Brahmins having no expectation of holding an office, or of partaking of any kind of political promotion, devoted their time to scientific pursuits and religious austerity, and lived in poverty. Freely associating with all the other tribes, they were thus able to know their sentiments and to appreciate the justness of their complaints, and thereby to lay down such rules as were required, which often induced them to rectify the abuses that were practised by the second tribe. But after the expiration of more than two thousand years, an absolute form of government came gradually again to prevail. The first class having been induced to accept employments in political departments, became entirely dependent on the second tribe, and so unimportant in themselves, that they were obliged to explain away the laws enacted by their fore-fathers, and to institute new rules according to the dictates of their contemporary princes. They were considered as merely nominal legislators, and the whole power, whether legislative or executive, was in fact exercised by the Rajpoots. This tribe exercised tyranny and oppression for a period of about a thousand years, when Musulmans from Ghuznee and Ghore invaded the country, and finding it divided among hundreds of petty princes detested by their respective subjects, conquered them all successively, and introduced their own tyrannical system of government, destroying temples, universities, and all other sacred and literary establishments. At present the whole empire (with the exception of a few provinces) has been placed under the British power; and some advantages have already been derived from the prudent management of its rulers, from whose general character a hope of future quiet and happiness is justly entertained. The succeeding generation will however be more adequate to pronounce on the real advantages of this government.

All the ancient lawgivers unanimously award to a mother an equal share with her son in the property left by her deceased husband, in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children; as is evident from the following passages;

Yagnuvulkyu. "After the death of a father, let a mother also inherit an equal share with her sons in the division of the property left by their father."

Katyayuna. "The father being dead, the mother should inherit an equal share with the son."

Narudu. "After the death of a husband, a mother should receive a share equal to that of each of his sons."

Vishnoo the Legislator. "Mothers should be receivers of shares according to the portion allowed to the sons."

Vrihasputi. "After his (the father's) death, a mother, the parent of his sons, should be entitled to an equal share with his sons; their step-mothers also to equal shares: but daughters to a fourth part of the shares of the sons."

Vyasu. "The wives of a father by whom he has no male issue, are considered as entitled to equal shares with his sons, and all the grand-mothers (*including the mothers and step-mothers of the father*) are said to be entitled as mothers."

This Mooni seems to have made this express declaration of the rights of step-mothers, omitting those of mothers, under the idea that the latter were already sufficiently established by the direct authority of preceding lawgivers.

We come to the moderns.

The author of the Dayubhagu and the writer of the Dayututwu, the modern expounders of Hindoo law, (whose opinions are considered by the natives of Bengal as standard authority in the division of property among heirs,) have thus limited the rights allowed to widows by the above ancient legislators. When a person is willing to divide his property among his heirs during his lifetime, he should entitle only those wives by whom he has no issue, to an equal share with his sons; but if he omit such a division, those wives can have no claim to the property he leaves. These two modern expounders lay stress upon a passage of Yagnuvulkyu, which requires a father to allot equal shares to his wives, in case he divides his property during his life; whereby they connect the term "of a father," in the above quoted passage of Vyas, viz. "the wives of a father, &c." with the term "division" understood; that is, the wives by whom he has no son are considered in the division made by a father, as entitled to equal shares with his sons; and that when sons may divide property among themselves after the demise of their father, they should give an equal share to their mother only, neglecting step-mothers

in the division. Here the expounders did not take into their consideration any proper provision for step-mothers, who have naturally less hope of support from their step-sons than mothers can expect from their own children.

In the opinion of these expounders even a mother of a single son should not be entitled to any share. The whole property should, in that case, devolve on the son, and in case that son should die after his succession to the property, his son or wife should inherit it. The mother, in that case, should be left totally dependent on her son or on her son's wife. Besides, according to the opinion of these expounders, if more than one son should survive, they can deprive their mother of her little, by continuing to live as a joint family, (which has often been the case,) as the right of a mother depends, as they say, on division, which depends on the will of the sons.

Some of our contemporaries (whose opinion is received as a verdict by judicial courts) have still further reduced the right of a mother to almost nothing; declaring, as I understand, that if a person die, leaving a widow and a son or sons, and also one or more grandsons, whose father is not alive, the property so left is to be divided among his sons and his grandsons; his widow in this case being entitled to no share in the property; though she might have claimed an equal share, had a division taken place among those surviving sons and the father of the grandson while he was alive.* They are said to have founded their opinion on the above passage entitling a widow to a share when property is to be divided among sons.

In short, a widow, according to the expositions of the law, can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her; and in case he dies leaving only one son by his wife, or having had more sons, one of whom has happened to die leaving issue, she shall, in these cases, also have no claim to the property; and again, should any one leave more than one surviving son, and they being unwilling to allow a share to the widow, keep the property undivided, the mother can claim nothing in this instance also. But when a person dies, leaving two or more sons, and all of them survive and be inclined to allot a share to their mother, her right is, in this case only, valid. Under these expositions, and with such limitations, both step-mothers and mothers have, in reality, been left destitute in the division of their husband's property, and the right of a widow exists in theory only, among the learned, but unknown to the populace.

* This exposition has been (I am told) set aside by the Supreme Court, in consequence of the Judges having prudently applied for the opinions of other Pundits, which turned out to be at variance with those of the majority of the regular advisers of the Court on points of Hindoo law.

The consequence is, that a woman who is looked up to as the sole mistress by the rest of a family one day, on the next becomes dependent on her sons, and subject to the slights of her daughters-in-law. She is not authorised to expend the most trifling sum or dispose of an article of the least value without the consent of her son or daughter-in-law, who were all subject to her authority but the day before. Cruel sons often wound the feelings of their dependent mothers, deciding in favour of their own wives, when family disputes take place between their mothers and wives. Stepmothers, who often are numerous on account of polygamy being allowed in these countries, are still more shamefully neglected in general by their step-sons, and sometimes dreadfully treated by their sisters-in-law, who have, fortunately, a son or sons by their husband.

It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only, that Hindoo widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands, but also from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of existence after the death of their husbands; and this indifference, accompanied with the hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. These restraints on female inheritance encourage, in a great degree, polygamy, a frequent source of the greatest misery in Native families; a grand object of Hindoos being to secure a provision for their male offspring, the law which relieves them from the necessity of giving an equal portion to their wives, removes a principal restraint on the indulgence of their inclinations in respect to the number they marry. Some of them, especially Brahmins of higher birth, marry ten, twenty, or thirty women,* either for some small consideration, or merely to gratify their brutal inclinations, leaving a great many of them, both during their lifetime and after death, to the mercy of their own paternal relations. The evil consequences arising from such polygamy, the public may easily guess from the nature of the fact itself, without my being reduced to the mortification of particularising those which are known by the Native public to be of daily occurrence.

To these women there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husbands: 1st. To live a miserable life, as entire slaves, without indulging any hope of support from another husband. 2dly. To walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence. 3dly. To die on the funeral pile of their husbands, loaded with the applause and honour of their neighbours. It cannot pass unnoticed by those

* The horror of this practice is so painful to the natural feelings of man, that even Madhuv Sing, the late Rajah of Tirhoot, (though a Brahmmin himself) through compassion, took upon himself, (I am told,) within the last half century, to limit the Brahmmins of his estate to four wives only.

who are acquainted with the state of society in India, that the number of female suicides in the single province of Bengal, when compared with those of any other British provinces, is almost ten to one; we may safely attribute this disproportion chiefly to the greater frequency of a plurality of wives among the natives of Bengal, and to their total neglect in providing for the maintenance of their females.

This horrible polygamy among Brahmins is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors; for Yagnuvulkyu authorises second marriages while the first wife is alive, only under eight circumstances.—1st. The vice of drinking spirituous liquors. 2dly. Incurable sickness. 3dly. Deception. 4thly. Barrenness. 5thly. Extravagance. 6thly. The frequent use of offensive language. 7thly. Producing only female offspring. Or, 8thly, manifestation of hatred towards her husband.

Munoo, chap. xi., v. 80—“A wife who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to *her lord*, who is *incurably diseased*, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife.” 81st. “A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year; she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth; she, who brings forth *only* daughters, in the eleventh; she, who is accustomed to speak unkindly, without delay.” 82d. “But she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife, with her own consent.”

Had a magistrate, or other public officer, been authorised by the rulers of the empire to receive applications for his sanction to a second marriage during the life of a first wife, and to grant his consent only on such accusations as the foregoing being substantiated, the above law might have been rendered effectual, and the distress of the female sex in Bengal, and the number of suicides, would have been necessarily very much reduced.

According to the following ancient authorities, a daughter is entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit:

Vrihaspati.—“The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to which the sons are entitled.”

Vishnoo.—“The rights of unmarried daughters shall be proportioned according to the shares allotted to the sons.”

Munoo, ch. ix. v. 118.—“To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth part of his own distinct share, and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned.”

Yagnuvulkyu.—“Let such brothers as are already purified by the essential rites of life, purify, by the performance of those rites, the brothers that are left by their late father unpurified; let them also purify the sisters, by giving them a fourth part of their own portion.”

Katyayunu.—"A fourth part is declared to be the share of unmarried daughters, and three-fourths, of the sons; if the fourth part of the property is so small as to be inadequate to defray the expenses attending their marriage, the sons have an exclusive right to the property, but shall defray the marriage ceremony of the sisters." But the commentator on the Dayubhagu sets aside the right of the daughters, declaring that they are not entitled to any share in the property left by their fathers, but that the expenses attending their marriage should be defrayed by the brothers.—He founds his opinion on the foregoing passage of Munoo and that of Yagnuvulkyu, which, as he thinks, imply mere donation on the part of the brothers from their own portions for the discharge of the expenses of marriage.

In the practice of our contemporaries, a daughter or a sister is often a source of emolument to the Brahmins of less respectable caste, (who are most numerous in Bengal,) and to the Kayusths of high caste; these, so far from spending money on the marriage of their daughters or sisters, receive frequently considerable sums, and generally bestow them in marriage on those who can pay most.* Such Brahmins and Kayusths, I regret to say, frequently marry their female relations to men having natural defects, or worn out by old age or disease, merely from pecuniary considerations; whereby they either bring widowhood upon them soon after marriage, or render their lives miserable. They not only degrade themselves by such cruel and unmanly conduct, but violate entirely the express authorities of Munoo, and all other ancient lawgivers; a few of which I here quote.

Munoo ch. iii. v. 51. "Let no father, who knows the law, receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage; since the man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity for that purpose, is a seller of his offspring." Ch. ix. v. 98. "But even a man of the servile class ought not to receive a gratuity when he gives his daughter in marriage; since a father who takes a fee on that occasion tacitly sells his daughter." V. 100. "Nor, even in former births, have we heard the virtuous approve the tacit sale of a daughter for a price, under the name of nuptial gratuity."

Kashyupu. "Those who, infatuated by avarice, give their own daughters in marriage, for the sake of a gratuity, are the sellers of their daughters, the images of sin, and the perpetrators of a heinous iniquity."

Both common sense, and the law of the land, deprecate such a practice as an actual sale of females; and the humane and liberal

* Rajah Kissenchundru, the great grandfather of the present Ex-Rajah of Nuddea, prevented this cruel practice of the sale of daughters and sisters throughout his estate.

among Hindoos lament its existence, as well as the annihilation of female rights in respect of inheritance, introduced by modern expounders. They, however, trust that the humane attention of Government will be directed to those evils which are chief sources of vice and misery, and even of suicide, among women ; and to this they are encouraged to look forward by what has already been done in modifying, in criminal cases, some parts of the law enacted by Mohammedan legislators, to the happy prevention of many cruel practices formerly established.

How distressing it must be to the female community, and to those who interest themselves in their behalf, to observe daily that several daughters in a rich family can prefer no claim to any portion of the property, whether real or personal, left by their deceased father, if a single brother be alive ; while they (if belonging to a Koolcen family or Brahmin of higher rank) are exposed to be given in marriage to individuals who have already several wives, and have no means of maintaining them.

Should a widow or a daughter wish to secure her right of maintenance, however limited, by having recourse to law, the learned Brahmins, whether holding public situations in the courts or not, generally divide into two parties, one advocating the cause of those females, and the other that of their adversaries. Sometimes in these or other matters respecting the law, if the object be contended for be important, the community seems to be agitated by the exertions of the parties and their respective friends in claiming the verdict of the law against each other. In general, however, a consideration of the difficulties attending a lawsuit, which a Native woman, particularly a widow, is hardly capable of surmounting, induces her to forego her right ; and if she continue virtuous, she is obliged to live in a miserable state of dependence, destitute of all the comforts of life ; it too often happens, however, that she is driven by constant unhappiness to seek refuge in vice.

At the time of the decennial settlement in the year 1793, there were among European gentlemen so very few acquainted with Sanscrit and Hindoo law, that it would have been hardly possible to have formed a Committee of European oriental scholars and learned Brahmins, capable of deciding on points of Hindoo law. It was therefore highly judicious in Government to appoint Pundits in the different Zillah Courts, and Courts of Appeal, to facilitate the proceeding of Judges in regard to such subjects : but as we can now fortunately find many European gentlemen capable of investigating legal questions with but little assistance from learned Natives, how happy would it be for the Hindoo community, both male and female, were they to enjoy the benefits of the opinion of such gentlemen, when disputes arise, particularly on matters of inheritance.

Lest any one should infer from what I have stated, that I mean

to impeach universally the character of the great body of learned Hindoos, I declare, positively, that this is far from my intention : I only maintain, that the Native community place greater confidence in the honest judgment of the generality of European gentlemen than in that of their own countrymen. But should the Natives receive the same advantages of education that Europeans generally enjoy, and be brought up in the same notions of honour, they will, I trust, be found equally with Europeans, worthy of the confidence of their countrymen and the respect of all men.

RAM MOHUN ROY.

Bengal.

THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.

Ἡ δοῦσι ἀκαίρῳ τίκτουσι ἀνάλας.

“ Unseasonable joys misfortune breeds.”

At summer eve, when down the azure cope
Of heaven the blazing sun in glory rolled,
Shedding his gorgeous splendours o'er the earth,
When setting, most magnificent,—like hope,
Most radiant 'mid the darkness of the grave,—
Beneath the shadow of a fan-leaved palm,
Branching its bowering foliage, silken green,
Around the Patriarch's dwelling, at the door
Of his lone tent, on Mamre's fruitful plain,
The Father of the Faithful sate alone.
Flowers of all hues and textures swelling rose,
And mingled colours gleamed upon the eye,
Like the blest bow in Oriental skies,
While through the almond groves arose perfume,
Like holy Yemen's, on the fanning air,
Fresh at the evening hour and soft as balm.
Far o'er the plain, from date-tree groves leapt up
The gladsome flocks, and from their grateful shades,
Their shadowing noontide bowers, the panting herds,
Rejoicing in the eve, and, with raised heads,
Drinking the air ; then on the flowery mead
They grazed awhile, oft turning to the spot
Where sat their princely master, and aloud
Rendering him joyful homage. Thus he sate,
Phœnicia's stranger prince, the man of God,
Watching in grateful happiness the scene,
And, silently, from a full heart of love,
Adoring Him, whose laws vouchsafed had kept
His erring nature from the paths of ill,
And on his hoary head conferred a crown
Of meek rejoicing and true thankfulness.

While thus he sate and worshipped, suddenly
Three forms like men,—save that they wore a port
Majestic more than human,—stood before
His fixed, lone musing eye ; their presence now
Sole prelude of their advent—for no step
Rustled, no shadow glimmer'd near to tell

Of visitants ; but well the Prophet knew
Their nature and high properties, though clothed
In guise of frail humanity. He rose
To do them reverence as his pilgrim guests,
And to their seeming and intent did suit
His hospitalities. (In ancient days
The stranger was a hallowed name, and none
Pass'd unprovided on his pilgrimage,
However humble.) And them, on their way,
At their departure, consort held awhile,
And heeded well, in faith devoid of fear,
Angelic counsel humanly bestowed.

As thus they journeyed, in a moment's lapse
The more majestic Form laid by his robe
Of earth, and turning his all-radiant eye
Full on the Cities of the Plain, in wrath
Denounced the fiat—" They must perish !"—Far
Through lower and mid and upper air, and thence
Through all the starry worlds, and upward still
From heaven to heaven, arose the dread decree—
All angels, from the cherub, full of love
And gentleness, to the archangel, throned
'Mid thunders, crying in the voice of doom
For ever—" They must perish !"—Silent stood
The awe-struck Father of the Faithful there,
While the stern judgment peal'd along the skies,
And through the air a blazing besom waved
Thrice o'er the fated Cities ; then he fell,
O'erpower'd with glory, and in vision saw
The terrors of the dreadful day to come.

But Faith hath godlike power, and holy men
May plead with God as with their chosen friend,
E'en when his messengers are lightning-bolts,
Cleaving immensity, and the wild voice
Of rocking thunders utters His commands ;
And, by the unforsaking trust that all
Pure spirits cherish, now upheld, he rose,
And cried for mercy on the guilty race.
But silence was his answer—'t was in vain !
To the blue heavens, o'er-crenoped with stars,
Serene and burning in their brightness, then
He raised his soul in anguish. " Wilt thou blight
All hope of man, O Lord ? Wilt thou destroy
The righteous with the wicked ? God forbid !
Perchance, there dwell among the evil sons
Of Belial fifty righteous ; wilt thou slay
The sinner and the saint together, Lord ?"
A voice replied : " If there be found among
The Cities of the Plain so many just,
They perish not."—Cheer'd by the voice, again
The holy man implored for mercy, still
Lessening in deprecating aye the sum
Of his petition—but his prayers were vain ;
For not among the thousands, o'er whose heads
Destruction hung, could the least fact be found,
That should redeem them from the storm of wrath—
Almighty wrath—most awful when deferred !
And o'er the plain of Mamre, 'neath the light
Of the starred Armament, slowly in grief

The Cities of the Plain.

The Patriarch trod his melancholy way,
 And oft turn'd back to look and weep once more
 O'er the doomed Cities, where Destruction lower'd,
 And Ruin flapped the air with blood-red wings.

In starlight beauty lay the pleasant fields
 Of Jordan, and on every tufted knoll
 Slept the white flocks, that dotted the green grass,
 And imaged household happiness ; the herds
 Slumbered in silence round the rills, the wealth
 Of their possessor ; and the shepherd's crook
 Stood idly by, while he, Chaldea's son,
 Searching out wisdom in his daily walks,
 Watch'd the vast universe of stars, and, skill'd
 In mystic lore by solitary thought
 And lone communion with unbodied forms,
 Gave names to separate orbs, and learn'd their lights
 Distinguishable ; from th' high Mazaloth,
 To godlike Mythra and Zohail, he traced
 Ethereal influences, starry forms,
 And airy potentates, that o'er the fate
 Of man exert their mystic qualities,
 For bliss or bale on earth ; or, by the side
 Of fellow herdsman lying on the turf,
 He wiled away the lingering night by tales
 Of other days—traditions dim of men
 In the world's youth, and wondrous legends, deem'd
 Oracles by simple nature, trusting e'er
 The truth of hoary eld ; then angels held
 Discourse with men ; and Poesy, the child
 Of fiction, told their wanderings o'er earth,
 And with high Fancy's drapery arrayed
 Their glorious properties and power below.
 Silent, the groves gleam'd dewy radiance round,
 And the gay birds, their brilliant pinions faded,
 And their bright plumage covering their young
 (Unlike the proud ones of a nobler race)
 From nightly harm, beneath the spreading leaves
 Reposed, their last vesper praises sung.
 The humming bees of Jordan, 'mid their stores
 Of nectar, hung in silent multitudes.
 From Siddim's vale of slaughter to his lair
 Return'd, the lion slept upon the banks
 Of reedy Kedron ; the hyena's howl
 Had ceased ; the serpent, coil'd within his den,
 Forgot to sting ; *all* evil things, save man,
 Obey'd the mandate of the midnight hour.
 It was a stilly and a beauteous scene :
 The flashing brook parl'd by with such a sound
 As tells of silence, and the distant waves
 Of Jordan murmur'd such mysterious notes
 As float athwart the mind when lofty thoughts
 With inspiration burn ! Around the home
 Of the wise son of Haran, peace and love
 Hover'd delighted, and the good man, bow'd
 In meek and solemn worship, for his foes
 Had offer'd up his nightly orisons,
 And, penitent for his own secret sins,
 Forgiven all, as he would be forgiven.
 When the angelic visitants appear'd,
 From the outer gate of Sodom, reverently

The unpersuading advocate of truth
And righteousness, among a guilty race—
Guilty beyond all images of crime
The pure and gentle heart can fashion—rose,
Sole good 'mid evil—'mid the bann'd, sole bless'd,
And bow'd before the ministers of doom.

In ancient days, ere Shiloh came, the Lord
Held converse with his chosen, as a man
With his loved friend; and all his angels flew,
Invisible couriers of the thin air,
On good or evil message, like the flash
That lightens through immensity, till earth
Drew near; then, quickly as their glorious wings
Fann'd the thick atmosphere of this lower world,
They, on the instant, took a human shape,
Clothing their spiritual essence in the garb
Of earthly habitude; and those that now
Came, fearful visitants! to Jordan's plain,
In outward semblance and corporeal guise,
Seem'd sandal'd Palmers merely; for they took
Apparent sustenance and rest, and held
The stranger's curious converse: how the flocks
And herds did prosper; how the pleasant fields
Yielded the harvest of their increase; how
The seasons pass'd in beauty, and the face
Of Nature wore an ever-living smile
Of peace and love; and how the city thrived
In commerce with the nations; thence they spake
Of government and laws, and moral use
Of privilege vouchsafed—while sigh'd their host,
(And well the angels mark'd his silent grief,
As he could give no answer—but for ill.
Communing thus, a hum of multitudes
Arose far off, and shouts and riotous cries,
And savage imprecations; and the jar
Of countless footsteps echoed far and wide
On every side the dwelling, and the clash
Of weapons mingled with the threat'ning voice
Of lawless riot, confident of power.
But silent sat the angels, and unmoved,
Though o'er their seraph brows a gleam of light
Flash'd, like the faint revelation of the bolt
That slumbers 'neath the thunder's folds of wrath.
On came the multitude, from revel loosed,
Like demons from the fiery chains of hell,
And leaguered the lone dwelling, with rude oaths
Demanding quick the strangers; and the door
Rung with a thousand weapons. Vain the voice
Of Haran's son arose; vain his mild prayers;
His dread extorted sacrifice to shun
The perpetration of the unhallowed deed;
Vain—worse than vain; his warning voice unheard,
His agonized beseechings—oh, how vain!
They press'd upon him madly; screams and shouts,
Anathemas and prayers commingled, peal'd
Far o'er the city, and the starlight skies
Rung with the startling echoes.—Suddenly,
Back fell, astonish'd, the vast multitude;
Silence stood listening for their blasphemies;
Amid the throng no voice was heard, nor sound

The Cities of the Plain.

Of human life ; like pillars in the gloom
 Of night, they stood—blind, motionless, and dumb !
 The earth beneath them heaved ; a moaning sound
 Pass'd o'er their spirits, like the distant roll
 Of chariots in the battle ; and they fell
 Amid the city, side by side, o'erpower'd
 With terror and despair ;—they rose no more !

“ Go, warn thy kindred ! bid them rise and flee
 From out this Golgotha ; for wrath is o'er
 The Cities of the Plain !” And forth he went,
 The righteous man, with mingled hope and fear,
 And told of the destruction that e'en now
 Was gathering in its blackness ; but his sons
 Were feasting, and his daughters would not hear ;
 Lapt in low wantonness, and every sense
 Lost in the madness of inflamed desire.
 “ Thy stranger pilgrims will upset the world ?
 A mad old man !—it were a sin to toss
 The prince and beggar, and the fair and foul,
 Without distinction, into chaos—all !
 O, let the pilgrims come and quaff a cup
 In the gay banquet ! they are welcome now,
 I' the name o' charity ; red wine is good
 To cheer desponding envy—let them come !
 Thy angels will be courteous—mad old man !”
 Thus to the last dread warning, and the voice
 Of agonized affection, and the groans
 Of a bewailing father, made reply
 The reprobate—lost children of the just.
 They scorn'd the prophecy, and they were scorn'd
 In its fulfilment ; mocking the last cry
 Of lingering love, the blasting fire-bolt mock'd
 Their unavailing prayers of agony.
 With a sick heart, the wretched father turn'd
 From guilty grandeur's doom'd abodes, and sought
 His humble but bless'd home on Jordan's plain.
 “ Haste ! haste !” cried the Destroyers. “ Still the storm
 Of Ruin slumbers until thou art passed
 The mountains of thy refuge ; haste away !”
 “ Must they be left, the lovely ones that hung
 Upon thy bosom, love ? they, that oft climb'd
 My knee, and sought the dear caress ! that slept
 Between us in our earlier years, and went
 Leaping for joy among the flocks and herds,
 And prattling of their bliss, when we were near ?
 Oh, must they perish !—not alone on earth,
 But everlastingly—they whom we rear'd
 To God's true worship ? Ah ! forgive my woe ;
 A father's heart must bleed.”—“ They have been warn'd,
 They spurn at counsel ; be their portion, death !”
 “T was a stern mandate, and the good man wept,
 While hurrying his departure, but such tears
 Of grief paternal, that e'en angels felt
 A portion of their agony, though none
 Flow from the sunlight fountains of their bliss.*

* The concluding portion of this Poem will be given in our next.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. VIII.

THE attention of the Government was now called to the condition of the revenue. It had very soon been observed, that the plan for collecting it, adopted in 1772, was a complete failure; and therefore, the very next year, it was greatly modified. Excluding Chittagong and Tipperah, the provinces were formed into six great divisions, in each of which (that of Calcutta excepted) a council of five was established, to preside over all officers and affairs of revenue; and immediately, or by its deputies, to superintend the civil courts of justice throughout its division. In Calcutta, a committee of revenue was appointed. But these regulations, however, were only temporary, and a more complete measure was contemplated which should supersede them entirely.

It was found, too, that the farmers of the revenue, in taking their five years' lease, had ill calculated the resources of the country, and engaged for more than they could pay: by the terms of their contract, the rent was to go on increasing progressively; but it fell short the very first year, and no reasonable hopes could be entertained that time would improve matters. Upon this, the Governor-General and his colleagues contrived, as usual, to discover ground for bickerings and contention; the latter accusing the former of having deceived the honourable Directors, by holding forth extravagant hopes of revenue; and Hastings defending himself as well as he could, by proving that he had himself been deluded.

The farm by auction was likewise said to have originated other evils: a great number of the ancient zemindars had been outbid, in 1772, and deprived of their possessions; a still greater number had been successful bidders, and thereby reduced themselves to poverty and ruin; for, like other men, they were ambitious of maintaining their rank in society, and therefore led to bid for the revenues much more than they were worth. Men thus goaded by ambition, were not likely to be moderate or forbearing landlords. They turned against the ryot every weapon that could be invented by necessity, endeavouring, during their five years' lease, to extract from the people beneath them their last penny.

At length, after much debate, the Governor-General proposed, that the several members of Council should transmit to the Directors their separate opinions on the best mode of levying the taxes. In his own proposal, which was also approved by Mr. Barwell, leases for one or two lives were preferred to shorter ones, and

a preference was recommended to be given to the offers of zemindars, when not inferior to those of other persons. The other members of Council, who had prepared no plan, were satisfied with indulging in the bitterest censure of the existing system, and invectives against the fickleness of the Governor-General.

However, in January 1776, Mr. Francis entered a minute, recording at great length his opinions of the ancient government of the country, and the means calculated to ensure its future prosperity. He asserted, that the property of the land never belonged to the sovereign, but to the zemindars; and his plan of raising a revenue was, to impose a land-tax, fixed, perpetual, and invariable, on that class of men. To protect the ryots from the rapacity of the zemindars, Mr. Francis suggested prescribed forms of leases; and other minor notions were joined with these, to give completeness to his theory, but they deserve little attention.

The imperfection acknowledged by all parties to have existed hitherto in the administration of justice, Mr. Francis attributed to the reduction of the authority of the zemindars, who, he contended, had formerly exercised a penal control entirely judicial. They had been obliged, under the old Government, to make compensation, like an assurance office, to persons suffering by theft or robbery, and were liable, in cases of murder or riot, to be fined by the Prince. Mr. Francis now advised putting them upon the ancient footing. His opinions, however, were slighted by Mr. Hastings, who, in conjunction with Sir Elijah Impey, formed the draught of a bill for an act of Parliament, on the civil judicature of Bengal. In this plan, communicated to the Council in May, were proposed two courts of record for each of the seven departments into which the country, including Chittagong, had been divided. The criminal branch of judicature was wholly omitted in this draught, having, in fact, been palmed upon the Nuwaub's Government, and placed under the superintendence of Mahomed Reza Khan.

Colonel Monson dying, November 1776, Warren Hastings regained the ascendancy in the Council. He had, on the first of November, entered a minute, proposing to institute, as a first step towards reform, an inquiry into the principal sources of revenue; which inquiry was to be conducted by covenanted servants of the Company, assisted by a competent number of Natives: the whole under his own care or control. As every measure proposed by the Governor-General was systematically opposed by the other party in the Council, it was not to be expected that this should be suffered to pass quietly into operation. Mr. Francis and General Clavering condemned the principle upon which it was intended to institute the inquiry; and the latter, in an angry minute, accused Hastings of aiming, through the destruction of the authority of Council, at the arbitrary management of our territorial acquisitions.

However, by the death of Colonel Monson, Warren Hastings had now gained the ascendancy, and the office was established. But, as great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information, the five years' leases expired (April 1777) before it had been determined what plan should be adopted for the future. It was allowed by all parties, however, that by the preceding plan the country had been grievously overtaxed; indeed, this was proved undeniably by the fact, that a deficiency had taken place in the revenue to the immense amount of one hundred and twenty-nine lacs of rupees. In the mean time, the Court of Directors in England, to whom the Governor-General and Mr. Francis had transmitted their plans, thought proper to adopt neither, but sent orders directing the lands to be let for one year on the most advantageous terms; the mode of letting by auction to be abolished; Natives residing on the spot were to have the preference; and neither Europeans nor their banyans were to have any share in the farming of the revenues. Upon these instructions a plan for the ensuing year was founded; and the same mode of settlement, renewed yearly, was continued till 1781.

When information reached the Directors respecting the Office of Inquiry, they were highly displeased at the conduct of the Governor-General, and in their letter of 4th July, 1777, animadverted on it in very severe terms. Mr. Hastings, while he was in the minority in Council, had despatched a confidential agent to England with authority, under certain circumstances, to tender his resignation. This agent, a Mr. Maclean, communicated the Governor-General's desire, that his resignation might be received, to the Court of Directors, which, after considerable discussion, they agreed to accede to, and immediately chose a Mr. Wheler as his successor, who was presented to the King, and approved of. Until Mr. Wheler should arrive, General Clavering, as senior Member of the Council, was empowered to take the chair.

News of these proceedings reached Bengal in June 1777, and was followed by a degree of confusion, which threatened to end in civil war. Mr. Hastings was ready to have recourse to arms, but the other party shrunk from this mode of terminating the dispute, and agreed to submit to the award of the Supreme Court, which decided in favour of Warren Hastings.

From some portions of Hastings's conduct it might be inferred that his disposition inclined him to practise iniquity upon a large scale only; but this inference would be incorrect; petty mischief and malignity were no less his delight, particularly if they ministered in the slightest degree to gratify his inordinate pride and fondness for power. It will perhaps be remembered, that the Opposition Members of Council, upon their first acquiring the ascendancy, recalled Mr. Hastings's agent, Mr. Middleton, from the court of the Nuwau of Oude, and appointed Mr. Bristow in his place. They likewise despatched a Mr. Fowke, as a kind of ambassador to the Rajah of Benares. Against these individuals no complaints

were preferred; on the contrary, Mr. Hastings himself acknowledged the great merit of Mr. Bristow, and had nothing to say against Mr. Fowke. Nevertheless, one of the first acts he performed, on recovering the supreme power, was the recal of these gentlemen; the first in order to be replaced by Mr. Middleton, and the second under pretence that his mission had been accomplished. However, a few days afterwards *two persons* were sent to supply his place at Benares.

These transactions the Directors at home condemned entirely, and forthwith despatched the most explicit and positive orders directing the re-appointment of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Fowke to their former residencies. But Warren Hastings entertained the same contempt for the Court of Directors as for his colleagues in the Bengal Government, and therefore made no account of their orders, but continued his own creatures in their situations. By a kind of fatality the predominance in Council remained still in his hands; for while the opposition gained an accession of strength by the arrival of Mr. Wheeler, they were reduced to their former inferiority by the death of General Clavering, in August 1777. In order to satisfy to the utmost the spleen he nourished against his opponents in Council, Hastings now determined on a more important step—the removal of Mahomed Reza Khan from the superintendence of the Nuwaub's household, and the appointment of Munny Begum in his stead. As Mahomed Reza's appointment, however, had been sanctioned by the Directors, he thought it would seem somewhat indecorous to annul it without some excuse, and therefore induced the Nuwaub to complain by letter of the severe treatment he had received from Mahomed, and to request that, as he was now of age, he might be allowed to manage his own affairs. This being precisely what the Governor-General desired, he of course resolved to comply with the wishes of the Nuwaub, removed Mahomed Reza from his office, and appointed Munny Begum to superintend in his stead. This step also was condemned by the Directors, who no sooner learned that Mahomed Reza had been removed from his office, than they sent out peremptory orders for his restoration.

The Mahrattas had now for some time occupied the attention of the Council; for, although a treaty had been concluded with them by Colonel Upton, neither party were satisfied, or free from jealousy. The rulers of Bombay, upheld on this occasion by the authority of the Directors, eagerly sought some pretext for infringing the treaty, which the Mahrattas themselves were in no haste to fulfil. While affairs were in this doubtful position, a French ship arrived on the Mahratta coast: she brought several gentlemen on a mission from the King of France to the Government of Poonah; and the reception these persons received in that city, excited violent alarm in the English. No assurance of the Mahratta Government could satisfy the Bombay Presidency that no evil was meditated against

the Company ; they represented the matter in a fearful light to the Supreme Council of Calcutta : Colonel Upton, on the contrary, who had negotiated the late treaty, defended, against the accusations of the Bombay Presidency, the conduct and designs of the Mahrattas ; but Hastings, who knew what politicians generally are, was inclined to believe the worst, and listened to the suspicions of the Governor of Bombay. Divisions arising in the Council at Poonah, and one party declaring for the exiled Ragoba, and asking aid of the English, the rulers of Bombay were induced to promise their co-operation, and immediately despatched intelligence of the whole proceeding to the Supreme Council. There their conduct was condemned by Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Francis ; but as the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, who formed a virtual majority, came to a different decision, it was resolved that a supply of soldiers and money should immediately be sent to Bombay ; that the soldiers should march across the Peninsula with all possible expedition ; and that the command of the detachment should be conferred on Colonel Leslie. The troops departed for Calcutta, and marched towards Bundelcund and Berar, but experienced some obstructions on the commencement of their route. The fluctuating policy of the Mahratta Chiefs made it doubtful what course ought to be pursued, and at one time the Presidency of Bombay, under whose authority these troops were placed from the commencement of their march, despatched orders to Colonel Leslie to halt ; at another to advance. At length, upon the intelligence reaching Calcutta that war had been declared between France and England, the Supreme Council despatched orders to Colonel Leslie not to advance till further orders, beyond the limits of Berar.

The Governor-General, conceiving it would tend greatly to strengthen the cause of the English, if an alliance were entered into with some of the principal Native Powers, despatched an embassy to the court of Berar, to solicit the aid of the Rajah of that province. By two important services, the co-operation, he said, of this prince could be ensured : the first, to aid him in recovering certain territories of which he had been despoiled by Nizam Ali ; the second, to support his pretension to the Mahratta Rajahship, founded on his being a branch of the house of Sevajee.

The affairs of the Mahrattas, perpetually in change and confusion, now seemed, in the opinion of the Bombay Presidency, to call for vigorous interference : a treaty was concluded with Ragoba ; a considerable loan advanced to him ; and a division of the army despatched at once upon the expedition. These troops amounted to nearly 4,500 men. The army began its march early in December, and, having passed the mountains, and arriving at Candole about the 23d, came in sight of the enemy. On the 4th of January, 1779, they left the ghaut, or pass, and proceeded towards Poonah, the enemy retiring as they advanced, but cutting off their supplies,

and seizing every opportunity to harass them on the road. Contrary to their expectations, no chief of importance joined them on their march, nor any considerable number of troops. They proceeded, therefore, with damped hopes towards Poonah, and finding, about sixteen miles from that city, an army assembled to oppose them, began immediately to despair. The command of this expedition had absurdly been conferred on a Committee, ignorant of military affairs, which, now that danger was near, lost all presence of mind, and all capacity to advance or retreat with honour or safety. Inquiry was then made into the state of the provisions; and it being found that scarcely enough remained to victual the army for eighteen days, while, from the military commander, they learned that it would be impossible without a body of cavalry to protect the baggage, retreat was instantly determined on. In the dead of night the army began to retrograde, but its intention being discovered, it was attacked by the enemy during the darkness, and lost a portion of its baggage, and above three hundred men. During the whole of the succeeding day, the enemy maintained the pursuit, until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the English reached Wargaum. It was now discovered that further retreat was impracticable, and, under these circumstances, they were compelled to negotiate with the Mahrattas, when a treaty, at once dishonourable and injurious to the interests of the Company, was entered into, by which they engaged to give up all acquisitions made in those parts since 1756, to place Ragoba, their ally, in the hands of Scindia, and to leave two Englishmen of distinction as hostages for the fulfilment of these terms.

The Directors had encouraged, if not commanded, the expedition that had been undertaken, and therefore could not pretend to disapprove of the measure itself: they blamed, however, and perhaps justly, the manner in which it had been conducted, which seems to have been marked by real incapacity and want of courage. One of the members of the Field Committee had died during the march; the other they degraded from his office as member of the Council and Select Committee of Bombay; and dismissed from their service the two superior military officers who participated in the command of the expedition.

The detachment from Bengal lingered unaccountably in the interior, neglecting the urgent orders, both of the Supreme Council and of the Bombay Presidency, to hasten with all possible celerity to Bombay; its commander, Colonel Leslie, being engaged without the slightest authority in contracting alliances with chiefs, whom the Directors desired not to reckon among their allies. Among these was Modagee Bonsla, Regent of Berar, who hoped, by the assistance of the English, to rescue the Mahratta throne, to which he had pretensions, from the hands of the Peishwa, who had long usurped the sovereign power. Leslie's conduct was universally re-

probated; but the Governor-General, while he recalled that officer, and appointed Colonel Goddard to succeed him, continued notwithstanding to court the alliance of Modagee, and communicated to Colonel Goddard the necessary powers to treat with him. This negotiation ended, however, unsuccessfully, Modagee artfully declining to ally himself with the English, in the hope that fortune would enable him to accomplish his designs without their aid.

Colonel Goddard now advanced towards Bombay, receiving, at intervals the most contradictory orders, both from the Presidencies and from the Field Committee:—now he was to advance with all possible celerity towards Poonah; anon, he was to remain in Berar, or shape his course towards Surat; at one time, his orders were communicated in an authoritative tone; another, he was cautioned and warned against obeying them. His situation became perplexing in the extreme; for, owing to the ambiguity of the letters transmitted to him, he could by no means conjecture what was going forward, and while the disgraceful retreat and treaty abovementioned were taking place, he sometimes imagined the Bombay army had been too successful to need his co-operation. By degrees, however, he guessed the true state of affairs, and, although urged by a Mahratta vakeel to return to Bengal, he pushed on with all possible expedition towards Surat, where he arrived on the 30th of February, 1779.

As soon as these events became known to the Supreme Council of Calcutta, it was resolved to disavow the late convention entered into with the Poonah Government; but to confer on Colonel Goddard full power to negotiate a new treaty, on the basis of that formerly concluded, at Poorunder, provided the Mahrattas would engage to form no connection with the French, and would relinquish all claims founded on the convention with the Field Committee. In case of refusal, Goddard, now promoted to the rank of General, was directed to form an alliance, if possible, with the head of the Guicawar family, and the Regent of Berar, and to renew the war.

It was some months before the inclination of the Mahrattas could be known: they negotiated, but meanwhile made all possible preparation for war; and at last insisted on such terms as General Goddard was not empowered to grant. War, therefore, was resolved on, and Goddard repaired to Bombay to consult with the authorities there on the best plan of operations. He met at first with some difficulty, as the President and Council considered his appointment an encroachment on their own authority; but the General dextrously contrived to interest their ambition on his behalf, and at length obtained their full co-operation. A plan of hostilities was now determined on; the alliance of Fatty Singh Guicawar was, if possible, to be secured; Ragoba was to be amused with hopes, but, as he could be of little essential service to the success

of the war, his share of the advantages that might accrue from it were to be but small.

Having crossed the river Taptee on the 2d of January 1780, General Goddard advanced towards the fortress of Dubhoy, of which he took possession on the 20th, by this step alone acquiring for the Company a territory yielding an annual revenue of two lacs of rupees. Futy Singh was also induced to form an alliance with the Company, and the kingdom of Guzerat was divided between him and it. Being now joined by the cavalry of this chief, the army advanced towards Ahmedabad, the capital of the province, which in five days was taken by storm. In the meantime, Scindia and Holkar were advancing towards Surat with an army of forty thousand men; but the English General followed rapidly upon their footsteps, and came up with their encampment on the 8th of March. Some unsuccessful attempts were made by Scindia to form a separate arrangement with the English; but as these were suspected to be only so many expedients to gain time, General Goddard endeavoured by all means to bring them to an engagement, which they constantly avoided, by retreating before him. On the 3d of April, however, marching from his camp a short time after midnight, he pushed on with great vigour, and succeeded in entering into their encampment with the dawn. This bold stroke threw the enemy into the greatest confusion; they deserted their camp after a very feeble show of resistance, and were pursued and dispersed by the English. By this advantage, several considerable towns, and a large tract of territory, were added to the possessions of the Presidency; and the rains commencing, Scindia and Holkar retreated into their own countries, and General Goddard put his troops in cantonments for the succeeding campaign.

On the death of General Clavering, Sir Eyre Coote had been appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Member of the Supreme Council, in his room; he arrived at Calcutta in April 1779, and generally supported the measures of the Governor-General. In the November of that year, the Governor-General proposed to enter into alliance with the Rajah, or Ranna, of Gohud, a hilly district lying on the Jumna, between the dominions of Scindia and the Nuwaab of Oude; by the terms of this proposed treaty the English and the Rajah were mutually to assist each other against their respective enemies, and Gohud lying directly on the frontier of the Mahratta country, the Governor-General expected considerable advantage from this treaty. It was disapproved, however, by the Opposition Members of Council, and even by Sir Eyre Coote himself; but the latter being absent from Calcutta, Hastings possessed the casting vote, and the treaty was entered into.

The Mahrattas invading the Ranna's territories in November 1779, Captain Popham, with a detachment of the Company's army, was despatched early in 1780 into Gohud, to aid in expelling the

enemy. His enterprise was successful, and he followed it up by crossing the Sind, and carrying the war into the enemy's territory; where, in a very short time, he made himself master of the fortress of Lahâr, the capital of Cutchwagar. It was perceived, however, that Popham's forces were inadequate to influence materially the result of the war; and, therefore, another detachment, under Major Carnac and Captain Browne, was sent to menace or invade the dominions of Scindia and Holkar. In the meantime, Captain Popham conceived the design of storming Gualior, a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable by the princes of Hindoostan. Though now in the possession of the Mahrattas, it lay in the territory of Gohud, and covered the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped almost entirely round. Having discovered by his spies that it was practicable to scale one part of the scarp and wall, (the former of which was sixteen, and the latter thirty feet high,) he immediately resolved upon the attempt, and made preparations for carrying it into execution with as little risk as possible. The storming party arrived at the foot of the rock on the 3d of August, and applying their ladders to the scarp, the troops ascended, and climbed up the rock to the foot of the wall. The spies now crept up, and fastened the rope-ladders to the top, when the sepoys ascended, and repulsing the garrison, advanced into the body of the place, and made themselves masters of it. The Mahrattas, terrified by this daring achievement, retreated in haste into their own country, spreading on all sides alarm and consternation; and Captain Popham was promoted to the rank of Major.

In Calcutta, the disputes which these transactions on the Jumna occasioned between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis, at length became too embittered to be endured by either party; mutual accusations of want of faith and honour were made; and these produced a duel, in which Mr. Francis was wounded. Soon after this, he returned to Europe.

We must now consent, for a moment, to lose sight of Bengal, and turn our attention to the affairs of the Carnatic. Mahomed Ali had been established by the English in the possession of both branches of power, the military and the financial; but owing, partly to his feeble character, and partly to the disturbed state of the country, he was found to be wholly incapable of protecting his dominions. For this reason, backed by powerful motives of ambition, the English assumed to themselves the military defence of the country, and exacted from the Nuwaub such a proportion of the revenue as would equal the expense. But this wretched Prince, like all other princes under our protection, soon found his revenue unequal to the demand made upon it, and was led, by his necessities, to have recourse to loans and the most iniquitous exactions. The contractors for these loans were English, and, as they had portions of the revenues assigned them in payment, they always took care to secure, by the exertion of the greatest severities, the amount of their debt.

As both the Nuwaub and the English had commenced the struggle in the Carnatic with very lofty expectations, their disappointment was the more bitter at finding the revenues of the country too limited to defray even the necessary expenses of the Government. Each party attributed injustice to the other, and cherished secret dissatisfaction.

At this period, 1770, Sir John Lindsay, who had been appointed his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Native Powers of India, arrived at Madras. The appointment of this commissioner had taken place in consequence of the eleventh article of the Treaty of Paris, concluded in 1763; and he was empowered, in the first place, to take part in all the disputes between the Company and the Nuwaub; and, secondly, to preserve peace between the English and the other powers in India,—in other words, to regulate the whole international policy of that country. He had been sent from England, it should be observed, without the knowledge of the Directors, and, therefore, when he arrived in the East, and disclosed the vast extent of his powers, the Company's servants, with great reason, grew exceedingly alarmed for their own importance; and accordingly, from the first moment, conceived the utmost jealousy of his authority, and put every art in practice to thwart and confound his views and plans. They refused to appear in his train when he went in state to deliver his Majesty's letter and presents to the Nuwaub; assigning, as a reason, that they feared such a procedure would tend to impair the dignity of the Company in the eyes of the Natives. The Nuwaub soon perceived, however, that the King's Commissioner and the President and Council were upon no friendly terms, and as he had suffered many grievances at the hands of the latter, he hesitated not to denounce them to Sir John Lindsay as his enemies and oppressors. Sir John, who seems to have been but a shallow politician, and ignorant besides of Indian affairs, gave in with great simplicity to the views of the Nuwaub; confided implicitly in his representations; and transmitted to the English Ministry a picture of the Company's servants, which was drawn in exaggerated colours by Mahomed Ali's resentment and prejudices. But, whatever were the vices of the Presidency and Council, it is quite certain that the Nuwaub's imbecility rendered him incapable of governing without their aid, and, although he had reason to complain of their rapacity, it was to them that he was indebted for having anything to be coveted.

When his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary arrived at Madras, that Presidency was in danger of being engaged in a war with Hyder Ali, originating, however, in their own duplicity and want of faith; for, by the treaty of 1769, they had mutually engaged to support each other in case of war; and as Hyder was now attacked by the Mahrattas, he very justly claimed their aid, if, as he said, it were merely to prove to his enemies that he possessed allies so

powerful. With their characteristic Macchiavelism, however, the Presidency now began to deliberate whether they should be likely to gain most by keeping faith with their ally, or by betraying him; and, after much reflection, decided to infringe the treaty by withholding the stipulated aid, while they abstained from granting succour to his enemies, and merely kept out of the contest in order, when both should be worn out with the struggle, to pounce upon the exhausted victor and make him an easy prey.

The policy of the King's Commissioner was, if possible, still more reprehensible; he united with the Nuwaub in endeavouring to plunge the Presidencies into an alliance with the Mahrattas, who were more agreeable to Mahomed Ali than Hyder, against whom he indulged a personal antipathy. As, however, the President and Council persisted in eluding this disgraceful step, perpetual altercations between them and the Commissioner ensued, and the Ministry at home, perceiving at length that cordial co-operation between parties so repugnant to each other was perfectly out of the question, recalled Sir John Lindsay, and sent out another commissioner, Sir Robert Harland, in his stead. This gentleman differed from his predecessor, chiefly in being more headstrong and intemperate; and as he entered into the views of the Nuwaub with more warmth, he considerably fomented those animosities he was designed to remove.

In the meanwhile, the progress of the Mahratta arms became more and more alarming: in the month of November 1771, they were in possession of nearly the whole of the Mysore; and advancing towards the frontiers of the Carnatic, sent forward a few straggling parties to plunder and devastate the country. This produced, in the English, a disposition to treat with them; and as they experienced the greatest difficulty to subsist their troops in a country so ravaged, they were not averse to agree to a suspension of hostilities, till the pleasure of the King of England should be known, especially as it appears that they received large sums of money among the other arguments used to procure their forbearance.*

* The conduct of the King's Commissioner, during these transactions, excites from Mr. Mill a remark which reflects but little credit on his judgment. He contrasts the prudence and firmness of the Company's servants with the folly and ignorance of the King's Minister Plenipotentiary, and then insinuates that if we are to form a judgment from *this instance*, India would lose considerably by passing from the Company's government, under the immediate influence of the crown. But no sensible man would think of forming a judgment from one such instance; especially as on the occasion in question, the servants of the crown were confessedly ignorant of Indian affairs. Ignorance, however, whether in King's or Company's servants, will give way before experience, unless Mr. Mill thinks, indeed, that whoever serves the King will always be too indolent to acquire knowledge, while those who serve the Company will not be subject to such frailty.

THE STORM ABATED.

O, HEAVEN! calm the winds awhile,
 And bid the Ocean cease to roar,
 Dispel its raging with thy smile,
 And bring my Henry safe to shore.

Hark! how the pouring rain descends,
 And thunder rolls in awful peals!
 The forked flame heaven's curtain rends,
 And Nature to her centre reels.

Stern Winter frowns with brow severe,
 And vents his wildest fury forth,
 While Boreas stores the whirling air
 With all the rigours of the north.

Witness, O God! the anxious sighs
 Still bursting from my woe-worn breast,
 The tears that from my sleepless eyes
 Have banish'd ev'ry gleam of rest.

Witness the prayers that from my soul
 Each lengthen'd hour to thee have fled,
 That thou wouldst stay the dark wave's roll,
 And calm old Ocean's oozy bed.

With me, my Infant, bend the knee
 Before indulgent Mercy's shrine;
 Soft innocence shall be thy plea,
 And fervency of love be mine.

Rise, rise, my babe!—'t is past, 't is done!
 Our prayers are heard, the boon is given:
 The storm abates, the rain is gone,
 The lightnings from the sky are driven;

Nature assumes a look serene,
 Th' enlivening sun puts forth a ray;
 And through the op'ning clouds is seen
 The blue expanse of bright'ning day.

The glare of elemental strife,
 Expiring, dies without a breath;
 And Nature seems restored to life
 From chaos and a second death.

DE SISMONDI ON THE EXTERMINATION OF THE GREEKS.

THERE are some subjects, and some dissertations, that cannot be permitted to remain the exclusive property of any individual or any publication : subjects and dissertations of such universal and overwhelming interest and importance, as to justify the breaking down of all the ordinary barriers of courtesy and usage by which they may be technically hemmed around, if by so doing the ends of justice and humanity are to be promoted by their repetition from other pens, and in other pages, to spread their influence to the remotest corners of the earth. Such a subject we conceive to be the 'Extermination of the Greeks ;' and such a dissertation that contained in the admirable pamphlet of M. de Sismondi, to which we now refer.

We are not certain whether this was first published in a separate form, and then transcribed in the attractive pages of the 'New Monthly Magazine,' or whether its first appearance has been effected through that channel. In either case, it does honour to the work, as well as to the writer ; and we rejoice to see it in a periodical, the extensive circulation of which will necessarily command a very general perusal. It is to secure for it, in the peculiar quarters to which our own publication has almost exclusively access, that we willingly lend our aid to make this powerful appeal, on behalf of an oppressed and suffering people, still more widely known ; and we cannot but think, that every periodical and newspaper in the kingdom ought to reiterate its heart-stirring sentiments, till all ears shall have drunk in the sounds, and all spirits answered to their call.

M. de Sismondi, though an enthusiast, is a profound philosopher, and unites, in an extraordinary and enviable degree, the qualities of patient investigation, deep thinking, logical precision, and an overflowing energy of feeling, which gives richness and grace to all that flows from his pen. But his reputation, whether literary or political, is too well established to need our feeble eulogium ; although we must add, that if his splendid talents and varied acquirements have already won for him the esteem and admiration of mankind, the present noble and disinterested example which, as a foreigner, sojourning among strangers for a season, he sets to our apathetic countrymen, ought to endear him to all hearts, and encircle his name with the most grateful and honourable associations.

He commences his eloquent address by observing, that the present moment of comparative calm, which has succeeded to the intense excitement of a general election, appears to offer a favourable opportunity for recalling to the attention of England the

fearful crisis of the affairs of Greece, and endeavouring to point out what humanity, honour, religion, and policy alike demand of her.

It might be conceived, that either of these interests, taken separately, would be sufficient to move the vast multitude of a nation calling itself "the most enlightened," with professions of piety and philanthropy ever on their lips. But, though invoked by all that is dear to each of these powerful interests combined, they calmly witness the destruction of the oppressed people on whose behalf their aid is implored, because Mammon is the only God of their idolatry, whose perpetual worship occupies all their thoughts; and any and every rite or doctrine that does not, in its performance or belief, lead them nearer in their estimation to the shrine of their exclusive deity, is regarded as mere dross, and turned aside from with indifference or aversion. Such is England, and such are Englishmen of the present age and character; for the exceptions to this general description are so few, as to be mere units among the millions. Let us see, however, what M. de Sismondi says of other and contemporary nations:

'Throughout the rest of Europe attention is sufficiently called to the condition of Greece; no other subject has ever excited such a powerful sensation. The very peasants throughout Switzerland and Germany inquire with anxiety, when their affairs call them to market, what are the last news from Athens or Napoli di Romania; and they never return to their villages without having contributed from their pittance something which may aid in procuring assistance for their brethren in Greece. In France, subscriptions have been opened, and money solicited throughout every town, in behalf of a Christian nation doomed to perish by the sword or by famine. The Duchesses of Alborg, Broglio, and de Caze; every Frenchwoman, distinguished by rank, riches, talent, or virtue, have divided the different quarters of Paris among them, and traverse on foot every street, and enter into every house, demanding the charity of their inhabitants for a nation of martyrs. From Denmark to Italy one great event enchains the attention of Europe: the rich and the poor, as they bring their offerings to the victims of oppression, pronounce the same imprecations upon the allies of their exterminators. Posterity will scarcely believe that England alone should have remained unmoved by the general feeling of commiseration; that she should neither have felt pity for so much suffering, nor admiration of so much heroism; and that she has contented herself with expressing her disapprobation of those among the Greeks whose excess of grief has converted itself into fury, and who have revenged by atrocities the murder of their sons, and the dishonour of their daughters.'

Who can be an English husband or father, and read this without a blush? Who an English wife or mother, and not burn to emulate the illustrious ornaments of her sex in France? Is it want of capacity for zeal, or talent for organization, that is the cause of this horrid indifference to what arouses all the world beside? Let the zeal of our electioneering agents, and the unexampled organization of committees, sub-committees, branch committees, and delegates, which ramify through every town and village in England, when proselytism to a predominant faith, or corruption to a prevailing political interest, are the objects, answer; and they will prove, that there is no country on earth where frivolous or pernicious objects

will excite a hotter zeal, or where worthless associations will be supported by a more powerful or effective organization for co-operative aid, than in this boasted land of liberality, this "envy of surrounding nations, and admiration of the world." If not a lack of power to feel, or skill to organize, can it be a want of money to execute, that indisposes Englishmen and Englishwomen to bear unmoved this reproach upon their heartless parsimony? Let the millions squandered every year at the gaming-table, on the turf, and in the saloons of pleasure, answer: and if this should not yet satisfy the credulous, let them hear of two candidates for a county, spending each 3000*l.* a day, for weeks in succession, merely to show which was the most powerful individual in his little neighbourhood; let them be informed, a third, in the same contest, admitting himself to have held a seat in Parliament for years without once attending to its duties, and then spending 80,000*l.* in the most demoralizing manner that can be imagined, to keep out some other individual, who spends another 50,000*l.* to indulge a reciprocal pique. Let them learn that, independently of the hourly profligacy in which gold enough to save a nation from destruction is squandered every day, there has been wasted, by the noble and the wealthy of England, in riot and debauchery, during the last two months only, and for the purpose of corrupting the people of their own country, a sum that would purchase the throne of Turkey entire, and pension off its tyrants and their satraps to everlasting peace. It is really monstrous to see millions upon millions in the east of Asia and of Europe perishing under systems of the most atrocious oppression, stretching forth their hands for help, and lifting their imploring eyes for sympathy, without a voice to answer or a hand to save. If the daily prayer which men, thus deaf to the misery of others, still impiously teach their infant sons to lisp, when they pray that as they measure out their mercy to others it may be measured out to themselves, were literally fulfilled on their own heads, the red-arm of vengeance would overtake them, and engulf the whole in one smoking ruin.

* But England is yet subject to a deeper reproach; she has not remained a silent spectator of this struggle even to death; she has lent her aid to the strong, and has withdrawn defenders from the weak. At the moment when ministers announced the success of their negotiations, so fatal to Greece, I endeavoured, in a letter addressed to two daily newspapers,* to prove that they ought not to leave their labours incomplete. I showed that by the conduct of the Russians, the Greeks have been so thoroughly compromised for the last half-century, that there has only remained to the Turks the choice of massacring them, or acknowledging their independence; that after the massacre of one million three hundred thousand Greeks, the Turks will be driven upon the destruction of four or five millions of Christians, established in other provinces of the empire; and that this massacre will continue for years, until England shall arrest it; that she alone has the power of doing so; that she can stop it in a single day, without incurring the slightest chance of thereby

* See the 'Representative' of June 1. The 'Times,' which had my letter first, announced it two days successively, but did not publish it.—M. D. S.

engaging herself in a new war. Lastly, I showed that England has contracted an obligation to arrest the progress of these massacres, because it was she who removed from the Greeks the protection of the Russians, at the moment when the latter stepped forward to save them.'

The note appended to this paragraph in the original will corroborate what we have so often endeavoured to impress on our readers, with respect to the public Press of England. The most silly and absurd scruples as to priority of intelligence, or acknowledgment of one paper as its source of information by another, will so entirely extinguish all feelings of patriotism or philanthropy, if indeed they exist, as to induce the leading journals, as they are called, to withhold entirely, not merely all facts, but even all comments on them, when they first appear in some other paper of inferior note, whether advocating the same principles or not. The weakness and obstinacy of the reputed oracles of the day in this respect, surpasses any thing that could be conceived by the uninitiated: and the bare mention of it here will, we are aware, be regarded as little short of treason against the majesty of the Daily Press. But there are so few who dare to speak the truth of them, that it becomes more imperative on those few to do their duty. We pass to the continuation of M. de Sismondi's appeal:

' Let us figure to ourselves a vessel loaded with men, women, and children, carried along by a rapid torrent, and on the point of being swallowed up by the waves; if it sinks, though in the sight of spectators, not one of whom will expose himself to destruction in order to save it, the witnesses of the shipwreck may be accused of a want of heroism, without any charge of being guilty; but, if the same boat were attached to the bank by a cable, which served as her mooring, and if one of the bye-standers cuts this cable, then it is he who is the real murderer of all those whom the torrent swallows. His crime is in proportion to the number of victims of whose death he has been the cause, and to the extent of their sufferings. Greece was this vessel ready to perish—loaded with 1,800,000 souls; her safety-cable was the war with Russia; the British ministers in Russia and Turkey were the men ordered to cut it;* and it is they who are henceforth responsible for the murder of a whole nation, and for the sufferings of its expiring moments.'

This is undeniably true, and awful indeed is the truth. Is there any individual who would hear such a reproach pronounced against himself by name, and not either instantly repel it, or strain every nerve to wipe it away? Not so the mighty and magnanimous nation to whom it is addressed. They who are so alive to some slight indignity shown to a letter-carrier, a pilot, or a smuggler of their own country, when the Christian subjects of other states are the aggressors, think nothing of the massacre of thousands, when Turkish functionaries and legitimate sovereigns are the murderers. This does not disturb for a moment the serenity of their self-satisfaction, and they bear the reproach as unmoved as they would witness the slaughter. The solution, however, is this: that there is supposed to be something to *lose* by permitting the Turkish empire to be destroyed, and nothing to *gain* by establishing the Greeks as an

* See the King's speech on the dissolution of Parliament.

independent people. M. de Sismondi, indeed, with the simplicity so characteristic of genuine virtue, says: "After having shown with what a load of guilt England would charge herself if she suffered the Greeks to perish, I should have thought it an insult to inquire whether the crime was *advantageous* to her;" and so indeed would every other honourable mind. But England is not so easily insulted; at least, certainly not by such an imputation as this. Let any foreign writer dispute the justice of our oceanic despotism; let him call in question the speed of our horses, the prowess of our pugilists, and the people of England will repel the *national insult* with scorn. Let him propose any philanthropic plan by which the three per cent. consols shall decline the smallest possible fraction in value, and the world will ring from one extremity to the other with the *national injury* England is about to sustain. But to say, that while she preaches the love of liberty as the first of duties, she, in the same moment, consigns to destruction those who reduce her theoretic maxims to practice; to say, that thousands fall daily victims to an accursed policy, and that she is the murderer, are reproaches to which she will listen with a calm and unmoved countenance. The enlightened philosopher of Italy, profound and extended as is his knowledge of all other countries, did not yet know enough of ours, or he would have made this "insulting inquiry," of "how far the destruction of the Greeks was *advantageous* to us," the very first object of his care; and although we doubt not but he would really "blush to ascribe such reasoning to any government" as that "which would suffer thousands to be mercilessly slain, rather than risk the chance of their one day becoming the allies of a rival power;" yet such reasoning, and such practices, are familiar enough to England; so familiar, indeed, that she is not now either ashamed or indignant at their open avowal and defence.

We pass over the intervening pages in which this false notion of "the independence of the Greeks being fraught with danger to England," is successfully combated, and come to the concluding passages of this masterly and impassioned address:

"It is still time to renounce a policy erroneous as it is cruel, and as dangerous as it is impious; it is time to save the independence of the Levant, not by allowing its inhabitants to be massacred, but by endeavouring, on the contrary, to augment their numbers, their resources, their energies, their happiness, and their desire to *defend* that happiness. It is time to detach all the subjects of Turkey from a Russian alliance, by giving them a country to fight for, and an interest in it parallel to Europe. The question is in fact now become interesting to all Europe, and all Christendom is called upon to decide it in favour of its honour, outraged by the Turks; of its repose, which a criminal policy compromises; of the balance of power, which the emancipation of the Greeks can alone confirm.

"The Turks, in fact, in determining upon the extermination of the Greek nation, proposed not only the destruction of the allies of the Franks living among them, but wished thus to testify their contempt for the Franks themselves. Humiliated as they have recently been by the Christian powers, they take their revenge upon them by committing what they regard as a mortal insult; for they have always distinguished nations by their *religion*, and not

by their government. They have always confounded all Christians in one common mass. As they could never believe that Christians would voluntarily give up to destruction a nation of Christians, they persuade themselves that they make all Europe tremble, and that each Greek who is delivered to slaughter adds at once to their triumph, and to the abasement of the powers of Christendom.

'In the same proportion as the Turks propose to outrage the English, the French, the Germans, and the Russians, by slaying under their eyes their brothers in Christ Jesus, in that proportion must the nations of Europe feel themselves insulted by the cruelties of the Musulmans. The land the most dear to our recollections—the descendants of our instructors in all the arts and in all the sciences—are given up to calamities unparalleled in history. The number of victims, the atrocity of their sufferings, the heroism they have displayed in their last moments, are all calculated to excite in the highest degree our horror, our pity, and our admiration: Champions from Germany, England, France, and Italy, combat in the Greek armies, and thus represent, in some measure, their nations, involved in these horrible tragedies; the journals which are daily printed in every language, and which circulate even through the remotest village, announce to astonished Europe all the details of these terrible sacrifices. Everywhere committees are formed in behalf of the Greeks—everywhere subscriptions are received—and every citizen, in devoting to their cause his offering, may be said in some measure to vote for the regeneration of Greece.'

Let it be observed, however, that this is among the *people*, and chiefly among those who are not included in the wealthy classes. The governments under which these people live, their spiritual pastors, their temporal chiefs, their great leaders in fortune, rank, and influence, think and act very differently, and combine for far other purposes; and notwithstanding all their professed reverence for public opinion, set it at nought with impunity:

'Can it be believed, that when opinion is so strongly pronounced as it has been on the Continent, and when it is at the same time in accordance with every principle both of morals and policy,—can it be believed, that there is no danger in neglecting or despising it? Nations will learn that England, while she boasts of the missions which she sends forth to the extremities of the globe to convert the heathen to Christianity, actually subscribes to the massacre of many millions of Christians in Turkey, and to the expulsion of the religion of Christ from all the states of the Grand Signior; they will learn that France, while she abolishes the liberty of the Gallican church, while she recalls the Jesuits, while she demands tokens of the confession from her public functionaries, furnishes the arsenals, the fleets, and the armies of the Pacha of Egypt, that he may massacre more martyrs than ever perished in the four first centuries of the church; they will learn that all the governments of Europe, in concert, propose to accomplish an object the most contrary possible to the wishes of the people of Europe; that they trample under foot pity, honour, and the interests of Christianity, with the single intention of confirming their power; that no credit can be given to their promises; and that the religion of which they pretend to be the defenders, is with them only a criminal hypocrisy. Certainly, however strong governments may be, they are not yet strong enough thus to reveal all their baseness without danger. They will be yet weaker if the crime which they meditate is accomplished. They count on establishing in the Levant the peace of the grave; but to succeed in this there must be at least two years of massacre and scenes of horror. During this time Europe will be gradually filling with fugitives, who will repeat these terrible details, even in the most obscure and remote cottages; these details will constantly augment the hatred of the people against all existing governments, and that hatred will at length produce a terrible explosion, which will wrap them in its blaze and avenge their crimes.'

It is time that such a purification of the moral and political atmosphere of the world should take place. Deluges and convulsions have, from time to time, remodelled and regenerated the globe we inhabit. Storms and tornadoes are found as valuable a part of the general system of nature, as gentle breezes and refreshing showers: and when the milder process of remonstrance, reasoning, solicitation, and appeal, shall be found inefficacious to produce the reformation after which so many millions pant in vain, it will be a new indication of beneficence in that Power from whom some signal and effective tempest shall proceed to scatter the deadly pestilence, and purify the air we breathe. We give the concluding passage of M. de Sismondi's article entire :

'The preservation of social order in Europe requires the independence of Greece; for the extermination of the Greeks will be closely followed by the extermination of those governments which have favoured the crime. The balance of power demands the independence of Greece, because the Greeks in slavery, invite the Russians; but free, they would repel them. The safety of the Turkish empire requires the independence of Greece, because Greece revolted, weakens the Ottoman armies; emancipated, she would strengthen them. The prosperity of commerce and industry requires the independence of Greece; for the same country, of which all the riches are at present destroyed by robbery, when it begins to prosper under a protecting government, would attract to itself, by rich exchanges, the produce of all the universe. If you wish nations to be tranquil, make them happy. This maxim, which policy ought to borrow from morals, is so easily comprehended, that it makes a writer blush to have to develop it. Cease to render life insupportable to the Greeks, as it has been for two centuries, and they will no longer call upon other nations to be their deliverers. Cease to favour their extermination, which you have done for five years, and their cries will no longer disturb your repose. Cease to outrage humanity, religion, and the wishes of your subjects, and public opinion will no longer invoke avengers to deliver the world from your tyranny. But be assured, on the contrary, that the longer you pursue your execrable policy, the more you will be heaping burning coals upon your heads. If you consent to the extermination of the Greeks, you must very speedily consent to the extermination of the Macedonians, the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the people of Monte Negro; but each of these crimes will prolong the fury of the Levant, and augment the fermentation in the minds of your own people; every new crime will enfeeble the Turkish power, increase the preponderance of the Russians, and render more inevitable the catastrophe which you seek to avoid. You will perish then, but you will perish with shame and with guilt; whereas, by now listening to the voice of religion and humanity, you will save yourselves in saving Greece, and you will confirm, as far as it depends on you, the peace of all Europe, and the balance of power in the West.'

We would not willingly weaken the force of the impressions which such a train of ideas as this must leave on the minds of all who follow them to their close. But, without wishing for a moment to divert attention from this great and ennobling subject, we have only to ask whether, while the voice of Greece and her oppressed thousands is heard so near, and yet unanswered—the cries of the still farther East, and its countless millions of suffering and degraded beings, can be expected to pierce the ears, or touch the hearts of Englishmen, without some greater effort than has yet been made to demand a hearing, and without the never-ceasing repe-

tion of its wants and wrongs by voices nearer home? To this we have devoted ourselves; and nothing but some calamity, which may drown that voice by its overwhelming power, shall ever induce us to acquiesce in its silence.

THE LOVER TO THE INFANT MOON.

AIR—"Rise, Cynthia! rise."

HAIL! Evening's Queen,
 Bright Cynthia, hail!
 Thy infant crescent's dawning beam
 Is dear, though glimmering pale;
 When rising from Endymion's bed,
 O'er heaven's blue vault thy light is shed,
 Amid thy countless spangled train,
 All Nature hails thy tranquil reign.
 But Lovers most thy orb adore,
 And own thy soft enchanting power;
 For oh! when burning
 For home's returning,
 Dear is thy bright consoling ray
 To Lovers' eyes, when far away.

Hail! lovely Moon!
 Mild Regent, hail!
 Whose radiance gilds Night's silent noon
 With Mem'ry's 'witching tale;
 When stealing from the world's harsh eye,
 To haunts sequester'd, Lovers fly,
 And there, unseen, unheard, receive
 Delights that Night was form'd to give,
 Thine eye alone the scene surveys;
 Its only records are thy rays.
 Thus, oh! while gazing
 On their bright blazing,
 Remembrance then will fondly stray
 To scenes like these, though far away.

Hail! radiant car!
 And ye fleet coursers, hail!
 With every bright and glowing star
 That studs thy rapid wheel.
 Oh! had I but the magic skill
 Of Samos' Saga, those worlds I'd fill,
 And write on Heaven's extended scroll
 The warmest wishes of my soul.
 Then if the eye of her I love
 Along the burning sky should rove,
 Each orb revealing
 My bosom's feeling,
 In silent eloquence, would say,
 "Remember Me! though far away."

RECENT ACCOUNT OF BALKH, KHULM, AND KUNDUZ, CITIES
OF BOKHARA.*

WE have extracted from the 8th number of the 'Quarterly Oriental Magazine and Review,' just published, the following extracts, relative to Balkh, Khulm, and Kunduz; they are taken from the journal of Mir Izzet Ullah, the agent and precursor of Mr. Moorcroft, in those countries. This journal, which it appears is now concluded, affords more information regarding Western Tibet and Turkestan, than any publication since the days of Marco Polo. A great part of Izzet Ullah's route, indeed, has never been traversed by any European, and the Native descriptions, on which alone in consequence the geography of this part of Asia depends, are much too concise and inexact to be considered unexceptionable guides.

BALKH—a celebrated city entitled Um-al-Bildan, the mother of cities. For one cross the city is uninhabited; the rest is occupied to the extent of about three thousand houses by Uzbeks, Tajiks, and descendants of the Afghans; a large castle of unburnt brick is on the skirt of the city; the bazar is spacious, and is frequented on Saturdays and Wednesdays. Several of the tombs of illustrious men, two or three colleges, and as many baths, are yet remaining. There are also twelve canals still open of the eighteen which the city possessed. Nejed Ullah Khan is the Governor on the part of the King of Kabul, but the real Governor is Khalich Ali Khan; the city yields an annual revenue of 30,000 rupees, of which one-third goes to the Governor, one-third to the old dependents of the former governments, and the rest to the Uzbeks in the vicinity. The duty of the old servants is to take care of the fort, whilst the Uzbeks are bound to perform military service when required. The Wali of Balkh is one of the sons of Mir Khalich Ali; his duty is to protect the people. The air of Balkh is very bad, and is said to be very dangerous in the hot season, bringing on fever. Wheat is sold at one rupee for two Delhi maunds. Turcoman and Uzbek horses are cheaper here than at Khulm; fruit is also cheaper. Balkh is considered to be the place where Ali is interred, and it is now a place of great resort. It is said, that before the time of Genghis Khan, it was well known that the tomb of Ali was at Balkh, but after his reign the place fell into ruin, and the memory of the circumstance was almost lost; at length Sultan Hosein Mirza was directed to the spot, and erected a lofty building, with a dome on it, which is the shrine that has since become so famous. The people here assert, that many blind and crazy

* From the 'Madras Gazette' of February 8, 1836.

individuals are annually restored to the use of their faculties by the blessing of the saint.

KHULM.—Khulm is the capital of Mir Khalich Ali Khan. From Balkh to Khulm the southern road is over mountains. Khulm has a cool climate, and is a pleasant and populous place; many Hindoos of Shikarpur are settled here and carry on trade, for it is the great emporium between Balkh and Kabul, and only those articles which do not find a sale at Khulm, are forwarded on the remainder of the road to those places. Khulm is also sometimes called Tash Kurghan, the latter being the old, the former the new city; all the houses are built of unburnt brick and topped with cupolas—the clay of which the bricks are made, is very tenacious, and the houses are very substantial; running water is abundant, and it often flows through the houses; fruits of all kinds abound, and the melons are particularly excellent. The Turcomans bring their horses here for sale, and the horses about Khulm are also sought for from other countries, being large and swift; but they do not bear work like those of the Turcomans. Horses here sell for five to ten tomans each, or 100 to 200 rupees, and the horses of the first price would sell for 400 rupees in Hindoostan. The Turcoman horses sell for from 200 to 1000 rupees. It is eleven stages from Khulm to Sheher Sebz, and no part of the road is subject to Bokhara. It belongs to the country of the Kobadians, on the right bank of the Amu, which is subject to two rulers: one is Mural Alik of the Uwaili branch of the Uzbeks; the other is Dost Mahomed Beg of the Ilan-li of the Dermenah tribe. There are three stages to the Kobadian country, or Chatrabad: the ferry of Auvachek, on the left bank of the Amu, and the Kobadian. From the Kobadian to Sheher Sebz are eight stages—or Ki Ki, Sherabad, Derbend Chakchak, Buzghah Khane, Iig-dilli, Ek kabal. To this last place, the road runs through the state of Hissar, the ruler of which is Sayro Be; the last stage is Sheher Sebz, the Government of Neaz Ghuli Beg, who is independent of Bokhara.

Urgenj is fourteen days from Khulm; part of the road is through Bokhara.

Herat is seventeen stages from Khulm.

The territory of Khulm extends eastward two stages of the confines of Kunduz: to the west, four stages to Mustijarak; southwards, six stages to Andoh; and northwards, two stages to the Sihon; the ruler is Mir Khalich Ali Khan, he is sixty years of age, of goodly person and florid countenance; he wears the Uzbek costume; he holds his court in public, with little or no ceremony, and receives complaints, and decides causes, which depend upon his judgment: if a legal opinion is necessary, he refers them to the Cazi. Thieves are not at first punished with death; but they are suspended with ropes to an iron stake in a wall in the market-place, and are kept there on bazar days, so that they may be seen

and noted by the people, and may be put to public shame; if, after this, they are convicted of stealing, they are punished capitally. The *lex talionis* is in force for personal violence, The Mir himself walks through the bazar on market days, and inspects the goods and weights.

Mir Khalich Ali divides his time between two residences, one in the north, and one in the south of the city; they are built on high ground, of unbaked bricks and pebbles; the space between them is occupied by the dwellings of the Uzbeks; but there is no house within gun-shot of either. The houses of Khulm are about 8000 in number; the town is enclosed by mountains on the south, south-west, and east; the country is open to the north and north-west. The road to the south, bending towards Kabul, was formerly rendered dangerous by the people of Dehrangi, a tribe of the Hazarehs, of the Shia religion, about ten marches from Khulm; but, in 1812, the Mir marched against them, defeated them in an engagement, and made a great number prisoners, some of whom he kept, and others he sold as slaves.

The Mir has thirteen sons, the eldest of whom, Ahmed Beg, about twenty years old, was the Governor of Imak, and the title of Wali of Balkh was given him by Mahmud Shah of Kabul, with the grant of one of the canals of Balkh, which yielded 7000 rupees a year; he died in 1812, under strong suspicions of having been poisoned. The Mir's second son is Baba Beg, Governor of Begti Arik; the third, Kulimadar Beg, Governor at Derreh Yusef; the other sons are all young. The force of the Mir is about 12,000 horse, half armed with lances, and half with matchlocks; he reviews them every year, and keeps an accurate muster-roll of the men and their appointments; they are paid by grants of land.

The Governor of Balkh is Nejjib Ullah Khan Afghan; he is appointed by the King of Kabul. The canals of Balkh are of great celebrity, and along them cultivation and population extend. Each is assigned to some chief by the King of Kabul, but several of them are in possession of Mir Khalich Ali Khan or his dependents; and, in fact, the Governor of Balkh is so only in name, the Mir being entirely master of both Khulm and Balkh, which he professes to hold under the Kabul monarch. The canals of Balkh come from Ali Bend, a place abounding with springs, amongst the mountains, two day's march to the west of But Bamiyan.

Kunduz—a city of celebrity. The chief is Khan Murad Beg, the nephew of Mir Khalich Ali Khan. It was formerly subject to the chief of Kattaghan, but his power has been diminished by the progress of Mir Khalich Ali. The rice of Kunduz is famous. The river Bengi runs from Khanchabad, past Kunduz, and the city is between it and the river of Akserai. Many springs rise in this district; the river of Taliikan rises from three springs, one is in Kunduz, the second at Mian Sheher, the third, Terishk, which form three

valleys; the branches of Kunduz and Mian Sheher unite at the latter place, on the borders of a district named Weref, through which runs the third branch, and joins the united streams at a day's march from their confluence, it is then called the river of Talikan, and unites with the Bengi. After flowing through Talikan, near Khajeh Chengal, it then flows near Khaneabad, whence a canal has been made from it to the city of Kunduz. The river of Talikan joins the river of Akserai near Aurak.

Mr. Moorcroft.—The preceding extracts derive additional interest from their connection with the latest scenes of Mr. Moorcroft's travels. We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from him, dated the 17th August, a few days before his being attacked by that indisposition, of which every account we have seen concurs in reporting the fatal termination. The vexatious treatment he encountered from the Mir of Kunduz has already been detailed by us, as well as his ultimate arrival at Bokhara, and friendly reception by the King. In his expectation of procuring horses, however, he had been wholly disappointed, the markets having been broken up from various causes, as the death of Khalich Ali, the ruler of Khalm in Izzet Ullah's journey, the open disobedience of Urganj, and the revolt of the Kothai Kipchaks. These circumstances had so much interrupted the intercourse of the states of Turkestan, that the horse markets of Bokhara had been suspended for the last five years. Mr. Moorcroft had, however, obtained from the King of Bokhara permission to make such purchases as he might be able to effect, when his hopes of success were suspended by a military levy, against the Kipchaks, of above 20,000 horse, so that it became impossible to make any private purchase. Mr. Moorcroft was permitted to repair to the camp, about four days' journey from Bokhara, in the vicinity of Samarkand, where the King was engaged in the siege of the principal fortress of the Kipchaks, which capitulated after a few weeks resistance, and was subsequently razed to the ground. Mr. Moorcroft's visit, except that it gave him an opportunity of traversing the most fertile part of the kingdom of Bokhara, was equally unproductive, as the King, after granting him leave to purchase, finally countermanded his orders to that effect. This was the more to be regretted, as he had concluded bargains for several horses of the best description. One of them, a black horse, was sixteen hands high, and of strength proportionate to his stature. All he could obtain was, a letter from the King, and another from the Governor of Balkh, with which he intended to proceed to Maimena, after which he purposed to return by way of Balkh. A very extensive feeling of interest in his adventures seems to have been excited amongst the different chiefs in that part of Asia. Mir Kammer-ad-din sent a mullah to accompany him through Badakhshan, if he should wish to go by that route, and forwarded letters from the Hill Chiefs and heads of

the Yusefzais, offering every aid in their power, and assurances of the most friendly welcome. The brother princes of Peshawar wrote singly to the same effect; and Mehr Del Khan, and Pir Mohammed Khan, engaged to send persons of trust in their employ to meet him on his return, with sufficient escorts to ensure him against all danger on the road. His premature death is the more to be lamented, as he seems to have had nothing to apprehend on his homeward journey. We hope the kindly dispositions of the individuals mentioned in his letter, will be extended to his companion and survivor, Mr. Trebeck.

WEEP NOT FOR ME.*

WEEP not for me, Love! weep not for me;
 The stars now burn pale, and the night vapours see;
 The sky is all calm, and from tranquil repose
 The nightingale wakes on the breast of the rose;
 The tints of the morning shall soon paint the lawn,
 And gladness and glee shall return with the dawn;
 The earth is all still, and all quiet the sea,—
 Weep not for me, Love! weep not for me.

Weep not for me, Love! weep not for me:
 The sun in its beauty revisits the sea;
 Already the lark trims its plumage, and wakes
 Its carol to morn 'mid the dew-shining brakes;
 The fawn bounds along in its frolicsome play,
 And crops all the wild-flowers that bloom in its way;
 And the hare leaves its form in the fen silently—
 Weep not for me, Love! weep not for me.

Weep not for me, Love! weep not for me;
 When evening returns then I'll hie me to thee;
 The huntsman is happy with horn and with hound,
 In the forest by day must my pastime be found;
 With a deer on my shoulder; a hare in my hand,
 I'll seek thee ere darkness hath cover'd the land;
 And bide in the twilight our meeting shall be—
 Weep not for me, Love! weep not for me.

PERRILL.

Princet., Dec. 1825.

* From 'The Madras Courier' of January 17, 1826.

LETTERS OF GEORGE BALLARD AND LADY ANSON.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

July 11, 1836.

THE present communication, as you will readily perceive, is chiefly designed to do honour to that better portion of our race, who have sufficiently vindicated, before the "*lords of the creation*," their claim to no inconsiderable rank among the moral and intellectual benefactors of human society.

The first letter, which I copied from the original in the British Museum, (Ayscough,) will also serve to introduce to your readers a man unendowed by fortune, though "science frowned not on his humble birth," and the "talent well employed" enabled him quickly to rise above great early disadvantages.

George Ballard, according to the '*Anecdotes of Bowyer*,' was born at Campden, in Gloucestershire. While an apprentice to a tailor there, he acquired the Saxon language, during hours of the night, stolen from sleep. "Lord Chedworth and the gentlemen of his hunt, who used to spend about a month of the season at Campden, heard of his fame, and generously offered him an annuity of 100*l.*; but he modestly told them, that 60*l.* were fully sufficient to satisfy both his wants and his wishes. Upon this, he retired to Oxford, for the benefit of the Bodleian Library." He became "one of the University Beadles, but died in 1755, rather young;" his death was probably occasioned by "too intense application."

Ballard "left large collections behind him," but published only the work contemplated in his letter. It appeared in 1752, and is entitled, '*Memoirs of British Ladies who have been celebrated for their Writings, - or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts, and Sciences.*' There has been, I believe, a later edition.

The writer of the second letter (Ayscough) was born under another planet; highly favoured by fortune, while nature appears to have been not unpropitious. She was the eldest daughter of the great Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and married, in 1748, to the celebrated navigator, Lord Anson.

Dr. Kippis, in the '*Life*' of that nobleman, ('*Biog. Brit.*' i. 220,) noticing the death of Lady Anson in 1760, commends her disposition to perform "kind offices with her Lord for persons who stood in need of her assistance." He attributes to her "great benevolence of disposition, a fine taste, and much vivacity;" adding, "her composition in prose and verse were remarkably lively and elegant, and her whole conduct and behaviour were distinguished by virtue, dignity and politeness."

OTIOSUS.

To the Reverend Mr. Birch, at his house, the lower end of Norfolk-street, in the Strand, London.

Jesus Coll. Lane, Oxford, May 14, 1740.

REV. SIR,—I am encouraged by the very worthy Dean of Exeter* to make this address to return you my sincere thanks for the obliging offer you made me by him about three months past, of communicating some notes you have collected relating to the learned of the fair sex.

Your kind intentions to promote my undertaking are highly generous, and deserve my most grateful acknowledgment. With this pleasing view, I have entirely put a stop to what I was doing for the honour of the ladies ever since I had the pleasure of hearing of your intended favour, imagining that what I might do in the mean time might be to be done again, purely to connect your notes and observations with mine.

The honour of a line from you, to inform me when I may expect your favour, will be a great obligation to—Worthy Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE BALLARD.

I shall be vastly obliged by the loan of that book which contains *Lady Jane Grey's Letters*.

To the Rev. Dr. Birch.

Tunbridge Wells, August 2, 1740.

SIR,—It is so difficult to find time for writing, at a place which may so deservedly be called 'The Village' (though not 'The Castle') of Indolence, that I have not till this minute, though I have watched for an opportunity, been able to thank you for the obliging and entertaining despatch last Sunday's post brought me from you. I have, too, just wrote to Mr. Adair, who will, I dare say, with allowances for the possibility of his being out of town, succeed in his embassy to Admiral Knowles; and I beg you will make my compliments to Mr. Edwards,† to whose amusement I shall be very glad to have contributed, as well as to a complete account of a very pretty species of creatures, who, I hope, will reward him with a song for the trouble he gives himself about them. As to Mr. Catesby's‡ insinuation, that they will in time lose their beauty, I can only say, that they share that misfortune with most other pretty things; and that malice, when it can find no fault with a lady's present bloom, always resorts to that ill-natured prediction,—“she will alter.”

I have a great mind to say to you, (but quite “under the rose” though,) that I differ from you in your opinion of Lord Vere's§ resignation not being at all regretted, for I, who see him every day here, think it is a good deal regretted by himself; and though his place may be filled with as much satisfaction to the public, I very much doubt whether it can be with so much satisfaction to himself.

I lamented that your account of the Duke of Montague's|| will had not been followed by one of the Duke of Bolton's, whom you had done your best towards despatching the night before I left London, but it has proved a little premature.¶

As to the Duchess of Manchester, I should imagine it most likely for her to dispute everything that can gratify her with the pleasure of disputing, and

* Dr. Littleton, an eminent antiquarian.

† George Edwards, the celebrated naturalist, who died in 1773, aged 80. Mr. Edwards had published two of his four volumes of the 'History of Birds' in 1743 and 1747, and was now preparing his third volume, which appeared in 1750.

‡ Mark Catesby, F.R.S.. He published, in 1731 and 1743, a 'Natural History of Carolina and Florida.'

§ A son of the Duke of St. Albans.

|| He died in 1740.

¶ He died in 1754.

in this case, I see nothing that can check that pleasure, unless it is the consideration, that it may be a kindness to Lord Sandwich to let his children stand first in the entail.

I am very glad to hear of anything that is likely to prevent our enemies from taking advantage of my Lord's pains and experience, and Mr. Robins's* knowledge, which I own I have been a little in concern about; for though I wish well to the Spaniards naturally, yet, whilst they are so entirely governed by France, all that is of service to them does, I doubt, finally return to the benefit of the latter.

Pray is Mr. Robins's second volume almost ready for President Montesquieu's approbation? And pray is the President's book upon 'l'Esprit des Loix' very ingenious and informing? or is it a little superficial, rather too refining, and wrote very much like a Frenchman? I have heard both characters of it.

I have had the pleasure of a letter from Lady Grey, who seems very happy at Wrest, † with good company (Mr. Wray, ‡ Mr. Edwards, § and my two brothers), and good business (the building the great room and the hermitage. ¶) She tells me Mr. Wray talks of coming to Tunbridge, and giving a breakfast to the *Misses*; and Mr. Burroughs, who is here, informed me last night, that Dr. Moss, ¶ if that be his name, had spread the same report here; so that I desire you will let Mr. Wray know that there is the greatest expectation of him at this place.

My hand is as much tired with writing, as your eyes will be with reading this shameful scrawl, and indeed I would advise you to begin with it as if it were what it looks a good deal like, that is, Hebrew, and satisfy yourself with reading the conclusion, which assures you that—I am, your very faithful servant,

E. ANSON.

* Chaplain to the *Centurion*. He published the only authentic account of Lord Anson's voyages.

† Lady Grey's seat.

‡ Daniel Wray, of Richmond, one of the authors of the 'Athenian Letters,' first published in 1741.

§ Thomas Edwards, author of the 'Canons of Criticism,' by which he mortally wounded the reputation of Warburton as a critic on Shakspeare; Mr. Edwards was an intimate friend of the Hardwicke family, and of Mr. Wray, who wrote his epitaph, on his decease in 1757.

¶ Among the numerous sonnets of Mr. Edwards', which he annexed to his 'Canons,' is the following, no doubt designed as an inscription:

FOR THE ROOT-HOUSE AT WREST.

Stranger, or guest, whome'er this hallowed grove
 Shall chance receive, where sweet Contentment dwells,
 Bring here no heart that with ambition swells,
 With avarice pines, or burns with lawless love.
 Vice-tainted souls will all in vain remove
 To sylvan shades, and hermits' peaceful cells,
 In vain will seek retirement's lenient spells,
 Or hope that bliss which only good men prove.
 If heaven-born truth and sacred virtue's lore,
 Which cheer, adorn, and dignify the mind,
 Are constant inmates of thy honest breast,
 If, unrepining at thy neighbour's store,
 Thou count'st as thine the good of all mankind,
 Then, welcome, share the friendly groves of Wrest.

There is another sonnet, dedicated to "the Lady Marchioness Grey," and entitled, 'The Hermitage at Tarrick to the Root-House at Wrest.' Tarrick was the name of Mr. Edwards's seat in Bucks.

¶ Perhaps Dr. Charles Moss, Bishop of St. David's in 1766, and of Bath in 1774.

SUPPRESSION OF LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AT
THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.*

Most of our readers are acquainted with the attempt made about two years ago to establish a *Literary Society*, with a *Library* and *Museum*, in Cape Town. Besides the common objects of such institutions, the proposers of that Society hoped it would tend to accomplish that complete union and amalgamation of the old and new fixed inhabitants, which every enlightened colonist must consider a most desirable and important object. Sir John Truter, and many more of the best informed Dutch, joined the promoters of it, chiefly, we believe, on this ground. His Excellency the Governor, however, was not then in the humour to submit tamely to the progress of any sort of improvement. Catching at what he conceived to be an informality in the manner of applying for his patronage, he charged the whole body of the proposers with having manifested a wilful disregard to the regulations of the Colony, and consequently refused his sanction to their undertaking. This reason for quashing so useful and promising a project was given officially in writing. In a conversation with a gentleman of the learned profession, who, greatly to his honour, zealously defended the Society, of which he was also one of the promoters, his Lordship assigned other reasons for his conduct, none of which proving capable of bearing the slightest discussion, he at last let out the true cause: "It originates," quoth he, "with two persons," (*naming them*), "and I am determined, so long as I hold the reins of government, to oppose and thwart every thing which emanates from them, no matter what it may be"!! This determination, it may be observed, he seems to have preserved unshaken ever since. Indeed, one of his last public acts, before *taking advantage of his leave of absence*, was so manifestly bottomed upon it, that nobody ever thought of accounting for it on any other principle. He will have leisure, during his voyage home, to calculate how much he has gained by it.—So fell the South African Literary Society.

Our attention has been drawn to it at present by having accidentally cast our eye, "in the course of our morning's reading," on some papers, containing an account of a parallel case, which occurred in the Colony at the same period. The one may, perhaps, throw some light upon the other. The case was this: The clergyman of Uitenhage, with several of the most respectable inhabitants, wished to form a Society for spreading religious and general knowledge throughout that district. A meeting for this purpose

* From the 'South African Advertiser' of April 26, 1826.

was held in the Church there, on the 6th of July 1824, and donations, amounting to 395 dollars, and annual subscriptions to the amount of 362 dollars, were immediately offered. The Landdrost was elected President, and the Clergyman, Vice President. A Committee, consisting of fifteen individuals, was also appointed. At their first meeting, on the 12th of July, they were informed that the Landdrost (Colonel Cuyler) regretted that he could not accept the honour of the office of President, which they had offered to him; and that the district Secretary and the district Clerk had also declined serving on the Committee, "as their public avocations would prevent their attending the meetings of the same, though they highly approved of the object of the meeting, to which they would render every support."

Notwithstanding the desertion of the functionaries, the Committee proceeded to form a few resolutions respecting the objects of the Society, and the manner in which its meetings were to be conducted; and they addressed a letter to Lord Charles Somerset, requesting his patronage and support. To this application his Excellency replied: That he highly appreciated the objects held forth in the proposition, but—(what think you? what cause could be alleged for quashing a society for propagating the gospel, and disseminating general knowledge in the district?—a society headed by so respectable a clergyman as Mr. Smith!) but—(you will never be able to guess, take it therefore in his own words) but—*"it does not appear to him, that competent persons for promoting the design of the projected Society are procurable in the present circumstances of the Uitenhage district, and as it would be inconsistent with his duty to PERMIT"*—(mark this word)—*"to PERMIT the establishment of an association which would not answer the end of its institution(!) his Excellency, &c. &c. &c."*—We have never elsewhere seen any reasoning equal to this. Put into the form of a syllogism, it stands thus:

Religious and general knowledge, under my government, should be communicated to the learned and pious only.

The people of Uitenhage are neither learned nor pious: Therefore, they ought not to be *permitted* to raise a fund for the dissemination of religion and knowledge.

Corollary:—Society shall not advance a step so long as I hold the reins of government.

The above narrative will appear still more strange, when we have considered for a moment the past and present state of the district of Uitenhage, with respect to the means of education. Previous to the year 1822, when a limited number of schoolmasters were sent out to the Cape by the British Government, the office of district schoolmaster was attached to that of parish clerk, and the salary and emoluments seldom exceeded six hundred rix-dollars per annum. The qualifications for the office could not, therefore,

with any modesty, be pitched very high ; and no other provision was made by the Colonial Government for educating the youth of a district perhaps two hundred miles in length. The inhabitants residing at a distance from the village, were obliged to hire an itinerant teacher, who was generally some discharged soldier, no way distinguished for the depth of his erudition, or for the correctness of his deportment. This brought the profession into disrepute, and few persons of respectability could be induced to enter upon a laborious avocation, which at the same time degraded them in the eyes of their employers.

The teachers sent out by the British Government were principally gentlemen, who had received their education at some one of the Scotch Universities, and they have proved themselves every way qualified for their trusts. But they are few in number, and only those families residing in or near the villages where the schools are established, reap any advantage from them. These are merely day-schools, and no means are provided for boarding those children whose parents do not reside within a convenient distance. The families, therefore, of the distant farmers, it is to be feared, will still remain uneducated for years to come.

Now, it was chiefly to meet this great evil that the Society at Uitenhage was projected. By its endeavours, respectable teachers would have been provided for these destitute people. Not idle and dissolute characters, thrown by chance in the way of a father of a family, but persons selected by competent judges, and capable, not only of communicating to their pupils the rudiments of learning, but also able and disposed to instil into their minds the sentiments of religion and virtue. What shall we say—what can we think, of a government that, under such circumstances, could oppose so excellent, so pious a design! Let not, however, the friends of religion, of virtue, and of sound learning, be discouraged. The evil days of **ARBITRARY POWER** are certainly numbered. Those who have attempted to revive it, and bring it back upon us, swelled with the accumulated venom of a **RESTORATION**, will, it is to be hoped, see their error, and join with their fellow-subjects in securing the enjoyment of peace and liberty, without regretting the solitary flesh-pot, and the unsocial garlic, heretofore devoured in secret by the sycophant and slave.

MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER.

The Section of the Unpublished Manuscripts, which contains an Account of the Import Trade of Smyrna and the Turkish Empire generally, is deferred until the next Number, which will still include it in the same volume with the Account of the Export Trade of Turkey, given in our last. The Narrative of the Series is therefore again resumed.

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. XII.

*Turkish Bridal Procession—Catholic Funeral—Extensive Fire—
Dervishes—Turkish Devotion and Amusements.*

THIS day (the 29th of August) was honoured by the marriage of the Governor of Smyrna's daughter to a rich Effendi, and was celebrated with all the usual demonstrations of joy, in addition to a grand procession for conveying the bride from the house of her father to that of the bridegroom.

The procession was in the following order: first, came fifty janissaries, in their dresses of state, each armed with pistols, a carbine, and an immense sabre. These were on foot. Their costume is not easy of verbal description: its greatest peculiarity was a cap of white leather, of the size and shape of the head at the bottom, but square at the top, and at least three feet wide, falling over the back, and reaching to the legs. These were followed by other men on foot, with green turbans and green wands, immediate descendants of Mohammed, as none but those have the privilege of wearing this holy colour of the prophet. Next followed the richer Turks on horseback. Their horses are small, but well made, and have in general finely curved necks. It appeared, on this occasion, as if there was among their riders a general emulation to outvie each other in the splendour of their decorations. Nothing could exceed the richness of the caparisons; for scarcely a horse among them was inferior to that of a Field-marshal on a grand review in Europe, and many of them superior. These were succeeded by about ten persons on horseback, having a sort of kettle drum, but not so large as a common wash-bason, which they beat with a piece of stiff leather, and the noise exactly resembled that of caulkers at work on a ship's bottom. Behind them, on foot, were the singers, who bawled in the most discordant manner that can be imagined, without order, melody, or harmony; the Indian war-whoop would be musical, compared with it. I could not obtain the exact words of the songs, but learnt that the subject of them all was the pleasures of gratified passion. After them came a strong guard of janissaries, who were followed by two men carrying a sort of wire cage, containing jewels of great value; among them I could distinguish diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones, with an innumerable quantity of pearls of large size and fine colour; besides which were a profusion of gold chains, bracelets, broaches, &c. Five male, and ten female black slaves, on horseback, with about twenty mules laden with presents, that had been sent to the father's house by the

bridegroom, came next in order ; another guard of janissaries followed ; and after these a superb litter, borne by mules, richly caparisoned ; the litter itself, covered with cloth of gold, contained the happy bride ; but the vehicle was so completely covered, as to render it impossible to obtain even a glimpse of her. A body of janissaries followed close to the litter, and the remainder of the procession corresponded to that part of it which preceded the bride, forming, in the whole, a scene of novelty, interest, and barbarous, yet imposing, grandeur. The forts discharged their cannon, while all the vessels in the harbour followed the example, and were decorated with the flags of every nation, in compliment to the Governor of the port.

Being with an English gentleman, in a Greek house, when the procession first passed, I was anxious to get to one of the Frank residences for a better view, and, going into the street, crept along close to the wall, to avoid the insolence of the Turks ; but I had scarcely moved ten steps, before I received a blow on the back with the butt-end of a pistol, when I stepped into a door to avoid any further injury. Shortly after, the procession halting, and there being a large open space, I again ventured to advance, when a negro Turk came up to me and snapped a pistol in my face. A French gentleman perceiving this, invited me into his house, where I remained until the whole had passed. Arriving at the English residence, which I had endeavoured to reach, a crowd was assembled round the door, looking at the marks of pistol balls that had been fired at some ladies who sat in their window. It appeared that two drunken Turks, who were marching in the procession, discharged their pistols at the window where these ladies were sitting, and that, being admonished by some of their more sober comrades, who told them they would perhaps kill some one, they repeated their discharge, exclaiming in Turkish, "It is a matter of no consequence ; there will only be an infidel or two the less in the world" !

In the afternoon we attended the funeral of the French Consul's son, a lad of about ten years old, who was interred according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church. The procession commenced with Turkish janissaries, whom the Governor had sent in compliment to the Consul, it being considered a great honour. Next followed a body of Capuchin friars, with large wax candles, chanting the service of the dead. After them came the corpse, lying uncovered on a bier, dressed in a neat blue dress, and bearing flowers in its hand. The Deputy-Consul followed as chief mourner, in the uniform of his office, attended by a long train of French gentlemen and ladies, all holding wax candles, and chanting the solemn service of the dead. It was a melancholy contrast to the festivities of the morning.

The following day was passed in an excursion on the water, from

which we returned early in the evening to join a large party of Franks at dinner. We had scarcely, however, risen from the table, before the company were thrown into confusion by the sound of a crowd, with persons striking large iron-shod staves against the pavement, and crying "Yangen var! Yangen var!"—literally, "There is a fire!" Immediately all the populace were in commotion; and a small engine, which had lately been received by the British Consul, and which indeed was the only engine in the city, was soon transported to the spot by Greeks. We repaired to the kiosque, and, it being now past sun-set, it presented a scene of awful grandeur. The houses being constructed with wood, and communicating with magazines filled with combustible materials, a vast column of flame rose from the centre, which, lighting up the mosques and contiguous cypress groves, produced an effect of great magnificence; infinitely surpassing the appearance of the largest fire in cities of which the buildings are of stone, where the flames are but partially seen, or are overpowered by smoke.

Fires in Turkey are, however, so frequent, that few months pass without them; and they are generally so furious, that whole districts are laid by them in ashes. In 1633, at Constantinople, 70,000 houses were burnt; and, in 1788, the conflagration was so great, as to threaten the destruction of the whole city; and even at Smyrna, but a short period previous to our arrival, a fire broke out in the middle of the public bazars, at sun-set, which raged for two days, and destroyed 40,000 houses, besides eight or ten mosques. It was remarkable, that not a religious building of any other sect was hurt, although the fire raged with great violence around the synagogues of the Jews; and this circumstance gave such offence to the Turks, as nearly to occasion a general massacre of the whole of that people.

Throughout the Ottoman empire, it is a custom on the breaking out of a fire, to summon the Sultan, Governor, or Agha of the place three times, and he is compelled to come in person before the conflagration has lasted an hour, and to bring with him mules laden with piastres, which he distributes with his own hands to the firemen, who are very inactive before he arrives. These in large cities are armed against accidents by peculiar dresses, and are said to be extremely expert and adventurous; but in smaller cities and towns, fires are extinguished by pulling down the adjoining houses, as there are no engines out of Constantinople, and even these, which are not more than four or five in number, are so small as to admit of being carried to the spot on men's shoulders.

We saw the Governor of Smyrna pass on horseback at full gallop, with a numerous retinue; no lives were lost, but at nine o'clock, by the help of the Consul's engine, the whole was extinguished: 40 houses being destroyed.

The perfect resignation with which a good Muselman sees his

house consumed by the flames, and himself reduced from affluence to poverty, has been often and justly remarked. He exclaims, "Allah Kareem!" "God is merciful!" without apparent emotion, and has persuaded himself, that the same Providence that made him poor and abject, can also restore him to wealth, if it be his will.

For the women, they have not the praise of such philosophy, they assemble in a groupe near the Sultan or Governor, and if he is at all unpopular, unmercifully load him with the bitterest revilings, particularizing his own crimes, and the errors of his government, and charging him with the cause of their present calamity. At such encounters, the situation of the Sultan or Governor cannot be enviable, as this is the only privileged time of conveying the voice of the people to his ears; and as the women in Turkey are allowed to say any thing with impunity, it is presumed that many of the fires are not accidental.

In the course of the evening's conversation, I learnt that some years ago, a young Englishman, son of a wealthy merchant, being on horseback, taking an evening ride, meeting with two intoxicated Turks, one of them exclaimed in Turkish, "Let us shoot that infidel!" and accordingly fired at him; the Englishman, having pistols, fired in self-defence, and one of the Turks fell. In consequence of this, the young man was murdered by the populace, the father's house razed to the ground, and the whole European quarter of the town destroyed by fire, not a single Frank building having one stone left on another.

Having been invited to join a party, assembled to pass another day at Sediquey, the village in the neighbourhood before described, I readily assented, and proceeded there on horseback in company with a number of friends.

The Governor of Smyrna had sent a message to the Dutch Consul, to say he intended to honour him with a visit, and had accordingly sent before him about 20 cooks, and 20 or 30 other servants, to prepare for his reception.

It was in the house of this gentleman, which was indeed a perfect palace, both as to extent and furniture, that we were all furnished with apartments, and full range of the grounds and gardens during our stay to be witnesses of the festival.

At eight o'clock, the Governor himself arrived, attended with a numerous train of guards and servants, besides four Bektashi Dervises, in their proper dresses, having musical instruments with them; one resembled a violin, but had 10 strings; another was not unlike a guitar; the other was a sort of pipe or oboe, with four holes only, and Pandean reed.

Dervise is a name given to all Mohammedan monks, though of various orders: the most noted among them are the Bektashi, the Mavelevi, the Kadri, and the Seyah. The Bektashi, who are al-

lowed to marry, and live in cities and towns, are obliged by the rules of their order to visit remote lands, and to salute every one they meet with *gazel*, or love-songs, and with *esma*, or the invocations of the names of God, and humbly to wish him prosperity, which they do by repeating the word "eivallah," a solemn exclamation of the wrestlers, by which the conquered yields the palm to the conquerors.

The Mavelevi, so called from Mavelava, their founder, are used to turn round for two or three hours together, with such swiftness that their faces cannot be seen; they are also great lovers of music; in their monasteries, they profess humility and poverty, and when visited make no distinction of persons; they first bring their guests coffee to drink, and if the streets or roads through which they have come have been dirty, they wash their feet and sandals, as a religious duty.

The Kadri, with a peculiar superstition, emaciate their bodies; they go quite naked except their thighs, and often join hands and dance, sometimes a whole day, repeating with great vehemence, "Hu! Hu! Hu!" (one of the names of God,) till, like madmen, they fall on the ground, foaming at the mouth, and completely washed in their own perspiration. The prime Vizir, Kupruli Achmed Pasha, thinking this sect unbecoming the Mohammedan religion, ordered it to be suppressed, but after his death it revived, and is at present more numerous than ever, especially at Constantinople.

The Seyahs are wanderers, and though they have monasteries, yet they often spend their whole lives in travelling; when they are sent out, their superiors impose upon them a certain quantity of money or provisions, forbidding them to come back until they have procured and sent it to the monastery; so that when a Seyah comes into a town, he cries aloud in the market-place, "O, God! give me, I pray, five thousand crowns, or a thousand measures of rice!" Many of these dervises travel over the whole of the Mohammedan world, entertaining the people wherever they come, with agreeable relations of all the curiosities they have met with. There are dervises in Egypt, who live with their families, and exercise their trades, of which kind are the dancing dervises at Damascus.

They are all distinguished, among themselves, by the different forms and colours of their habits: those of Persia wear blue; the solitaries and wanderers wear only rags of different colours; others carry on their heads a plume made of the feathers of a cock; and those of Egypt wear an octagonal badge, of a greenish white alabaster at their girdles, and a high stiff cap without any thing round it. Those Bektashi dervises who were in the Governor's train were clad with cloth of holy green, in a flowing dress, and white turbans.

The whole of the party partook of a sumptuous supper, and were entertained with music from the dervises, which was dreadfully dis-

cordant; we were all too much fatigued to join the entertainment, and therefore retired early, to hold ourselves in reserve for to-morrow.

At day-break on the following morning, our ears were saluted with an early serenade, which awoke my companions and myself, who slept in adjoining rooms; but it was of that dismal kind which approached nearer to the funeral dirge, than any other species of music, if indeed it deserved that name. To avoid such harsh dissonance, we dressed in a great hurry, although scarcely daylight, and having to pass through the great hall, into which our bed-rooms opened, found the Governor and his attendant Turks snoring on the floor, each rolled up in his own carpet without a pillow, and not a garment off; even their turbans and slippers were on. The dervises stood at the opposite end of the room, exerting their lungs; but what had awakened us, seemed to have no impression on the sound-sleeping Ottomans, whom we left to their repose.

Such of the gentlemen of our party as had yet risen, enjoyed the cool of the morning twilight in a second visit to the Fountain of Sighs, where we found a devout Musulman, who, travelling with a troop of camels, had halted here to perform his morning devotion.

The devotee was not in the least disturbed at our appearance, but, after his ablutions, went through the whole of his prayers and and prostrations to the earth, which he kissed with fervency, lifting the hands, accompanied with ejaculations and repeated turnings of the whole body to different points of the horizon.

There are five canonical hours of prayer observed by the Mohammedans: 1. Between day-break and sun-rise, which they consider to have been first observed by Adam, after his expulsion from Paradise. 2. At mid-day, first observed by Abraham, after the sacrifice of his son. 3. In the afternoon, three hours after the former, first observed by the prophet Jonas. 4. At sun-set, first observed by Jesus Christ. 5. At night, when the horizon is entirely obscured, first observed by Moses.

These are considered to be of divine institution, and are to be performed with certain attitudes peculiar to each, as prescribed by Mohammed, and stated ablutions, not to be omitted whether travelling or at rest.

At these five stated hours, wherever there is a mosque, the muezzin, or crier, ascends to the gallery of the minaret, or slender tower, always annexed to those buildings, and chants the ezann, the form of announcing the hours of prayer, in a very loud and distinct tone of voice: "O God! Most High!" (four times) "I attest that there is no other God but God! I declare that Mohammed is the messenger of God! Come to prayer, come to the temple of salvation; God is great, and there is no other!" all which is twice repeated. To the ezann of day-break is added, "Come to prayer,

prayer should be preferred to sleep." On Friday, which is their sabbath, some additional prayers are added; but that is all which distinguishes this day from any other, as public and private business meet no interruption on that account.

With such strictness are those obligations of prayer enjoined, that a good Musulman is exempted from them only in sickness and during a journey. When interrupted or rendered inefficacious by impurity, they must be renewed; and alms must be bequeathed, in proportion to the number of prayers which the testator acknowledges himself to have omitted in the whole course of his life.

We waited until the Turk had risen from his sitting posture, when he again washed at the fountain, and proceeded with his train of camels, himself mounted on an ass, at the head of them, humming a Turkish song.

After our return to Sediquey, our time from breakfast to dinner was passed principally in observing the peculiarities of the Turkish visitors. Just as we were rising from the breakfast-table, the chief cook of the Governor came into the room unmasked, and seating himself with great composure, desired the servant to bring him a bowl of tea. One of the largest was presently brought, and filled with about three pints of tea, boiling hot. He was offered sugar, but declined it, begging at the same time for a few spoonfuls of salt. When the salt-stand was brought to him, nearly full, he emptied the whole of its contents into the tea, and drank it off so hot that it soon threw him into a violent perspiration. On his being asked where he had learnt that mode of drinking tea, he replied, that he was cook in the Turkish army, when they were encamped on the frontiers of Russia, and that there he used regularly to drink five such bowls, thus deliciously hot and salt, every morning.

The dervises were busily employed in amusing the Governor with love-songs, chanted in a most vehement style, and accompanied by music in the loudest strain; indeed, it appeared as though they were desirous of excelling each other in strength rather than in sweetness of voice or grace of execution, and to entertain an idea that he who sang the loudest sang the best. The discord was so grating that we were happy to steal into the garden, where we witnessed an amusement of a less noisy kind.

A swing had been erected among the trees for the amusement of the young children, which some of the Turks discovering, immediately entered, and were swung in turns by each other. Nothing could form a more ludicrous contrast than the gravity of their long beards and the dignity of their flowing robes engaged in such a childish employment; and that contrast was still heightened by their descending from the swing, and kneeling immediately down on the spot to kiss the earth, and perform their noon devotions.

After prayers and ablutions, they retired to dinner, which was

formed of an immense parade of dishes, not less than 100 in number, many of which were placed on the carpet and taken away untouched. Their dinner lasted but a short time, after which every one retired to sleep. Some lolled on sofas, others rolled themselves in carpets on the floor, and several reposed themselves under the shade of the trees in the garden. The pipe and the viol of the dervises were laid aside, and we enjoyed the luxury of at least three hours' profound and undisturbed silence.

At four we dined, and at six visited a Dutch family, whom we found preparing to visit their Consul, to partake of the entertainment likely to be afforded by the novelty of Turkish society, and a view of their manners. We were accordingly prepared, and accompanied them there.

When we entered the grand hall, the crowd was so great that we could scarcely gain admittance. Forcing our way in, we found the Turks with the Consul's family, occupying the sofas at the upper end of the room. To them we were introduced, and seated near the privileged persons of the party. It might be literally said that all *Sediquey* was present. Not less than 300 individuals were in the room.

After some desultory conversation with the Turks, through the medium of their dragoman or interpreter, the hall was cleared for a dance. The music consisted of a piano-forte, two violins, and a pandean reed, on which a Greek played extremely well. I was highly amused with the singular appearance of the Armenians, who joined in the dance. They are at best a heavy and saturnine race, and their square calpacks, and long cloth robe, make them appear additionally so. With erect figures, like tall cypresses, they paced sedately down the room, while the more active Frenchmen who were of the party, were as light and elastic as these were ponderous and unwieldy. The Greek young ladies were many of them exceedingly pretty, and some few really beautiful; they danced with as much grace as spirit, and evident delight.

The dancing lasted until midnight, when the Greek who played on the pandean reeds, and who was one of the Governor's musical train, was called upon by him for the Cossack dance, a sort of hornpipe, which some of the Turkish soldiers had learnt in Russia. He acquitted himself with surprising agility and grace, and after completely exhausting himself retired to his chair, amidst great applause.

A poor Greek barber was in confinement by order of the Agha of the village, for non-payment of the capitation-tax, to which he pleaded inability from poverty, but without avail. This man having the repute of a necromancer, or dealer with the devil, the Agha, who was of our party, sent two armed Turks to bring him thither from his dungeon, at this late hour, to exhibit his powers for their amusement. In about half an hour he arrived, and as he entered

the room, kissing the ground three times, he approached the Agha to know his will and pleasure, which being signified, glasses, and other apparatus were provided, and he commenced his operations. The poor fellow was under evident embarrassment, either from a fear of not pleasing his persecutor or some other cause. However, he went through a long series of sleight-of-hand tricks with admirable skill, though every means were taken to detect and interrupt him. The last piece of his performance was the apparent transformation of paras, (a small tin coin, value about a farthing) into gold pieces, of 10 piastres. A number of his other tricks had astonished those ignorant and credulous Turks, who believed many of his deceptions to be realities; but this last was a *chef d'œuvre* of conjuration, and they made him repeat it a dozen times in order to detect him. Not being able, however, to effect this, the Turk exclaimed, (as we learnt from his dragoman,) "Who can disbelieve the evidences of their own sense? This fellow surely communicates with the devil."

On his concluding, the company, partly as a reward for the entertainment he had afforded them, and partly in commiseration for his unfortunate case, made a very handsome contribution, which he received with great appearance of gratitude: but observed at the same time, that they would contribute more essentially to his benefit, if they would use their interest with the Agha for his release. This was accordingly done by some of the most respectable of the company, but the Agha expressed his astonishment, and exclaimed, "No, no! the man that can turn paras into gold, must have money at his command, and I shall, before the year is out, either have the capitation-tax or his head!"

The horror of such a sentence excited the compassion of all present, and a second contribution being set on foot, a sufficient sum was raised to rescue the poor man's head from jeopardy. He was, however, remanded to prison under his Turkish guards, and intended to release himself by payment of his arrears in full to-morrow.

At two o'clock the Turks began to prepare for supper. A carpet was spread on the floor, and on that a table-cloth, around which the Turks as well as the Consul and his brother, sat cross-legged, as the Turks never use either tables or chairs. Four servants stood, one at each corner of the carpet, holding a candle. The Governor observing me to be the only person who remained behind, except the family, beckoned to me, and invited me by his dragoman to join them, which I accordingly did with great readiness, and sat myself down cross-legged with the rest. Our first dish was a *pilāw*, a well-known preparation of rice, which was eaten with wooden spoons, as their religion forbids them the use of either gold or silver in their domestic utensils. There were no plates, knives, or forks, and, after each taking a few spoonfuls, it

was removed. Pilau is a dish in high esteem among the Turks, and is generally the one with which they commence their meals. When the corps of the janissaries receive their annual pay in the court of the Seraglio, they are fed with pilau from the grand Signior's kitchen, as a mark of great honour.

The next dish which followed the pilau was a broiled fowl. This the Governor tore in pieces with his hands, and applying his teeth to the breast, stripped off nearly one side, and threw the remainder into the dish, which a Turk opposite took up with great composure, and finished. This was instantly removed, and followed by upwards of thirty other dishes in such quick succession, that we had scarcely time to dip our finger into each. They consisted chiefly of ragouts, and stews, but were changed with such rapidity, that of some I barely obtained a sight, and tasted but of few.

After the repast, water was brought to drink and wash. Fruit was next served, and pipes and tobacco followed. Although it was now four in the morning, the discordant yellings of the musical dervises were again renewed, by their performing a serenade to the Governor, who listened to their strains with the most evident delight! So variable is that capricious thing, taste, in different quarters of the globe.

At five, the English gentlemen of the party retired to take an hour's repose, having to perform an early journey to Smyrna to avoid the heat of the sun; but the Turks continued their revels until sun-rise, when they repaired to devotion.

The fatigue of the preceding day prevented our awaking at the appointed hour, and the sun was several degrees above the horizon when we arose. We regaled ourselves with a breakfast of bread and mountain honey, and some fruit fresh from the garden, while our horses were preparing.

Passing through the court-yard, we observed a number of Turks assembled round a sun-dial, which they had loosened, and were turning and shifting in every position, lost in conjectures on what could be the purpose for which it was designed, when one of the Franks of the Consul's family joining them, explained the nature and use of it, at which some of the Turks lifted up their hands in astonishment, and others laughed at the joke of having turned it out of its proper position, from an idea that the Consul would be puzzled to set it right again.

About eight we left Sediqey, and after a pleasant ride reached Smyrna at ten.

MISSOLONGHI.

They have perish'd ! but they still
 Shall live in the years to come,
 When, on the noontide sunny hill,
 Away from the camp's deep hum,
 Some martial minstrel's song shall tell
 How true they fought—how true they fell

They have perish'd ! but not in vain ;
 For, when Liberty's high command
 Comes like a battle-trumpet's strain
 To the sons of some other land,
 'They shall rush to the field, or leaguer'd wall,
 And cry, " Like them, we live or fall ! "

Where'er home's banners float,
 Where, altar and hearth to save,
 The sword is drawn, and the bugle note
 Calls on the gathering brave,
 There, watchword and countersign shall be—
 " Missolonghi ! Dead or free ! "

Bright city of the dead,
 Fallen ! but more glorious far
 Than the brightest that ever flourished,
 Unscathed by the hand of war ;
 Pilgrims shall seek thy shatter'd walls
 Before earth's proudest capitals.

They shall muse by each fragment rent,
 Grey, and with moss o'ergrown,
 From thy long defended battlement ;
 They shall pause by each riven stone,
 More than before the noblest fane
 That ever made an empire vain.

To them more sweet shall be,
 At twilight's lonely hour,
 The sound of the gale, sighing mournfully
 Through ivied wall and tower,
 Than the thousand harps of a royal hall
 At a mighty monarch's festival.

Great Babylon, whose name,
 An awful shadowy sound,
 Still lingers on earth ; the iron fame
 Of Rome, the conquest-crown'd,
 Shall cease to be remembered
 Ere thou shalt—City of the dead !

When there breathes not on the earth
 One patriotic heart,
 When Freedom dies, and truth and worth
 From the base world depart,
 Then, Missolonghi,—not till then,
 Thy name shall perish amongst men.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

**NARRATIVE OF THE SHIPWRECK OF THE ROYAL CHARLOTTE,
IN THE EASTERN SEAS.**

Written by Serjeant M' Roberts of H. M.'s 46th Regiment, who was a Passenger in this ill-fated vessel.

The ship *Royal Charlotte*, of London, commanded by Captain Joseph Corby, with male prisoners on board, arrived, after a pretty favourable passage, in Sydney Cove, where the convicts were landed; and the ship, after undergoing the necessary overhaul, was commissioned by the Colonial Government to carry detachments of his Majesty's 90th, 41st and 46th regiments to India, in order to join their respective corps in that country.

These troops, commanded by Lieutenant Henry Clinton of the 90th, embarked on the afternoon of the 7th of June, and on the Sunday following, the pilot proceeded on board and got the ship underweigh with a fine leading breeze down the river. The sun was fast sinking in the western horizon, as she passed between Port Jackson's Head, but the appearance of the weather in the offing was gloomy, and the light vapours, as they scudded rapidly to the eastward, and the hoarse murmur of the surf, as it broke on the jutting rocks, seemed to presage an approaching storm. The light sails were taken in; and the topsails, as the breeze was increasing, single reefed, while the ship left the land at the rate of seven or eight knots per hour.—By seven o'clock, the reflecting light on the promontory, which at intervals peered over the increasing waves, was all that was visible to us of the far-famed land of New South Wales; this too was soon lost in the distance, and nought but the white foam of the swelling waves and the dark scud over our heads could be seen from the ship.

At eight bells the fore and main topsails were double reefed, the mizen topsails and main course banded, and every other necessary preparation made for a stormy night, which we had now every reason to expect. The ship ran before the wind under this snug sail, till about half past ten o'clock, when she unfortunately broached to in a squall, and split every sail fore and aft then set; the gale soon increased to a perfect hurricane, and blew the canvass out of the bolt ropes, while the shreds that remained pendant to the yards cracked dreadfully in the wind, and reminded us of the independent firing of a body of infantry. The ship ran at the rate of ten knots an hour, and rolled tremendously: both quarter-boats were washed away from the davits, and several other articles were washed overboard, which it was impossible to prevent. Heavy showers of rain at intervals, accompanied by squalls of wind, added considerably to the horrors of the night, which was uncommonly dark and cold. About half past twelve o'clock we had an opportunity of witnessing a phenomenon, which has frequently attracted the attention of mariners. In a heavy squall of wind and rain, a luminous appearance, apparently about the size of a forty-two pound shot, attached itself to the main-topmast head, where it remained about half an hour, when it lost its globular appearance and seemed to melt into a stream of liquid fire, which, gradually descending the mast, ran out on the lee main yard-arm, and in a few minutes totally disappeared. These phenomena, though common in southern latitudes in stormy weather, are considered by superstitious seamen as sure indications of approaching evil, and the fate of the *Royal Charlotte* was foretold with that serious positiveness that admits of no contradiction, and completely evinces the readiness of the ignorant to attach importance to whatever is wonderful or strange.

The gale continued with unabating violence till the morning of the 14th, when it gradually ceased, and a new suit of canvass was bent in the course of

* From 'The Madras Courier' of January 7, 1806.

the day; the sea yet ran very high, and as the wind continued to blow in a direction favourable to the course of the ship, she made so much progress that on Sunday the 19th, immediately after divine service, we made Cato's Reef.*

At day-light in the morning the breeze again increased, the top-gallant-sails were handed, and a single reef taken in each top-sail, which were double reefed in the afternoon. While running under this sail at the rate of nine knots, the ship struck, at a quarter before ten o'clock, on a reef of rocks with great violence; the sails were immediately thrown aback, but without effect; she continued still on the rocks, and at length fell down on her larboard beam-ends, still continuing to strike violently, while the water rushed rapidly into her hold.

All hands were immediately ordered to the pumps, but the depth of water in the hold increased in spite of every effort. The mizen-mast was cut away for the purpose of lightening the ship, as a faint hope was entertained that she might beat over the reef, and in a short time afterwards the main and foremasts were consigned to the waves, without producing the desired effect.

Vivid flashes of lightning, which at times illumined the whole horizon round, were succeeded by loud peals of thunder, while the roaring of the surf, the crashing of the ship on the rocks, and the dismal cries of the women and children, who crowded on deck as the rain fell in torrents, added to the uncertainty of the fate that awaited us, and can only be conceived by those who have been in the like unfortunate predicament, and who, after witnessing the vessel carrying them over the foaming billows in all the pride of her glory and her strength, with the crew fearless of danger, and exulting in their fancied security, have in a moment found themselves dashed against a fatal shoal or rock, and the ship, which they fondly dreamed was bearing them to fame, fortune, or the shores of a long lost home, became a dismal wreck, with no prospect but instant death before them. By these only can be conceived the dreadful tumult of our minds in these awful moments of suspense, when the portals of eternity seemed open to receive us; but who can describe, or what language convey an adequate idea of our mental agony, as we clung to the wreck, and looked to the darkly brooding sky as a sight we were soon to lose for ever?

Lieutenant Clinton, Dr. Nisbett, Captain Dick, and the Chief Officer of the ship, were seen every where on deck, encouraging the men to direct all their efforts to the pumps as the only means of escape; while Captain Corbyn remained on the poop, watching every possible chance of relieving his ship, and issuing the necessary orders for her preservation in that calm collected manner, which bespeaks a mind superior to danger and death, and is a distinguishing trait in the character of a British seaman.

The surf beat over her bows in a dreadful manner, and frequently knocked the men away from the pumps, which were wrought with little intermission as long as any hopes remained of keeping her free; but when it was found that the water increased in spite of all our efforts, and that it was impossible for the ship to beat over the reef, or be otherwise got off, the men, who were now all nearly exhausted, were ordered to desert. Each sought for himself a resting place, and, like the mariners in St. Paul's ship when they threw the anchors over the stern, all "earnestly wished for the day."

Day at length dawned, and the increasing light soon showed us the horrors of our situation. Various conjectures had been made in the course of the preceding night relative to our situation, but none had approached the truth. The ship lay on her larboard beam ends with her head nearly N. N. E., about her own length from the edge of the reef, which appeared from the ship to be nearly perpendicular, and of great height. The breakers, as they rolled in unremitting succession over the precipice, broke close to the ship's forefoot, and covered her as far as the waist, while we expected every moment that her bows would be stove in, and that she would soon go to pieces.

The reef, as nearly as we could judge it from the tremendous surf, formed a sort of crescent, or rather horse-shoe, and swept in a circular line to about

* The position of this reef is not given in the original.

fifteen or twenty miles on each side of the ship. As the tide decreased; a number of shoals and rocks appeared; within the surf, about a mile to the eastward of the ship, was a sand-bank, rather higher than the other shoals, and over which the tide apparently did not rise. About eleven o'clock, while the hands were engaged in clearing the decks, an emu, which Captain Corby had brought from Sydney, lay in the way, and was thrown overboard; the poor bird, on clearing the surf, made for the bank, sometimes walking over the tops of the detached pieces of rocks, and at other times, when in deep water, aided by a current which set him towards the shoal, his motions were watched from the ship, and confirmed an idea that it would be practicable for a person to wade on shore at low water. Private Hugh Murnane of the 20th, an James Murphy 2d of the 41st, volunteered to go to the bank, and on receiving permission, lowered themselves down to the wreck of the foremast, which still remained alongside, and watching an opportunity when the surf rolled in, committed themselves to its fury with the good wishes of all on board for their success and safe return. They were thrown a considerable distance from the ship towards the bank; but the receding wave, unwilling to part with its prey, brought them as rapidly back; no human strength could cope with its violence, or stem the back draught that threatened to carry them out to sea, but they had scarcely passed the ship when they were met by another mountain-wave, and thrown so far up on the bank, that they were able to gain and preserve their footing on the rocks before it returned; after breathing a few minutes they again set out, and partly by swimming, and partly by wading, in about half an hour they reached the bank.

In the interim, as it was the opinion of every one on board that the ship would go to pieces in a few tides, the carpenters had constructed a sort of small raft or catamaran for the purpose of conveying to the bank a few of those articles of provisions, &c. which would be most wanted in the event of our being obliged to abandon the ship; but this piece of mechanism proved unserviceable, as it was suddenly overturned, on being lowered into the surf, and every thing on board lost. The boatswain of the ship, who had gone overboard to superintend the management of the catamaran, was knocked away from alongside by the surf, and anxious to ascertain whether the bank would afford us a temporary shelter, made the best of his way ashore, and showed us the extent of the bank, by walking from end to end and across it, with a handkerchief tied to a stick, which he had picked up; he then returned on board with the two soldiers, and reported that the tide did not entirely overflow the bank, as he had observed a large junk of timber, and the remains of a ship's mast, on the top of the bank, which appeared, from its dry and decayed state, to have lain there a considerable time.

In consequence of the favourable report made by the boatswain, it was thought expedient to allow as many of the troops to leave the ship that afternoon as could be spared from assisting the seamen in getting provisions, &c. out of the hold. About twenty men and a few women and children accordingly took possession of the bank, where they busied themselves in making preparations for passing the night. They succeeded in making a fire to cook the small quantity of provisions which the women had been provident enough to carry with them; and while this operation was going forward, the men drew round the fire, and canvassed the events of the preceding night, or calculated the probable chance of escape from their miserable situation.

As this is the season of winter in these latitudes, the nights are consequently long, and though the heat in the day is much the same as in England in the months of July or August, the air, after sun-set, becomes extremely cold; and when the fire on the bank died away for want of a supply of fuel, the people found themselves very uncomfortably situated, they had no covering but the gloomy canopy of the heavens; a long and moonless night was fast approaching, and the flood-tide rapidly advancing on the bank, while they were uncertain whether or not it would be overflowed and every soul swept into the deep. For the better security of the women and children, the

men dug holes in the shingle, and raised ridges of sand and stones on their weather-sides, to defend them from the inclemency of the night air, which was now getting damp and chill.

About half-flood, a heavy shower of rain came on, and continued till nearly half-ebb; at high-water, the tide was almost level with the top of the bank, and the surf being entirely over it, so that the adventurers were for nearly four hours almost constantly up to the middle in water; they stood in this wretched manner, holding each others hands, the poor women clinging to their husbands, and the children to them, till the tide began to ebb.

Mrs. M'Donnel, wife of Lance Serjeant M'Donnel of the 20th, had been delivered of a fine child, only four nights before the ship was cast away, and in this night almost perished with cold and anxiety; but youth, and a good constitution, prevailed against the complicated evils that assailed her, and enabled her to bear up against them with a degree of fortitude seldom equalled in women; her infant child, however, fell a victim to the inclemency of the night, and left its sorrowing and unfortunate mother childless and nearly unprotected on the rough and inhospitable rocks of Frederick's Reef.

Early in the morning some of the soldiers went ashore, and reported the ship to be in such a crazy state that she could not hold out much longer together; this determined those on the bank to remain, and as the day-tide rose only about half way up, they preferred their chance on the shoal to that of being crushed to pieces in the ship when she would part. The number on the bank was increased by volunteers in the course of the day, and the men set about erecting a tent for the women and children, which they effected by placing pieces of timber and fragments of cedar planks (the remains of the catamaran which had drifted ashore) upright in the sand, covered with a piece of sail-cloth, which was brought from the wreck for the purpose; but this hurricane-house, though it sheltered them from the air, admitted the water, and they were obliged to abandon it at high-water for fear the surf would sweep it away. The tide, as on the preceding night, flowed over the bank, destroyed the foundation of the tent, and swept away most of the provisions and necessaries brought ashore. A few of the troops yet remained on board, and were employed in hoisting provisions and water out of the hold, while those on the bank were told off in working parties, and relieved each other. The conveying of the casks of provisions and water ashore, was however no easy task, as it was extremely dangerous to disengage them from the surf alongside; and so difficult to roll them over the rocks of the bank, that a single water cask sometimes required the united efforts of eight men; but when the people had made a few trips on board, and became acquainted with the roughness of the way, the casks were lowered over the side at about half ebb, and hauled out to the surf with ropes, as in many places there was water enough to float them, or at least to facilitate the operation of rolling.

As it was now become apparent that the only hope of our being rescued from our deplorable situation rested on the possibility of our being able to make our distress known, it was determined by the Captain to fit out the long-boat, the only one now remaining, and endeavour to make some port on the coast of New Holland, where it was possible relief might be found, should she meet no vessel at sea. She was accordingly overhauled, and, when the necessary preparations were completed, eight seamen and four soldiers were selected to man her, under the superintendance of Mr. Parks, chief officer of the ship, and Dr. Nisbett, who volunteered his services for this perilous undertaking, and whom we found particularly active and useful on many trying occasions.

On Thursday the 23d, the launch was parbuckled over the side, having Mr. Parks and two seamen on board, Mr. Parks having previously received instructions in writing from Captain Corbyn, drawn up with every precision, requiring him to proceed to Moreton Bay, and charter a ship for the relief of the Charlotte's passengers and crew; or, in the event of not being able to succeed in that port, to try every other he could make. Dr. Nisbett and the

remainder of her crew afterwards got into her, when she dropped astern. On leaving the ship, they endeavoured to force her through the surf, but after a fruitless effort of nearly two hours, they were obliged to bear away, and search for a passage farther to the westward, which they soon found, and we had the satisfaction to see them outside of the breakers with a fine breeze and all sail set.

A number of cedar-planks and other spars, had by this time been drawn ashore by the working parties, a few of which were driven end-down in the sand, and a platform laid, about five feet from the top of the bank, on which a tent was erected for the married people; a small space of this was screened off at the north end, for the accommodation of Lieutenant Clinton and his family, who had signified their intention of joining those on the bank next day; accordingly, at low-water, the officer, with his lady and child, accompanied by Miss Tyghe, Mrs. Clinton's sister, reached the bank, and took possession of their crazy abode. All the empty casks were procured from the ship, and a kind of breakwater erected on the most exposed side of the tent, by sinking them end-down in the sand, and filling them with shingle, which was brought from the lower part of the shoal in a kind of rude hand-barrow, constructed for that purpose, by nailing two short spars horizontally on the sides of an old box. These casks were again fenced with a double row of billet-wood, driven deep in the sand, and an embankment of shingle raised outside, for the purpose of breaking the violence of the surf before it reached our inner fortifications. These precautions, we considered, would contribute greatly to our protection at the return of the spring-tides, and we ceased to regard their approach with that degree of terror we felt only a few days before. The carpenter, with his crew, had erected a stage, on which they were busily employed in building a flat-bottomed boat, as a dernier resort in the event of no vessel coming to our relief; and, although our situation was desperate, we were not entirely without hope.

Hitherto no lives had been lost; but, on the afternoon of the 27th, while corporal John Hughes, and Thomas Neal of the 41st, were engaged in taking a cask of water ashore, they kept too far to the eastward, and were drawn into a current, which sets rapidly to the northward of the bank, and swept out to sea. Neal, on perceiving his danger, quitted his charge, and with considerable difficulty reached the shore; but poor Hughes, after struggling nearly an hour, sunk to rise no more. We survey the dissolution of our relatives and friends, when disease or age has ripened them for the grave, with a portion of that calm resignation to the will of the Almighty, which the mild precepts of Christianity so strongly inculcate, and consider them as having completed the ends for which they received existence; but when death approaches us by any unnatural means, and suddenly snatches from us the young and vigorous, we feel the futility of reckoning on a length of days, and probably consider that we ourselves may next fall beneath the dart of the grim king of terrors. Such was the nature of our reflections as we gazed in melancholy groups on the green waves that rolled over our unfortunate companion, and considered his exit from the cares and troubles of this world as a prelude to that of our own.

After the melancholy event last recorded, nothing of moment occurred till the evening of the 1st of July; when, about seven o'clock, one of the sentinels called out, "A light, a light!" Every one started up, and gazed in the given direction, which was nearly due west, where they saw, to their inexpressible satisfaction, the light apparently of a vessel within the reef; a loud cheering instantly commenced, and a piece of junk was lighted, to guide our supposed deliverers to the bank; but, alas! we were doomed to experience, in the most acute manner, that sickness of the heart which ariseth from hope deferred, as the light proved only to be the evening star setting, which, as the night was hazy, loomed large as it approached the horizon, and had every appearance of a signal-light on board some ship.

Most of the provisions and water were now got ashore, besides a great

number of cedar planks, &c. for the boat; so that, by the 10th of July, little more remained in the wreck than was sufficient for the subsistence of those who remained on board,—viz. Captain Corbyn, Captain Dick, of the Hon. East India Company's service, Mrs. Dick, with her infant child, Mr. Scott, second officer of the *Royal Charlotte*, and a few boys; the boatwain and a few of the men having been sent ashore to alter sails for the boat, which, it was expected, would soon be ready for launching. On the morning of the 25th, a cask of bread that had been buried in the shingle, was raised, and broached; but was found completely spoiled with salt water; and on this afternoon the surf ran very high, and beat so heavily on the ship that she frequently heeled over as though she would upset. We were thus in considerable pain for those on board, although we were in a desperate situation ourselves, the waves running high over the bank, and threatening destruction to our breakwaters and stages. Notwithstanding the exertions made to save our provisions, a tierce of beef, a tierce of pork, and a cask of water, were swept away, and several other articles of private property, and consequently of minor importance, however severely the loss might be felt by the owners at the time.

In this way we continued, till, on the afternoon of the 28th of July, about two o'clock, a heavy squall of wind and rain came on, and continued for about an hour and a half. As it cleared away, we observed the people on the wreck crowding to the weather-side, waving their hats, &c., and otherwise signifying that something unexpected either had taken, or was about to take place; and some of the people, who had ascended the stage, sung out, "A sail, a sail!" We had so often been deceived by fallacious appearances, that we were now become slow of belief; and it was not till the ensign was reversed on board, that we would believe there was a sail in sight; in about half an hour, however, we made out a sail steering down on the reef. It is impossible to describe the joy that took possession of all hands. The vessel proved to be a brig, and ran so near the edge of the reef, that the people on the wreck could plainly distinguish a whale-boat on her quarter, and her crew on the rigging gazing at the wreck. She ran a few miles to the westward, and we could see her standing off and on as long as day lasted. We kept up a blazing fire at night, and at day-break we again saw her hove-to, a great way to the eastward; she shortly made sail, and steered for us, but the surf ran so high that she could not send a boat ashore: we were certain that she had come to our relief, yet we felt mortified and depressed that we could hold no communication with our deliverers.

We had frequently seen whales and other large fish playing within the reef to the northward of the settlement; and as we could see no breakers in that direction we were confident there existed a passage for a vessel, but we had no means of making this known on board the brig. We watched her motions all day, and at night again lighted our fire as a beacon-light to her; but about nine o'clock the tide rose over the bank, and swept it away, and in fact every thing that was buried in the sand or otherwise secured. The carpenter's sawpit and tool chest were washed away about ten o'clock, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we saved our lives. The situation of the ladies and the rest of the women in the tent was dreadful in the extreme; as the surf shook the frail beams of their crazy apartment with a violence that threatened instant destruction, and as it broke under their feet, dashed through the tent, and wetted them to the skin. Four hours of dreadful suspense rolled heavily away, and the tide began to leave us. Night too wore away, and the dawn surprised us all anxiously looking out for the brig, which we could no where see in the direction of yesterday, but on looking to the northward, she was seen inside the reef, at the distance of about four miles from the bank, steering towards us; she soon came to, and in a little time a whale-boat, having on board Mr. Parks, Dr. Nisbett, and the master of the brig, pulled to the bank; we received them with three cheers, which they returned as they leapt ashore.

After mutual congratulations and inquiries had passed between these gen-

lemen and Mr. Clinton, they made a short visit to the ladies in the tent, and set out for the wreck ; when they returned on board the brig, the women and sick men accompanied them, while the rest of the men were employed in assisting the carpenters in laying skids for launching the boat, which was done as soon as there was water enough to receive her, and she was moored to a rock about 15 or 20 fathoms from the bank, Mr. C., the carpenters, and several men, remaining on board.

About seven o'clock the surf began to beat over the bank, and by nine the provision casks were all washed up ; we divided ourselves amongst them, and when the awful rush of the remorseless breakers amongst our breakwaters announced the moment of danger, we closed in and clung to the casks till the receding wave left them again on the bank. Towards high water every surf buried us for a few seconds, and we could scarcely regain our breath when it left us, before it was over us again. The tent that had been abandoned by the women in the forenoon was washed away with all the other stages, carrying along with them nearly all the knapsacks, arms, and accoutrements, and several other things that from time to time had been brought ashore. By eleven o'clock nothing remained but a few casks of water ; which were knocked about with great violence, and between two of which a young man belonging to the ship, of the name of William Banks, had his right knee so dreadfully jammed as to occasion his death a few days after he arrived at Sydney.

The moon shone very bright, and Lieutenant Clinton, who had watched our situation from the boat with the greatest anxiety, ordered her to be sheered towards us for the purpose of receiving us on board ; this, owing to the current, was found impracticable, and we must have perished had not Serjeant O'Donnell, of the 20th, leapt out of the boat, and swam to us with the end of a small line, with which he endeavoured to haul the boat to us, but when she came broadside to the current, all our strength, though desperately exerted, was in vain. Corporal Baker, of the 46th, at this moment sent us the end of a hawser, by the line on which we hung, when the surf knocked us off our feet. As the tide began to ebb, the boat's mooring gave way, and she must have gone among the breakers, had we not held her on by the hawser so providentially sent to us till she grounded on the bank.

On the morning of the 1st of August every thing that could be brought from the wreck was sent on board the brig, and all the people embarked in the course of the day. She got underweigh at four in the afternoon, and cleared the reef as night set in, and after a pretty favourable passage of ten days, landed us in Sydney, to the wonder and astonishment of all acquainted with our misfortunes.

TO MARY.

O, MARY ! wilt thou think of me,
 When Hingham's shades again you trace ?
 And may I hope once more to see
 That faultless form, that lovely face ;
 And hear from lips, devoid of guile,
 The cheerful dictates of the heart ;
 And once again behold that smile,
 Its wonted influence impart ?
 To be assured of this, would cheer
 The settled gloom of many an hour ;
 Would oft dispel the rising fear,
 And snatch me from distraction's power.—
 Farewell, dear girl ! but in this heart
 Thy fond remembrance ne'er shall cease,
 For though it grieves me thus to part,
 'T would grieve me more to wound thy peace.

J. B. R.

**ORIGIN, OBJECT, AND BENEFICIAL PROSPECTS OF THE NEW
ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**

NATURALLY disposed, as we are, to arrogate to ourselves a general superiority in the cultivation of science, there are at least some of its departments in which our neighbours on the continent have made far greater advances, and this disparity is particularly striking in a branch of no minor importance. Zoology, which might have been presumed to offer peculiar attractions as illustrating the wonders of the creation in the most perfect of its productions, and as connected with the history of those beings from which man derives his principal support, has, hitherto, received in England no public encouragement whatever, while, in France, and in other countries of Europe, it has long been fostered and supported by their respective governments with a liberality which does them honour. Hence, it has necessarily resulted that while its progress has been great in the latter, in the former, it has been cramped and impeded. No adequate funds having been provided either by the Government, or by the union of individuals for the maintenance of extensive collections, our knowledge has been limited, in this country, to the few living specimens exhibited as shows by those engaged in the trade of menageries; to the comparatively small assemblage of preserved specimens contained in the British Museum, and in one or two other public establishments; and to the more extensive, but more scattered and less easily accessible treasures possessed by private persons. With by far the larger portion of the animal kingdom we are acquainted only through the medium of figures and descriptions, furnished to us by foreigners, or by the natives of countries whose connection with the more distant regions of the world, from which these rarer species are derived, is infinitely less than that which we ourselves possess.

The situation of England is, indeed, peculiarly favourable for the acquisition of the materials of zoological knowledge. Her ships cover every sea, and her commerce penetrates into every clime. The earth and the fulness thereof is at her command. Into her ports every wind would forward the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, and all the productions of animated nature, from every corner of the globe, however remote; but for such a freight there has hitherto been no demand. In a commercial point of view, such adventures could only become beneficial when the attention of the public should be excited to the subject, and when the higher and more influential classes among us should be brought to feel and to exhibit an interest in its advancement. That such an interest is at length springing up, recent occurrences have shown, and we hail its appearance with pleasure, anticipating, from its pro-

gress, the removal of one of the reproaches on the scientific character of the nation, and looking forward through its means to the eventual enlargement of our intellectual gratifications, and to the increase of our domestic comforts.

It is not, however, from any act originating with the Government of England, in emulation of those of other nations, that we are induced to hope for these beneficial results. The Government of England follows, but never leads, the public opinion. A strong interest must be excited among one or more classes of weight in the community, and must be most unequivocally demonstrated by their actions, before any active co-operation can be expected from those in whom the power is vested. By private individuals, every object, however nationally important, must consequently be commenced; and it is in the union of a considerable body of our countrymen, distinguished as well by rank as talent, that we see the first evidences of a spirit directed to the encouragement of the study of zoology. Should the Zoological Society which has been recently established in London continue to increase in respectability and influence as rapidly as may be augured from its present situation, its establishments will, we doubt not, be eventually taken under the patronage, and favoured with the support, of the Government. Without national support it can hardly be expected to become a worthy rival of the munificent establishments of Paris; but with that encouragement, which it might and ought to receive, it would speedily surpass them in the number and value of its collections.

Under these circumstances, it was of the highest importance that the new society should exhibit from the moment of its formation an imposing appearance, and never, in fact, did any society commence its labours under auspices more favourable, or with prospects more cheering. Previously to the meeting in April last, at which the Society was constituted, nearly three hundred members had signified their intention of joining it, and among these were included every name in England at all distinguished in the science, together with many individuals of the highest rank and influence. In the short period which has since elapsed, upwards of one hundred additional names have been subscribed, and the interest it has excited appears still to be on the increase. Corresponding in activity with the warmth of this public support, have been the exertions of the intelligent and zealous officers to whom the Society has intrusted the management of its affairs. A house has been taken in the most central part of western London, which is now preparing for the reception of the collections already placed at its disposal. In a very few weeks there will be exhibited in it prepared specimens of nearly two thousand species of mammalia and birds, a number far exceeding that contained in our present national establishment, the British Museum. If the infant Hercules thus surpasses adults

in strength at the instant of his birth, what may we not anticipate from his adolescence ; what from the full vigour of his manhood ? For these extensive collections the Society is indebted to the liberality of its late President, Sir Stamford Raffles, and of its Secretary, Mr. Vigors. To the same zealous friends it will also owe collections in most other departments of zoology almost equally respectable. The whole of these will be immediately at the service of the members, to whom the freest access that can be granted, consistent with their security, will be constantly afforded.

Even from its outset, the Zoological Society will thus be possessed of a collection of preserved specimens superior to any other in the country. But its views extend beyond the preservation of stuffed skins and the lifeless corpses of animals : they embrace the maintenance of living animals, so far as they can be obtained and kept together. In this department, an equal activity has been displayed. Ground has been obtained in the Regent's Park, in which aviaries, gardens, and enclosures, are about to be formed ; and a treaty has been entered into with the proprietor of the most extensive collection of living animals in the metropolis, for its transfer thither as soon as the necessary buildings have been erected. To this collection also, the members of the Society will have access as a matter of right, and the public in general will be admitted on terms hereafter to be arranged. Removed from the confined and unpleasant situation into which they are now crammed, these animals will no longer produce, in the more ample and well ventilated space which will be allotted to them, those disgusting sensations occasionally experienced by the casual visitor ; the advocates of humanity towards the brute creation will rejoice in the comfort afforded by their superior accommodation ; while the student of nature will feel assured, that their movements and their instincts are less fettered, and that his deductions from them are consequently entitled to be received with less hesitation.

Among the other objects of the Society, are the formation of a Museum, and of Comparative Anatomy, and of a Library of Zoological works. On the importance of the former, it is unnecessary to dwell, since it is universally allowed to form the only sure basis of all attempts at a natural arrangement of the animal kingdom. The latter is no less essential, if we wish to avoid increasing the confusion of nomenclature already too prevalent, from the common, and in many cases, almost unavoidable, error of describing as new, animals which had already been named and characterised elsewhere. The want of a good zoological library has perhaps proved a greater impediment than any other to the progress of science among us. It may, indeed, be asserted, that no approach, even to a complete collection of works on zoology exists in England, and hence we are frequently compelled to hesitate so long before we can safely assert a species to be undescribed, that foreigners step in and char-

acterise it, while we are in vain seeking for information on the subject. It is certainly no slight imputation on our zoological zeal or knowledge, that while we have here described but a very small proportion of the animal productions even of our own numerous colonies and dependencies, the task of supplying our deficiencies has devolved upon the Continental naturalists, who have executed it to their own honour, but to our disgrace. One instance may suffice to show the extent to which this has been carried. Of the new species of mammalia, described in the splendid '*Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères*,' by M. M. Geoffroy, St. Hilaire, and F. Cuvier, more than one half are natives of India; many of them were preserved alive in the public collection at Barrackpore; and nearly the whole of the materials for their history were collected by a single individual, M. Duvaucel. The industry of this one man has done infinitely more towards illustrating in a foreign work the natural history of the quadrupeds of our Indian possessions, than has been effected by the whole body of our countrymen resident there, or now settled at home.

We are far from intending to reflect either on the zeal or the industry of the English zoologists. We know that, among them, there are many who, in spite of the obstacles hitherto opposed to their progress, have succeeded in obtaining a respectable, and even an elevated rank, in those departments of the science to which they have devoted themselves. It is creditable to them to have risen superior to the difficulties by which they have been surrounded; and the mere fact of their having effected so much under the circumstances in which they have been placed, affords ample evidence of their capacity for assuming the highest elevation, if furnished with opportunities equal to those enjoyed by their competitors. These opportunities, we trust, they are now about to possess, through the liberal patronage which cannot, we think, fail to be afforded by the public to a Society, the primary object of which is the promotion of science on utilitarian principles.

On this latter point, a few observations may be allowed us. We will not complain of the commercial spirit of our country. It is that which has raised her to the pinnacle of prosperity, which has established her credit and augmented her resources, beyond those of every other nation. But we must always regret its interference with the progress of science, and it is unfortunately but too true, that no science has ever prospered in England, except such as held out some prospect of commercial advantage from its cultivation. Thus, astronomy has received encouragement in consequence of its necessity for the purposes of navigation; the mathematics are cultivated for the assistance which they afford to the pursuits of the astronomer and of the mechanist; and chemistry finds its support in the prospect which it holds out of improvements in the arts and in the manufactures. It is, perhaps, because zoology has not

yet been regarded as capable of aiding in the furtherance of any useful object, that it has been hitherto held in so light estimation. It has been looked upon as a mere matter of curiosity, productive of expenditure, without any adequate return, and has consequently been left as an amusement for the idler and the loiterer alone, a class of beings rendered extremely rare among us by the trading spirit which pervades almost the very air we breathe. But we cannot admit the justice of this view of the subject. Zoology has, indeed, been hitherto too little cultivated with a view to the advantages to be derived by man from that more intimate acquaintance with the animal kingdom, to which its well-regulated study would lead him. Yet, if we are correct in assuming, for our intellectual resources, that superiority over our ancestors, which we are so fond of claiming, it is but reasonable to expect that these advantages would be neither few nor unimportant. It is to the uncultivated aborigines of Europe that we owe most of our races of cattle, our swans, our geese, and our ducks; to the natives of India we are indebted for the peacock and the domestic fowl; from the inhabitants of Africa we received our guinea-fowl; and from those of America almost our latest importation for the farm-yard, the turkey. These, and, in short, every domestic animal, from which civilized man derives the chief part of his food and of his clothing, were reclaimed for him from the wildness of Nature, by those on whose intellectual inferiority he is accustomed to look down with contempt. But civilized man can yet exhibit no proofs of the superior value of his mental endowments, as conducive to the supply of his wants, or the advancement of his comforts, through the means of the animal creation. Little, in fact, has been attempted by him, except the perpetuation of casual varieties, and their improvement by crossing one breed with another.

It is just then that he should bring to the test the value of his boasted superiority in this neglected department, that he should at length exert himself to render available to his service other of the productions of nature, than those transmitted to him by his barbarous progenitors. In the ample extent of the animal creation, new materials could scarcely fail to be obtained by the manufacturer, and new sources of profit by the farmer. The more general information possessed by the former, has indeed already pointed out to him, in some few instances, the advantages to be derived from the employment of the already domesticated animals of other countries, and his extensive capital has enabled him to introduce them, and to profit by their superiority. Into France, the Thibet goat has been imported, a breed particularly valuable there on account of the avowed determination to render the metropolis of that country the centre of commerce for the most beautiful shawls. England has also benefited by the introduction of the Merino sheep, so well calculated, by the fineness and length of its wool, to support the character, and increase the value of what was formerly

regarded as our staple manufacture. Other breeds, and even other animals, might probably be beneficially employed for the same purposes. In its original state, the sheep was supplied with merely a short down, hidden beneath coarse hairs. Circumstances alone have converted this useless down into the most valuable of animal productions, wool. Is it presuming too much to anticipate that a careful investigation of the causes by which this important change has been effected, might lead to the application of similar principles, to the amelioration of the covering of animals, of much larger size than the sheep, and originally furnished with a thicker and finer down? Could this be effected, the more abundant and beautiful fleeces thus produced would unquestionably become an object of the highest importance, by the extension which they would give to the resources of the manufacturer, and the additional beauty which they would impart to his fabrics.

To the farmer, equal prospects of advantage might be offered from similar sources. It may be sufficient to mention one only of the numerous quadrupeds, the introduction of which into England might be made highly beneficial to his interests: we allude to the Purik sheep of Ladakh, first noticed by Mr. Moorcroft in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. On spots where the eye can scarcely detect any traces of vegetation, this hardy animal is capable of procuring sufficient nourishment, and becomes perhaps more completely domesticated than even the dog, feeding from the hands of its master, and nibbling the bones which he has rejected. Surely the feeding of this familiar and hardy creature on much of our barren and poorer lands, would be a more profitable speculation to the landholder, and those who depend on him for their daily food, than the ruinous plan so pertinaciously adhered to, of forcing from almost uncultivable ground, a half or a quarter crop of corn, and compelling the laborious artisan to pay an exorbitant price for the result of this miserable waste of capital and industry.

Among birds also there are many which might be rendered profitable in our farm-yards. India still retains many species of pheasants, which might doubtless be domesticated among us, including the whole of the genus *Gallus* of M. Femminck, of which our common fowl is the type. Universally as this bird is now spread abroad among the habitations of men, it still exhibits numerous traits of a savage nature, which must have rendered it originally extremely difficult to tame. The same perseverance which succeeded in overcoming the wild propensities of this bird, could scarcely fail of reclaiming to our service the congenerous species, including the gigantic fowl of Sumatra, mentioned by Mr. Marsden, the height of which is said to be such as to enable it to peck the crumbs off an ordinary table. Ducks and geese in abundant variety might be supplied from almost every region; our woods might receive new and more profitable inhabitants from among the feathered creation;

while our ornamental poultry-yards would derive additional lustre from the Argus pheasant, and other similar birds of the East, inferior in the beauty of their plumage only to the brilliant and butterfly-like honeysuckers of America.

From the introduction of new species of fish, we confess that we anticipate less. We are well aware of the difficulties which oppose their transportation, even within moderate distances, and can scarcely believe it possible, although there are some among us who entertain more sanguine notions, that they should be brought hither from remote climes. But these animals, although apparently little under the control of man, in consequence of the different element in which they live, are undoubtedly capable of being rendered a source of steady and effective profit. A more extended spread of general information respecting the habits of the animal creation, would speedily impress on the mind of the country gentleman the fact of the rapid growth of fishes, especially within the first few years. If, on his estate, he possessed any extensive ponds, or even the facilities for forming them, he might be tempted to imitate the proprietors of France and Germany, in many districts of which large revenues are derived from the growth and sale of carp, and other fresh-water fish. He might even be induced to introduce into his ponds smelts, and other half salt-water species, following in this the example of Colonel Meynell, than whose, (after a residence of three years in fresh water,) the fishermen of the Tees declared that they had never seen "a finer lot of smelts." If the water of his ponds were, from their vicinity to the sea, at all brackish, he would feel still less hesitation in stocking them with these fishes; and he might even be carried so far, as to feel desirous of verifying the experiments recently recorded by Dr. Macculloch, from which it appears, that the sea fishes not only exist and propagate freely in water occasionally almost perfectly fresh, and never more than brackish, but that they also improve in flavour and in size. Thus the sole is stated to have become twice as thick as one of the same size from the sea, and the plaice three times as thick. The basse also becomes much thicker, and improves in delicacy, and the mullet enlarges in breadth, and presents a much thicker layer of fat. Nearly the whole of the sea fishes usually employed as food have been thus naturalized by a proceeding which, although only now in process of revival, was extensively promoted at Rome in her well-known Vivaria. It would certainly be important that these experiments should be extensively repeated, as their successful result would ensure, not only a new source of profit to numerous individuals, but also a constant and improved supply to our markets of an almost essential article of food, which is now subject to perpetual fluctuation.

Into the lower departments of zoology we will not pursue these speculations. The few hints which we have almost casually thrown

together will, we think, suffice to show that much may yet be expected from the animal creation, in furtherance and increase of the comforts of man. That the new Society should pursue every utilitarian view to the fullest extent, is more than can be fairly expected from it. The institution of a few preliminary experiments alone, and the introduction of a sufficient number of animals to enable those whose interest may be eventually concerned in them, to follow up these experiments on the large scale, is indeed all that it ought to attempt in this way; and so far, we conceive, the exertion of the Zoological Society will not be wanting. But the extent to which its labours will become generally beneficial must necessarily depend on the support which it receives. If, therefore, its objects be deemed praiseworthy, if they are such as ought to be encouraged in a national, and even in a philanthropic, point of view, let it be upheld by all who enjoy the means of assisting it. We have already said, and we repeat it, that if the public at large feels an interest in its advancement, and evinces that interest by its actions, but not otherwise, it will speedily be taken, as it ought to be, under the protection of Government. An institution, the objects of which are truly national, will then receive the national support, and will no longer depend for its continuance on the unaided contributions of private individuals.

Since the preceding observations were written, the infant Society, on behalf of which they were intended to bespeak the interest of our readers, has sustained a great, an almost irreparable loss, by the death of Sir Stamford Raffles, its President, and we might add, its parent, for to his zealous exertions was it mainly indebted for its existence, and to his fostering care may be attributed no small portion of its success. To expatiate on the character of that gentleman in his capacity of a statesman, would be foreign to the purpose of the present article; but we cannot help feeling that his straight forward and liberal policy, (more particularly as evinced in the settlement of Singapore,) and the undeviating rectitude of his views and of his conduct in the important government which he was called upon to fill, will long endear his memory to the hearts as well of the Native population as of the European residents. It will be more appropriate to the occasion to notice that devotedness to science which occupied the second place in his mind, subservient only to his zeal for the promotion of the more important interests of mankind. The ardour in the acquisition of scientific knowledge which he manifested in his own person, and the liberality with which he was always ready to encourage and reward the same disposition in others, are deserving of the warmest praise. In circumstances the most distressing, and weighed down by the pressure of difficulties under which an ordinary mind would have sunk, when the labours as it were of his life were suddenly annihilated by a calamity of the most appalling nature, he never lost sight of his favourite object, but applied himself with

redoubled energy to the task of repairing the consequences of his misfortune. And even the very last act of his life, when retired from the cares attendant on his public station, has been to raise, in the Zoological Society, a monument of the zeal by which he was animated for the advancement of natural science. To this Society he had devoted his extensive collections in all the classes of animated nature; and the very day which succeeded that on which he so suddenly expired was, we believe, appointed for their transfer to its possession. We trust that the benefit of his intentions in this respect will not be lost to the Society, but that they will still occupy the station in its museum to which they were destined, and thus perpetuate to future generations, in a manner the most striking, the remembrance of the services rendered to natural history by one of its most assiduous and ablest cultivators.

DEPRIVATION OF COLONIAL RIGHTS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.*

"In every thing except their foreign trade, the liberty of the English Colonists to manage their own affairs their own way, is complete. It is in every respect equal to their fellow-citizens at home, and is secured in the same manner by an Assembly of the Representatives of the People, who claim the sole right of imposing taxes for the support of the Colonial Government. The authority of this assembly overawes the executive power, and neither the meanest nor the most obnoxious Colonist, as long as he obeys the law, has any thing to fear from the resentment, either of the Governor or of any other civil or military officer of the Colony.—SMITH'S 'Wealth of Nations.'"

Dr. SMITH'S remark on the state of English colonies is not applicable to the Cape of Good Hope. So far from having the liberty to manage our own affairs our own way, it has hitherto been the privilege of one individual to manage our affairs *his own way*. So far from having our interests secured by an Assembly of Representatives, there has not existed in the colony any power of control, nor any check of the smallest value on the absolute will of the Governor. It is true, that the Governor could not impose taxes openly, without the approval and confirmation of the Colonial Secretary of State at home, and that all his proclamations, although acted upon when issued, required the same sanction in order to their permanency; yet it is no less true, that the Secretary of State received his information chiefly, if not solely, respecting the expediency of any proposed measure, from the Governor himself, or from functionaries much in his confidence, or entirely under his power. Such a government, it is obvious, possessed the worst features of a pure despotism, whilst the checks which operate more or less on the

* From 'The South African Commercial Advertiser' of April 19, 1866.

worst of despotisms were wanting. An hereditary despot is at least the countryman of his subjects. He must have many national feelings in common with them, and his counsellors will generally have many interests equally affected with those of the community by the acts they advise. His descendants and theirs will one day form part of the community, and their future prosperity and safety will naturally claim attention. An hereditary nobility, and a powerful clergy, have also, on many occasions, presented a barrier against oppression, or the accumulation of a dangerous degree of power in the hands of the executive. Besides, in most, if not all, despotic governments, there are certain fundamental laws which scarcely any monarch has ever infringed with impunity. But at the Cape we seem to have lost sight of every principle of rational government; the Governor, neither hereditary nor elective—irresponsible within the colony, and consequently apt to exceed the limits of just authority—responsible to the home Government, and, therefore, fretful and jealous of any inquiry, or of the least chance of exposure; the Judges inadequately paid, and removable at pleasure. The other colonial functionaries equally under his influence, invested within their respective jurisdictions with power as great as that of the Governor himself, and as little exposed to the control of public opinion as himself, perhaps even less, so long as they contrived to keep on certain terms with him. Under such a system, it is obvious that the people owed all the rights they still enjoyed to the forbearance of their rulers.

These truths have been felt and acknowledged: the only dispute seems now to be about the remedy; and it must be apparent that a mere change of men, or even a temporary change of measures, would be of no avail. We must have free institutions if we would have security in future, and the basis of all free government rests on this, that the people should possess a large share in the legislative, and secure to themselves the means of exercising a constant check on the executive. Without this the best of laws may become a dead letter, and acts of injustice, partiality, and oppression may be practised with impunity.

It has been argued by some, that the population and wealth of this colony are not sufficient to require a Legislative Assembly; but surely the weakness of a country is a bad argument for perpetuating one of the causes of that weakness. Such an assembly would entail almost no new expense, and it might prevent for ever both improvidence and profusion. When those who alone can levy taxes have to pay their full proportion of them, they will be disposed to pause, and rather endeavour to cut off unnecessary expenditure, than to increase the public burdens. Besides, such an assembly could not fail to be better acquainted with the real state of the country, its wishes and its resources, than any one individual, or even than his Majesty's Government at home. Before the first

can be prevailed upon to act, and before the latter can even be consulted, the most serious injury and loss may have been sustained by the country. The security it would ensure to individuals, the high spirit it would infuse into every class of the community, and the perfect union it would accomplish between the old and the new inhabitants, by bringing them often together to exercise the glorious functions of a free people, would, one might hope, overcome all opposition to the experiment—if that may be called an experiment which has been so often tried, and which never failed to prove successful beyond the expectation of the most sanguine.

But to secure the natural advantages of this institution, and to prevent it from becoming a mere cabinet council of the Governor, or a tool in his hands, instead of the great council of the colony, the privilege of choosing their representatives must be conveyed, with as few exceptions as circumstances will admit, to the whole body of the people. Ungrounded exclusions cause disunion, jealousy, unwilling obedience, and angry and tyrannical exercise of power. Their deliberations must of course be open to the public, and the Press must of necessity be admitted to the free enjoyment of its right to report and make its comments on all their proceedings. By this means the assembly would be kept, by the eye of the people, within the line of their duty and their power, the honest and able representative would secure the esteem of his countrymen, and the incapable or corrupt would find, at the next election, that by abusing his power he had destroyed it, and would be forced to return to his obscurity with sorrow and shame.

Whether the elections should be triennial, or only once in seven years, is a point of minor importance, if the qualifications of electors, and the mode of election, be founded on sound principles, and secured from all interference on the part of the executive. It might be best, perhaps, in the present case, to have them triennial for the first twenty-one years, that the people might as soon as possible become aware of the importance of their privileges, and accustomed to the free exercise of them; and septennial for ever after that period. By that time the descriptions of men best qualified to sit as legislators would be ascertained, and those who felt an honest ambition to serve their country in that capacity, would have learned the necessity of cultivating those qualities, through which they saw the confidence of the public gained by others.

That such an assembly would be an improvement on the Cape system, who can deny? Our absolute Governor had not the benefit of a single efficient check on the wildest of his measures. Of the Judges and functionaries generally, we have spoken already. Appointed by him, and removable at his will, they were kept in a state of subjection, by inadequate salaries, and by the dread of ruin, which it appeared he had power to hurl upon any one whom he disliked, or whom he suspected of entertaining independent

feelings. How could we expect them to remonstrate or control? Even the Secretary to Government was not an adviser in virtue of his situation. He might or might not be consulted, according to the degree of confidence the Governor reposed in his judgment and capacity, or when he had an end to serve by getting possession of his opinions. The present Council is to all appearance in the same situation, with this difference only, that their dissent or concurrence may, with more plausibility, be urged in mitigation of censure by the Governor, when his actions happen to be called in question.

LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE AND ADVICE.

“ Rien n'est beau que le vrai.”

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—It is with as much pain as surprise, that I remark, that the Numbers of your work are permitted, speaking generally, to teem with reflections of the most uncandid and injurious character, especially levelled at the Civil branch of the East India Company's service resident in this country.

That such observations should go forth to the public, unaccompanied by a single line from yourself, expressive of your dissent or concurrence, with the invidious or invariable sentiment which your page so often records, is to be regretted, not for the paltry consideration of the patronage which the service might extend or withhold to your undertaking, but because there are members of the Civil Service who believe that you are actuated by an ardent and laudable desire to promote “the greatest good of the greatest number,” and who must therefore lament that such uncandid and illiberal strictures should find their place by the side of much which bears the stamp of truth, and the tests which enlarged views and candid inquiry will not fail to apply.

A general acquaintance with the belles lettres will inform you from whose immortal work I selected the few words with which I have prefaced this address, and I need not urge to your attention the fact, that if a deviation from the truth is so universally reprobated in private society, the fair and veracious recorder of events as they pass should proclaim a more determined hostility with those who have made him hold up a multiplying or magnifying-glass to nature, instead of her polished and unchanging mirror, and for this simple reason: the calumny of private life owns but a limited range and momentary existence, but the wilful or accidental misstatements of the press are in the hands of thousands, and may exist for ever.

It is far from my intention to reproach you individually with any departure from those principles which give to the most retired individual a stake in the social compact as deep as that which can

follow the most brilliant public career, or the execution of the highest public trusts. Of hostility towards our body, I am equally unwilling to suspect you; because you have admitted, that you were early indebted to it for kindness and hospitality; and to declare yourself its enemy, is to proclaim yourself ungrateful. Whence comes it, then, that your work has now seen a fifth volume, and a dozen consecutive pages can scarcely be pointed out in which the Civil Service has not supplied the *pabulum* for the sarcasms of the illiberal, the misstatements of the uncandid, and the misapprehensions of the unwise?

To a generous mind, the vast expanse which separates us from the arena wherein our "virtues" are supposed to walk their narrow round, followed by a throng of vices to which human ingenuity would find it difficult to make addition, should be conclusive against the adoption of that hue and cry which envy and prejudice have not blushed to raise against us at the distance of more than half the globe. The philosopher, however disposed to generalize, regrets the sweeping delinquency of a multitude, because he has learnt from experience, that the extremes of virtue and vice are distant as they are rare. The *juris-consult* asks for the evidence, and denies himself the use of the sword until the scales have done their duty. But it happens, unfortunately, that generosity is by no means the fashionable virtue of the day. Philosophy exhausts the midnight oil in her closet, and Justice has enough to do elsewhere. The consequence is, that the calumny gains ground among a certain class, who are seldom liberal, excepting on New Year's Day, who know nothing of Locke and Jeremy Bentham, and who never heard of Justice excepting at the Old Bailey.

I will not intrude on your attention the examples which loudly and imperatively call upon you to make it possible for a Civil Servant to place your volumes in his library, or give you the support of his pen, without exposing himself to the merited odium of his fellow-labourers in the vineyard. It is in vain to say, that you are not responsible for the sentiments of your Correspondents—your silence makes them yours; and the legal maxim is, "*qui facit per alterum facit per se.*" But the Service expects from you a more candid, or, if your own silence has left your individual opinions in doubt, a less Jesuitical administration of your Editorial duties. If we are inhospitable, have you examined if, all circumstances considered, we have the most ample means of entertainment? If we are generally neglectful of the sacred trusts with which we are invested, can you show that our want of capacity, or our want of principle, is the result, part and portion of that commercial monopoly which made us what we are? If we are corrupt, where is the evidence? God forbid that you or your Correspondents should find an obstacle to our conviction in that difficult access to Oriental records, of which you complain, in common with numbers who would seek them in the hope of arriving at far different conclusions.

The deductions from general reasonings should alone be applied to the decision of any general question. The times are gone by when a crowd of adventurers hastened out to India, and under a feeble and disorganized administration of the powers of Government, were enabled to enrich themselves without fear, scruple, or inquiry. Years have gone past since the prejudice so justly attached to the Indian "parvenue," has afforded consolation to honest poverty by making it disgraceful to be rich. The Indian can now be an early riser without dreading the comments of his housemaid as to the tendency of ill-gotten wealth to drive from the downy pillow nature's soft nurse. "We are known to be a class more sinned against than sinning;" and does it become the Editor of the *Oriental Herald* to revive the long-forgotten prejudice, or to permit his pages to be devoted to the excitation of those unworthy passions which lacked not the trumpet of the third and fourth generation of them that hate us, to rouse into action?

I call upon you, Sir, as one invested with a public trust, to urge your Correspondents to meet me with the grounds of the uncandid reflections on our body, which I find interspersed in your pages. Are we unpopular with the Army, because two members of our Service must give their consent to that selection of Brigadiers from the King's Service, to supersede veterans who have shed their blood for the Company before they were born? Impossible! The Army has its representative in Council; let it look to him for any desertion of its interests, or forfeiture of its rights. It is said that we are rich. I contend that we are poor. If corruption is to be our reproach, I maintain that pauperism, at least in this country, is no bad presumptive evidence of clean hands. If we are all making rapid fortunes, I invite you to take up the list, examine our possessions with the period of our residence. It is no difficult matter to obtain the requisite information. Every clerk in the public offices can name the paupers, and the opulent: for Government having lately pledged itself to extricate the Civil Servants from their embarrassments, a vast number were weak enough to give in a fair and honest statement of their incumbrances; albeit the Resolution declared such debtors to be very undeserving of public confidence. The precious calculation afforded amusement to every underling of office for weeks, and was then thrown aside; record alike of the breach of faith in those who promised, and the credulity of those who believed.

That the Civil Service affords a much fairer prospect of a return to our native country, with faculties uninjured by climate, and unimpaired by servitude, we have no wish to deny. But surely to complain of this advantage, is nearly as unreasonable as to lament that where two persons ride on horseback, one must necessarily go in front. Why then should the '*Herald*' stir up ill blood between the Services, by setting forth, with all the force of elocution, and all the powers of argument, one of those natural and unavoidable dis-

parties which none of us have any wish to question. Will the destruction of the Company's monopoly make the fortunes of our brave and deserving Army? Is it not, alas, a principle of Government to keep the Army poor, be the emoluments of Civil Office what they may, not under the Company alone, but in every European country where a military force is entertained?

Let us then claim from the 'Oriental Herald' its caveat, when these ungracious and useless comparisons are urged on public attention. Let it not be forgotten, that however eminent the advantages of the Company's Civil Service, there is no European state which affords such a subsistence to its military force, or such a pension-list as that which it holds out to its Army. Let it not be supposed that the Civil Service generally derives any gratification from the limited emoluments of the military branch; and let not the fact be suppressed, that the proportion of civilians in debt, is certainly not less than that which will be found among their brothers in arms. Candour will also glance at that sixth part of the Bengal Army, which obtains a resource from a large Staff Establishment, in which liberal allowances are not uncommon; and though the balance of worldly advantages will doubtless incline to the civilian, the military man who reflects without prejudice, will admit that the superiority affords little subject for envy or irritation. He will consider, that after all that has been said of the large allowances of the Civil Service, they send home to ease and opulence in our native land, a comparatively smaller proportion of individuals than is supplied by the Army; that if money can be gained in the one service, honours and military distinctions belong exclusively to the other; that if some of our body are splendidly paid to do nothing, there are many who labour unceasingly for a very moderate remuneration. He will find, that by the side of liberal emolument, there will generally be found great labour, great responsibility, with more liberality than thrift; and that, after all, there may be less reason than is generally supposed to exist for reproaches to that fortune which has not made him—

A CIVIL SERVANT.

Cuttack, Nov. 8, 1836.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

On first reading the Communication of our Correspondent, we were in doubt whether he was in jest or earnest, as it appeared as much like keen but delicate irony, as serious reproof. On reconsideration, we incline to think, however, that the latter is really meant; and, under this impression, we take leave to say a few words in explanation and reply.

We have asserted, a thousand times at least, but we here repeat the assertion, that we war neither with individuals, nor with branches or classes of the Indian Service, but with the system under which they are placed, and from the operation of which, the great evils that afflict the country over which they rule almost necessarily happen. We think the plan of preparation and education pursued towards the candidates for the Service defective; but, notwithstanding this, or rather in spite of it; it may be safely affirmed, that a

better educated, a more gentlemanly, or more honourable body of young men, is not, perhaps, to be found in any country or in any service in the world. That they should continue to serve for forty years, however, in an enervating climate, and under a debasing and despotism-engendering system, and be the same beings at the end of their career that they were at the beginning, would be a miracle indeed. It may be taken as an axiom, to the general accuracy of which the exceptions would be few, that in proportion as the members of both Services, Civil and Military, are young to the country, so are they virtuous and liberal; and as they advance, so do they become indifferent to virtue, arbitrary, and illiberal. We do not speak of liberality in a pecuniary sense. A disregard for heaping up wealth is common to all ranks in India, and parsimony is extremely rare; but we speak of liberality in a moral and political sense, which is at its height on the first landing of the young cadet or writer in the country, and wears out gradually as he gets older, till it becomes quite exhausted in the end, and leaves him with scarcely a trace of the feelings with which he quitted his paternal home. This gradual progress of a susceptible and expanded to a hardened and contracted heart, is apparently part of the order of nature; but in England, and other European countries, institutions and manners retard this progress, while, in India, the effect of these, and particularly the former, is to accelerate it, as it does its fevers, hastening on towards the crisis with a rapidity of which the Northerns can form little or no conception. If, therefore, there should be some individuals in India who, forming in themselves exceptions to the generally contaminating influence of bad institutions and corrupt manners, stand more prominently forward than others in pointing out the defects of the body to which they belong; and the system under which they suffer, let us not be supposed to give undue encouragement to censure, because we readily admit their communications. We have never once refused insertion to an article or a letter in the '*Oriental Herald*,' the object of which was to eulogize either the system or individuals; and we admit, as freely, censures on our own conduct or opinions as on that of other parties. At the same time, our sentiments are so well known in India, more especially, that we do not always think it necessary to point out wherein we agree with or differ from our Correspondents;—rather leaving their communications to make their own way, and trusting to our writings for the more unequivocal interpretation of our own views. In no part of these, we are persuaded, can anything be found which would fairly lead to the inference, that we deemed the great body of the Civil and Military Service of India either corrupt or dishonourable. The system of the Government under which they live is abominable; and all but the immediate heads of office feel occasionally the pain of being subject to its operations. Whatever is bad in the public and official characters of those who deserve censure, may be clearly traced to the operation of the system on their habits of thought and action; while in those who are as prominently good, it is a remnant of their original virtue, which still remains untainted amid the contaminating poison of a thousand seductive influences, and to them, therefore, the greater praise is due. The guilt of receiving bribes, in direct presents of money, or other gifts, is, we believe, less throughout the Service generally than at any former period,—and may be safely said, to be as little as in any country of Europe. But there are other crimes against truth and justice, besides this selfish and generally unpopular one; and men may be the most bitter enemies of their species without condescending to place themselves under pecuniary obligations to any living being.

We repeat, however, our earnest desire to do justice to all parties; and whoever will furnish us with instances of public virtue, and materials for well-earned praise, shall meet a more welcome reception than those who expose vices, or fulminate their censures on the heads of others. Both, however, are essential to the great ends of public good; and though one be a more pleasing, it is not on that account the most useful task. If opportunities for the harsher duty occur more frequently than for the pleasing one, however much we may regret it, it is clear that it is in the events of the times, rather than in our own disposition, that the true cause of this difference is to be sought.

ACCOUNT OF THE NAGAS, A PEOPLE OF ONE OF THE BURMESE PROVINCES.*

THE expedition to Munnipore, on which Lieutenant R. B. Pemberton accompanied Gumber Sing last June, and which terminated in the recovery of that province from the Burmese, has added considerably to our geographical knowledge of that part of the Eastern world. We have before us an interesting narrative of the journey between Banskandee and Munnipore. The longitude of the former place is marked down at $93^{\circ} 8'$, and that of the latter at $94^{\circ} 15'$ east of Greenwich. From this narrative, furnished by Lieutenant Pemberton, the following account of the Nagas is derived :—

This singular race of people, says Lieutenant Pemberton, extending from the north-western extremity of Cachar to the frontiers of Chittagong, from their poverty and peculiar situation, have escaped the sufferings inflicted by a powerful enemy on the more wealthy occupiers of the plains below them. With a sagacity which has at once ensured them both health and security, they have, in every instance, established themselves upon the most inaccessible peaks of the most mountainous belt they inhabit, and from these elevated positions, can see and guard against approaching danger long before it is sufficiently near to be felt. Various attempts, in the days of their prosperity and power, were made by the Rajahs of Munnipore, Cachar, and Tipperah, to reduce those savages to a state of vassalage, but uniformly without success. They steadily refused to acknowledge allegiance to either power; and policy restrained the two first from using coercive measures, where success was, at least, doubtful, and failure would effectually have closed against them the only direct communications between their respective countries.

The Naga villages are built with little regularity on the summits and crests of the different hills. The houses consist of an extensive thatch, from thirty to fifty feet in length, almost resting on the ground, with a ridge pole of about eighteen feet high; the whole constructed in the most solid and compact manner. In every house there are two apartments, the largest of which is public, and the other appropriated to the females of the family, who are allowed unreserved intercourse with all visitors, whether male or female. In addition to duties that may be considered strictly domestic, the Naga woman has many others to perform daily, which render her life one of continued activity. In the morning she proceeds to the depot of grain, stored in huts raised upon a platform about four feet from the ground, of which the people of two or more houses are generally the joint proprietors, though the more industrious are sometimes possessed of the whole contents of one granary; after filling her conical basket with grain, sufficient for the supply of the day, she returns home, and is employed for some hours in clearing it from the husk by pounding it in large wooden mortars. This task accomplished, it becomes necessary to carry a number of hollow bamboo tubes to some distant spring, where they are filled and re-conveyed home by the industrious female; she then prepares food for her husband, and a numerous family of young children, and when not employed in these indispensable duties, is generally engaged in the manufacture of a coarse cloth, called khès, or clearing the rice-fields of weeds. Idleness, the bane of more civilized life, is thus tolerably well guarded against, and as the violation of conjugal duty is invariably attended by death; or expulsion from the village, infidelity is a vice which appears to be scarcely known.

The youth who wishes to espouse a girl, if accepted, agrees to serve her father for a term of years, generally limited to the period at which she may be considered marriageable. At the end of his servitude, a house is constructed

* From 'The Calcutta Government Gazette,' of December 29, 1825.

for the young couple by their parents, who also supply them with a small stock of pigs, fowls, and rice. A long previous training has fully qualified the young bride to enter upon the duties of her new station, and the value of her services is generally so well appreciated, that lightning is not more prompt than the vengeance of a Naga for any insult offered to his laborious partner; his spear gives the ready reply to any remark derogatory to her honour, and on one occasion, great difficulty was experienced in saving an offender from its effects. Justice is administered by a council, formed of the oldest and most respectable men of the village; they summon the culprit, hear the charge, adjudge the sentence, and its execution is immediate.

Whenever a hill is to be cleared, preparatory to bringing it into cultivation, intimation is given, by the persons principally concerned, to the heads of the different families in the village; a member is then deputed from every house, and they proceed to the performance of the task; when completed, they are entertained, by the person for whose benefit the land was cleared, with an abundance of boiled rice, fowls, a liquor procured by fermentation from rice, of which they drink large quantities, and any other savage luxury that may be procurable. When the crops, consisting principally of rice and cotton, become ripe, all participate in the labour of cutting and transporting the produce to the granaries already mentioned. Some differences are perceptible between the Nagas of these hills, and the Koochung tribes, scattered among the ranges south of the Barak.—The latter are of smaller stature, darker complexions, and more unfavourable countenances; their thirst for blood, and avidity after plunder, have depopulated the hills, which were inhabited by less warlike tribes; and they are known to make predatory excursions to the foot of the hills at the southern extremity of Cachar. Among the tribes in the vicinity of Kala Naga, the term Koochung is always associated with ideas of rapine and plunder, and the narrow gateways which protect the only entrances to their villages, are said to have been rendered originally necessary by the nocturnal attacks of those enterprising marauders. The safety of the village is intrusted to a number of youths, selected for their superior strength and activity, who are distinguished by a blue mantle of the khes cloth, tastefully studded with cowries, and garters of red thread bound round the calf of the leg. It is difficult to conceive a more pleasing union of manliness, grace, and activity, than is exhibited by one of these safeguards, when seen standing on the very verge of some projecting rock with all the ease of conscious security. The northern Nagas generally bear some degree of resemblance to the Chinese, though the expression of countenance is in many far more intellectual; the complexion is of a light copper colour, and their hair, which is cut close round the forehead, is of remarkable flexibility. They are distinguished by a restlessness strongly characteristic of their usual habits of life, and the muscular strength displayed in the swelling outline of their well-formed limbs, evinces men capable, from long habit, of performing journeys, which by the less practised inhabitant of the plain would prove impossible. They never travel but in parties, each man carrying a conical shaped basket on his back, secured by two straps, one of which embraces the chest, and the other passes round the forehead; the right hand grasps a spear, shod at the lower extremity with a pointed ferule, serving the double purpose of a defensive weapon and a friendly support. In their mercantile trips to the Banskandee and Manipore bazars, they usually exchange their superfluous cotton for fowls, salt, dried fish, tobacco, and cloth, and are almost always accompanied by some of their indefatigable females, whose muscular power appears but little inferior to that of the men, while the superior delicacy of their sex is only discernible in faces rather less bronzed, and hair of greater length, than that of their nominal defenders. Their food consists of rice, fowls, pigs, and kids; of the two last they are particular fond, but they are rarely killed, except on particular occasions; milk they never touch, and, in this respect, resemble the Garrows, who are said, by way of execration, to term it "diseased matter."

During our stay at Moanjeronkoonao a female died, and previous to the

interment of the body, in compliance with the general custom, it was necessary to entertain the friends of the deceased. A pig was brought forth for this purpose, its legs tied, and the animal conveyed to a spot near the door of the hut which had been previously chosen as the place of interment, where it was beaten to death with large bamboos, and, without any other preparation, was conveyed to a large fire, roasted and devoured; the grave was then dug and the body committed to the dust. It is customary to strew over the grave such articles belonging to the deceased as were of little value, and these fragments are frequently the only memorials that testify the vicinity of a grave. Their warriors are treated with greater deference: the grave of him who has fallen in action is invariably fenced round with bamboos, and any allusion to him is always accompanied by some expression of regard or mark of respect.

The ferry-bridges of the Munniporeans seem to be curiously constructed, and are thus described by Lieutenant Pemberton:

For three days the Eerung Nullah continued so swollen by rain as to be impassable, and two Nagas were drowned in attempting to cross it on a raft, but finding, at the end of that time, that there was little prospect of any material change, we left Moonjeronkoonao, and descending by a foot-path, scarcely passable from innumerable creepers, and the extreme slipperiness of the soil, reached the customary place of crossing the Eerung. We found it, however, in a state of the most violent agitation, dashing with a force and fury that nothing could withstand, over this contracted part of its rocky bed; a more favourable spot was sought, and obtained half a mile higher up, where the breadth of the nullah was fifty yards, and its depth sufficient to allow a free passage to the accumulating mass of water. Gumber Sing's men had been sent forward the day before, to collect bamboos and cane for constructing rafts, and throwing a line across the river, to which they were to be attached; but previous to our arrival, all attempts to get across had failed, and even then the Munniporeans, who are almost amphibious, swam it with great difficulty. The mode of constructing bridges by this active and enterprising people, is more expeditious than any other I am aware of, and requires nothing more than the materials, which, in a mountainous country, are almost always procurable. The reed, upon whose strength the subsequent stability of the bridge entirely depends, is obtained in lengths, varying from fifteen to twenty yards; they are connected by knots, and when made sufficiently long, one end is firmly secured to a tree near the edge of the water, and a loop made at the other extremity, through which the man who takes it across passes his arm; he then travels along the bank until sufficiently above the spot he wishes to reach on the opposite side to counteract the effect of the stream, and plunges into the water; when near the opposite side, he is met by another man, previously sent across to fasten a length of the reed to a tree, who, with the disengaged end in his hand, dives and secures it to the loop; the connected line is then drawn tight enough to raise it above the surface of the water, and by frequently repeating the same operation, is increased to any required degree of strength. While some are thus engaged, other parties are employed cutting trees and bamboos for the bridge, the timber is worked into the bed of the river until it appears sufficiently firm, and is afterwards rendered still more secure by diagonal props, so placed against the uprights as effectually to counteract the tendency of the current to wash them down; branches of trees are then laid across, and the whole covered with a coarse mat, formed of the bamboo, previously beaten flat. This solid structure was secured to the cane line in several places, and built as far into the river as was practicable; a similar operation was performed on the opposite side, and the chasm left between them was subsequently occupied by substantial rafts, which, covered with branches and the same description of mat already alluded to, were secured to the cane line, and fastened to the more solid structure on either side. Horses passed over bridges of this construction with perfect safety, and they were standing uninjured when we returned from Munnipore, though torrents of rain had fallen between the period of their construction and this last practical application of them.

COLONEL LEICESTER STANHOPE'S TRIBUTE TO THE WORTH OF
MR. BEBB.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, July 20, 1826.

IN consequence of the remarks contained in the 'Oriental Herald' for the present month, respecting the incapacity of Mr. Bebb to perform the duties of an East India Director, I resolved to inquire about him, and if convinced of the correctness of the statement given in the 'Herald,' to make a motion in the Court of Proprietors for his removal. I know many persons consider that the mere frontispiece of a man, without mind or heart, who could *judiciously* dispose of writerships and cadetships, and other patronage, to the amount of 20,000*l.* yearly, is quite adequate to a share in the government of about one-twelfth part of the human race in our Asiatic dominions. Far different, however, are my notions on this subject. I consider that probity, intellectual aptitude, and active virtue, should be the indispensable requisites for that office, and I shall endeavour, whenever success is possible, to attempt the removal of any Director who does not possess these qualities.

In this spirit I inquired about Mr. Bebb's qualifications, and I learnt with pleasure, from a statesman, who stands high in the estimation of the people of England, that Mr. Bebb is very honest for the times; that he is talented, in comparison with other Directors; and that of active virtue he had given the most noble proof, for he alone, out of twenty-four Directors, had resisted the order for placing all knowledge in British India under the inquisitorial power of those "PURGERS and CASTRATORS," commonly called "*Censors of the Press.*"

The order for restoring the Censorship in India, which had passed the Court unanimously, excepting only the voice of Mr. Bebb, which was singly lifted up against it, was afterwards withheld by Mr. Canning, a statesman, under whose administration loans have been contracted in favour of Greece—under whom the independence of South America has been acknowledged by England—the fundamental principles of religious freedom upheld—the march of the Holy Alliance checked—free trade established—the Jury system improved and extended to our Eastern dependencies—and a reform in the laws commenced, spite of that fallacious veneration hitherto entertained for "the wisdom of our ancestors."

Previous restraints on publishing, as you well know, have, since the suppression of this order of the Court by Mr. Canning, been established in Bengal by Governor Adam, who had himself been "a purger and castrator" of newspapers.

I have said thus much in favour of Mr. Bebb, because I believe him to be a good man ; and I know that you abhor all undeserved censure as much as you condemn unmerited praise.

I am, most sincerely yours,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We have given insertion to the letter of Colonel Stanhope, as readily as we shall always do to letters suggesting doubts on any thing contained in the pages of this Work, the chief end and aim of which, is to be accurate in all its informations, and just in all its strictures : because, out of consoling statements, this accuracy is more likely to be elicited than if one side only of every question were admitted to be heard.

We have heard the act imputed to Mr. Bebb,—that of singly opposing a resolution of the Court of Directors, to restore the censorship in India, (which is said to have happened five or six years ago,)—as frequently denied as asserted ; and we cannot even now trace the matter to an undoubted source. The story runs, that on some severe remonstrances coming home from Bengal, against the freedom evinced by the Calcutta Journal, the Directors proposed and passed a resolution for sending out immediate orders to restore the censorship, as the only cure then thought of for the evil in question. It is added, that Mr. Bebb alone opposed this ; but on what grounds, we have never yet heard mentioned. This, however, is certain, that the resolution being passed, the despatch of the Court ordering the censorship to be restored in Bengal was written ; whether it was drawn up by Mr. Macculloch or Mr. Mill, the examiners or “ prompters,” as they have recently been called, on whom this duty of putting the orders of the Court into proper form, devolve, we do not know. In compliance with the established forms, this despatch was sent to the office of the Board of Control for approbation before it was sent off ; no one at the India House entertaining the slightest doubt but that it would have come back, as their despatches generally do, without alteration. Mr. Caning, however, for reasons best known to himself, did not choose to be a party to such a measure : and instead of sending it back for transmission to Bengal, put it into his desk or some other place of safe custody, from which it never afterwards escaped ; for, in point of fact, it was never sent out to India, even in a modified shape, and consequently never acted upon at all. It is due to the memory of Mr. Adam to add, that he alone had the honour of devising a plan, which Mr. Serjeant Spankie clothed with the language, and Sir Francis Maenaghten invested with the powers of law, as much surpassing, in oppositeness and in injurious consequences to freedom, the early censorship, for which it was a substitute, as that censorship surpassed in mischievousness the ordinary restraints of the common and statute law of the land.

Admitting it, however, to be undeniably true, that Mr. Bebb then opposed the restoration of the censorship in India, his subsequent and uniform hostility to freedom of discussion in that country is sufficient proof that his opposition could not have arisen from any hatred of despotism over the minds of his fellow men. To that he has no objection : for in all the varied debates that have taken place on that subject in his hearing and his presence at the India House, for these five years past, he has never once raised his voice against that despotism, and has always given his vote against inquiring into, or granting redress for, the injuries sustained by its victims.

We know that there are many who would equally oppose the restoration of the censorship, because their hatred to the freedom of the Press is so great, that they do not think a censorship sufficiently severe in its restraints. Mr. Adam and all his colleagues were of this opinion : and therefore, instead of going back to the old mode, they chose a new and far more galling restraint. Under the censorship, the boldest truths might have been told through the

censor to the Government, without fear of punishment, since it was no crime to send any thing to the censor before the sheets went to the press. Under the present system of licensing, printers and editors tremble to say any thing which, by possibility, might offend; or, if there be any latitude allowed, it is a mere accidental relaxation of the system, which on any caprice of the Governor for the time being, may be succeeded by a proportionate increase of rigour. Under the censorship, the persons and property of public writers were safe, and all the responsibility was on the head of Government; under the licensing system, the persons and property of public writers are in continual jeopardy, and all the responsibility is on the head of the individual conductor of the paper. The censorship, bad as it is, and few men can think worse of it than we do, is therefore still better for the people, and for their advocates, than the licensing system, under which there must be such continual dread of offending, as to cramp entirely the energies which would every now and then appear in spite of all the vigilance of a censor, so, that to resist its restoration, and yet to consent to a more heavy infliction upon the freedom of the Press without a murmur, is, in our estimation, an act for which Mr. Bebb deserves no praise.

With respect to Mr. Canning, ready as we are to admit the benefits which are thought to have resulted from his share in the administration, in opposition to the more bigotted and despotic portion of the present Cabinet, we must add, that we see no merit in his staying the despatch destined for India, and obstructing the design of the Directors on that occasion. Had this arisen from his being really hostile to any unnecessary restraints on the freedom of the Press in India, we should have seen Mr. Canning act a different part on many subsequent occasions. But what the more obtuse intellects of the India House statesmen could not perceive, was clear enough to the keener vision of the President of the Board of Control. He knew well enough that, for real power over the Press, the system under Lord Hastings even was as efficient as any censorship could well be, if the Government chose to act on it, by banishing without trial any offending individual; and the same indulgence which refrained from the exercise of this power, might also relax the rigour of a censorship. It was this perception of the perfect harmlessness of such a freedom of the Press, as it existed in India, which made him indulge in the cutting sarcasms on Lord Hastings's "Government of Opinions," when he made the benches of the House of Commons shake with the convulsed laughter of the honourable members, as he read over to them his Lordship's prohibitions against speaking of the Lord Bishop, or the Judges, or the Governor-General, or the Members of the Council, or the Heads of Office, or the public functionaries of Government, which might include every constable or petty guardian of the night in the country, or against any body, or any thing, in any place, or at any time, that might be displeasing to the governing power, on pain of severe displeasure and instant ruin; and then, repeating the self-eulogizing assurance of the Government, that all this was intended to give a "proper degree of freedom," and to impose "no irksome restraints" on "fair and useful discussion"! Mr. Canning knew well enough, that while such restraints as these existed, no censorship was necessary: nay, that to remove these and place a censorship in their stead, would be to weaken the hold of Government over the Press, as well as to incur all the odium and responsibility of such an act, without any corresponding good. Mr. Canning, whatever may be his real feeling towards the Press in England, can be no friend to the free exercise of its powers in India: for, had it been otherwise, with his acknowledged influence in Parliament and over the Board of Control, it is impossible that the measures recently approved by both, could have had even his tacit sanction. If he had opposed the confirmation of Mr. Adam's licensing law, or moved for its repeal, he might then have deserved praise from those who advocate the freedom of the Indian Press: but to arrest in its progress, an order for restoring the censorship, and to suffer the licensing law to pass unobstructed, is something like the kindness of one who should shield his

friend from the harmless discharge of a blank cartridge, but suffer him to be exposed to the fire that should bring his death-shot on its wing.

We are glad, however, that the enthusiastic and amiable friend of his species, to whose zeal we are indebted for the letter we have printed, has brought the question of Mr. Bebb's merits and demerits before the public eye. We trust some other individual will resume the thread of the discussion, so that we may really learn whether it is fit that he should continue in the Direction or not. If he be proved to have the requisite qualifications, and to exercise them in the discharge of his duties, we shall be the first to award him the praise that is justly due. If the contrary, no considerations shall deter us from again and again adverting to the gross impropriety of suffering important trusts to remain in any hands a moment longer than they can be fairly and honourably discharged, to the advantage of those for whose benefit they were originally created and reposed.

THEMISTOCLES.*

THEMISTOCLES 'mid pageantry,
In glory and in pride,
The idol of an Eastern court,
Stood by the Monarch's side.

The Persian Satraps knelt to him,
Nobles before him bent—
Silent the gray hair'd warrior stood,
Head of their Armament.

And Artaxerxes' proudest smile
Was o'er the Exile thrown ;
"Th' Athenian state has banish'd him—
"And he is mine alone.

"Lay thine ungrateful country low,
"Athenian, 'tis the hour !
"My tens of thousands are thine own,
"Let Athens feel thy pow'r."

The Monarch pour'd the dark grape juice
Into his golden bowl ;
Themistocles a deadlier draught
Held to his nobler soul.

Their faith to ev'ry heart was borne—
Music's triumphant swell,
Whilst Artaxerxes drain'd his cup,
Burst from the sounding shell,

His large and full empurpled bowl,
The Exile quaff'd unmoved ;
A grateful nation's shout was heard—
The draught was burning blood.

* From 'Sibyl's Leaves,' by E. W. Mills ; recently published.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

LORD AMHERST'S war continues. This sentence, which, in substance, every journalist at home and abroad has been repeating with daily-increased reluctance for years past, must be reiterated once more. The Burmese war is a sound of which every reader has been long since tired; yet, like other inveterate evils, it must be borne till the progress of time shall rid the world of them and of their authors. Even the public despatches, though usually so sanguine, speak of the prolongation of the struggle with undisguised despondency; and to us, it appears like an incurable ulcer preying upon the very vitals of the British empire in the East,—incurable, at least while the Government remains in the hands of the present empirics who have brought the patient into this lamentable state.

The Government of Bengal are now fully aware of the aversion with which this crusade against the "Barbarians" is regarded by all men of sense, and endeavour to throw the odium of it on their enemies. They accuse them of gross insincerity in their negotiations, and perfidy in not ratifying the preliminary treaties which have been agreed on. But it is remarkable, that our able diplomatists give no detailed account of the course of the negotiation. If they would lay before us the proposals made, and the arguments used on both sides, the difficulties started, and the expedients offered to remove them, we should see clearly the superiority of British genius over Burmese folly, and be able to determine which party had reason on their side. Our diplomatists, however, think it enough to tell us, that the Burmese are ignorant and perfidious savages, and that they themselves are wise, just, and reasonable, to which, as we have not the evidence before us on *both* sides the question, we can offer no contradiction.

Those who have read the 'Journal of Captain Hiram Cox,' or Mr. Symes's 'Account of his Embassy to Ava,' will have, however, a very different opinion of the Burmese from that now circulated by their invaders. Though their manners and customs are remote from those with which Europeans are familiar, Amerapoora is undoubtedly entitled to a high rank among Asiatic courts in point of refinement; and though the information, even of the Ministers of State, was formerly very limited, they were by no means deficient in penetration and sagacity with respect to matters coming properly within the scope of their understanding. Having now so much experience of the power of our arms, it is impossible they can

be otherwise than desirous to conclude a peace, provided they can have it on terms which are in any degree tolerable. But the concessions which Lord Amherst demands, must be regarded as in the highest degree extravagant, if rejected by them in their present distressed condition. His Lordship, or those acting under his authority, we should think very ill qualified for the task of effecting an amicable settlement, if they carry with them those punctilios which ought to be thrown aside when real state exigencies demand the exertion of judgment and discretion in reconciling national differences. The 'John Bull' of the East, with a laudable anxiety to relieve the public mind in England on the subject of this war, proposes to send home the news of peace (when peace shall have been restored) by steam; and whether such intelligence be forwarded by steam or canvass, through the Red Sea or round the Cape of Good Hope, it will no doubt be most gratifying to the nation. We refer to the following speculations copied from that paper:

As we may expect the return of the *Enterprise* from Calcutta, with the ratified treaty of peace with Ava, about the 5th or 6th of the month, it would appear a very desirable object that her services should be made available towards forwarding to England the important news, both from Rangoon and Bhurtpoor, within a shorter period than they can be conveyed by the usual route of the Cape. This might be accomplished by despatching her to the Red Sea, with a courier, who should find his way with all speed to Alexandria, and from that to Europe. The gaining by this means of a month, or perhaps six weeks, might, on many obvious accounts, be attended with the most advantages. Over and above relieving the suspense which must be felt in England as to the result of the late engagement at Promé, and of the siege of Bhurtpoor, it might prevent the adoption of measures which otherwise will be scarcely be carried into execution before they are found unnecessary. We can, however, throw out the suggestion as one not altogether unworthy of attention if capable of being carried into effect.

Adverting to the suggestion which we threw out (as above) relative to the despatching the *Enterprise* to the Red Sea, for the purpose of conveying a courier with despatches for England, announcing the fall of Bhurtpoor, and the conclusion of the Burman war, if the treaty be ratified, we venture to affirm, that an early knowledge of these events at home is of the greatest importance, that even if thirty days are gained, the end would be a great measure be answered. Independently, however, of this, we think it probable that the attempt would afford us peculiar gratification. It would put the measure of communication by steam via Suez to some extent on a practical test, though by no means under the most auspicious circumstances. We venture to think, the result would justify a future more extensive attempt. We have ever strongly advocated the passage of the canal of Suez, and nothing has happened to weaken the opinion we entertain of its feasibility; of its importance, there can be no question. We are disposed to recur to the general subject, which, however, would offer a far more promising presage than the particular proposition we now desire to introduce to notice. The extreme distance from Joint Palmiras to Suez may be calculated in round numbers at five thousand miles, and allowing the *Enterprise* to average 150 miles per diem, she would effect the passage in thirty-four days, and a courier proceeding immediately to Alexandria, would be enabled to deliver the despatches to the British Consul in Egypt in forty days at the very farthest from their leaving Calcutta. Without doubt, the usual period of inter-communication between the British Consul and the Government at home is known here; but in this case it might be deemed advisable to push

on the original courier. We believe there is at all times ready access to the Continent of Europe from Alexandria. The journey from Genoa to London is made in ten days, and if twenty are allowed for the passage across the Mediterranean, the despatches would be in London seventy days after their leaving Calcutta. But we think they would in fact not be longer than sixty. Some objection may be started as to quarantine; to obviate this, let the despatches be placed in a tin-case, to be enclosed in another, filled with gunpowder, or any other more suitable ingredient. The authorities on the Continent could not object to allow the outer case to be opened, and the inner one to be despatched to our Ambassador at Paris, who would forward it express.

HINDOO FEMALE EDUCATION.

The 'India Gazette' of December 29, contains some interesting information as to the progress making in the communication of instruction to Hindoo females, whose uneducated and unenlightened condition has been so long lamented. It is stated that, through the efforts of Mrs. Wilson and her benevolent fellow-labourers, encouraged by the patronage of Lady Amherst and other distinguished members of the community, 500 Hindoo females had been brought under a course of instruction in the space of five years. This is sufficiently encouraging and gratifying as an incipient experiment: it shows that there is no want of philanthropy among the ladies of Calcutta, nor of objects among their own sex on which they may successfully exercise it. And if the philanthropy which does exist in the British Indian public had been well directed, much more might have been effected long before this, in the improvement of our Native subjects. But the work has been too much under the influence of visionary enthusiasts, who have laboured with zeal without knowledge. They have generally begun with endeavours to enlighten and improve the most debased and ignorant class of the people, which is commencing the reform of society at the wrong end, in the vain hope that it will ascend upwards. It is true, that the soul of a porter may be in itself as valuable as that of a prince; but the conversion of the former to Christianity excites a prejudice against the religion itself, whereas the latter would be likely to draw thousands after him. And, in like manner, if European education were imparted to the higher order of Natives, who, being comparatively very few in number, and therefore easily afforded the means of instruction, it would quickly descend to the lower classes. The Government might do this at once by a general measure—establishing an English academy in each zillah, with a European superintendent, having a liberal education, so as to be capable of teaching the most useful branches of learning, and holding out respectable situations in the revenue, and judicial offices, &c. to those who, on examination, showed a tolerable proficiency in their studies. Almost all the respectable Natives in the country would embrace, with eagerness, such a mode of advancing their sons, which would consequently very soon work a complete reformation in the face of society. How much more important this would be than the instruction of five

hundred or five thousand common females, whose influence, when they grow up so as to be settled in life, must be confined within the walls of a hut, if indeed their learning do not prove a bar to their marriage entirely. In that case the experiment is at an end; for while Hindoo husbands prefer unlearned wives, Hindoo females must prefer to continue ignorant; according to the maxim, that "where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise." But even on the most favourable supposition, as nothing can be less than the influence of a Hindoo female, we suspect it will be found that the female reformers of society, with all their benevolence, have not commenced in the manner best calculated to produce any important results. Posterity will decide. The following is the account given by the 'India Gazette' of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education at Calcutta:

The subject of Native female education in this country is becoming increasingly popular among all ranks of society, and is evidently gaining rapid accessions of strength, both from the wisdom and zeal with which its plans are executed, and from the amazing increase of its funds which are annually augmented by the generous contributions of Europeans and Native gentlemen.

It is in the memory of most of us, that only four years ago this very interesting and novel work was commenced on a general plan in Calcutta by members of the established Church. Many were the difficulties with which it was at first assailed in its feeble career. The work was new, the way comparatively untrod; doubts were excited as to its probable result; means were small, and few were the champions who were willing to risk even a cheering opinion as to the final success of the undertaking, yet persevering zeal has, by the blessing of God, triumphed over the difficulties which surrounded this work at its commencement, until every doubt and uncertainty has been hushed by success, and lost in the general acknowledgments of friendly congratulation.

We look upon facts as unanswerable weapons in the cause of truth, and to facts we can now appeal as far as the work of female education under the care of the "Ladies' Society" is concerned. Mrs. Wilson commenced her labours, under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, in the year 1822. During the first year eight schools were opened, containing 200 children; in the second year they had increased to above 300. During the third the number of children was about 500, when the Ladies' Society was founded, and Mrs. Wilson was joined in her labours by Mr. Jetter, and shortly after by Mrs. Richards. Thus, in the space of four years, above 500 Native females have been brought under a course of instruction, and have made fair progress in reading, writing and needle-work.

On Friday morning, December 23d, the fourth public examination of the girls was held in the Old Church room, in the presence of the Right Honourable Lady Amherst, patroness of the Society, the Honourable Miss Amherst, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Mrs. Hober, Mrs. Harrington, the Venerable Archdeacons of Calcutta and Bombay, several of the Clergy, ladies and gentlemen of the highest respectability, together with Rajah Bideanath Roy, Rajah Shikhisben, and a large body of Native gentlemen. The children were examined in suitable school-books, which give an account of the fall of man and his redemption, of the commandments, of the Lord's prayer, &c. &c. Several of them repeated Bengalee hymns—others read part of the New Testament, and gave the meaning of the passages; afterwards they read and repeated a portion of the geography, with which they appeared familiar. The Lord Bishop, with his accustomed condescension and kindness.

questioned them in Hindoostane respecting the different parts of the world, several of which places they could point out to his Lordship on the Bengalee map. Afterwards, specimens of their sewing were exhibited; a sampler of needle-work was presented to the Lady Patrouess as a mark of gratitude for the zeal she has manifested in the cause. A pair of bands were presented to the Lord Bishop, and another pair to the Archdeacon Corrie, as specimens of the children's progress. During the examination, Rajah Bidenauth came forward in the noble spirit of liberality and gave a donation of 90,000 sicca rupees, to forward the cause of Native female education in the erection of a central school. The ladies having been apprized of his intention, had prepared an elegant sampler, in which were marked, "*May every blessing attend the generous Rajah Bidenauth*;" the sampler was presented to the Rajah by the Lord Bishop, to the great admiration and interest of the ladies and gentlemen who favoured the meeting with their presence. After the examination the friends proceeded to inspect a large and elegant assortment of fancy articles, which had been presented by ladies in Calcutta and the Upper Provinces, and which were offered for sale to assist the funds of this great and good cause. The conduct of the ladies who have so zealously aided the work is indeed highly praise-worthy; for no less than 800 rupees have been realized on this occasion for articles, which have been prepared by ladies in and near Calcutta during the past year. It may no doubt be expected that the noble example which the Native gentlemen in Calcutta have before them in the *splendid donation* of Rajah Bidenauth, will soon produce its proper effect, in leading others to appropriate a portion of their immense wealth, either to the same object, or to the support of other useful institutions which have in view the good of their fellow-men.

After the examination a collection was made, amounting to 500 rupees, which, added to the sum realized by the articles sold, and the noble donation of Rajah Bidenauth, amounted to 91,800.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE.

The distribution of the prizes awarded to the pupils of the Government Sanskrit College, at the second annual examination, having been appointed to take place at a house temporarily appropriated to the accommodation of the College, the prizes were presented by Mr. Shakespear, assisted by several of the other Members of the Committee of Public Instruction: they were given for progress and proficiency in Sanskrit, Grammar, Literature, Logic, Philosophy, and Law, according to the report of the examiners, the Reverend Mr. Mill, Mr. Wilson, and Captain Price. The business of the meeting was concluded by the Secretary's reading an address, in Sanskrit, to the professors and pupils, on the part of the Committee, commending their past diligence, and urging them to future exertion. There is every prospect, we understand, of this institution contributing to form scholars very superior to the ordinary class of Pundits, and qualifying them particularly in a well-grounded knowledge of the Sanskrit language, in conversancy with its literature, and familiarity with the best authorities of Hindoo law. In a few weeks, the College will be removed to a more suitable and convenient edifice; the handsome building in Patel Danga-square being very nearly completed.

HINDOO MEDICAL SCIENCE.

In our last Number we gave an account of the valuable labours of Dr. Breton, the superintendent of the Native Medical Institution of Bengal. We find in the late papers from India, some very interesting information which had been communicated by that gentleman at a meeting of the Medical and Physical Society, held in the beginning of February.

The Secretary read a paper on the Native operation for cataract by Dr. Breton. This operation is very commonly practised by the natives of Hindoostan, both Mohammedans and Hindoos, and with a degree of success, that could scarcely be anticipated from the rudeness of the implements, and the ignorance of the operators, who are utterly unacquainted with the anatomy of the eye. The Native mode of couching differs in some respects from that which has been practised in Europe since the days of Pliny, and from that described after the Greek authorities by the Arabs. Mr. Breton therefore concurs with Dr. Scott, who has given some account of the operation in the 'Quarterly Journal of Science,' in regarding it as of indigenous origin, and not borrowed from Grecian or Arabian surgery. Instead of the couching needle in use with European practitioners, the Native operator employs two instruments, a lancet and a needle: the first is used to perforate the coats of the eye, and to obviate the possibility of its penetrating too deeply a guard of a thread is bound round the blade at about 1-10th of an inch from the point. After the perforation is made, a kind of probe or needle is introduced to depress the lens; this instrument is about five inches long, of the size of a crow-quill; the shaft is circular, diminishing in diameter to within about an inch of the point, when it becomes of a triangular shape with blunt edges; the apex is also blunt; just above the triangular part, thread is wound round to prevent its passing too far. The needle is directed in the axis of the lens, and serves to depress it below the pupil: the eyelids are then closed, and the needle remaining in the eye, being supported by the sort of shoulder which it forms where expanding into a triangle, and resting on a dossil of lint placed on the cheek; after a short interval the eye is examined: if the lens have risen, it is again depressed; and this is repeated until the operator is satisfied that the depression has been effected; the needle is then withdrawn, and some slight precautions are taken against the inflammation that follows.

After being satisfied of the safety and efficacy of the operation, Dr. Breton intrusted its performance to several of his Native pupils, who met with equal success; above 100 cases were thus operated on, by different hands, of which not above eight were considered as failures; a few instances occurred, in which the repetition was necessary, but in a less proportion than similar occurrences in Europe; neither does Dr. Breton think the subsequent inflammation more violent in general than it is where the cataract has been depressed by the most skilful of our own practitioners. On the whole, he is disposed to conclude, that, although the Native operation may not be equally successful with that of European surgery in the hands of eminent and practised operators, yet its simplicity as well as efficacy render it worthy of adoption where the opportunities of practising, with our own instruments, have been compara-

tively rare, and less manual dexterity has been in consequence required.

TREATMENT OF PASSENGERS TO INDIA.

There are few persons who have not heard of the dissensions which so frequently happen among fellow-passengers on their way to India. A case of this kind was lately tried before the Supreme Court of Calcutta : Dr. Sully, an Assistant-Surgeon in the Company's service, brought an action against Captain Lucas, of the ship *Lord Amherst*, for his having confined Mr. and Mrs. Sully to their cabins, for six days, with a sentry at the door. The reason assigned for this violent coercion was, certain irritating language which had been used by them towards the Captain in the presence of his officers and men. It is also stated, that the whole of the passengers, with the exception of a Mr. Cooper, had come to the resolution of not sitting at the cuddy-table with Dr. and Mrs. Sully, and even begged of the Captain to order their dining-table to be laid on the gun-deck. Notwithstanding these strong circumstances, the Judge was of opinion, that Captain Lucas should have used more calmness and discretion in attempting to sooth or conciliate the parties, before he had recourse to force. His Lordship therefore thought it right to punish both,—by giving a rupee damages, and ordering each party to pay their own costs.

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

It is stated in a Madras paper, that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta had taken his passage for this Presidency on board the homeward bound ship *Bussorah Merchant*, which left the river Hooghly on the 28th of January.

HINDOO LOYALTY AND LIBERALITY.

The late papers furnish another striking proof of the loyal disposition of the natives of Bengal towards the British Government. A splendid party was lately given to the European gentlemen of Benares by Rajah Kalisanker Gosal, at his residence at Durga Kund, in honour of the reduction of Bhurtpoor. The road leading to the Rajah's residence was brilliantly illuminated for half a mile. Mr. Brooke and General Price, with most of the gentlemen of the station, sat down to an elegant dinner, with an abundance of choice wines; a nautch and a display of fire-works completed the evening's entertainment.

Rajah Kalisanker Gosal is the son of the late Baboo Jaynarayn Gosal, of whom honourable mention is made in the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, he having contributed liberally to the endowment of the Native School at Benares, founded by them; he was also a considerable benefactor to the Native Hospital at that city. His son is treading in the same honourable path, having presented last year a donation of 20,000 rupees to the Education

Committee, and having recently contributed 60,000 rupees to the New Asylum for the Blind, instituted at Benares.

The habitual loyalty and attachment to the existing Government, of which the above is an example, and which distinguishes the natives of Bengal, was very properly brought forward in the Memorial of the Native Inhabitants of Calcutta, addressed to the Supreme Court against the Regulation of Mr. John Adam for depriving them of the liberty of the Press, lest they should employ it to bring the Government into hatred and contempt. With respect to this cruel slander on their loyalty, by an ephemeral British Governor, assigned as a reason for depriving them of a right which they had enjoyed from the remotest ages, under their worst despotisms—a right sanctioned and confirmed by the principles of British law, which had been established among them for many generations—they observed :

During the late wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against the neighbouring Powers, it is well known that the great body of the Natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms, from a deep conviction that, under the rule of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion, and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large proportion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence; considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success their own happiness and prosperity depended.

But all these proofs of the devoted attachment, the millions of treasure they had lavished on the British Government, and the blood they had often shed to support it, had no effect on Mr. Adam and his coadjutors, who had determined to save themselves from "hatred and contempt" by gagging every one who possessed the faculty of representing their conduct in its true colours; thus depriving a faithful and unoffending people of "the civil rights and privileges which (as they expressed it in their memorial) they and their fathers had so long enjoyed "under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence they were not aware of having done anything to forfeit."*

CENTRAL INDIA.

Since the fall of Bhurtpoor the Indian Papers contain various speculations on that interesting event, and the circumstances attending it, some of which are deserving of being put on record. The first which we quote, relating to the capture of the rebellious Rajah, contains a curious stricture on his personal appearance :

* Oriental Herald, vol. i. p. 130—132.

“Doorjun Sal is excessively stout, more like a *Buneeah* (a shop-keeper or trader) than a prince.” This remark shows the exquisite taste acquired by those who are far travelled; for a more home-bred writer would never have supposed that corpulence is inconsistent with princely appearance. In some countries, even Sir William Curtis, or one (if one there be) of more ample dimensions, would be regarded as presenting a specimen of the most elegant and majestic rotundity, the fittest possible to grace a throne. But in India, the country of castes and nice distinctions, the paunch of the unfortunate usurper is considered as classing him, in corporeal appearance, with the gross citizen, the voracious frequenter of turtle feasts; or, rather, according to the practice of that country, the greedy gormandizer of *ghee* (or melted butter).

On one subject we do not yet perceive that any distinct information has yet been given—the amount of the prize-money which will fall to be shared. Judging, however, from the hints given, and the nature of the place captured, (the last stronghold in Central India, where the disaffected thought they could deposit their wealth in safety,) the spoil will be very great. However, unless there be property found there, which is clearly proved to have belonged to our enemies, we cannot see clearly how the wealth of Bhurtpoor can become ours by our having rescued it out of the hands of robbers. For what merit shall we have in doing so, unless we restore it to the rightful owners? But whatever lawful prize there may be, we trust that the “Bhurtpoor booty” will not be a subject of litigation (like that of the Deccan) for the next seven years, till most of those who captured it, at the risk of being blown up by Doorjun Sal’s mines, may have passed into their graves, or be driven by disappointment to blow their own brains out. The following are the passages to which we have referred :

Head-Quarters, Camp, near Bhurtpoor, 24th January, 1826.

To the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a return of the killed and wounded at the assault of Bhurtpoor, which, as I had before stated, is not so extensive as might reasonably have been expected. I beg to observe, that I omitted, in my despatch of the 19th, to mention to your Lordship, that a successful diversion was made on the Zungeena Gate (where a breach had been made) by the 56th Regiment of Native Infantry, headed by two companies of the 1st European Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Delamaine of the former corps, in a manner highly creditable to them, and where they were strongly opposed. I have, &c.

(Signed) COMBERMERE.

P. S.—I also transmit a return of ordnance taken in the town.

Total Europeans killed, 61; wounded, 233; missing, 2. Total Natives killed, 48; wounded, 133; missing, 9. Total Europeans and Natives killed, 103; wounded, 466; missing, 11. Total horse killed, 7; wounded and missing, 2.

NAMEs OF OFFICERS KILLED.

H. M. 14th Regt.—Captain Armstrong.

H. M. 59th Regt.—Captain Pitman.

31st Regt. Native Infantry.—Captain Brown

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

General Staff.—Brigadier-General M'Combe, severe contusion; Brigadier-General Edwards, mortally, (since dead); Major Beatson, Deputy Adjutant-General of the army, slightly.

Brigade Staff.—Brigadier Patton, B. C., severe contusion.

Majors of Brigade.—Captain Campbell, severely; Captain Caine, (H. M. 14th Regt.) slightly; Captain Irvine, (Engineers,) severe contusion.

H. M. 16th Lancers.—Lieutenant Lowe, slightly.

10th Regt. Light Cavalry.—Lieutenant White, severely.

Artillery.—Lieutenant Macgregor, slightly.

Engineers.—Captain Colvin, slightly; Lieutenant E. Smith, slightly.

H. M. 14th Regt.—Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Lynch, severely; Lieutenant and Brevet Captain Stark, severely; Lieutenant Day, severely, (left leg amputated); volunteer W. Tulloh, slightly.

H. M. 50th Regt.—Major Fuller, slightly; Captain Pennefather, slightly; Captain Manners, slightly; Lieutenant Long, dangerously; Lieutenant Burns, slightly; Lieutenant Hoctor, slightly; Lieutenant Chichester, slightly; Lieutenant Pitman, severely; Volunteer Wright, severely, not dangerously.

H. C. European Regt.—Captain Davidson, slightly; Lieutenants Warren and Candy, severely.

23d Regt. N. I.—Lieutenant-Colonel S. Nation, severely.

31st Regt. N. I.—Captain Heptinstall, severely and dangerously.

41st Regt. N. I.—Major G. Hunter, severely.

56th Regt. N. I.—Captain J. Hunter, severely and dangerously; Captain Black, slightly; Lieutenants Turner and Lumsdaine, slightly.

1st Nusseree Detachment.—Lieutenant Kirke, (19th Regt N. I.,) slightly.
(Signed) W. L. WATSON, Adjutant-General.

Ordnance Captured at Bhurtpoor.—Iron guns, 60; brass guns, 73; wall-pieces under 1 lb., about 300, with a large quantity of powder and shot not yet ascertained; two large iron guns, broken and dismantled, lying at the breach.

Extract from a Letter from his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated 24th January 1826.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that, since the fall of Bhurtpoor, the whole of the fortresses within this raj (Biana, Weir, Kombeir, Deeg, and Kama,) have surrendered to the British army without opposition, and are now accordingly occupied by detachments from the army under my command.

The inhabitants of Bhurtpoor are returning to their habitations, and resuming their usual avocations; and, I am happy to say, that the desolation caused by the storm is fast disappearing.

By command of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council,
GEO. SWINTON, Sec. to the Govt.

The slaughter of the enemy in Gopaulgur was immense: the Jants refused to take quarter and fought on their knees, and when prostrate. It is horrid to look at the immense number of dead bodies yet unburied; in some places, the carcasses are lying five and six deep, for many yards together! and every bastion is strewed with dead men.

H. M.'s 50th suffered more than any other corps; it was only 500 strong, and lost about 120 men.

The Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies of H. M.'s 50th suffered most. The whole regiment behaved admirably well, and so did H. M.'s 14th; the loss of the latter was however trifling, until the enemy's mine exploded, when a great many were blown up.

The Rajah's jewels and cash are secured: report speaks of the value as enormous!

Doorjun Sal has mentioned where three crores of rupees are deposited, and his *Ranee* has spoken of another place where four crores more may be found. Komeer and Dheig have surrendered, and the 31st regiment has proceeded

there to take possession and prevent plunder. Much treasure is said to be deposited at both places.

The Rajah is despatched to Agra with a strong escort.

Brigadier M'Combe is left in command of the town and citadel with H. M's 14th Foot, and 23d and 29d Native Infantry.

Head-quarters are removed to the south-west side of the city.

The camp will be broken up, and the 2d division of Infantry proceed to Beancee.

Brigadier Edwards died on the morning of the 10th instant.

Yesterday's dawn brought us several letters from the scene of action, dated the 10th inst. From one of them we extract the following account of the capture of *Doorjun Sal* and his family:—

Bhurtpoor, Jas. 19, 1826.—I hasten to inform you that the renowned *Doorjun Sal* was captured yesterday at four o'clock, P. M., by a troop of the 8th Light Cavalry under Lieutenants M'Kenzie and Barbor, of that regiment, while attempting to make his escape towards Beannah. He was accompanied by the Rancee, (mounted behind an attendant,) his two sons, some relations, and about twelve followers, who made but slight resistance. A few pistol shots were fired, which wounded his eldest son, a fine boy of eight years of age, and one of the horsemen.

The Rajah was immediately conveyed to Brigadier-General Sleigh, commanding the Cavalry division, who in person conducted him to the Commander in-Chief's camp, but his Lordship being in the fort, he was delivered over to Colonel Stevenson, the Quarter-Master-General.

Doorjun Sal is excessively stout, more like a Buneeah than a prince in appearance.

Many valuable jewels and some bags of gold mohurs, were found in the lining of the saddles, all of which, with his chargers, have been delivered over to the prize agents.

General Sleigh presented Lieutenant Barbor with the Rajah's sword, that officer having conveyed him to the General, and afterwards to head-quarters.

BURMESE WAR.

We are now able to give a detailed account of the mode in which the armistice terminated, which had afforded strong ground to hope that a treaty of peace would be finally concluded. The circumstance of the unratified treaty being found in the Burmese camp after the action, may be explained in three ways: 1st. The plenipotentiaries may have been afraid to send it to their Court lest their heads should be made to answer for not being able to procure more advantageous terms: 2d. It may have been sent and returned unratified, but not communicated to the British General, from a desire on the part of the Burmese negotiators to prevent the renewal of hostilities, and a hope that their representations to their own Court might yet procure a ratification, if the additional seven days of grace they asked had been allowed them: 3d. The Burmese diplomats may have been merely amusing the British General with negotiations to gain time, without any intention of concluding a peace. Though the latter supposition seems generally adopted, we are by no means satisfied that it is the most probable; and it may eventually be proved, that Sir Archibald Campbell, by not allowing those seven days to enable the other party to make another remonstrance with their Court, or arrange some punctilio previous to a surrender, has been the real cause of the prolongation of the war. The following

is the account of it given by the 'India Gazette' of the 8th February :

The following account was brought by the *Enterprise*, which left Ram-
pooon on the 30th January with Captain Wilson in charge of the despatches :

After the signature of the preliminary treaty by the Kee Woonghee, conti-
nual communication was kept up between the camps. Presents of fruit were
sent to Sir Archibald Campbell, and ponies were entered by the Burmese
chieftains to run against the Arab horses of the British officers ; in short,
nothing was left undone by the Kee Woonghee to give an appearance of good
faith to his professions ; but Sir Archibald Campbell had obtained information
of the approach of a large reinforcement, and on the application of Kee Woonghee
for an extension of the armistice on the 17th of January, one day previous to
its expiration, it was refused. On the 18th of January, the Kee Woonghee
pleaded illness as an excuse for not making his appearance with the ratified
treaty ; and when this ruse was detected by the officers sent to visit him, and
to ascertain the truth, he adroitly excused himself by saying he was really
ashamed to meet the Commander-in-Chief ; that his King had behaved so
ill, both he and his colleague were disgusted, and that unless the prisoners
with the treaty were immediately sent down, they would both resign, and
leave the King to seek other Ministers ; that yet he felt persuaded the ratifi-
cation was on its way, and near ; and that, if an extension of armistice was
granted, it would certainly be received.

To this Sir Archibald Campbell replied, that unless the prisoners were sent
into the English camp, and the articles of the treaty fulfilled before ten o'clock
the next morning, (the 19th,) he should attack him in Malown. During the
night of the 18th, the enemy was incessantly employed strengthening his posi-
tion ; he had received a reinforcement of 6000 men.

On the 19th, the guns from the English batteries and gun-boats opened
simultaneously, and continued for two hours to cannonade ; at the same time,
the storming-party, consisting of his Majesty's 18th and 38th regiments,
under Colonel Sale, crossed the river, and carried the position. The enemy
fled in confusion, leaving about 500 dead on the field ; 80 horses were taken,
80 large guns, 120 jinjalls, 1,800 s'and of arms, 36,000 rupees, 20 tons of
powder, an immense quantity of grain, sulphur, saltpetre, flints, and other
military stores.

Our loss was trifling, amounting to no more than fourteen killed and
wounded ; of whom were Major Frith, it is feared, mortally ; Colonel Sale,
severely ; Lieutenant Dixon, Engineers, slightly.

In the Kee Woonghee's trunk was found the treaty, which had never been
forwarded to the King ; and this Sir Archibald despatched after the fugitive,
reminding him that he might have occasion for it.

This was a sound piece of policy in the Commander-in-Chief ; as, at the
same time that it gave an opening for negotiation, it made the Kee Woonghee
aware that his deceit had been thoroughly discovered.

It is reported that Miamaboo, the King's brother, lost his life in this affair,
as his dress and pony were afterwards found. Five hundred of the enemy's
boats fell into our hands.

As the *Enterprise* passed Fort William, a salute of twenty-one guns was
fired in honour of this splendid victory.

Another Paper states, ' That Mr. Mangles, the Secretary to the Commis-
sioners, was deputed to wait on the Woonghees at Malown, on the 16th ultimo,
in company with Major Jackson and Lieutenant Smith, to explain the terms
upon which the Commander of the British forces was willing to refrain from
active hostile operations, notwithstanding the failure on their part to fulfil
their previous engagements. The Woonghees having refused to sign the paper
in which these conditions were detailed, they were distinctly informed that
the truce would end at midnight, and advised of the consequences.'

Lieutenant Flood, of his Majesty's 12th, had been released by the Burmese. The Commissioners, after the action, sent the original treaty, found in the house of Prince Memia Bo, at Malawn, to the Kee Woonghee and Kokein Mongee, with a short note, intimating that they had the pleasure to forward a document, which, in the hurry of their retreat, they appeared to have dropt, and might eventually wish to recover. There is every reason to believe, that the King's brother, Memia Bo, was killed on the 19th ultimo. His horses and trappings were taken, and a European soldier saw the rider to whom these belonged, fall wounded from his horse, and carried off by his followers.

The following paragraphs are from late Indian Papers, and may be appropriately introduced here :

Mecaday is described as an old Pegue fortress, naturally very strong; and to which the Birmanians have lately added breastworks. In the rains, it would be impregnable, it is believed, and even then, if well defended, would have given trouble. The Keewoonghee commanded there in chief; but, it is stated, acted with his usual prudence, being the first to bolt. The stories told of the sufferings of the poor Burmese for some time back, are stated to be most distressing. They lived, as the saying is, from hand to mouth, and subsisted upon a wretched pittance of rice, barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. The wretched beings, it is well known, are not *willing* soldiers; on the contrary, being compelled to bear arms whenever the Government calls upon them, they must either fight, or desert, with the dismal risk of being caught and put to a dreadful death. Of late, they had been closely watched, and confined in the garrison of Mecaday, by the chiefs. All those let out for the purpose of seeking whatever vegetables they could pick up for food, never returned; and the supposed trustworthy, who were employed on picque: and other detached duties, deserted. They had heard, at Umerapoor, of our success on the 1st over the *invincible* Shaans, and the death of their ever-before invulnerable and successful commander and sorcerer, on that day in the stockades at Seimbick; of our victory on the 2d over the combined and aggregated Burmese opposing power at Nanpuddee; on the 5th, over myriads of Burmese, and numerous breastworks on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, and the clearing of both banks down to Podong, with a full account of our good fortune there; of the capture of Wattygoon, and of our hasty strides towards Mecaday: to all which the Golden Feet merely replied, "Well, we don't care what you do, provided you take care to keep the Colars (or English) away from our Golden presence."

When Colonel Tidy was at Mecaday, during the late negotiating armistice that came to nothing, and was received with so much cordiality by the Keewonghee and other chiefs, this Kookamboe stood sulkily aloof, and could not be persuaded to interchange a friendly smile or word with our negotiators. He did not come to the conference at Yienbenzlek, but exerted himself to the utmost, to fill the minds of his countrymen with impressions of our infidelity, and argued with energy, that it never could have been the intention of the English to make peace, as he was well aware it never could be their interest to conquer so much of the Burmese country, to give it up again. Our object in effecting an armistice, he insisted, was to gain time, to get our re-inforcements of men, guns, provisions, &c. up to Rangoon. In all this, did not Kookamboe perform his part as a true patriot should? He also distinguished himself on the 2nd, at the Pogado Point Stockade, (alias Nanpuddee) and continued to annoy the King's 47th regiment, and Brigadier Ebrington, during the night. The Cassay horse, on which he was mounted, had, we learn, been presented to Captain Dyke by Sir Archibald Campbell. Numbers of poor dying, and dead Burmese, were found on the road-side, all of whom our correspondent supposes to have been reduced to that condition, not by disease, but literal inanition.

After the conference with the Commissioners, we have been told, that the Keewoonghee turned round very gravely, and said that he had a serious com-

plaint to make against Sir Archibald Campbell. There was some surprise evinced at this, and his Burmese Excellency was asked to what he referred; upon which he explained himself by saying that Sir Archibald Campbell had prevented him from seeing his wife, the Lady Keewoonghee, for two years!

A correspondent informs us that the body of one of the Burmese amazons, or Weird Sisters, was found after one of the late battles. She by no means resembled what we have been in the habit of considering as the belle ideal of a witch, for so far from being old and ugly, she was young and handsome. The Burmese men in general, we have heard, are superior to the Natives in India, proper in stature and strength. They are, however, much more intemperate in their habits, being great eaters and drinkers. They are said to be good natured, but excessively given to lying and laziness. The surprise is, that under such a grindingly oppressive and barbarous government, they should have any good qualities or traces of civilization at all. The women are said to be very large and very ugly, but good tempered.—*Indian Gazette.*

Doojun Sal is the cousin of the young Rajah, Balwunt Sinh,—Runjit Sinh, a former Rajah of Bhurtpoor, had four sons, Ranadhir Sinh, Baldeo Sinh, Lakshman Sinh, and Narbhi Sinh; Ranadhir Sinh succeeded his father, and died without issue. He was succeeded by the second brother, Baldeo Sinh, who, shortly before his death, associated his son, the present young Rajah, Balwunt Sinh, in his government, and the act was confirmed by the British authorities;—after he died, Doorjun Sal, the son of the third brother Lakshman Sinh, taking advantage of the tender years of the young Prince, seized upon the musnud, and assumed the title of Rajah, claiming a right to the Raj, on the plea, that Ranadhir Sinh had intended to adopt him: as the adoption, however, never took place, this plea could be of no avail, and he was desired to relinquish his usurpation and withdraw into the Company's territories; upon a suitable provision: the consequence of his refusal to listen to these conditions, will be seen.

By the latest advice, Maha Raja Runjit Sinh was at Lahore on the 29th December, busily engaged in equipping his troops: his tents and equipage had been ordered to Amritser, and a payment of two lacs and twenty-seven thousand rupees, had been made to the French Officers on account of their Battalions. An affray was reported to have occurred at Amritser, between some English merchants and Akali troopers, in which one of the former was wounded: a letter was, in consequence, addressed to the Resident at Ludhiana, stating that this affray had arisen in consequence of the unannounced advance of the Europeans beyond the frontier,—and that it was hoped, that in future they would not cross the settlej without giving previous notice of their intention, when all such occurrences as had taken place might be prevented.—*Jam Jehan Numa.*

Bhurtpoor letters of the 27th ult. state, that the deserter Herbert had been condemned. The Fort of Weir was reported to be as strong as Bhurtpoor, but no show of resistance was offered, and one of the gates was taken possession of by a Naik and four.

The official despatches of General Campbell furnish still more ample details, and will be interesting to those who have relatives and friends among those who were engaged in the operations:

To George Swinton, Esq., Secretary to Government, Secret and Political Department, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—My despatch of the 31st ultimo, brought the operations of the army under my command down to that date, and expressed my sanguine expectations, that it would prove the last communication which I should have to address to you, relative to the war in this country.

These hopes were unfortunately frustrated by the policy of a Court, apparently destitute alike of every principle of honour and good faith.

The signature of a treaty of peace by the British and Burman Commissioners, on the 3d instant, and the pledge, on the part of the latter, that the same would be ratified by the King of Ava within fifteen days from that date, and some specific articles, as therein stated, carried into effect within the same period, has already been brought to the knowledge of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, by the proceedings of the British Commissioners, recorded in their despatches, under date the 3d instant. All occurrences of a purely political nature since then, will now in like manner be furnished with the same authority. I shall therefore proceed to the detail of military events resulting therefrom.

On the 18th, the day appointed for the return of the ratified treaty, &c., the Commissioners finding, that instead of a fulfilment of his promise, a further delay of six or seven days was solicited, under such equivocal circumstances, as left no doubt that a total want of faith guided their councils, it was definitely declared, that their request could not be complied with, and a secret article proposed to them, in which it was stipulated (together with the performance of others already agreed to) that they should evacuate the fortified and entrenched city of Malown, by sun-rise on the morning of the 20th; on their positive rejection of this proposition, they were told, that after twelve o'clock that very night, (the 18th,) hostilities would recommence. Deeming it of the utmost importance that no time should be lost in punishing duplicity of so flagrant a character, I ordered the construction of batteries and the landing of heavy ordnance from the flotilla, to commence immediately after midnight, and every requisite arrangement to be made for any early attack upon Malown. His Lordship in Council will be enabled to appreciate the zeal and exertion with which my orders were carried into effect, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, commanding the Artillery, and Lieutenant Underwood, the Chief Engineer, (aided by that indefatigable corps, the first battalion of Madras Pioneers, under command of Captain Crowe,) when I state, that by ten o'clock next morning, I had eight-and-twenty pieces of ordnance in battery, on points presenting a front of more than one mile on the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy, which corresponded with the extent of the enemy's line of defence on the opposite shore. I yet cherish hopes that the formidable appearance of our preparations would have induced them to make some farther communications in the morning, instead of again risking the renewal of hostilities with troops, of whose decided superiority they had so recently received the most convincing and humiliating proofs. In this I was disappointed. At day light, I perceived that the preceding night had been devoted by them to preparations equally laborious, and the construction of extensive and well-planned works, with a view to the resistance on which they had resolved.

At eleven o'clock A. M., (the 19th,) I ordered our batteries and rockets to open their fire on the enemy's position; it was warmly kept up, and with such precision of practice, as to reflect the highest credit on this branch of the service.

During this period, the troops intended for the assault were embarking in the boats of his Majesty's ships and the flotilla, at a point above our encampment at Patanagoh, under the superintendence and direction of Captain Chads of his Majesty's ship *Alligator*, senior naval officer, on whom this charge devolved, in the absence of his Excellency, Commodore Sir James Brisbane, in consequence of extreme indisposition.

About one P. M. the desired impression having been produced by the cannonade, and every thing reported ready, I directed the Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel Sale, consisting of his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments, to drop down the river, and assault the main face of the enemy's position, near its south-eastern angle, and Brigadier-General Cotton, with the flank companies of his Majesty's 47th and 87th regiments, and his Majesty's 89th regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Hunter Blair; his Majesty's 41st regiment, and the 18th Madras Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Godwin, and the 28th Madras Native Infantry, with the flank companies of the 43d

Madras Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Parlbly, to cross above Malown, and, after carrying some outworks, to attack the northern face of the principal work.

Although the whole of the boats pushed off together from the left bank, the strength of the current, and a strong breeze from the north, carried Lieutenant Colonel Sale's Brigade to the given point of attack, before the other columns (notwithstanding every exertion) could possibly reach the opposite shore; Lieutenant Colonel Sale was unfortunately wounded in his boat, but the corps of his Brigade having landed, and formed with admirable regularity, under the command of Major Frith, of his Majesty's 38th regiment, rushed on to the assault with their usual intrepidity, and were in a short time complete masters of a work, which, although certainly not so well chosen in point of position as others we have met with, had yet been rendered most formidable by labour and art, and, at the same time, such as to afford the enemy a presumptive assurance of security in their possession of it. This is fully evinced by the circumstance of the Chiefs, with Memiaboo at their head, (contrary to the Burmese custom in all such cases,) having remained within their defences till they saw the troops crossing to the assault.

When Brigadier-General Cotton saw that the works were carried by the 13th and 38th regiments, he very judiciously ordered the Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Blair to cut in upon the enemy's line of retreat, which was done accordingly, and with much effect.

This was accomplished, in the course of a few hours from the recommencement of hostilities, forced upon us by perfidy and duplicity, a chastisement as exemplary as it was merited. Their loss in killed and wounded has been severe, and the accompanying returns of captured ordnance, ordnance stores, arms, and ammunition, will sufficiently demonstrate how seriously they have suffered in these particulars; a species of disaster which their Government will doubtless more deeply deplore than the sacrifice of lives, or the shame of defeat. Specie, to the amount of about thirty thousand rupees, was found in Memiaboo's house, and a very ample magazine of grain, together with about seventy horses, have also fallen into our hands. It will prove highly gratifying to his Lordship in Council to learn, that advantages so important have been secured with so small a numerical loss, as is exhibited by the returns of killed and wounded: amongst the wounded, I include, with particular regret, the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Sale and Major Frith, the latter having succeeded to the command of the column on his senior officer being disabled, received, at its head, in the moment of success, a spear wound, which I fear is of a serious nature. Major Thornhill, of his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, was the third on whom the accidents of war threw the perilous distinction of leading these troops, and he conducted their movements to the close of the affair, in a style worthy of his predecessors in command.

Where zeal displays itself in every rank, as amongst the officers whom I have the happiness to command, and all vie with each other in the honourable discharge of duty, the task of selecting individual names for the notice of his Lordship becomes difficult and embarrassing, and I am compelled to adopt the principle of particularizing those alone on whom the heaviest share of exertion happened to devolve on this occasion: it fell to the lot of the Artillery to occupy this conspicuous station in the events of the day: in behalf, therefore, of Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, commanding the whole, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock, commanding Bengal Artillery, and Captain Lumsden, Bengal Horse Artillery, and Montgomerie, Madras Artillery, commanding the batteries, I have to solicit your recommendation to his Lordship's favourable attention. The rocket practice, under Lieutenant Blake, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, was in every way admirable; of three hundred and four rockets which were projected during the day, five alone failed of reaching the spot for which they were destined, and uniformly told in the works, or in the ranks of the enemy, with an effect which has clearly established their claim to be considered a most powerful and formidable weapon of war.

The conduct of his Majesty's 13th and 38th regiments during the advance, and their gallantry in the storm, far exceed all that I can write in their praise. I sincerely hope that I shall not long be deprived of the services of their two brave commanders.

Brigadier-General Cotton's arrangements for intercepting the retreat of the enemy, and the movement of Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Blair to effect the same object, merit my warmest commendations.

To Captain Chads, of the Royal Navy, and every officer and seaman of his Majesty's ships, and the Honourable Company's Flotilla, I am deeply indebted, for the able and judicious manner in which the troops were transported to points of attack so near to a formidable work which they had to assail.—I have the honour to enclose Captain Chads's report, together with his return of killed and wounded.

Upon this short, but important service, I derived every support from the zeal and ability of my Staff, general and personal.

Lieutenant Wilson, of his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, Aid-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Cotton, who will have the honour of delivering this despatch, was present during the whole affair, and is well qualified to give any further information which may be required by his Lordship on the subject.

(Signed)

A. CAMPBELL, Major-General,

Head-Quarters, Camp Patanogoh,
20th January, 1836.

Boats Captured.—War-boats, 3 gilt, and 15 in good condition; large accommodation boats, 7 in good condition, and 1 sunk; large store-boats, 33 in good condition, and 16 sunk; canoes, and boats of various descriptions, 200 to 300.

Ordnance and Military Stores Captured.—Brass guns, one 42-pounder, one 6 ditto, one 4 ditto, one 1 ditto, and ten jinjalls; iron-guns, two 4½-pounders, two 2-ditto, one 3½ ditto, three 3 ditto, ten 2 ditto, thirty-one 1 ditto, two ½ ditto, and eighty jinjalls; iron-guns, long, seven 12-pounders, ten 9 ditto, and two 6½ ditto; iron carronades, one 24-pounder, and one 19 ditto; iron round-shot of different sizes, 11,000; ditto ditto for jinjalls, 7000; gunpowder, destroyed, 20 tons, 1 cwt., and 3 qrs., in boxes of 45 lbs. each; muskets, 1,700; musket-balls, 100,000; spears, 2000.

(Signed)

H. D. CHADS, Captain of H. M. S. *Alligator*,
in command of the Flotilla.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

(Signed)

G. SWINTON, Sec. to Govt.

As the end and aim of the war (under whatever pretences it may be disguised) cannot now be mistaken, we add, as an appropriate conclusion, a notice of the measures adopted towards territorial aggrandisement. A proclamation to this effect has been issued to the inhabitants of Tavoy and Mergui, assigning some curious reasons for usurping dominion over them, and making the fairest possible professions of our gracious disposition to promote their happiness, by extending to them the blessings of our paternal rule.

Inhabitants of Tavoy and Mergui.—The King of Ava, by his unprovoked aggressions and extravagant pretensions, having forced the British Government to invade his dominions, one of its first acts was to take possession of these provinces. But it is against the King and his arrogant ministers, and not against the people of Ava, that the English nation is at war, and in proof of this fact, the Right Honourable the Governor-General of British India, has resolved upon affording to you, the inhabitants of these provinces, the benefits of a civil Government, under the superintendence and direction of the honourable Governor of Prince of Wales' Island.

I hasten then to acquaint you, that I am deputed from Prince of Wales' Island, with instructions to assume charge of these provinces, and to provide them with a civil and political administration, on the most liberal and equitable principles.

Inhabitants of Tavoy and Mergui.—Rest assured that your wives and children shall be defended against all foreign and domestic enemies; that life and property shall enjoy liberty and protection, and that your religion shall be respected, and your priests and religious edifices secured from every insult and injury. Proper measures shall be immediately adopted for administering justice to you according to your own established laws, as far as they do not militate against the principles of humanity and natural equity. In respect to revenue, and all other subjects, your own customs and local usages shall be taken into consideration, but the most free and unrestricted internal and external commerce will be established and promoted.

All that is required from you is, to aid me towards giving you peace, order, and happiness, by each inhabitant returning to his usual occupation, by your respecting and cheerfully obeying all such as may be placed in authority over you, and by your discountenancing, and pointing out, wherever necessary, the seditious and evil disposed, and the enemies of the British Government.

Lastly, I wish it to be clearly understood, that access at all hours, and all places, will be afforded by me to any, even to the poorest inhabitant, who may desire to see me upon his business.

(Signed) A. D. MAINEY.

True it is, that we do not make war with the people, but with their rulers, just as Bonaparte never meant any harm to the Italians or Spaniards, or Russians, or English, but only to their arrogant and hated governments, in order to afford these unfortunate nations the benefit of what he, in the true style of a conqueror, proclaimed to be a better system of rule. But the last promise, so fair and specious, that the "poorest inhabitants" shall always have ready access to make their complaints known to the person appointed to preside over their happiness, will be regarded with indignation and scorn by our ancient subjects in British India, who feel the grinding operation of that "deaf and inexorable system," as it has been justly designated by Colonel Matthew Stewart, which does not permit even their whispers to be heard.

MADRAS.

It appears by the proceedings of the Supreme Court at this Presidency, that a very extensive forgery had been lately committed there, by which the Treasury was defrauded to the extent of 74,000 rupees. The following is the account of it given in the Calendar:

Lewis Thompson, and Anthony Thompson, of Madras, labourers, charged with altering, and causing to be altered, twenty-eight written instruments, for securing the payment of money from the Hon. Company's General Treasury, commonly termed Contingent Bills, of the office of the private Secretary to the Hon. the Governor of Fort St. George, from the month of December 1822, to the month of April 1823, inclusive, after they had been signed by the private Secretaries, with intent to defraud the Hon. Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, of the sum of fifty-four thousand nine hundred and sixteen Madras rupees, fourteen annas, and six pice.

Francis Thompson, of Madras, labourer, charged with falsely making and forging a written instrument, for securing the payment of money from the

Treasury of the Hon. Company, purporting to be a Contingent Bill of the office of the private Secretary to the Hon. the Governor of Fort St. George, and to have been signed by Lieut.-Col. J. Carfrae, the private Secretary, and uttering it as a true and valid Contingent Bill, with intent to defraud the Hon. Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies of the sum of eleven thousand and thirty-one Madras rupees, and eight annas.

The same—charged with altering a written instrument, for securing the payment of money from the Hon. Company's Treasury, and commonly termed a Contingent Bill, of the office of the private Secretary to the Hon. the Governor of Fort St. George, for the month of May 1826, after it had been signed by Captain T. Watson, the Aid-de-Camp, and then Acting Private Secretary, with intent to defraud the Hon. Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies of the sum of eight thousand seven hundred and two Madras rupees.

BOMBAY.

There is no intelligence of any political consequence from this quarter of India. The 'Madras Courier' of the 6th of January mentions that letters from Colapoor, of very recent date, continue to describe the peaceable aspect of affairs. It is said that when the force prepared to attack the fort, the Rajah sent out an invitation to our General and officers to attend his wedding. He also offered to submit to all the terms prescribed by the Bombay Government.

A Bombay contemporary, however, it is added, gives a rather different account of matters. He says :

By the latest accounts we have seen from Colapoor, it does not appear that any final arrangement had been made, or that our troops would speedily return, though nothing hostile had intercepted the friendly intercourse between the townspeople and our soldiers, who were encamped within a short distance of the Rajah's palace.

The town is described as being well built, and situated in a valley between a curved range of hills, which protect it on three sides, and mountains at the distance of seven miles. The fort does not appear to be very strong, and depends more on the ditch for its security than any other part of the defences, which are by no means sufficient to prevent an enemy from marching directly up to the counterscarp. Two forts, which are said to be strong, and perhaps are so from situation, stand on the range of mountains which shuts in the valley ; but all communication between them and the town might be cut off with ease. It was reported that measures were taking to supply the garrison with provisions, and the removal of valuable property.

Our readers (says the 'Madras Courier') will be glad to learn from the following summary of a contemporary the prosperous condition of the sister Presidency of Bombay :

In the beginning of a register of 1826, we beg to remind our readers, that, some eight or ten months since, we ventured to prognosticate a rapid improvement in the opulence and importance of this our goodly island : subsequent appearances have amply answered our expectations, and, to the utmost that time could permit, has fulfilled the prophecy. The population has increased, as though Cadmus had scattered dragon's teeth ; mercantile houses have multiplied ; charities have been founded, and each succeeding day has produced something towards convenience or ornament. The public tanks have been enlarged so as to ensure a constant supply of water, the ways into the fort have been elegantly lighted, the esplanade has been levelled and cleared, roads have been made, and edifices have risen, designed with archi-

lectual taste, and executed with masonic skill, which perhaps is the strongest evidence of a flourishing state.

It is said that some valuable coal mines have been lately discovered in Cutch; and it is added, that the Bombay Government has determined to work them. Thus there will be a fine depôt for coals established on the opposite coast, of which steam-vessels will no doubt hereafter take advantage.

Advices from Bombay about the middle of January, state that the cholera morbus has appeared in a most virulent form among the troops in the neighbourhood of Sholapore, and, at the date of the last accounts, still continued its ravages. A Madras Paper says;

'We observe that the Government of Bombay has established a school for Native doctors, upon a plan similar to that instituted at this Presidency. The object is to educate Native doctors for the civil and military branches of the service. The class composing it, is to consist of not less than twenty students, who are placed under the superintendence of a medical officer, under the immediate control of the Board. Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Maclean has been appointed superintendent.'

And the 'Bombay Courier' of February the 18th, has the following paragraph:

'We understand that the small-pox has been raging in Cutch with unexampled virulence, and that there had been no less than 700 victims to it in one district, in the short period of a month. It is, however, gratifying to learn, that the inquiries that have been made clearly establish the fact, that those who had undergone vaccination, either entirely escaped the disease, or had it in so mild and modified a form, as seldom or never to prove fatal. We trust that the Natives of that part of the country, will now become sensible of the benefits to be derived from vaccination, and that the strong prejudices which have hitherto opposed its general introduction will be removed.'

The cholera had also made its appearance in the force encamped in the neighbourhood of Bhooj, but, by the last accounts, had nearly disappeared, though it still continued to prevail in the surrounding village.

TURKEY.

The important change which has recently taken place in the Turkish empire deserves notice in a work which is devoted to the consideration of whatever may affect the destinies of the East. As the order of janissaries has long proved an insuperable obstacle to improvement, their suppression cannot but lead to very important results. It was a dead weight by which the Ottoman power had been weighed down for many ages, till, from being the terror of Europe, it was on the very brink of annihilation. But this obstacle, if effectually removed, will enable the Turkish rulers to enter the race of improvement with European states. Revolution is, in fact, the great regenerator of nations. Bodies politic, like bodies natural, seem to verge gradually towards the decrepitude of old age, till their elements are decomposed, and spring up into life and vigour in a new form. If the reformation begun in Turkey receive no check from the admirers of the "wisdom of our ancestors," civilization and learning will receive a new impulse, Russia

will meet with a powerful barrier, which has long been wanting to oppose her encroachments within the east of Europe; and our Indian possessions, sheltered from any danger in that quarter, may again fall into the hands of a new Mohammedan dynasty of conquerors, springing up, like a phoenix, from the nearly extinguished embers of the Ottomans. For if European tactics be added to the spirit of Islamism, and the fierce and warlike tribes of Central Asia be poured into Hindoostan, the discipline of British sepoy will not prevent it from falling, as it has ever done, a prey to every invader.

SINGAPORE.

The Penang Gazette of the 31st December, contains an extract from the 'Singapore Chronicle,' conveying some intelligence from Siam and Java; at the former place, the Government is said to have adopted a less vexatious line of policy towards strangers, and to have allowed them to transact their commercial affairs without the interference of the officers of Government. A war was spoken of between Siam and Cochin China. Captain Burney, the Envoy to Siam, had not arrived on the 14th of November, the date of the accounts received from thence. The news from Java extends to the 16th of November, at which time there had been little alteration in the state of affairs to the Eastward. At Samarang, the strictest discipline and constant guard were still maintained, and the inhabitants of Surabaya were kept in continual alarm by the vicinity of a powerful Javanese force. It was said that the Dutch Government had made proposals of peace to Dispo Nagoro, the leader of the Javanese, upon the basis of his being acknowledged Sultan of Mataram. Baron Van der Capellen was expected to return to Europe, and would be succeeded by General De Kock.

It is stated, in a Madras paper of February 18th, that accounts had been received there, of the loss of the Dutch brig *Favourite*, Captain Goldie, on one of the islands on the west coast of Sumatra, the crew and commander with great difficulty saved; also of a Dutch ship, laden with treasure and other articles, on her voyage from Batavia to Padang.

The Malays appear to be dissatisfied with the present Government, and are in a state of continual warfare.

PERSIA.

Another dreadful earthquake has been experienced at Shirauz, of which the following letter communicates the particulars, as given in the 'Madras Courier':

BUSHIRE, Nov. 10, 1825.—I am sorry to inform you that a shock of earthquake was felt at Shirauz at the end of last month, almost equal to that of last year. A great number of buildings have been thrown down, and much property destroyed. I am, however, happy to say that few have lost their lives on this dreadful occasion. If you should ever revisit Shirauz, the changes that these dreadful visitations have made in it, will fill you with grief and

astonishment. The tombs of Halls and Saadi, the boast and glory of Shiraz, are now heaps of ruins. If these great men were now to rise from their graves, they would afford ample subject for the employment of their pens in the spectacle of the almost entire ruin of that city, whose former magnificence they have sung in numbers destined never to be forgotten.

AUSTRALASIA.

We have received, through the medium of Indian Papers, some interesting particulars regarding the progress of our important dependency in the southern hemisphere. The writer, remarking on the contents of a file of Australasian journals, observes :

The perusal of these papers is, however, calculated to excite astonishment at the proofs afforded in every page of the rapid progress which this infant colony, of little more than thirty years old, is making in all the arts and elegancies of life. The morality of the goodly inhabitants who "left their country for their country's good" seems also to have undergone a wonderful degree of improvement; and, if we may judge from the police reports and proceedings of the courts of justice, crime is as little frequent in that land of exile as in much more favoured countries.

We are sorry, however, to perceive that that bane of Christianity, religious dissension, is already spreading its malignant influence over the heterogeneous inhabitants of Australia. The Methodist, the Unitarian, the Anabaptist, and fifty other sects, must have their separate parties and places of worship. The seed of religious dissension, thus early sown, is certainly not the least unpromising feature at present exhibited by the colony; but formed as the community has been, out of all sects, all grades, and all descriptions of persons, from the highest to the lowest rank in life, it is less a matter of surprise than of regret, that religious animosities should prevail.

We have also been favoured with a copy of "*Proposals for the foundation and support of a Public Free Grammar School in the town of Sydney*," by "LAURENCE HALLORAN, D. D., *Professor of the Classics and of Mathematics*." The prospectus embraces a very extended scale of education; and one of its most important objects is to provide exhibitions, on the plan of our foundation schools at home, for three youths every year, to be sent to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with the ultimate object of being ordained for the ministry in their native colony. We most heartily wish success to the undertaking, and we hope Dr. Halloran will yet live to see his philanthropic views carried into effect.

CEYLON.

We have received this day from Batticaloa an account of the loss of a brig called the *Anna*, together with the whole of the crew, saving two men who were driven on shore at Batticaloa, and gave in the following statement to the Collector of that District, viz.—That they are natives of Pondicherry, and sailors belonging to the late brig *Anna*; that about two months ago they shipped cocoa nuts and areca nuts from the island of Nicobar for Rangoon. The crew consisted of the captain (Brown) and nine others; that on the first day after leaving Nicobar the wind was contrary, but on the second day, about half past five o'clock *a. m.* a strong breeze set in from the north, which made the brig labour very much; about four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day they found the vessel sinking, they tried all they could to pump out the water and cut away the masts, notwithstanding which the vessel continued sinking fast. Captain Brown and the crew launched the small boat and got into her; shortly afterwards the vessel went down; they had not time to take provisions; they tried two days to regain the island of Nicobar but failed to do so, but reached the island of Andaman, where they landed; while getting some oysters, they saw a number of persons standing at a distance with bows and arrows: they immediately commenced shooting at them, many of the crew

were wounded; they immediately made for their boat, and after being at sea forty days without provisions, were drifted on shore in this district. During the forty days, the captain and four others died, just as they were driven on shore in this district another died, and two others died shortly after landing; they were eight days after landing before they were found, when two persons going to fish saw them and took them up to the Headman's house.

On their being asked how they subsisted for the forty days, they denied having had anything to eat, and stated they drank nothing but salt water. Pedro Anthony states, that at one time they had an idea of eating some of their dead companions, but states that they did not do so for want of fire to cook it.

The property found on them, consisted of one spear, one long knife, one watch, half a compass box, some silver about two rupees weight, a small glass, and one kresse.—*Ceylon Gazette, Feb. 4.*

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

THE stagnant calm which has succeeded to the turbulence of the General Election, still continues: and no public business of importance has been transacted, either as connected with passing events, or relating to the future prospects of India. The Members of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, as well as the greater personages of the State, appear all to be indulging in the general relaxation which marks the present season of the year. The Debate at the India House, of which a condensed but faithful account will be prepared for its proper place, is the only public event we have to record. We learn, however, that some beneficial changes are in contemplation, though no one can say when they are to be matured for execution. But it is pleasing to be able to announce even thus much: and there is no part of our duty that we perform with more cheerfulness, than that of laying before our readers new grounds of hope for improvement, in whatever quarter they may originate.

We learn, for instance, that the attention of the Government at home has been for some time past directed to the equalization of the currency in India: and that with a view to secure even the concurrence of the Native princes to this measure, proposals have been made to Scindia and other leading chiefs to adopt the same uniform weight and standard for the rupee used in their dominions with that to be introduced into the British. This will undoubtedly be a marked improvement: and we trust the discussion of the subject at the public Court of the India House will accelerate the equalization proposed.

The irregularity of promotion in the armies of the three presidencies has also been long a subject of complaint, and to remedy this it is said to be in contemplation to form a regular scale, by

which to adjust the promotion of the three armies, according to one uniform rule, to take retrospective effect from the year 1824 : a measure that can hardly fail to be popular with all parties.

The most important of all the intended improvements is, however, the great change intended to be effected in the pay of the armies, each branch of the service being now paid in a different coin, and at a different rate of value ; from which invidious distinction, jealousies have frequently arisen between the armies of the separate presidencies, when their cordial unanimity was of the highest possible advantage. It is confidently said, that this subject having been very pointedly brought to the notice of the Directors by Colonel Munro, the late Resident at Travancore, is now under deliberation : and we venture to affirm that, if carried, it will not fail to be the most popular measure that has for a long time emanated from the Court. With all the unjust attempts that have been lately made to reduce the allowances of the army, no branch of which can be considered at present too highly paid, there is yet a sufficient sense of the importance of their fidelity remaining in the minds of the Directors, to prevent their going farther in the way of reduction. It is therefore not probable that the Bengal allowances will be brought down to the level of those at Madras and Bombay, but that these two will raised to the level of those at Bengal ; a change which we are persuaded would be as gratifying to the officers at that presidency itself, as to those of the subordinate ones, who would be the immediate sharers of the advance. The duties of each army, their qualifications, and the services performed by them at different periods and in different situations, are so much on a footing of equality, that their remuneration should be on a corresponding scale ; and the small additional expenditure necessary to secure this uniformity, would be most judiciously laid out in purchasing an annihilation of the envious and unpleasant feelings which will always be excited, as long as the present invidious system of inequality exists.

Respecting the East India Direction, we do not hear of any immediate changes of importance. We are not able to speak of Mr. Bebb's relinquishment of his annual patronage, nor of any other extraordinary act of virtue or self-denial in his colleagues. This clinging to the emoluments of office, (for so this patronage must be considered,) long after age and indisposition for business have disqualified them for the active discharge of their duties, is one point at least in which the members of the Direction most strongly resemble each other. This trait of family likeness is so strong, that it communicates itself to the adopted as well as to the natural-born children of the system ; and were it marked on their countenances, as strongly as it is on their characters, would give them as peculiar and distinct a physiognomy as that of their neighbours in St. Mary Axe, or Bartholomew-lane.

There have been a more than usual number of publications on Indian subjects during the present season. Sir John Malcolm's book and Captain Grant Duff's we mentioned in our last; and we shall give some account of both in a future number. The 'Letter of a Civil Servant' is reviewed in our present. A valuable little pamphlet, entitled 'A Review of the Code of Bengal Regulations,' will be noticed in our next; as well as Mr. Auber's 'Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company,' of which a short, and we believe, an impartial notice, has been transcribed from the 'Globe' in another page. We are glad to see these increasing indications of the growing importance of East Indian topics; and we trust that every succeeding year will more and more arouse the attention of the country at large to a subject in which the nation will find, ere long, that they have a much deeper interest than they hitherto have been accustomed to consider.

P. S.—Since these pages were written for the press, an announcement has been made of the arrival of an overland despatch from India, bringing letters from Bengal to the 8th of March. It is added, that the only news they bring is of a commercial nature; but it is rarely the case that overland despatches are sent by private individuals. It is more frequently the act of the Government, when it desires to transmit intelligence of political importance with speed; and mercantile houses then avail themselves of the opportunity of sending short mercantile letters, (each cover being restricted to an exceedingly small size and weight,) for which they pay a large postage. Although it may be perfectly true, therefore, that only commercial intelligence has transpired, there can be little doubt but that political intelligence has also reached the Court of Directors, which, if favourable, will be certain of being communicated to the world without a moment's delay. It is said, that two houses of business in Calcutta have failed; but no more is publicly communicated of this, than that they are not leading establishments in that city.

We have since learnt that the overland despatch is from Bombay, from which place it brings letters to the 8th of March. It was sent off by the Mission from that Presidency to the Court of Persia, at the head of which is Major Macdonald Kinnier, of the Madras army, author of the 'Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire,' whose appointment to that post we mentioned some time since. These letters communicate the death of one of the most worthy as well as most intelligent of the Parsee merchants of Bombay, Hormajee Bomanjee; whose family have been as distinguished for their talents and integrity, as for their great wealth and personal influence in that settlement, where the loss of one its principal members will be deeply felt and regretted.

LAW REPORT.—COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

BUCKINGHAM C. W. J. BANKES.

Mr. HILL moved, on the part of the plaintiff, for a postponement of the trial in this cause until the next sittings, on the ground that the original letter of the defendant, in which is contained the alleged libel on the plaintiff for which this action was brought, had been sent out to India, in the month of August last, with a commission issued from the Court of King's Bench, for the purpose of examining Mr. H. W. Hobhouse, then supposed to be in Calcutta, as to the fact of the publication of the alleged libel, which commission had not yet been returned: and also, on the ground that Dr. Benjamin Babington, a most material witness for the plaintiff, who was now on the Continent, and had been originally expected to return within the present month of June, was not, as the plaintiff had learnt within the last few days only, now expected to arrive until the end of the next month.

Mr. GURNEY, on the part of the defendant, argued in objection to the postponement applied for, that the defendant had for a long time retained in this country two foreign witnesses, one from Egypt and the other from Italy, at a great expense, which witnesses were to prove the truth of the justification pleaded; and his client, Mr. Bankes, having no control over these witnesses, he was not certain that they could be prevailed on to remain in England until the sittings in October.

Mr. HILL stated, in reply, that the expenses of the witnesses in question had been already paid, up to a certain period, by his client; and a further engagement entered into on his part, in compliance with an order of Court, to defray all the expenses from that period till the return of the Commission from India: so that such expense could not be urged as an objection; but further, that the retention of these witnesses in England at all would be unnecessary, if the defendant, Mr. Bankes, would only admit an attested copy of the letter containing the alleged libel, in lieu of the original, which had not yet been returned from India. If he would do this, his client was willing to go immediately to trial on the merits of the case; for the witness, Mr. Hobhouse, for whose evidence the Commission had been sent out to India, having left that country before the Commission reached it, had recently arrived in England, and was prepared to give his evidence on the question of publication.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE could not ask the defendant to admit such copy in lieu of the original.

Mr. HILL observed, that Mr. Bankes might the more readily allow the attested copy to be given in evidence, inasmuch as he had admitted the original to be in his own handwriting; so that the only question that remained was as to the fact of its publication, which his client, Mr. Buckingham, was now for the first time in a condition to prove, by the arrival of Mr. Hobhouse in England.

Mr. GURNEY stated, that the postponement would be attended with further expenses, and that the witnesses of his client would most probably leave England; so that the plaintiff would be required to pay all their expenses up to the present period, by paying the money down; and if they insisted on going away, they must be examined on interrogatories.

Mr. HILL replied, that his objection to paying the money down for the expenses up to the present time, arose from a conviction, that when the foreign witnesses were called on to give their evidence, it would be found they had none which could bear out the allegation made; and that therefore such payments would perhaps induce them at once to depart.

Mr. GURNEY said he entertained a very different opinion.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE observed, that as he would not touch the merits of the case, so neither would he alter any thing by-gone. The order of Court for the plaintiff's undertaking to pay the expenses of the past, should remain untouched, but for the future expenses of the foreign witnesses, from the period of the present application for postponement up to the day of trial, the plaintiff should pay the money down.

Mr. HILL said, that he would infinitely prefer the payment of the sum required for retaining the witnesses in England, and having their *visd voce* evidence in open court, to permitting them to depart, on being examined on interrogatories. That rather than consent to this, he would, provided Mr. Banks would admit the attested copy of the letter in his own handwriting, be prepared to go to trial at once, notwithstanding the absence of Dr. Babington, the most important witness on his client's behalf.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE said, that this being an application to his discretion, in which the plaintiff moved to postpone the trial on the ground of a certain commission issued from the Court not having yet been returned from India, he thought it right, in the exercise of that discretion, to state that the only conditions on which he could accede to this application would be, that the plaintiff should pay immediately to defendant the sum necessary to defray the further expenses of defendant's witnesses till the next sittings. And that if the defendant could not prevail on the witnesses in question to remain in England till the trial came on, he should be at liberty to examine them on interrogatories, refunding, in that case, the expenses paid on account of their detention.

Mr. HILL, on the part of the plaintiff, asked leave to reserve the consideration of these conditions until to-morrow; to which the Lord Chief Justice readily assented.

These conditions were finally acceded to.—*Globe*, June 1826.

CONSTITUTION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

'An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, and of the Laws passed by Parliament for the Government of their Affairs,' by Peter Auber, Esq., Assistant-Secretary to the Court of Directors, has just been published. A work of this kind has long been wanted, to afford a clear and authentic view of the machinery of a Government which, though not in name independent, exercises a more powerful influence, and upon a greater population, than a dozen or two independent potentates taken together. This task Mr. Auber, as well from his official situation as his knowledge, has been enabled to perform in a most satisfactory manner; and he has produced a book, which is not only most useful to all persons connected with India, but indispensable to any Englishman who wishes to obtain a complete view of the constitution of the British empire. The work contains a clear view of the conditions on which the privileges and possessions of the Company are held, and generally of the laws enacted for its guidance by the supreme legislative power, (which before could only be collected by a laborious search into the statutes,) and also all the material regulations which the Company, in the exercise of its own authority, has established for the management of its affairs, which were still more difficult of access to an ordinary inquirer. The information is collected under heads in an alphabetical order, for facility of reference, prefaced by an historical account of a sketch of the rise and progress of the British power in India. Mr. Auber's station may be supposed to give him a leaning in favour of the acts of the Company; but his business has happily been to collect facts, rather than to express opinions, and he has rarely deviated from it. There is one fault which Mr. Auber's book possesses in

common with most other English works of compilation and abridgment. Books of this kind not only should contain all they profess to have, but they should contain nothing more; the introduction of irrelevant or unnecessary matter swells their bulk, even where it is not intended as a cover for their defects. We object, therefore, to the introduction of the account of English coinage, and of the origin of banking, apropos of the articles in which very valuable information is given respecting the mints and banks of India. We should suggest also, that instead of the history of the rise and progress of the British power in India, a mere chronological statement of the acquisitions of the Company should be given, with an account of the population and revenues of the several districts; for the 'Analysis' cannot supersede histories of British India, though it may explain and elucidate them.

The history of the proceedings in Parliament, and particularly on the India bills of Pitt and Fox, we should, however, be loth to dispense with, not merely on account of its intrinsic value, but because it explains the views and objects of the existing legislative enactments. To make up for any curtailments, Mr. Auber, we think, should supply, in his next edition, an enumeration also of the dependent powers, and of the conditions by which they are subjected more or less completely to the Company's authority, as the management of these states forms an important part of the Government of India, and one which is little understood.

As Mr. Auber's book must be a standard book of reference, and must be reprinted, we hope these suggestions may tend to render it more valuable than it is at present.—*Globe*.

SELECTIONS FROM INDIAN PAPERS.

It was one of the prominent features of our original plan to include in every Number of our work, a variety of Selections from the Indian Journals that reached us from each of the Presidencies, as the English reader but rarely has access to these journals themselves, and it is, therefore, only by transplanting their contents into other pages that they can at all become known in this country. This intention has been occasionally carried into practice, and occasionally interrupted by a pressure of other claims on our space. Whenever it has been practicable, however, we have never failed to resume it, from a conviction of its utility. It should be borne in mind, that we have two large classes of readers, the wishes and interests of which are so different, that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to steer steadily between them without offending either one or both. The original articles and selections which are most eagerly read in England, are those which excite the least interest in India, being principally drawn from that source; and those which we have reason to believe are read with the greatest avidity in India, are comparatively disregarded here. The union is a matter of difficulty, but we shall endeavour, as far as may be practicable, to meet the views of both classes. A portion of the extracts will be found incorporated with our comments on the latest intelligence from the East. The following, being of greater length and on specific subjects, we have thought it best to place them under

their respective heads, as they appear in the papers named; and from the whole, a fair and impartial judgment may be formed of the prevailing topics of discussion in those distant quarters.

SPECULATIONS ON THE FALL OF BHURTPOOR.*

The successful assault of Bhurtpoor, and the unconditional surrender of the citadel, have put an end to all the stories of interior defences, unknown resources, and wet ditches that would float a seventy-four, which have been so currently circulated for the last fortnight, and the enterprise has terminated in a manner equally creditable to the commander-in-chief and his army, and proving that distinguished officer to be much more careful of the lives of his soldiers than of his own. If the enemy showed not much skill or vigour in stopping the approaches of our force, they seem to have resisted at the last awful moment, with a degree of courage which might have rendered victory doubtful to less numerous or less determined assailants. The public ought, therefore, to appreciate rightly the conduct of Lord Combermere, in sacrificing the eclat that would have been derived from a successful coup de main to the laudable desire of sparing the valuable lives intrusted to his command; a humane consideration too often lost sight of by commanders, and the neglect of which is perhaps the greatest blot in the fame of Napoleon. The result of this siege leaves little room for regret that it was not undertaken by Sir David Ochterlony. We have seen that this fortress, which acquired so unfortunate a celebrity from our former failures, has been able to stand three weeks against all the efforts of the most formidable army which perhaps ever took the field in the interior of this country,—an army in which the European troops alone outnumber Sir David's whole force. And though everything might have been hoped from the skill and experience of that veteran officer, the advantage which he expected to obtain from the comparatively unprepared state of the enemy, would surely have been more than counterbalanced by his inferiority in numbers, especially in cavalry and artillery. Attacks by main force could only have supplied the place of the latter arm, similar to those which led to the defeat of Lord Lake's attempt, and which must always be highly dangerous when undertaken against a brave and cautious enemy. The season of the year too, at which the attack would have commenced, must have been highly unfavourable to the health of European troops, and rendered the success of a protracted siege highly problematical. When we consider the probable consequences of a failure, and compare them with the imposing situation in which the present complete success has placed our arms in Upper India, we may certainly be satisfied that the attempt was delayed till a force could be collected which, as far as human means are concerned, rendered a failure impossible. The ratification of the Ava treaty may be very shortly expected, and we shall then have to congratulate our readers on the event of a complete peace in India, honourable to our arms, and, as we have every reason to expect, highly favourable to our permanent prosperity.—*Hurkaru.*

Now that Bhurtpoor is fallen, and that we have nothing new from Ava to communicate, we are deprived for the present of the means of giving interest to the Editorial column.

The former event is one which furnishes ground for congratulation, not merely because it has asserted successfully the cause of an injured orphan, the son of our ally, against the formidable schemes and violence of an usurper; but because it is a triumphant proof to the factious chiefs upon our frontiers—to the open concealed enemies of our supremacy, that nothing can resist British power and bravery, when their energies are anxiously made to bear upon any point, however strong or impregnable it may be in the opinion of Native partisans.

* From the 'India Gazette.'

It is certain that our repulse at Bhurtpoor in Lord Lake's time gave rise to an idea among the Natives, that we could under no circumstances take it. The arrogance and insolence to which this gave rise in Bhurtpoor and some adjacent states, amounted to the highest pitch. A European could not travel through the Bhurtpoor territories without being insulted; and such of the Honourable Company's servants as came in contact with the Bhurtpooreans, were sure of being taunted in a manner extremely galling to the feelings of a British soldier. Even Sir David Ochterlony himself, we have heard, was sometimes exposed to such, and constrained to affect an unconsciousness of what no man was better able to castigate than himself, had the adventure been destined for him. The unfortunate attempt of Lord Lake was not only ever proudly referred to by the Bhurtpooreans, but always forced most offensively upon the recollection of all British officers passing through the country. A friend of ours, who has occasionally favoured the Gazette with valuable contributions, thus describes some manifestations of the spirit alluded to, in a letter published some two years ago, but sufficiently interesting as respects the present juncture, to be quoted here:—"Bhurtpoor, I must beg to call to your recollection, is a word, whose very mention acts as a talisman in every soldier's heart. With it are connected feelings and recollections only bearable because they lead to the hope, nay, the conviction, that the time must come, and shortly too, 'tis to be hoped."

Here we had been under the necessity of keeping back a portion of our friend's letter, in consequence of his giving expressions to sentiments in which no British heart could do otherwise than concur, but which were inexpedient, inasmuch as they militated against the press regulations, and the professed friendly footing upon which the Bhurtpoor Rajah then was with us.

Our friend, accompanied by another gentleman, entered a garden and temple adjoining, erected, as he says, by the Ranees of Bhurtpoor. On the walls, it appears, there were mythological and other paintings, which were pointed out to them.

"So far, so good, we began to have a good opinion of the Bhurtpooreans, and really felt the civility of our guide; so much so, indeed, that we were regretting the foolish custom of not carrying purses in India, and forming projects for remunerating him in some way or other. However, to continue my narration, the figures on the second face were on quite a different subject; at the commencement was the battle of Bhurtpoor, which, I can assure you, is not forgotten in those parts, but, on the contrary, *volens volens*, thrown in our teeth as often as possible. The Europeans are represented advancing most gallantly to the attack; in one hand, their swords waving in the air; in the other, a bottle, at which they ever and anon took huge potations, (or at least are supposed to do so,) doubtless with the very provident intention of keeping up, or wetting their courage. The Bhurtpoor artillery appeared blazing nobly, and European heads were to be seen flying in every direction, but still the arm and brandy-bottle remained, and even the headless trunk strove to imbibe some of the precious liquor, the *eau medicinale*, the balsam of life. It was a grand sight: Lord Lik Sahob, and General Marshall Sahob, were there in all their glory, and were frequently pointed out to us by our intelligent guide in the true "walk in gemmen and ladies" style.

"The battle was, of course, followed up by the defeat, and sure no Welsh goats could have scampered away in half the style our troops did, with Lord Lik and General Marshall Sahobs still at their head. We laughed heartily, and could not conceal our amusement at this unique scene; it certainly delighted us highly: but, notwithstanding our excessive good humour, evinced by repeated bursts of laughter, I could not help observing, that a degree of anxiety was apparent on the countenance of our guide, who evidently as we proceeded showed an inclination to yield his precedence in the line of march, till gradually he dropt quite astern. The cause was soon apparent, he had been too prolix in his explanation of the remainder, and had accordingly felt the weight of some sturdy Englishman's arm, that was evident. Accord-

ingly, as we left the "battle" behind, and came towards the close of the "retreat," (or defeat if you will,) a great portion of his former garrulity had left him, and by degrees he became totally silent. To account for this abrupt change, I must continue my narrative. Rejoicings of all sorts, with a grand display of fire-works, naturally followed such a glorious victory, and to make it more striking, the presence of the Rajah was indispensable; accordingly, the worthy and magnanimous Prince makes his appearance in his palankeen, borne by Europeans, and what is more, (I blush to think the dog should live,) by European officers; and what is more still, an attempt at a representation of aiglettes made them appear very much like general officers,—indeed, we fancied that the bangywallas behind looked much like the very Lord Lik and General-Marshall Sahibs, who had already cut so conspicuous a figure. The sight acted upon us as if by magic; purses and remuneration flew into boundless air, and swords, daggers, and pistols, took their places in our imaginations; our fists insensibly closed: as for our guide, there was little fear for him, the fellow, I am sure, placed great dependence on his swiftness of foot, like the "*Podas skos Akilles*," or he would scarcely have remained so long; as it was, he took up a most masterly position for a precipitate retreat, but, as he was silent, we did not consider ourselves called on to become active avengers of the insult, and the unfortunate fellow continued with us unharmed, but without the slightest chance of reward; and yet, after all, what harm had he done?

Should any friend fall in with the above representation, if it still exists upon the walls of the Rancee's temple, we wish he would copy it. A series of cuts from the "Battle and retreat of Lord Lik and General-Marshall Sahibs" would be as interesting as Gilray's Caricatures. Like them, they would, in their way, evince the political feelings of the people no less than the artist. The satirical hit at the brandy-bottle is not without humour. Can it be said, as affects European soldiers too generally in this country, that it is undeserved?

It was not alone by the Bhurtpooreans that the conviction of the impregnability of Bhurtpoor was held; it extended far and wide, and was even in Calcutta so rooted in the minds of some of its Native inhabitants, as to render them quite incredulous at first to the report of its fall. It formed a kind of point d'appui, for the hopes of all who were hostile to the British rule. The talisman is now broken; and it is to be hoped, that those agitators who looked forward to the prospect of war with secret exultation, will now see the necessity of endeavouring, by future good conduct, to make up for their late demonstrations of hostility. We particularly allude to the Chiefs of Deeg, Alwar, &c. To the Bengal army, the late glorious events at Bhurtpoor give, we may presume, unmitigated satisfaction, since the insults of the past have been signally chastised, and the boast of an arrogant faction humbled by a splendid victory.

Reports state that Herbert and his companions had been taken prisoners by the Bhurtpooreans, and coerced to do duty in the garrison. We heartily wish, for the honour of human nature and British character, no less than from a feeling of humanity towards themselves, that this may be *proved to be true*. Even if Herbert can prove that he was but a reluctant and passive agent, we cannot help thinking that he need not have aimed the guns, so *very accurately* as it is said he did, especially that one which bore on the Commander-in-Chief's post, and which was, we understand, very near depriving the British army before Bhurtpoor of its illustrious head.

DR. TYTLER'S ADDRESS TO THE COURT OF INQUIRY AT ARRACAN.*

Arracan, 6th August, 1825.

GENTLEMEN,—Warriors, conquerors of Arracan, in this city, the recent scene of your splendid victory, and lately an important portion of the dominions of that presumptuous enemy, whose audacity menaced the existence of the Bri-

* From the 'Bengal Hurkaru' of Nov. 30, 1825.

tish empire of India, and has been wrested from his grasp by means of your prowess, which has crumbled the haughty foe into the dust, through a strange concatenation of eventful circumstances, I have the honour of addressing you.

I congratulate the south-eastern division of the army, the army of India, and the British interests in general, on the arrival of this auspicious day. For the moment seems to have at length approached, when the sufferings of our brave comrades are, through your exertions, about to be remedied; and above all, I congratulate this army in consequence of its being enabled to claim for its head a commander, not less distinguished for his valour and prudence in the field of battle, than his parental care evinced for ensuring the safety and welfare of the troops who have the felicity to be placed under his command. To me, it is quite evident, that whatever may be the opinion of others, by General Morrison, at least, the complaints urged by me in the letter addressed to the superintending surgeon can neither be esteemed groundless, vexatious, nor unjust. Because, were the reverse the fact, is it conceivable, that distinguished commander would, with the alacrity which has followed the transmission of that letter, have so quickly summoned this court, and have directed it to be composed of such exalted officers as those in whose presence I have the honour to stand? Your elevated rank in the army, your known experience, your invincible valour, exhibited as leaders of the brave men who boast of having been partakers with you in those brilliant fields, and which the enemies of your country have experienced to their utter discomfiture and ruin; in a word, your fine feelings as soldiers afford me a sure and imperishable pledge, you will never allow this inquiry to pass over lightly, nor cause the circumstances, about to be disclosed for your information, to be viewed in any other light than momentous matters of the most grave and serious import, affecting the safety of the whole of this army, and with it that of the entire forces of India, and, I might add, of Britain in every corner of the world. For it is not alone in Asia in which those calamitous occurrences have taken place; in Europe, I need but mention the name of Walcheren, to recal to your recollection a vivid picture of the horrors to which in that quarter British soldiers were exposed. Lamentable period! When Napoleon was heard shouting in exultation, "It is well, let them perish"! and proceeded in rapture, excited by the devouring progress of the fatal pestilence amongst our troops, to the triumph of Wagram and conquest of Vienna; and, I regret to say, the heart-rending task has devolved on me to record in this address, that similar scenes, whose sickening details are almost too horrific to bear enumeration, are now passing under our notice in Arracan.

But it is not with speculative opinions, regarding the origin of fevers, with which I mean to trouble this court. Whether the cause of those maladies is to be ascribed to effluvia emitted from marshes, or whether they proceed from any other source; it will be by no one denied, that diseases of this destructive nature must be greatly aggravated, when, as will be proved to your conviction by means of witnesses, patients, unfortunately subjected to their attacks, are in heaps crowded into narrow wards; are there seen lying on the floor in a state of disgusting filth; their clothes for days unwashed, defiled for hours and hours with their own evacuations; the atmosphere polluted by means of absence of circulation of pure air; and compelled, for want of room, to breathe into each other's faces, while the rain pours in quantities upon their emaciated and suffering bodies; when they are imperfectly clad, and insufficiently supplied with food, it cannot, I affirm, be deemed surprising, that those maladies, in such a situation, should be increased to their utmost, and that disease, comprising pestilence of the most fearful nature, should be here raging, arrayed in all the horrors of devastation, and should be found thinning the ranks of our brave companions, whom we have the mortification to perceive falling man by man, till I might almost with justice assert, the whole army appears on the brink of annihilation.

In short, when trash, of the description now exhibited for your inspection, is afforded to the soldiers, under pretence of its being nutritious and wholesome food, is it astonishing incurable bowel-complaints, attended with fever and in-

flammation, and terminating in gangrene, should prevail? And that monstrous reptiles of this kind, engendered in such masses of filth and corruption, collected within the human bowels, should be observed crawling from the mouths of the sick?

It may be necessary to explain in few words, that the circumstances leading to the present inquiry have been purely accidental, and originated in the casual incident of my having, a few evenings ago, written a note to Mr. Grant regarding the state of the Hospital, to which he verbally replied next morning,—that any suggestion, submitted in any way by me, would be duly attended to; and in consequence of this, a letter, written in a familiar style, of which the accompanying (No. 1.) is a copy, was addressed to that gentleman by me; the subject of which I was afterwards desired to communicate with him publicly or not at all. The consequence has been the present inquiry, which will, I entertain not the smallest doubt, be attended with most beneficial results to the interests of the British nation, inasmuch as the interests of the nation, and the safety of its armies, are inseparably blended.

Lastly, I beg to submit the accompanying letters, which will prove the degree of attention bestowed on complaints regarding the Hospital, when addressed to the quarter whence those complaints originate. For not only do the commissariat in this instance sit as judges in their own cause, but condemn the complainant, and warn him of consequences about to attend his repetition of groundless and vexatious reports.

The whole of those circumstances have at length, by orders of the Brigadier-General, been placed in your hands. To more able, upright, and disinterested gentlemen, I am fully aware the present investigation, so important in all its relations, could not have been confided. The eyes of this army are at present turned to your proceedings; this will be shortly followed by an intense interest, inevitably called forth by your report, excited in the illustrious Government of British India; and nothing, therefore, remains farther for me in this address, than devoutly imploring the Almighty's assistance to your labours, and praying God that he will prosper your counsels, and in his beneficent providence, bring the matter, thus solemnly reposed in your hands, to that felicitous conclusion, which, although it cannot recal what is past, may still make ample amends by providing against the recurrence of similar evils for the future.

R. TYTLER.

INTRODUCTION OF STEAM NAVIGATION INTO THE EASTERN SEAS.

We are indebted to the 'Singapore Chronicle' for the following interesting Article respecting Steam Navigation in the Straits of Malacca.—The reader will see that at this infantine Colony a Society has already been formed for establishing this admirable project, and that it has been resolved to procure a small packet of 250 or 300 tons from England immediately, with the view of communicating with Rhio, Minto, and Batavia to the eastward; Malacca, Penang, and Calcutta to the northward, and ultimately to include Medras and the Coast.

Our Contemporary of the East introduces the subject thus:

Since the commencement of this Journal, we have frequently adverted to the peculiar fitness of the Straits of Malacca and the neighbouring narrow seas, lying between Singapore and Java, for steam navigation, and we have now sincere pleasure in announcing to our readers a speedy prospect of seeing it established. The object had been for some time in the contemplation of some of the most enterprising of the merchants of the place, when the scheme was matured by the arrival of Mr. Morris, the respectable and intelligent individual under whose care and superintendence a steam vessel was lately constructed in England for the Batavian Government, to cruise against the pirates on the coast of Java, this being determined upon after the total failure of a thousand other projects equally expensive and ineffectual, as the only feasible means of extirpating those marauders. A meeting of the principal inhabitants of Singapore, both European and Native, took place on the

3d inst., when the establishment of a steam boat to sail between Batavia and Penang, and occasionally Calcutta, was unanimously agreed upon, and the resolutions given below entered into.

We shall take this opportunity of throwing out a few hints concerning the most eligible and profitable objects on which such a vessel may be employed. The most constant scene of occupation for her, will be from Rhio to Penang, embracing those ports with Singapore and Malacca. Perak and Selengore might occasionally be touched at for tin. From November to March, the passage to Calcutta will be safe and easy, and even Mergui, Tavoy, Martaban, Rangoon, and Cheduba, may occasionally be included, or even indeed Madras. During this season, the stormy monsoon prevails on the coast of Java. From April to October, when the Bay of Bengal is dangerous, serene weather prevails with extraordinary uniformity in the Java seas. The voyage to Calcutta being now therefore omitted, that to Java will be prosecuted. This will embrace the Dutch ports of Rhio, Palembang, Banca, and Batavia.

From the extraordinary facility which supplies of wood for fuel may be obtained in the whole course of the voyage, it may be presumed, that the steam vessel, which is said will be of 220 tons burthen, will carry a very considerable cargo in valuable articles. From Calcutta and Madras, she will convey the most valuable description of piece goods, but, above all, opium, as her voyage will fall exactly in with the season of the periodical sales. From Batavia, she will convey spices and tin, and from the ports in the Straits to one another, or Calcutta, gold-dust, silver bullion, tin, birds, nets, and tortoiseshell, &c.

Passengers will probably afford a still more profitable source of employment than goods. The average passage from the town of Calcutta to Singapore, touching at no intermediate port, is at present not less than five weeks. The same passage will be performed by steam in ten days, and even touching at all intermediate ports, in fifteen. A good cabin-passage at present is seldom to be had under 400 dollars. Passengers would certainly be profitable to a steam-boat at even half this amount. In regard to Native passengers, a steam-boat will find ample employment. A few obvious sources may be pointed out. From fifty to sixty square rigged-vessels come annually from the Coromandel coast to Penang, but at present dare come no further for fear of the pirates and the sands of the Straits. Their passengers find their way eastward as they can, at a heavy expense and delay with their goods. These would be cheaply and speedily conveyed by a steam vessel, and we believe amount yearly to several thousands. The Malayan pilgrims proceeding to Mecca, will also be accommodated. These now assemble at Batavia and Singapore, and meet at Penang to the yearly number of 900. From Batavia to Singapore, their passage money at present is eight dollars a head, and from the former place to Penang, fourteen dollars. Independent of the Chinese traders, who are perpetually moving from one settlement to another, there arrive annually by the junks or European shipping, certainly not less than 6000 emigrants at Batavia, Rhio, Singapore, and Penang. The greater number of these are almost immediately dispersed, and will afford certain employment for a steam-boat. Of about 3500 which arrived at this place last year, but 1500 have taken up their residence, the rest having proceeded to Rhio, Malacca, Penang, and the Malayan ports.

We shall shortly advert to the advantages which both the British and Dutch Government must derive from steam navigation. The steam vessels will be armed, and the appearance of an opponent that can neither be contended against nor evaded, without any exaggeration, do more for the extirpation of piracy than the whole British navy put together, were it to attempt this object. We already fancy we see the dismay and consternation of a fleet of these vagabonds, when they see the tall dark column of smoke advancing at eight knots an hour against the monsoon in pursuit, and hear the portentous plashing of the paddles!! In a political view, what advantages will not accrue to the Government from the certainty and the celerity of the communication.

tion which will thus be established? The mail may be conveyed from Singapore to Calcutta in fifteen days, and every British possession from thence to Calcutta, will, as it were, be brought more immediately under the eyes of the ruling authority. We have little doubt but the Government would be disposed to make a liberal allowance for the conveyance of the public mail, in return for an arrangement that promised to secure to it such advantages. It is scarcely necessary to remark upon the benefits which may be drawn from steam navigation in the conveyance of troops to the Eastern settlements. The present garrisons of Penang, Malacca and Singapore, may be said to amount, including followers, to 2500, relieved once in two years, and brought down at an expense, very moderately estimated at fifty-five rupees a man, of 275,000 rupees. By a steam vessel these might be embarked at once at Barrackpore, and conveyed to Penang; for example, in eight days, instead of three weeks or a month as at present. So rapid a voyage would subject the Indian soldier to few of those privations and casualties which, with his peculiar habits, must be always incident to a protracted voyage. Taking into consideration the saving of water and provisions, we presume that we do not overrate the advantages, when we say that the Government will save one half the charges to which they are at present liable, and the Hindoo sepoy at least three-fourths of his misery. Should Cheduba, Rangoon, and the coast of Tannasarim become British possessions, the advantages of steam navigation in this particular view of the subject will appear still more obvious.

Singapore, 3d October, 1825.

At a general meeting of the subscribers to the proposed establishment of a steam packet at this settlement, held at the Court House this day, Captain Flint, R. N., in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1st. That it appears to this meeting, as well from the number of shares already subscribed, as the prospect of support from other quarters, advisable to proceed with the plan for obtaining a steam vessel from England, according to the prospectus submitted by Mr. Morris, and to take measures for completing the subscription for that purpose.

2d. The packet to be employed according to the best judgment of a managing Committee at this place, to be elected by the majority of the subscribers. The following are the ports which are principally in view to be communicated with: Rhio, Minto, and Batavia, to the eastward; Malacca, Penang, and Calcutta, to the northward.

3d. It is the opinion of the subscribers, that the vessel should be built, and her machinery completely fitted, in England; that she should be adapted to sail, as well as to steam, and should make the voyage out under canvas.

4th. A majority of the subscribers (who have agreed to sign a resolution or document separate to that effect) are willing to guarantee a further advance of ten shares among them, should the subscription not be filled up at the ports in the proposed line of the packet's voyages, in order to prevent the measure falling to the ground.

5th. That a Committee, to carry into effect these resolutions, and for the purpose of drawing up a set of regulations for the security of the subscribers and their property, be elected forthwith, to consist of a president and six members, any four of whom to constitute a quorum.

6th. The following gentlemen were accordingly elected by the majority of the subscribers:

President—Captain Flint, R. N.

Members—Alex. Guthrie, J. A. Maxwell, W. P. Pateo, C. Read, Hugh Syme, and W. Spettiswoode, Esqrs.

7th. That the thanks of the meeting be presented to the Resident, John Crawford, Esq., for the use of the Court House, and for the support and countenance he has afforded to this undertaking.

8th. That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Captain Flint, for his able conduct in the chair.

9th. That the thanks of the meeting be also presented to Mr. Morris, for the details and information he has furnished to the subscribers; and that he be requested to attend the Committee when they meet in the further progress of the business.

TOTAL FAILURE OF SIR WILLIAM CONGREVE'S ROCKETS IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,—Eighteen months have elapsed since a warm controversy was waged in the newspapers of this Presidency on the subject of War Rockets. One of the writers, under the signature of *Shrapnell*, contended that the rockets of Captain Parby, of the Bengal Artillery, were inferior to Sir William Congreve's, from not possessing the same extent of range. But another writer, under the signature of *Civillis*, attributed this superiority in the Congreve rockets to the advantages which Sir William possessed over his rival in funds, workmen, and machinery. He also alleged, that if the countenance shown by the late Mr. Adam to Captain Parby should be continued, that he would soon be enabled to manufacture rockets, whose range should equal those of Sir William's, and he asserted, (and the assertion was not denied by *Shrapnell*.) that in accuracy of direction, the Parby far surpassed the Congreve rocket.

But the most important point on which the two writers were at issue was, whether the effects of an Indian climate would not render a rocket, kept for any length of time, unserviceable. *Civillis* urged, that if rockets were manufactured by Sir William in England, there must, of course, be always a large store of them here, and he asserted, that a single hot season would so affect the composition, that instead of burning, they would all explode; this was denied by *Shrapnell*, but I do not remember that he ever attempted to explain the fact urged against him by his opponent, namely, that the Rocket Corps at one of the sister Presidencies had been disbanded as useless, from the repeated explosions of the rockets.

It was on this latter ground, that *Civillis* urged the expediency of having a rocket manufactory established in India to obviate the necessity of keeping a store, and to furnish fresh supplies as occasion might require. If the reasoning of *Civillis* was correct as to the effects of climate on the rocket, both writers must have concurred on the propriety of such an establishment, as they agreed, that the introduction of the weapon would be of the last importance to the Indian military service.

I have given this short sketch of an old controversy, for the benefit of those among your readers by whom it might never have been read, or may have been forgotten. But the period has now arrived when the subject of this dispute, however lightly thought of then, has become a matter of deep interest.

Dangers at a distance rarely alarm, but present peril can quickly dissipate the apathy of blind confidence or heedlessness.

An event has now happened, which places beyond the power of contradiction, the correctness of what was stated by the writer of *Civillis*, that rockets kept in India would never be fit for service, and that they must be manufactured fresh and fresh. Within this last month, the Rocket Corps at Meerut was ordered to prepare to march against Bhurtpoor, and the officers and men were already anticipating a repetition of those achievements which have rendered memorable the sieges of Copenhagen, Flushing, and Algiers; previous to marching, it was directed that experiments should be tried to ascertain in what condition the rockets were. For two days these experiments were continued, during which time forty-four rockets were fired, and the whole of them burst. The disappointed officers of the brigade have reluctantly admitted, that a fresh rocket only can be of any use in India, and the corps has been virtually broken up, the General having ordered that the

rockets are not to be taken to Bhurtpoor, and that the men are to be drafted into the Horse Artillery.

It is now too late to repair the great loss which the approaching operations must sustain from the want of the Rocket Brigade; and, much as the circumstance is to be regretted, I admit that it is solely attributable to the singular effects of our Indian climate. It is true, that an anonymous writer distinctly foretold that event which has now taken place, but it is equally true, that another anonymous writer confidently denied that it could ever come to pass. Both writers seemed to understand the subject on which they treated; but it is now no longer "seemed," for experience and practice in our own days, and under our own eyes, have confirmed the assertion of *Civillis* to be true: "that a Rocket Brigade in India will be a useless expense, unless a manufactory be established to furnish fresh supplies as occasion may require." I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

CAMERA-OBSCURA.

RECENT SPECIMENS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND LANGUAGE OF THE INDIAN
'JOHN BULL,' UNDER ITS REVEREND PROPRIETOR, DR. BRYCE.

To the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR.—I have never met with a more disgraceful avowal than that which appears in this morning's Bull. "Let" says he "the editor of the Hurkaru leave the use of these unworthy weapons, and so shall we; but while he resorts to them, with the view of bringing others into discredit, he will find that he is not to escape from them himself. When John Bull is dragged into such combats, he comes armed at all points." That is, Sir, if you use unworthy weapons, he will render himself infamous by using them too; a pretty avowal for a paper, the proprietor of which is a minister of the gospel! The man who makes such a confession may stand (if he pleases) to be shot at, and may be admired by people who look upon strength of nerve as the perfection of honour, for there are folks whose understandings are of that calibre; but, in the eyes of those who know what genuine honour is, it must sink him deep in infamy: and to the really pious and devout it will prove, if proof were wanting, that he is not what he publicly boasts himself, the friend and supporter of morality and religion. His morality is that of Machiavel, and his religion that of the tongue; or, I should rather say, that of the *pen*, as it is from his own writings, and not the reports of an *eavesdropper*, that I draw my opinions.

Then, Sir, your friend goes on to say: "When the 'Hurkaru' learns to have that respect for himself and his readers, which will prevent him from copying into his pages the vilest trash, directed against an individual, whom a low and vulgar set of scribblers daily assail, he will find no inclination on our part to peep into his faith and practice." Who is this person, Sir, that constantly talks of "low" people? Is he royally descended, and have princes been his fellows, or is he, (a more likely supposition,) in extraction, lower than the lowest of those he presumes to slander? I attach no undue importance to the incidental advantage of birth, but when we find a man talking of his equals as "low" people, it is fair to ask who *he* is? If, however, he attaches any other meaning to the word "low," I must recommend his not describing the writers he alludes to as "low," while his own writings are remarkable for expressions of the most grovelling vulgarity; such, for instance, as the following:

1. "Strabashing the Helter Skelter."
2. "Raking in the rottenness of the Helter Skelter."
3. "Our access to information on this subject none will dare to dispute, who do not wish to be written down "fool" and "ass."
4. "We do not despair enlightening the darkness of these *gents*."

pediency of having recourse to a six per cent. loan for the replenishment of the public Exchequer, in place of drawing upon an unconstitutional source to relieve political pressure.

It may be said, that my positions are incorrect; but if so, again let me ask; how the stock of this Bank (possessing so many privileges and advantages peculiar to itself, and these advantages greater in time of war than at any other) should have of late suffered a degradation, whilst all other institutions of a similar nature are in high prosperity,—the five per cent. public securities of Government at par, and the six carrying a premium of twenty-eight per cent.?

Had the Directors of the Bank made their wheel of mercantile discount which should revolve upon its axis once every ninety days, go round with one constant uniform and regular motion. I cannot suppose that the present result could possibly have occurred. But if once they convert it, as occurred so often in Mr. Pitt's administration, to other uses, by a back-hand to a wheel at the Treasury, which goes round irregularly, all method and order must be confounded in the Bank, and equally must it be reduced to the disability of performing its natural functions as we now witness.

And what is the ultimate effect to Government? This very disability aggraves the public distress. Private banks cannot supply the void in the circulation occasioned by a prolonged suspension of the former: a more pressing demand for specie ensues, and hence the Government themselves become unable to replenish their coffers without a considerable sacrifice.

But before it is too late to apply an antidote to the poison, I earnestly hope that, now as of old, a seasonable remedy will soon be applied to the present over bearing pressure, which all my letters describe our Indian Exchequer to experience at the Presidency; for I cannot forget a time, in many respects very similar to the exigencies of this day, when the posture of affairs in India rendered it an act of indispensable precaution to guard against the possibility of still more extensive demands; and although the Government may now possess favourable expectations in regard to the extent of their revenues, and there may be no immediate reason to apprehend that any want of funds will be experienced in the present year, yet looking to the possible extent of the demand of the next, and the urgent necessity of anticipating the actual occurrence of want in applications to the public for aid, it is surely proper thus early to have recourse to a new loan. If, as it still possible, the course of events shall be such, as to render unnecessary the precaution to seek this aid from the public, and Government shall find themselves in possession of a surplus beyond the wants of the public service; it will doubtless be very advantageously applied to the purchase of the Government securities, by the operation of the sinking-fund, a measure which is especially beneficial at those periods at which the payments by the purchasers at the opium and salt-sales fall due, when a temporary scarcity in the money-market is ordinarily experienced.

At all events, the additional security against absolute embarrassment, which an early application to the public affords, is cheaply purchased by the utmost charge on account of interest, which the possible temporary accumulation of funds can eventually occasion, and, indeed, I conceive it perfectly impossible, that the payments of a Government like Bengal can ever be punctually or judiciously conducted without the constant maintenance of a very considerable balance in their Treasury. Without it, their financial system must ever be liable to irregularity and sudden convulsion. The inconvenience, too, which is otherwise produced, is not confined to the administration of the public affairs. Credit suffers, and commerce languishes in proportion to the extent to which the Bank abridges its accommodation.

Not being able to procure a copy of the Bank charter at this place, I cannot immediately refer to the amount of cash required to be in balance, when the Directors are at liberty to discount and grant loans. I believe, however, that it is so long as the amount shall bear a proportion of one-fourth to our standing claims.

TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO MR. HENRY RUSSELL, LATE RESIDENT
AT HYDERABAD.*

ON Thursday, the 26th January, the Resident at Hyderabad, together with a numerous party of ladies and gentlemen, assembled at Bolarum at five o'clock in the evening, to witness the ceremony of installing the bust of Mr. Henry Russell, late Resident at Hyderabad, in a building recently erected for its reception. The Nizam's troops, drawn up under the personal command of Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton, fired a *few de joie* in honour of him, who was the founder of the Nizam's regular army.

After the ceremony, Colonel and Mrs. Doveton entertained a numerous party of friends at dinner. The centre of the table was graced by a cast (in plaster of Paris) of the gold vase, presented to Mr. Russell by the officers of the Hyderabad division, Nizam's troops. When the cloth was removed, Mr. Martin addressed Colonel Doveton, begging his permission to give the health of Mr. Russell, to whose wise measures, he said, the Nizam's army entirely owed its present efficiency, and whose prudence and foresight, in times of no common difficulty, not only kept the Nizam faithful to his alliance, but brought into the field a well-disciplined body of his troops, to act in concert with our own. Colonel Doveton returned thanks in an energetic and feeling manner, expressing his conviction, that the handsome and flattering manner in which Mr. Russell's health had been proposed, would be alike grateful to the feelings of that gentleman, as it was to his own. He concluded by proposing the health of Mr. Martin. Several other appropriate toasts were then given; and at eleven o'clock, the company was summoned to the ball room, where dancing was kept up with great spirit till a late hour in the morning, when the company separated, highly gratified with the amusements of the evening.

The bust is executed by the celebrated Chantry, who himself entertained so favourable an opinion of its merits, that he was desirous of having it placed in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, at Somerset House. The likeness is truly admirable, and the whole is an exquisite specimen of the noble art. The pedestal is a polygonal column of white marble about four and a half feet high.

The building erected for the reception of the bust, is a circular temple in the Grecian style; the walls are without ornament, to correspond with the chasteness and simplicity of the bust; and the entablature, which is taken from the choragic monuments of Thrusyllus, is supported by detached pillars of the Doric order, taken from the temple of Apollo at Cora. The building is approached by three steps, and is without a dome.

Description of the Vase.

The outline of the vase is taken from an engraving in Piranesi's great work, of an ancient marble vase dug, about fifty years ago, out of the Adrian Villa at Rome, and now in the Duke of Buckingham's collection at Stone. The foliage and ornaments, all of which are derived from classical authority, consist of the palm leaf, the lotus, and other subjects having reference to India. The vase has a sort of double handle, of which the inner is formed by a vine branch, and the outer by a couple of serpents, which, springing from the same point at the bottom of the inner handle, swell beyond it in a very graceful curve, and separate to either side; a head of each serpent resting on the lip of the vase without the handles; a royal tiger just rising itself from a crouched posture forms the handle of the lid; and the pedestal, which is taken from an antique candelabra, is in the shape of an altar, and has an elephant's head at each of the four corners; on the body of the vase, between the handles, is executed, in very bold relief, on one side cavalry, and on the other

* From 'The Madras Gazette' of February 11, 1826.

infantry figures, representing the delivery of regular arms by disciplined troops to undisciplined Natives of India; an appropriate subject, as having reference to the important measure in which Mr. Russell's connection with the Nizam's army originated. The inscription is on two sides of the pedestal, and Mr. Russell's arms on the others. The whole stands thirty inches high, is of silver gilt, richly wrought, and is considered one of the most splendid productions of the kind, whether as to delicacy of workmanship, or beauty of design.

The following is a copy of the correspondence which passed on the occasion:—

To Henry Russell, Esq., late Resident at Hyderabad.

DEAR SIR,—We, the officers of the Hyderabad division of his Highness the Nizam's regular forces, being impressed with sentiments of the highest respect, and most perfect esteem for your character, of affectionate attachment to your person, and of lively gratitude for all the favours which you have conferred upon us, have witnessed your departure from Hyderabad with heart-felt and deep sorrow.

These painful emotions we willingly suppress, to indulge in the gratifying prospect which is now opening to you; and in offering our congratulations on your return to your native country, we cannot but anticipate the joy and satisfaction with which that event will be hailed by a numerous circle of relatives and friends.

In testimony of the sentiments which have induced us to address you on this occasion, and which we have but very imperfectly described, we solicit your acceptance of a gold vase, to be made in London by Messrs. Randel, Bridges and Randel.

And we further request, that you will do us the honour of allowing your likeness to be executed in a marble bust, which we propose placing in an appropriate building to be erected for that purpose at Bolarum.

Wishing you a safe and speedy voyage, and continued health and prosperity, we remain, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient servants,

(Signed) JOHN DOVERON, Lieut.-Col.

[Here follow twenty-four other signatures, being those of the officers at that time attached to the Hyderabad division, Nizam's army.]

Camp, Bolarum, 1st Jan. 1821.

MR. RUSSELL'S REPLY.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Dovern, and the Officers of H. H. the Nizam's Hyderabad Division.

DEAR SIRS,—I am highly flattered and gratified by the assurances of your attachment and esteem, and by the sentiments you have done me the honour to express on the occasion of my departure from India. My happiest and most prosperous days have been passed in your society; and I leave you, as I have lived with you, with feelings of the most cordial regard, and most earnest solicitude for your welfare and prosperity.

The improvement which has taken place in the Nizam's army, and the formation of his military establishment upon its present footing, I consider as one of the most useful and most important public measures which it has fallen to my lot to conduct. The result has surpassed my most sanguine expectations, and I ascribe my success principally to the zeal, abilities, and gallantry of the officers whose assistance I have been so fortunate as to receive.

I accept with pleasure, and shall cherish with pride, the splendid token you have conferred upon me of your friendship and esteem; and I shall take immediate measures for complying with the desire you have done me the honour to express, that I should sit for a bust. We shall many of us, I hope, be spared to meet in our native country; and, in the mean time, nothing can be more

gratifying to me, than the prospect of living in the recollection of those friends who can never cease to live in mine. I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and faithful servant,

(Signed)

H. RUSSELL.

London, 28th Dec. 1821.

MEETING OF NATIVES AT MADRAS TO TESTIFY THEIR RESPECT AND ATTACHMENT TO MR. CLARKE.

We feel no ordinary gratification in publishing the following documents :

With the customary sanction of the Government, a numerous meeting of the most respectable and learned Native inhabitants of Madras was held at the College on Wednesday the 19th October 1823, at five o'clock, P. M., for the purpose of considering the best means of paying some suitable mark of public respect and attachment to Richard Clarke, Esq., senior member of the Board of Superintendance for the College of Fort St. George, Tamil Translator to Government, and a member of the Board of Revenue, on the occasion of his approaching departure to England.

V. Sub Ráo moved that Y. Virásáwmaya be called to the chair, which was seconded by Namasiváya Chettyár, and unanimously approved.

Y. Virásáwmaya having taken the chair, addressed the assembly in an eloquent and animated speech in English; it having been previously determined that the proceedings of the meeting should be conducted in that language. He commenced by expressing his thanks for the honour conferred on him by being elevated to that high seat, to which, he said, he was unable to do justice. He reminded them, that they were met there to deliberate on the most suitable means of expressing their regard and esteem to Mr Clarke on his departure from this country. He adverted to the excellent character of that gentleman, and the services he had rendered to the Indian public by the zealous and active part he had always taken in the various public institutions established under the benevolent auspices of the Madras Government; and particularly in having been one of the chief supporters of the College of Fort St. George, an institution from which so many advantages have accrued to the Native population. He hoped the meeting would concur with him in thinking Mr Clarke's intended departure to England an event of the greatest concern to the Indian public at this Presidency; inasmuch as they were thereby to be deprived of the valuable services of a gentleman, who, by the extraordinary and almost unexampled progress he has made in the Tamil language, and the general knowledge he has acquired of the laws, manners, and customs of the Natives, has attracted their highest admiration; and who, by the complacency of his manners, and the benignity of his disposition, has attached irresistibly to himself the hearts of all who know him. He (the Chairman) then observed, it was to such a character as this they would always come forward to bear public testimony; and he concluded by reading and moving the following resolutions :

1st. That an appropriate address be prepared to be presented to Mr Clarke, conveying the thanks of the meeting for the many good offices he has rendered to the public, and expressing the regret they feel on the occasion of his leaving India.

2d. That a Fund be raised by subscription, for the purpose of providing a piece of plate to be presented to that gentleman, as a mark of the respect and esteem which the meeting entertain for his learning and character.

Ram Ráz then rose, and in a short speech seconded the motion. He observed, that the resolutions just read from the chair had been originally those of a few friends in the College. Conceiving them, however, to comprehend the feelings and sentiments of the Indian public at large, it was thought proper that they should be more generally made known to all classes of people; and, more particularly, to the learned portion of them. They were assembled there for the purpose of paying a deserved tribute of acknowledgment to

conspicuous talents, great learning, and unbounded benevolence. After what had been so ably said by their respected Chairman of the public and private worth of Mr Clarke, he begged leave to say a few words. It would be recollected, he observed, that Mr Clarke had arrived in this country at an early age, and had passed the greater part of his life amongst them in the exercise of his public and private duties, in which, they all knew, he had invariably been actuated by the strictest principles of justice, and a zeal for the public good. The kind attention and affability which he had evinced to all classes of people in their private and public intercourse with him; the pleasure and instruction which every one had derived from his extensive knowledge of their literature, customs, and laws; and, above all, the benefit that had accrued to them from his great talents and humanity, must always hold him high in their esteem. It would be difficult, observed he, perhaps to point out a gentleman who was more justly and universally beloved and esteemed among them than Mr. Clarke. He had always patronized and supported men of talents, wherever he found them; and had taken no small delight in encouraging and promoting the diffusion of knowledge in this country. In the midst of those laborious duties of the several responsible public offices which he had held, he had never hesitated to take the most active part in almost all the societies and public meetings, which had the good of the community and the advancement of literature for their object. He had been one of the original members by whom the School Book Society was established at this Presidency; and it was to his judicious exertion and active influence that the formation and support of this humane association, from which it was confidently hoped their countrymen would at no distant period derive incalculable advantages, were principally to be ascribed. It was well known that he had long been a distinguished member of the College of Fort St. George, an institution that has been, in a very material degree, benefited by his valuable services. It has been particularly benefited by his extensive knowledge of Tamil, one of the most difficult languages spoken in this part of the country, by which he was enabled to furnish them with those valuable publications, which they then possessed in that language, through the medium of the College press. It would be needless indeed, he said, to dwell upon his various other good qualities, for they were too well known to many that were present there; nor was he competent to the task. He would, therefore, he concluded, waive the attempt, and appeal to those around him, who, he said, were no doubt better judges of them than himself.

Sub Ráo Muttaya Mudeliyár, Raghava Chetti; Rangaya Náyac, Virasámi Mudeliyár, Tandavaráya Mudeliyár, Muttusámi Pillel, W. Vencataramaya, and some others than severally rose, and said they entirely concurred in the testimony borne by their learned friends, who had just spoken, to the public and private worth of Mr Clarke; and they also cordially seconded the motion of the Chairman.

Here, at the suggestion of D. Virasámi Mudeliyár, the Chairman ably explained in Telugu, to those few who were unacquainted with English, the substance of the resolutions and the several speeches.

The foregoing resolutions then received the unanimous concurrence of the assembly.

Moved by A. Namasiváya Chettiyar, and seconded by V. Sub Ráo, that a Committee be appointed to carry the foregoing resolutions into execution

Moved by Y. Virasáwmya, and unanimously approved, that the Committee consist of the undermentioned gentlemen.

Adi-Naranya, W.	Rághava Chetti, C.
Bhagavant Ráo, M.	Sundara Mudeliyár, C.
Chocappa Chetti, C.	Sub Ráo, V.
Mínácbaya, C.	Tándávarya Mudeliyár, V.
Muttaya Mudeliyár, E.	Vencat Ráo, H.
Muttusámi Pillel, A.	

Moved by Namasiváya Chettiyar, and seconded by Y. Virásáwmaya; that Ram Ráz be requested to act as Secretary to the Committee.

Moved by Ram Ráz, that C. Rághava Chetti be appointed Treasurer, which was seconded by the Chairman and unanimously approved.

Moved by Y. Virásáwmaya, and seconded by Namasiváya Chetti, that a subscription be immediately opened, and that a book be circulated by the Treasurer for that purpose.

Resolved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to Y. Virásáwmaya, for the warm interest he has manifested in promoting the object of the meeting, and for his able conduct in the chair.

That the thanks of the meeting be also conveyed to Ram Ráz, for having convened a meeting for so desirable a purpose.

The meeting was then dissolved.

In pursuance of the object of the foregoing resolutions, a meeting was again convened, at the College Hall, on Saturday the 17th December, for the purpose of presenting the address

It was most numerously attended, every part of the house being crowded to excess. Many persons were even unable to gain admission within the entrance. The assembly comprehended the most opulent, learned, and respectable part of the Native inhabitants.

All the members of the College Board were present; and several other European gentlemen, who had received special invitations from the Native Committee, were also in attendance.

Mr Clarke, supported by Mr J. M'Kerrell, having taken his seat at the upper end of the hall, Yénugala Virásáwmaya, the Chairman of the meeting, after a few prefatory remarks, proceeded to read the following address :

To Richard Clarke, Esq. &c. &c. &c.,

Sir,—We, the undersigned Native inhabitants of Madras, beg leave to address you on the occasion of your departure from India.

Your residence in this country has afforded us ample opportunities of observing the beneficial influence of your talents, your integrity, and your benevolence.

We feel ourselves fully warranted in expressing our admiration of the justice and impartiality, by which you have invariably been actuated in the exercise of your public and private duties; and the active part you have taken in promoting the objects of public institutions, established under the auspices of the British Government for the welfare of the community, demands the strongest expression of our approbation and gratitude.

The kind attention and affability which you have manifested to all classes of our countrymen in their private and public intercourse with you, have inspired us with feelings of a heartfelt and lasting attachment: and an extensive acquaintance with our literature, customs, and laws, has supplied to you numerous occasions, in which your zeal for the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of literature in this country has been conspicuously and successfully displayed.

Deeply sensible of the important advantages which our countrymen must derive from an intercourse with men of learning and philanthropy, we cannot but consider your departure from our shores as an event of no small concern to the Indian community, which must necessarily be deprived in you of a zealous patron and an affectionate friend.

Anxious to preserve ourselves in your memory, we beg to request your acceptance of a piece of plate, which we will cause to be presented to you on your arrival in England. We hope it will continue a lasting memorial of our

admiration of talents and virtues, and a grateful tribute of the affectionate remembrance of your Indian friends.

Wishing you and your family a prosperous voyage and happy meeting with your friends in England, we have the honour to be, with great sincerity and respect, your most obliged and humble servants,

Signed by upwards of six hundred respectable Native inhabitants of Madras.

Madras, 17th December, 1825.

The following is, as nearly as we could collect, Mr Clarke's reply :

'Gentlemen,—It would be difficult for me to find terms adequate to express the satisfaction I have experienced, in receiving the very flattering address which you have done me the honour to present,

'This feeling does not arise from any vain conceit that I merit the commendations you have so liberally bestowed ; but rather from the gratifying consideration, that the circumstances in which I have been placed amongst you, and the duties I have been permitted to perform, have afforded you an opportunity of declaring sentiments so honourable to yourselves.

'It cannot but afford the highest gratification to every benevolent and reflecting mind, to be assured that the extension of knowledge is an object of desire to the Indian community : and that the learned, the wealthy, and the most respectable among the Native inhabitants at the capital of these provinces, are forward to aid and foster its diffusion.

'The desire to assist in the more general dissemination of useful knowledge among our Indian fellow-subjects has never been wanting in us ; but it has been checked and controlled in its operation by the fear of giving offence to your feelings. It was long imagined that any co-operation of ours in such matters would be unwelcome. But you who, residing at the seat of Government, have the best opportunities of estimating our measures and our motives, have declared that you are gratified by our endeavours to facilitate access to the science and literature of either hemisphere. Under this impression, every desirable aid and encouragement to the extension of knowledge and the improvement of education will not fail to be given by the paternal Government under which you have the happiness to live, by our honourable superiors in England, and by the British nation at large.

'The debt of gratitude which Europe owes to Asia, is not estranged from our minds. From Asia the world was first peopled ; and from Asia has Europe received the most valued treasures of wisdom.

'If the sun of science which arose in the East, has, in these latter days, shined with a more intense and invigorating warmth in western regions, shall it not again cheer the Eastern world with its reviving beams ? Europe will gladly impart to Asia the produce of her labours in the vast field of knowledge. It will be for those among you, who, by cultivating European literature, have gained access to the treasures it enfolds, to spread its benefits around you, and extend the influence of truth, morality, and virtue.

'You have been pleased to ascribe to me the faithful discharge of public and social duties. Whatever may have been the value of my official labours, they were no more than the tribute of duty ; an inadequate return for the bounties of a liberal and indulgent Government. In whatever way my humble exertions may have benefited the cause of charity or philanthropy, there is abundant reward in viewing the success of benevolent and useful institutions, and in being one of many who may have contributed to their advancement. If I have testified pleasure in associating with you on friendly terms, it is because I have always found in Native gentlemen, intelligence, good sense, and genuine politeness.

'But I must not forget what I individually owe to you for the sentiments of personal regard you have so kindly expressed, and for the valuable token of

your good will, which, anticipating the necessary permission of the Hon. the Court of Directors on such an occasion, I gratefully accept. It will descend to my children a lasting pledge of your good opinion; and will teach them to set a high value on the kindness, the gratitude, and the friendship of the respectable Native inhabitants of Madras.

'Accept, then, gentlemen, my most heartfelt acknowledgements for these testimonies of your regard and affection; and be assured, that the prosperity and happiness of this settlement, and of all India, will ever be among the warmest aspirations of my heart.'

This speech was delivered with a depth of feeling, and an earnestness of manner, which excited a very lively interest in the assembly. All listened with close and silent attention: and many of the gentlemen seemed to appreciate, with discriminating sagacity, the suitableness of the sentiments, and the eloquence with which they were expressed.

On the motion of Mr. M'Kerrell, the substance of the speech was ably delivered in Teluga by the chairman, for the benefit of the few who might not be sufficiently acquainted with the English language.

Many of the Native gentlemen, eager to testify their personal esteem for Mr. Clarke, addressed him in their own, or in the learned languages; and every one seemed anxious to show, that he felt an individual interest in acknowledging the obligations, and in testifying the gratitude of his countrymen.

The remaining part of the ceremony was conducted in the usual style, by the distribution of garlands, perfumes, and fruits.

A meeting so numerous, so respectable, and so ably conducted, gives promise, that the day is not far distant, when the Native Society of this Presidency will assume its rank among the most enlightened and public-spirited communities of the East.

SPECIMENS OF NATIVE INDIAN ENGLISH.

To the Editor of the Madras Courier.

Sir,—I beg leave to submit the following for insertion in your paper at convenience, as exhibiting one of the most amusing attempts at our epistolary style that I have met with by a Native. The writer, a Bengalee "*copying clerk*," was baboo or sircar to Mr. P———n, in the Board of Trade, at Calcutta. Lieutenant H———e belonged to the Horse Artillery, had a brother in the Civil Service, and had taken the subject of the letter under his protection.

Your very obedient servant,

J. C———.

Sir,—Paragraph 1st.—With extreme humility and debasement I beg pardon in presuming to interrupt your avocation, which no doubt is deeply consequential and important: but the insatiable avidity of my Cravings has no boundary, therefore I hope to be excused mercifully, as there is no help for human frailty.

Paragraph 2nd.—Contemplating with adoration the sublime grandeur of English gentlemen, my heart rebound and beat with such palpitation for Joy that it may be likened into the volcanic raptures of Mount Vesuvius in England. In this ecstacy of charming bliss I avail myself of this spontaneous opportunity of notifying to your honor's remembrance the faithful and sincere promise you made me while in Calcutta, and feeding myself with sanguine Hopes I conceive advisable to recommend to your protection my nephew, who has been cankering my vitals for his subsistence in Life. Because with the intention of satisfying his ambitious and desires, I eagerly implore your Goodness in the abundance of your gracious Gifts will be pleased to cast your Prosperous Eyes on his miserable case, and I recommended him to your Brother who is fortunately arrived from England safely on shore and is inhabiting the Writer's Barracks near the long Church Monument adjacent to my Office, called the Black Hole Remembrance.

Paragraph 3d.—Offering in gladness of heart Thanksgiving and Prayers to the Worshipful Deity above the Stars and Moon, I will make a sacred vow on getting good tidings from your Honorable goodness. Please to be good enough to state to me particularly respecting your Health and welfare that will gladden my soul like Ghee, Sugar, and Milk mixed, which English Gentlemen's make sweet Puddin'. I hope you are in happiness and this will meet in perfect good condition of circumstance.

Paragraph 4th.—Perhaps most probably your Honor may in your Benevolence take pity on me and to reply to my address to you be moved to notice the consequence of it, therefore please to direct to me Board of Trade in Council Old Fort opposite the Government Custom House. I take leave with due respect and remain, kind Sir, your humbly devoted servt.,

GOURMOHUN CHUND,
Mr. R. C. P—————'s Writer.

Calcutta, the 31st April, 1812.

N. B.—Please to recollect kindly to inclose the letter of favour to your Brother in the answer you will send me to this.

To Lieut. J. C. H—————e Artillery Horse Cavalry, Cawnpore.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TREATMENT OF BRITISH COLONIES.*

One country may fall under the dominion of another to which it is greatly inferior in the number of its inhabitants, in wealth, in situation, or in any of the primary external means of self-defence, without its people meriting the reproach of being deficient in valour, or in patriotism. Hence it has been reckoned good policy for small states, in order to avoid the evils of unequal contests, and the constant danger of subjugation, to submit to a complete and perfect union with some powerful neighbour, by which the interests of both might be strengthened, and their security maintained. The loss of national independence has often, in such cases; occasioned a certain degree of discontent and clamour among the lower orders of the weaker and poorer country, until the increase of trade and of national importance, arising out of their new relations as an integral part of a powerful empire, convinced them of their error, and brought them at once to reason and loyalty. To foster and mature the latter sentiment, however, a reciprocity of advantages is necessary from the beginning. If the rights and free institutions of the weaker party be infringed by the common legislature, in which the other must be supposed to have at all times a great and marked preponderance; or, if unequal burthens be imposed upon it for the support of some common object, still more if the object be a partial one; or if improvements in its internal policy, in its agriculture, or its commerce, be obstinately thwarted—the union will only be nominal, the hearts of the people will be farther apart than ever, and the beneficial results anticipated from the measure will be entirely lost.

With respect to small and solitary colonies, the case is not very different. Independence with them is out of the question, and their greatest happiness is gained when they have become the subject of a state which is able to defend them against all enemies, and willing to grant and perpetuate to them such institutions and privileges as are most conducive to the perfect security of the persons and property of individuals, and to their general prosperity. In former times, it appears that these advantages were seldom bestowed, or even contemplated by any of the parties concerned in the foundation of colonies. Colonization was generally considered as a royal, a private, or at most as a chartered job; and the interests of the colonists were thrust aside with contempt, when they came into competition with the avarice or aggrandisement of their patrons. Monopoly, that most baneful and wicked instrument of plunder and taxation, robbed industry of its reward, and drove the capital of the inhabitants out of useful employment; while restrictions laid the produce of the

* From the 'South African Journal' of April 12, 1835.

country at the feet of the foreigner, at one-half, and sometimes at one-third, of its value. The local government was generally a pure military despotism. The country resembled an extended encampment, and the citizen was subjected to the same restraint and coercion as a soldier, without the same prospect of honour or advancement, and, what was worse, without pay or the chance of a pension. The governors were not always selected on account of their great abilities, or their fitness to exercise uncontrolled power. When this happened to be the case, and when they were seldom retained longer than three years in authority, great amelioration generally took place in the condition of the colonies, as might have been expected from the activity of upright men, who had no life-interest in perpetuating abuses, nor any motive to oppose the acquisition of the character and rights of free men by their fellow-subjects. But it has often happened that the persons to whom was intrusted the tremendous privilege of ruling a whole country with absolute sway, were the cadets of influential families, who had distinguished themselves by no one great quality either as soldiers, statesmen, scholars, or gentlemen; and whose sole reason for soliciting such employment was, to have an opportunity of recovering their battered fortunes, and of compensating for the follies of a gambler by the rapacity of a public oppressor. Queen Anne was, on one occasion, addressed by a personage of this description, with an earnest request that some post of value should be speedily bestowed upon him, the air of the metropolis, particularly near the gate of the Compter, having become highly obnoxious to him. On being demanded what post he specially coveted, "He had no particular place in view," he said; "her Majesty might either give him a command of horse in Ireland, make him Archbishop of Dublin, or Chief Justice of the King's Bench."

For many years back the treatment of colonies, under the protection of Great Britain, has been greatly softened; and, in many instances, the picture given above has been nearly reversed. Taught by her own experience, and by the examples of Spain and Portugal, she has seen the weakness of expecting revenues from an impoverished population, or of looking for increased production on a soil scorched and trampled down by tyranny and corruption. Spain, in full possession of Peru, became the poorest nation in Europe; and Portugal could not extract from the Brazils an income sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of government. The fault was neither in the soil nor the climate. Navigable rivers traverse these fine regions. They abound in excellent harbours. Must we name the true cause? O Despotism! thou hast much to answer for! The British colonies in America had little to complain of, in comparison with the southern divisions of that continent. They had Legislative Assemblies, and Trial by Jury. Yet an injudicious stretch of prerogative caused their entire separation from the mother country.

Thus instructed, Britain has begun to treat her conquered colonies with more discretion, and in the spirit of a sounder policy. They could scarcely expect that, for a certain period after their capture, all the advantages of the British constitution should be extended to them—the people being naturally supposed hostile, in some degree, to the institutions of their conquerors, being unacquainted also with their customs, and generally ignorant of their language. To these causes candour will ascribe the continuance, with almost no sensible improvement, of the political and civil administration of the Cape for the last twenty years. Still, it must be admitted, that the Home Government has been supine, and remained satisfied with inadequate information respecting our condition and our wants. We were tranquil; they were content. We made no complaints; they thought we had nothing to complain of. Neither an improved system of Jurisprudence, Trial by Jury, Legislative Assemblies, nor limitations to authority, were asked. They inferred that we were not yet prepared to receive them. But was there no man found among us, sensible of the blessings these changes would have conferred, and patriotic enough to appeal, in behalf of his fellow colonists, to the liberal spirit of the British nation? Who will stand forward, and say he has done so? Who will say, "Instead of joining in heartless satire, and abject thanks for favours

never conferred, and benefits never intended for the colony, I stood forward and advocated, with temper and dignity, the claims of my loyal countrymen, and the rights of my fellow-subjects. Instead of lending my co-operation to acts of oppression—of winking at the breach of solemn engagements, and witnessing in silence the ruin of our finances—instead of quashing inquiry by force, and stifling the voice of Truth—I conveyed to the ear of my Sovereign, or to the Representatives of all his people, full, clear, and conscientious statements of all we had suffered, were suffering, and had to apprehend; and claimed for the Cape the privileges and immunities of a British colony? Those who imagine that such an appeal would have been made in vain, must know little of England, or of the spirit of Englishmen. When complaints were made in Parliament, that the extensive province of Canada, then lately taken from the French, continued under a Government in the highest degree arbitrary and despotic, Mr. Pitt, in pursuance of an intimation in the royal speech, moved for leave to bring in a bill to make provision for an improvement in its constitution. By the proposed bill, the province was divided into two distinct governments, by the appellation of Upper and Lower Canada. Councils, nominated by the Sovereign and Houses of Assembly, chosen by the people, were established in each. The Habeas Corpus Act was asserted as a predominant law of their constitution; and, by a very important and admirable clause, the British Parliament were restrained from imposing any taxes whatever, but such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce; and to guard against the abuse of this power, the produce of such taxes was to be at the disposal of the respective Provincial Legislatures. Is there nothing in this to stir our emulation? Are the inhabitants of this country less qualified to sit as jurors, or to enjoy free institutions, than the natives of Ceylon, or the forced population of New South Wales? It would be injurious to suppose it; it would be inconsistent with truth to assert it. But suppose it. Suppose us to degenerate—what has made us so? What degrades a nation but the want of those very institutions? Do the people ripen, under a despotism, for the reception of rational liberty? Or does any one suppose that a request for improvement in the temporary government of a ceded colony, implies disaffection, or even political discontent? This would class Mr. Pitt himself with radicals, and lead us to suspect the King and Parliament of disloyalty. Yet such has been the insane insulance of some among us, the exposure of whom will, ere long, prove the best vindication of those whom they have dared to traduce.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL AT THE CAPE.

To the Editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser.

“Nothing in the world that ever was yet thought of; nothing that could be invented by the most wicked of men; nothing that any one who had sworn incessant and implacable enmity to the human race; nothing that the devil himself could invent, ever was, or ever could be, a more efficient instrument in the hands of a tyrant, than a senate, corrupted to the very core, no matter by what means, assuming the forms of deliberation; but having, in fact, no free voice, and being, in reality, the mere tools of the ruler, made use of by him for the base purpose of causing the people to believe that there is some check upon his authority.”

SIR,

Albany, March 1836.

When the appointment of a Council, to assist in the government of this colony, was first announced to its inhabitants, they hailed the event as the dawn of better and brighter times; they welcomed it as the harbinger of those salutary measures, which they were taught to expect would result from the labours of the Commissioners of Inquiry; and they saw in it, as they imagined, a sufficient security, in future, against that system of mis-rule, that system of selfish and capricious mis-government, which they had so long witnessed.

and which they had so long endured with a degree of stupid apathy, which, it is to be hoped, few will be found to admire, and still fewer to imitate.

Such, Sir, were the hopes and the expectations which the first formation of the Council gave rise to, and it is now full time to inquire whether these sanguine hopes and expectations have been realised, and, if not, to what causes we are to attribute their failure. It is most painful to feel and to acknowledge that they have nearly all ended in profound disappointment. Nor could it well be otherwise while the people are kept in the most perfect ignorance of the duties the Council has to perform, and of the extent of the power which has been intrusted to it, and while they possess no means whatever of obtaining information on these interesting points. Under such circumstances, is it a matter of surprise that they should begin to distrust a body of men, with respect to whose share in the government of the country, and the extent of whose responsibility, they cannot form *even a conjecture*? What possible good can accrue either to the ruled or the rulers from this system of mystification? Why should the functions of our Council be like the features of the "Vailed Prophet," which were for ever hid in impenetrable obscurity, and never to be viewed by, or made known to, mortal man? Is there any thing improper or unreasonable in the desire of ascertaining what degree of praise, or of censure, or if *either be justly imputable* to this branch—if branch it be—of the government under which we live? Why, Sir, in Spain, although the people are sunk in the grossest ignorance, they always knew the extent of the power of that terrific tribunal—the Inquisition; in Turkey, the lowest of the people know for what purposes their utimas and divans assemble; but *here*, at the Cape of Good Hope, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the people cannot, by the utmost stretch of their imagination, even *guess* what are the duties, power and responsibility of the Council—of that body who are *said* to have been appointed for the purpose of watching over our interests. Is it to be expected that such a body can, *under such circumstances*, inspire confidence? Is it to be supposed, that any feeling of this kind can be excited until the people shall have ascertained, by a distinct knowledge of its duties, whether it be a *real* or a *pretended* check on the authority of the Governor? And, lastly, is it for one moment imagined that they will remain satisfied, or yield a willing obedience to the laws, under this state of ignorance?

Amidst the doubts and perplexities which this state of uncertainty must inevitably create, we naturally turn to the Mother Country, to search amongst her institutions for some body of men analogous to the one now before us, in the hope that, if it does not enable us to solve our difficulties, it may, at least, lead us to some probable conclusion on the subject. Let us see, then, what the search will produce. First, we have the *Privy Council*—but, *here*, Sir, is no obscurity, no mystification, no "Vailed Prophet;"—any one turning to the authors who have written on the Constitution, to the debates in Parliament, or even to the daily journals, will be at no loss to discover what *their* duties are.—"The duty of a Privy Councillor is to advise the King in all matters whatever, and at all times, whether he holds any other office under the crown or not." And again, "they (the Privy Council) claim a right to *submit to the King whatever measures they may think requisite for the good of the country*." When and where shall we find a plain distinct definition, like this, descriptive of the duties of *our* council men? We have, secondly, what is termed the *Cabinet Council*; but as this is a thing of comparatively modern invention, and, strictly speaking, unknown to the constitution, there is, I confess, a certain degree of indistinctness,—a sort of hazy atmosphere surrounding it—not, assuredly, so dense as the sable vapours in which our "Vailed" Council is enveloped, yet causing sufficient obscurity to render it much easier to say what their duties are *not*, rather than what they are. "The Cabinet Council ought not to originate any bill or measure in Parliament, without previously obtaining the positive concurrence of the King." Should you doubt the soundness of this definition of their negative duties, I need only refer you, by way of illustration, to the Whig Cabinet of 1807, who were turned out of office for bringing the Catholic Bill into the house, con-

trary to the wishes of their master. Now, Sir, to which of these councils do our "Vailed Prophots" belong? Do they "claim a right to submit to the Governor all measures which they may think requisite for the good of the country"? or have they the fate of the Whig Ministry perpetually dancing in their eyes, and for ever vibrating in their ears? In plain terms, do they form a *privy council*, or a cabinet council, or a mixture of both, or of neither?—in short, what the devil is this non-descript thing which is called a Council at the Cape of Good Hope?

Do you, or your readers, inquire why my attention is so particularly drawn to this subject at present? I ask, in reply, have we not witnessed things done here of a nature to draw our attention to it? Have we not seen a system of military aggression regularly organised against the neighbouring tribes of Caffers—military expeditions undertaken, from what motive, or for what purpose, beyond that of capturing cattle, no human being can divine—and so conducted as to endanger the safety of all who had intercourse with the *sabages*? Is this nothing? Have we not seen a portion of territory, called the Zureveld, dolled out in modicams to between two and three hundred heads of families of British Settlers; and have we not *immediately afterwards* seen a fairer and a larger portion of land in the (late?) district of Somerset, squandered upon one-fifth part of the number of heads of families of the old Colonists?—And is this, Sir, nothing? I shall not stay to inquire what *object* was to be attained by this profusion,—whether it was or was not to procure signatures to servile addresses, which not one in ten of the addressers could read, and not one in fifty could comprehend, if he could read it; I care not if this be or be not true; it is enough to know that the act has been done;—and was not this act a cruel and a galling outrage on the feelings of the British population? Was it not enough to rouse the indignation of every man who had any sense of feeling left? Was it not enough to make them exclaim, in tones loud enough to be heard at Cape Town—"What is the Council about? what are its duties? Has it any? Is it a mere quiz—a pure unadulterated hoax?—Or what is it?"

Sir, the Council has either the power of interfering in such matters, or it has not: if the former—has it, or has it not, been guilty of a dereliction of its duty? If the latter—then what *are* its functions? Is it not known—is it not notorious—that the treatment of the Caffers, and the mode of granting land, were subjects of complaint in this colony? Did no representation on those points reach Earl Bathurst's office? and are such things to be done again, and the Council not interpose?—For the twentieth time, I ask, can they—CAN they interpose?

I believe I cannot close this communication better than by giving the remaining part of the passage from which I extracted the motto to my letter: "A sheer, undisguised despotism is not half so galling, as this mockery of legislation. Why not issue the 'Senatus Consultum,' or decree, or act, or law, or whatever the thing ought to be called, from the closet of the ruler at once? Why send it to be cried *aye* to by a set of men, who, all the world knows, must cry *aye* to it, be it what it may? Oh! there is a very good reason for it. The sending of it through this corrupted channel causes the attention of the people to be distracted; it confuses them as to the origin of it: their resentment is enfeebled in seeking for the proper object; some of the most foolish of these are amused by the despicable ceremony, while the immense swarm of dependents of the ruler, by whom he is surrounded, preach up obedience to the *law*. In short, a degraded and corrupted senate seems to be the only means by which a nation can be completely enslaved."

Let no one suppose—let no one be so stupid as to imagine, that I intend to convey even a caricature representation of our Council in the above extract; I distinctly say, that there is no affinity—no likeness. But I have given the extract *partly* to elucidate my arguments, *partly* to show what may, and what actually was, said of a Council when it was not a year old, and the nature of whose deliberations were concealed from the community; and also to prove that so long as obscurity hangs over a branch of the legislature, so long shall

suspicion attach to it. I would then put it to the understanding of the members of the Council—I would appeal to their sober reason, and to their judgment, whether any possible ill can arise from the people being made acquainted with the nature of their occupation? and until this be done, they may rest assured that however estimable in private life—however honourable, wise, and upright in Council, they will receive no praise for what is good, and that they will have to bear the odium of all that is bad in the Government.

I am, Sir, &c.

X.

REMARKS ON THE MEMORABLE FAREWELL DINNER.

Cape Town, March 8, 1828.

It has not been the custom of this Paper to notice any particular demonstration of foppery or puppyism on the part of our beloved fellow-subjects, or to fatigue our readers with the speeches of great and pleasant men on trifling occasions. So long as horse-racing, masquerades, and public dinners are kept separate from politics, they appear to us nearly in the light of private transactions. Their good or evil perishes with the using, or affects only those immediately engaged in them. There is, besides, a continual spring of folly and impertinence in the human heart, which may be thus tapped and drawn off with safety; whereas, were it suffered to accumulate and ferment, it might produce a spirit of *personal hostility to existing abuses*.

But when these vanities are suddenly converted into engines of mischief; when, besides the deplorable oratory of the unprincipled place-hunter and the questionable friend, we find men new to the colony, and proudly ignorant of its history and present state, throwing their frothy and presumptuous approbation on a course of measures under which, in the short space of twenty years, the country has sustained loss and damage to the amount of at least fifteen millions of rix-dollars; we then find it our duty to step forward and enter our protest. If any person believes that in doing so we are actuated by a spirit of malignity, or of personal hostility, we tell him that he is mistaken. If he asserts it, we tell him that he is a calumniator. We know nothing of the persons or private lives of public men. Their retirements ought to be encircled with even stricter rules than those of others, and the natural sentiments of respect and affection for them should be encouraged so long as they have not notoriously forfeited all claim to either. But whatever colonial practice may have been, and however much it may shock colonial feeling, we must declare, in obedience to British feelings, of which we cannot entirely divest ourselves, that it is the right and duty of every British subject to watch with care and jealousy the acts of those in authority, whether they act directly, or through the subordinate officers. If they are misrepresented, the laws afford them sufficient remedies. If they take warning and increase their circumspection, they, as well as the community, will owe nothing but gratitude to their censors. If they harden their hearts, and exchange the rod only for the scorpion, they have an example before them of the inevitable consequences.

That the expressions of good-will and attachment, to be found copied into another part of this Paper, should have been made, cannot excite surprise. In stating the losses the colony has sustained by certain measures, we have always asserted that some have gained as much as the others lost. The colony generally, every class, has suffered, but every individual has not. On the contrary, some have made a very handsome thing of it. Even during the last year, new salaries, to the amount of twenty-two thousand rix-dollars, have been added to the Civil List. The hope of sharing in such liberality would make most people get upon a stool, and address the large and respectable gentlemen before them. People must get bread; honestly if they can—but they must get it. If they lack ability or industry to compete successfully in the common market of life, they must have recourse to such talents as nature has given them. The top of the pyramid is accessible to the reptile no less than the eagle, and of the two, the meaner animal has perhaps the

best reason for coveting the elevation. We pass over, therefore, and almost approve of the vulgar eloquence of those who literally hunger for preferment. We must caution them, however, against spouting disloyal or unconstitutional sentiments on such occasions, for should such a thing occur, they may perhaps hear from this Press what may displease them.

With regard to some other speeches, not included in the above censure, we desire only to say, that we regret seeing them reported, although we have been informed that some reserve has been exercised by the *Gazette*. We wish still more reserve had been shown, as some of the expressions reported in that journal are rather startling. That every facility has been afforded to the Commissioners by his Excellency, we were prepared to hear, as his Lordship had positive orders from home to that effect. But as these gentlemen were sent here to inquire and not to advise, to learn the opinions of others, rather than to publish their own, it might have been as well to have kept up the mystery of their office to the end. The boisterous interruption occasioned by his words, which are in themselves inoffensive enough, must have convinced the Commissioner that he was on the point of making a premature report to an unprivileged audience.

We have no means of knowing what are the "instructions" of our Governors, but we believe that if those who act under such instructions, in opposition to British law, practice, and feelings, are not responsible for their conduct, those who grant them are so. If Ministers have advised the King to grant a commission and instructions which bind this Government to act as it has done with respect to the paper-money, the management of the revenue, the press, search-warrants, and the literary society, they will find Dutch colonial law, regulations, and practice but a slight defence against British law, practice, and feelings.

The concluding scene of the "*memorable night*" scarcely deserves notice. It has been the custom of the populace, in most countries in Europe, to adopt this direct and dignified mode of expressing their many-headed wisdom; and though the team in this case was small, yet the ground was level, and we have not heard that any of the gentlemen caught cold after coming out of harness.

Whether his Excellency's Government has been popular or not, may be left to the decision of those who are curious in such matters, but certainly the voice of this meeting was not the public voice. The number was about 160, and of these at least two-thirds were placemen and expectants. The small attendance of the commercial body was publicly remarked at the dinner. The Address had only about 300 names attached to it, although the six-dollar, the wine trade, and the East India Company, were foisted into it, in order to increase its attractions. These facts, and the manner in which the country addresses were procured, are not alluded to as tending to decide any of the questions at issue, but merely to show that the gentlemen who dined with the Governor, and then drew his carriage, did not represent the public.

We have been informed, and we firmly believe it, that his Excellency himself, and the respectable part of the company, had determined as much as possible to avoid all political allusions, and that his Lordship exhibited marked uneasiness, or something stronger, when this delicate and proper line of conduct was disregarded. Omitting these, and the assinine finish, there was nothing very particularly absurd in the dinner itself. A good many of those present had occasionally partaken of his Lordship's hospitality, and the mass of them naturally felt proud and elevated on finding themselves in such company. The novelty of their situation excuses their awkwardness, and as they expressed their unworthiness, both in words and actions, he must have perceived at once the extent of their humility, and of his own condescension.

PETITION RESPECTING THE CURRENCY AT THE CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE.

(Presented on the 19th May, 1896.)

TO THE HONOURABLE THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, AND BURGESSES IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED :

The Petition of CHRISTOPHER BIRD, on behalf of himself and of many other Inhabitants of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ;

Humbly sheweth,—That the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered by capitulation to his Majesty's arms, for the second time, in January 1806.

That at the period of the capitulation there was a Government paper currency in circulation, amounting to about six dollars 2,000,000.

That an article of the capitulation, (the 9th.) guaranteed to the inhabitants the continuance of this circulating medium "as heretofore;" and

That another article of the capitulation (the 10th) pledged all the Government houses and lands as security for the paper currency which circulated on the faith of Government; which article has been set entirely at naught.

That the terms of capitulation were approved by his Majesty.

That colonial accounts are kept in six dollars and guilders, and the subdivision of each into styvers or pennies.

That forty-eight full weighted pennies, of Holland, or three guilders of sixteen such pennies each, (called guilders, of Indian valuation,) make one six dollar.

That the paper money was issued originally in exchange for coin, which the Colonial Government borrowed of the inhabitants, and pledged itself to redeem at the rates at which it had taken from them the coin.

That it was imperative upon the inhabitants to receive the paper currency in all internal transactions, at 48 styvers to the six dollar.

That a tariff of the rates, at which the coin of different nations should pass, or be exchanged for paper currency, was officially promulgated.

That the English guinea is estimated in that tariff at 4½ six dollars.

That similar tariffs were issued by the British administration in the years 1800 and 1806. The English shilling is therein declared to be "a legal tender" for 12 Dutch styvers.

That the British Colonial Government, with the sanction of the Government at home, added to the medium circulating at the period of the capitulation, to the amount of about 1,000,000 six dollars, on its own guarantee, and under repeated promises to uphold the value, and to redeem the issues, the last of which is contained in the proclamation, dated June 1822.

That as it is above stated, all colonial accounts are kept in six dollars or guilders, all colonial money transactions are so kept.

That the Colonial Government has repeatedly officially recognized five six dollars to be the equivalent of the pound sterling.

That the Cape of Good Hope not being a commercial country, and there being no public securities, the wealth of its capitalists consists in mortgages and bonds, all purporting to be in six dollars, of 48 full weighted pennies of Holland, or in guilders of Indian valuation, that is, of 16 such pennies each.

That the value of the landed property and agricultural stock of the inhabitants, taken from official documents, shortly after the capitulation, amounted to 61,000,000 of six dollars.

That the value of the mortgages, registered in the Government secretariat, amounted, in 1823, to the sum of 30,000,000 rix dollars.

That these mortgages (for the far greater part) existed at the capture; those which may bear a more recent date being, nevertheless, the amount of the same capitals handed over to new purchasers, according to colonial custom, and consequently they are mortgages which were entered into when the currency was not depreciated from the causes which may have since been considered to have affected the circulating currency.

That the Cape of Good Hope is not a commercial colony, having very few articles of export, and those few not being of a very valuable description, but that great quantity of British merchandise has been imported into the colony.

That return for these importations has been difficult to procure, and that this circumstance (among others) has caused commissariat bills on the British Treasury to sell by public competition at very high rates.

That bills, however, had fallen considerably, and it was confidently expected that the rix dollar was about to regain its equilibrium in exchange.

That it was only with England, where a great mercantile debt was due, that the exchange was so unfavourable to the colony; with Holland, it was more advantageous; with India, the rix dollar almost retained its value in exchange.

That the amount of commissariat bills negotiated on England, had been inconsiderable for some years, not exceeding 120,000*l.* per annum; consequently, no fair criterion of the value of the rix dollar in exchange is deducible from transactions so unimportant.

That had the Colonial Government redeemed its pledges, by taking out of circulation the sums it had issued for its necessities, or by giving up the lands pledged for the redemption of its debt, the value of the rix dollar, even in exchange for commissariat bills, it may be confidently asserted, would have been that at which it was originally issued; that, moreover, the remitters were compelled to give advanced rates of exchange for commissariat bills, as low tenders were refused by the officers managing that department, as your Memorialist is prepared to prove.

That, under all circumstances, it is contended that the rix dollar did not lose its value in internal transactions; land stock, and articles of the first necessity, having remained at prices either stationary, or with variations traceable to other causes.

That, in this situation of the money affairs of the colony, the Colonial Government has issued an ordinance, dated 6th June 1823, fixing *1*s.* 6*d.** sterling as the value of that rix dollar, which it had issued or guaranteed at 48 *styvers* of Holland, and making such *1*s.* 6*d.** "a legal tender" in all antecedent colonial money transactions, whether arising from mortgages, bonds, or other debts.

That it is to be noticed, that *1*s.** had been previously declared to be "a legal tender" for 19 *styvers*; and that the same shilling and one half are here made "a legal tender" for 48 *styvers*: See the proclamation 14th January 1800, before referred to. See also the capitulation, article 9th, where the word "heretofore" has reference to the antecedent period.

That the Colonial Government has itself wavered as to the justice or expediency of the step taken, it having adopted measures to counteract the ordinance of the 6th June 1823, until the whole shall have been reconsidered in England; which measures have in so far tranquillized the colonists for the present as to have prevented (what would otherwise have occurred) a stagnation in every interior transaction.

Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays your Honourable House to take into serious consideration the injury he, together with the whole of the capitalists and proprietors have sustained by this erroneous measure—a measure, moreover, which the inhabitants consider to be a breach of national faith towards them, and to afford such redress herein as to your Honourable House, upon full consideration, shall seem equitable and reasonable.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

East India House, July 27, 1836.

The Minutes of last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN informed the Court, that it was made special in pursuance of the following requisition:

" To Joseph Dart, Esq. Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

" SIR,—We, the undersigned Proprietors of India Stock, request that you will lay before the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, this Requisition to call a General Meeting of the Honourable the Court of Proprietors, that the following motions may be submitted to their immediate considerations:

" 1st. That adverting to the act of Parliament, recently passed, which contains the following Clauses:—' That at any time within three years from the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the Court of Directors of the said United Company, to nominate and appoint, and to send to the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, in the capacity of a writer, any person who shall produce such testimonials of his character and conduct, and pass such an examination, as by rules and regulations to be framed and established, shall be required. That the said Court of Directors shall, and they are hereby required, with all convenient speed, to frame and establish proper rules and regulations respecting the due and necessary qualifications of writers; and that it shall and may be lawful to alter and vary such rules and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to require,—this Court, therefore, requests the Court of Directors now to submit their intended rules and regulations, that the same may be deliberately discussed by the General Court of Proprietors also, in order to obviate every attempt to establish any unfair monopoly in Oriental education, while the College Suspension-Act is in force, like the one lately made by a regulation of the Court of Directors, which, though published in their Court Calendar, or Red Book, has since, on mature reflection, been rescinded.

" 2d. That considering the manifold advantage of reconciling the feelings and interests of the various public departments, and official communities at the different Presidencies in British India, with each other, in every branch of the Service, this Court recommends that the Executive Governments there, be instructed to abolish immediately the odious practice of paying the Civil Servants in Sicca rupees, and the Army in a less valuable currency, called Sonat rupees; to prevent all discontent from the continuance of this unreasonable distinction among the King's or Company's Civil, Military, and Naval functionaries in future, by the whole receiving their respective allowances in the same species, or equitable rates of the local coins where such payments are made.

" We have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servants,

" W. MASON,	JAMES MOUNT,
" WILLIAM THORNTON,	LEICESTER STANHOPE,
" R. SLADE,	J. ADDINELL,
" JOHN WILKS,	JAMES PATERSON,
" JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.	

" London, June, 30, 1836."

LORD AMHERST.

Colonel STANHOPE wished, before the business of the day was proceeded in, to put one question to the Chairman. The expense of the carrying on the war, he understood, was more than a million of guineas per month, and he wished to know whether his Majesty's Ministers, who acted with so much

wisdom in office matters, and whom he considered as the greatest Ministers this country had ever possessed, would continue to be so obstinate in one point, as to retain Lord Amherst in India, notwithstanding the utter want of confidence in him that existed there. If so, it would accelerate the downfall of this country, as the debt thus accumulated became the debt of England.

The CHAIRMAN, in answer to the hon. Proprietor, would state, first, that this was a special Court, appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration these motions of which notice had been previously given, and therefore it was out of order to take into consideration any other subject; so that, if he were even prepared to state what was the intention of his Majesty's Ministers, (with whose secrets he certainly was not acquainted,) it would be utterly impossible for him, situated as the Court was, to gratify the curiosity of the gallant Colonel on the point to which he had alluded.

Colonel L. STANHOPE could not but express his regret that a million of guineas should be expended every month on the Burmese war, while the mechanics of England were in a state of starvation.

PAY OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVICE.

Dr. GILCHRIST begged to make a few preliminary observations before he entered upon the question before the Court, and he hoped he should enjoy that liberty of speech which had on former occasions been denied him. Oppositionists were said by some persons to be influenced by the worst motives, but, whatever the motive would be, the end was useful to the very parties who cried out against it. Satan, by his opposition to the Church, was its best friend, for without that opposition the establishment would fall to the ground; so he likewise, by his opposition, supported that Court. He remembered, when he was a humble functionary of this Court, having received an insult from the Chairman. He was Christian enough to forgive, but man enough never to forget. At that time, he made a vow to strive and get money enough to come into this Court, and meet him face to face. The insult he complained of was, that when he was a humble functionary of that Court, as he had stated, he had waited upon Mr. Marjoribanks, and had been obliged to stop for more than half an hour, in the anti-chamber, seeing others pass him, and gain an audience, who had more interest than he had. At length Mr. Marjoribanks came out, and he went up to him, and asked permission to speak to him. "No, Sir, not for a moment!" was his reply, and he pushed him rudely away. He then adverted to the powers which, as a deliberative body, the Proprietors possessed, and which even went to the extent of enabling them, under certain circumstances, to remove an obnoxious individual from the Direction.

An hon. PROPRIETOR spoke to order. Half an hour had already been consumed by the learned Doctor, and he had not said one word relevant to the question before the Court.

The CHAIRMAN said, that he had no disposition to interrupt the hon. Proprietor in his exordium, because he thought at first that the insult he had received from the Chairman alluded to himself. The hon. Proprietor was, however, certainly out of order, and he hoped he would now proceed to the business of the day.

Dr. GILCHRIST would now address them on the question before them. He would commence with the second question. He thought it was proper that in all countries the Civil Service should have a superiority over the Military. It was his opinion, too, that in India the Civil Service should have a superiority over the Military Service, for there the military officer entered the ranks in the hope of gaining honour and glory, and very often fell in with prize-money, which a civilian could never expect to obtain. But still there should not be such a distinction between the two services as was likely to create ill-feeling. The learned Doctor then, at some length, expatiated on the hardship and injustice which were inflicted on the military officer, who was paid in the sonat rupee, while his son, who happened to be a civilian, was paid in the sicca rupee, which was a coin of more value. This system, when he was in

Bengal, had been a cause of great heart-burning. It still continued to be so, and the evil ought to be removed as soon as possible. To prove the hardships imposed on military officers by the existing system, the learned Doctor read an extract from a work lately published by a "King's Officer," in which the author calculates that 'the military servant, in consequence of being paid in sonat rupees, actually received nine per cent. less than the civilian; and he also read an extract from a private letter, in which the writer complained of the additional loss that was sustained when money was remitted to this country for the support of a sick wife or distressed relative. In conclusion, the learned Doctor moved—

"That, considering the manifold advantages of reconciling the feelings and interests of the various public departments and official communities at the different presidencies in British India with each other, in every branch of the service, this Court recommends that the Executive Government there be instructed to abolish immediately the odious practice of paying the Civil Servants in sicca rupees, and the Army in a less valuable currency, called sonat rupees, to prevent all discontent from the continuance of this unreasonable distinction among the King's, or Company's Civil, Military, and Naval functionaries in future, by the whole receiving their respective allowances in the same species, or equitable rates of the local coins, where such payments are made."

Colonel STANHOPE rose to second the motion. He knew that there were persons present who thought the subject very delicate, and that those individuals who had brought it forward, were treading on very dangerous ground. It was true they were talking of the wrongs and oppressions of distant armies—of troops whose armour was buckled on—with a pest prevailing in their camp, and, would it were not so, with Lord Amherst directing their war council. But it was by discussion only that they could force the Court of Directors and the Government of this country to do their duty, and compel them, from motives of shame, or from the nobler impulse of doing justice, sooner or later to redress those wrongs. He called on the Court of Directors, by a wise and judicious policy, to avert those evils which was always produced by the machinations of a discontented army. If they were unmindful of history, surely they could not shut their eyes against those important events, which were, he might say, passing at this moment in different countries. They had, in their own times, seen that armies had, under peculiar circumstances, taken the lead in rebellion. In former times, such had been the case in this country. At a later period, they had seen France, Spain, Italy, Sicily, and still more recently, they had beheld Russia, South America, and Turkey, all shaken by military rebellions; while in America, England, and Switzerland, where the people had a voice, and the press was free, none of these commotions had been known. And here he regretted that the President of the Constitutional Association (Sir John Sewell) was not present, that he might have had the merit of furnishing him (Colonel Stanhope) with some argument against the cogency of the few observations he had now made. He called upon the Court of Directors, who had the good fortune to exercise power—to exercise dominion—and who had also the good fortune to be paid largely for the performance of those duties which devolved upon them—(they were not, indeed, paid in money, but each of them had, yearly, to the amount of 20,000*l.* in patronage)—he called on them to do justice to their own Civil, and their own Military servants, and also to his Majesty's servants in India. This was the true way to secure their interests; and he must observe, that he was the more anxious to call their attention to the King's service, in which he had the honour of holding a station; because it was not represented behind the bar. The military, naval, commercial, and indeed, every other branch of the Company's service was represented in the court; but it was a well-known fact, that the King's service was not represented behind the bar. He thought, too, that rapid promotion ought to be encouraged; that was necessary for the welfare of armies; but an increase in the lower ranks tended to make promotion slower, by making the number of candidates for promotion greater.

The armies of India ought to be placed upon an equal footing; they should be paid at the same rate, and in the same coin, instead of being divided into castes. This system of castes might be very agreeable to the wisdom of our ancestors, but it was contrary to the policy of Canning, Huskinson, and Wyan. Nothing was more absurd than to allow these incongruities to exist, they could only excite discontent in the minds of the army. The King's officers should be placed upon the same footing as those of the Company, but instead of that being the case, out of 1363 officers in Bengal, 635 were actually on the staff; while out of 237 King's officers in Bombay, 19 only were on the staff, and five of these were upon half-pay. It was fair that the armies of these Presidencies should be paid in the same coin; promotions should be equal, and the staff-officers equally distinguished. If the Court of Directors acted wisely, they would have no discontent raging among the soldiers. Let the armies in India be favoured like the Roman soldiers, let them be disciplined like the sepoy, and the legions of Napoleon, and, above all things, let the system of flogging be abolished, and all discontent would cease.

The CHAIRMAN was of opinion that the Court would feel with him that they could not enter into a discussion of a question of this kind, without its being attended with material inconvenience to the public service. He certainly would contend against the grounds which were laid for this motion; and he was quite satisfied that it would be very practicable to go into a detail as to the honesty and propriety of the restriction which was complained of, which would clearly establish this proposition—that, in point of fact, no injustice, no breach of contract, had taken place in regard to the terms on which the military entered into the Company's service, and in conformity with which they were now paid. Before a case could be made out to justify such a motion as that now before the Court, it must be established that something like injustice exists at present with regard to the mode in which the military servants are paid, in contradistinction to those who act in a civil capacity. It might be supposed, from the speeches of the hon. Member and Second, that each of the two services were paid in a distinct species of coin—that the civilians were paid in sicca, while the military were paid in sonat rupees. This was not the case. When the Company originally came into the possession of the country, the sonat rupee formed the standard currency of most parts of the country out of the vicinity of Calcutta. Sicca rupees were immediately afterwards coined by the Company at three different stations; and it was the practice at that time to mark the rupee with the year in which it was coined. It became the practice to distinguish the value of the different rupees according to the time they had been in circulation; and, from the circumstances of their being coined at different stations, it was very much the habit to circulate and receive rupees only at the value which they bore within those districts where they were originally coined. The consequence was, that a most exorbitant profit was derived from this system by the shroffs throughout the country. It was, therefore, the object of the Government, about the year 1792, to establish only one currency throughout the countries subject to the Presidency of Bengal; and they then established it as a rule, that Sicca rupees, described to be of the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor, should be considered as the standard of value throughout the Company's provinces. Some time before this, the Company's arms had made considerable progress in the adjoining district of Benares, and the higher provinces in those districts. Two species of rupees were then in circulation, the Benares and another; but for these was received equal value as for that species which was called the sonat rupee, and the whole of the Company's armies were paid in that coin. They were, therefore, quite on a footing out of Bengal. It was very true, that when the Bengal provinces were paid in the sicca rupee there was a reduction made of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., on account of the greater intrinsic value of that rupee. But surely this was not unjust. It never could be said, that if for some particular or general purpose the Government should deem it necessary to have a new coinage, 50 per cent. superior in intrinsic worth to the

sica rupee, and caused such coinage to be received as the general currency, it never could be said, that therefore the army had a just claim to be paid in that species of money, without deduction, which was of so much more intrinsic value. With respect to the difference between the value of coin in India, and its produce when remitted to this country, he had only to say that it was a question which did not depend on the pleasure of the Government. Remittances from India to England must be regulated by the rate of commercial exchanges; and, when complaint was made that the soldier did not receive what he ought to expect, when the exchange was at 2s. 6d., it might as well be said, that he was over paid, when, at one time, which was in the recollection of all, he received 2s. 9d. per sicca rupee in this country. The hon. Chairman concluded by stating that he would, for the above reasons, move the previous question.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (the Hon. Hugh Lindsay,) hoped, that after what had fallen from the hon. Chairman, the hon. Proprietor would withdraw the question, and leave whatever changes might be thought proper to take place the wisdom of the Directors.

Mr. HUME had expected that the first part of the question, which he considered far more important than the second, would not have been so completely lost sight of; namely, how far the respective payments of the different Presidencies might be assimilated. Great inconvenience was occasioned, when individuals connected with different establishments, but serving at the same, received different rates of payment. When he was in India he knew that in one district the troops from Madras were upon double batta, and rations of food served out to them, while those from Bombay were put upon single batta and had no rations of food allowed them. This distinction was calculated to excite the most disagreeable feelings. In some districts, however, an equality of allowances was preserved whenever the King's troops and those of the Company met. If the pay of the King's troops was higher than that of the Company's it was lowered, and if their pay was lower, it was raised to an equality. Any State or any Company should endeavour to act on some known fixed principle. In some districts the military were subjected to inconveniences to which they were not exposed in others. That could only excite discontent among the soldiers, and whenever the ebullition of military feeling took place it led to the downfall of nations. To that was to be attributed the melancholy business that took place at Barrackpore. It had been stated that the present question was a delicate one to touch, but while the press in India remained shackled, such questions must be agitated here. It was only by so doing that the truth could be known. In India no man could speak the truth without a halter round his neck. He approved of the present motion because the Proprietors were kept in ignorance of the state of affairs in India; but if he thought the Court of Directors would take the matter into consideration, he would advise his hon. Friend to withdraw his motion. He supported it only on the ground of the liberty of the press being shackled in India.

The CHAIRMAN said, in explanation, that with respect to the Military Service, every man entered it with a perfect knowledge, that he was to be paid in the sicca rupee; and therefore, he contended, that those who, knowing this, entered the service, had no cause of complaint. With respect to what had been said of the inequality of the advantages which accrued to the troops of different Presidencies, engaged on the same service, he could positively state, from his own experience, ever since he was in the Direction, that there had been the most anxious desire to equalize them as far as possible; that positive instructions had been sent out to India to effect that object; (*near*;) and he believed that considerable advances had been made towards it. They had also made considerable progress in assimilating the Indian currency. They had brought the Bombay and Madras rupee very near each other in intrinsic value. They had not only done that, but they had brought them near the sicca rupee. Nothing, he thought, was more desirable than to establish a general currency, in which there should be no difference. But gentlemen would recollect, that many parts of the Company's territories had been acquired by conquest re-

cently, and that the Governments of the countries which existed before the Company's conquests, had established rupees of their own currency, which rendered it very difficult to make the proposed alteration. Still, however, it had been the wish of the Court of Directors to bring, as near as they could, the currency of all India to one standard; and although considerable progress had been made, they had not as yet arrived at an early prospect of accomplishing their object.

Captain MAXFIELD was indignant at the utter indifference which had been paid by the Government in India to the orders sent out by that House, as the value of coin varied exceedingly. He was also surprised at the difference of the expenditure of the three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and that the civil expenditure of the latter exceeded the military. In every respect, the Civil Service had a superiority over the Military. A writer, immediately on landing in India, received as much as a captain in the army. The pension of an officer, should he retire before receiving the command of a regiment, was 540*l.* a year, while that of the civil servants was 1000*l.*

Mr. TRANT had not intended, after the satisfactory explanation of the Chairman, to have made any observations on the subject, but he felt it necessary to answer the hon. Proprietor who had just sat down. The hon. Proprietor was surprised to find that the expenditure of the Civil Service of Bengal exceeded the Military. A very great portion of the territory of Bengal was left without troops, while the civil establishment was obliged to be kept up. With respect to what had been said respecting the pension of 1000*l.* to civil servants, the Court might suppose that any civil servant was entitled to that whenever he chose to demand it. That was not the case: every civil servant was obliged to make a monthly subscription towards forming a pension fund, and if he did not complete the term of twenty-three years in the Company's service, the money was lost to him or his heirs for ever. He strongly deprecated the course that had been pursued, which would only have the effect of more strongly exerting that feeling of displeasure, which must always exist in the breast of those who, by the dispensation of Providence, are placed under others.

Mr. HUME thought the hon. Proprietor was inconsistent in blaming his hon. Friend for fomenting dissensions, when his object was, by bringing the Civil and Military Service more to an equality, to remove all ground for discontent.

Captain MAXFIELD would state to the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Trant,) that his statements were correct, as he had taken them from public records; and still thought it most extraordinary that the Civil Service should be more expensive than the Military which was the protection of it.

Mr. S. DIXON did not intend to offer any remarks on the question before the Court. He rose merely to express his conviction, that the present discussion was likely to have a very pernicious tendency. He had often left that Court with a suspicion, that the persons bringing forward these motions were seeking to create mischief.

Dr. GILCHRIST would not submit to such an imputation.

Mr. S. DIXON felt surprised that the hon. Proprietor should apply the observation he had made to himself. In his opinion, a private communication to the Directors would have been the best way of proceeding.

Col. STANHOPE was aware that some persons, when they could not refute the arguments of their opponents, resorted to the slang fallacy of accusing their motives; but he, for one, despised the accuser.

Mr. PATTISON was sorry at the allusion that had been made respecting the motives that induced the bringing forward these motions. He agreed with the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Hume,) who suggested the propriety of withdrawing the motion, and leaving the affair in the hands of the Directors. If their object should be affected, the evil would be cured of itself, and the pay of both services would be placed upon an equal footing. The allowances in the different provinces would be equalized. The hon. Proprietor concluded by trusting the hon. Mover would withdraw his motion.

Dr. GILCHRIST denied the motives which had been imputed to his conduct. He was no incendiary; he was rather a peace-maker. The Chairman had said, that persons who entered the military service in India, entered it with a full knowledge of what they had to expect. This argument seemed to be confirmed with something like antiquity. But that was the worst kind of argument. Antiquity had sanctioned the burning of women as witches. The feeling of the Bengal army on the subject of their pay was so strong, that he was nigh being hanged for refusing to join in the rising which took place for an increase of allowance. He should, however, withdraw his motion; and he thought that the present discussion, instead of producing alarm in India, would have the effect of creating harmony. The people of India would be glad to see that there was one place in which their wrongs would be fearlessly described and redress demanded. After what had fallen from the hon. Director, he should ask permission to withdraw his motion.

Col. STANHOPE seconded the request, and hoped that the gentleman on the floor had recovered his good sense, though he had not had the manliness to acknowledge it.

Mr. DIXON hoped the hon. Proprietor had found it.—(*A laugh.*)

EDUCATION OF WRITERS.

Mr HUME, referring to the motion calling on the Directors to lay before the Proprietors the rules and regulations formed by the Executive Body for the examination of young men proceeding to India without having studied at Halleybury College, observed, that it might save the time of the Court if the Chairman would state what progress had been made in framing those regulations.

The CHAIRMAN answered, that the subject was now in the course of adjustment between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; and when it was settled between those bodies, it would be the duty of the Court of Directors to make the result as public as they possibly could.—(*Hear.*)

Mr. HUME.—Is it to be understood that none of the young men will be permitted to go out until a certain time after these tests have been agreed on, and until they have been examined in conformity with them?

The CHAIRMAN.—Certainly not. They will not go out until long afterwards.

Dr. GILCHRIST wished to know if there was any intention of effecting a monopoly in the education of these young men. A monopoly of teaching was worse than a monopoly in tea. He established schools for teaching the Oriental languages from the Land's End to Johnny Groat's, and all through Ireland. In the Scotch University, young men might be educated under the eye of their parents, and in London, a University was about to be established, in which a class would be formed for learning the Native Indian languages. Was it intended that these schools should be shut out by the new regulations?

The CHAIRMAN assured the hon. Proprietor, that there was nothing more remote from the plan of the arrangement than the idea of a monopoly of education. The object of the Act of Parliament was, to throw its avenues as wide as possible.

Mr. HUME asked, whether the two establishments, which had been recommended by a resolution of the Court, were to have any preference?

The CHAIRMAN said, that such a resolution had once been passed, but if the hon. Proprietor had consulted his friend near him, (Dr. Gilchrist,) or had even read the motion before the Court, he would have found that that resolution had been rescinded.

Mr. HUME said, he had so much reason to distrust second-hand evidence, that he always wished to ask at the fountain-head.

The CHAIRMAN said, that even in the original resolution there had been no idea of a monopoly, but when young gentlemen were rejected, their parents

naturally asked advice as to where they could procure the best education for them, and that resolution was accordingly made, not for the sake of distastefulness, but simply to advise them. So convinced was he himself of the soundness of that advice, that he intended to send his own son to one of those establishments.

Mr. CARRUTHERS observed, that he had recommended the son of a merchant, a relation of his own, for a situation, and on his examination, he was admitted into a higher class than was expected. That boy had been educated at Dumfries, but his exhibitions were such, that the place of his education was not at all an obstacle.

Dr. GILCHRIST was glad to find that the principle of monopoly had been abandoned; and would, with the permission of the Court, withdraw his motion.

THE ROYAL GEORGE

The CHAIRMAN then informed the Court, that the Directors having investigated the circumstances attending the loss of the *Royal George*, had come to the resolution that the Captain and Owner of that vessel be acquitted of all charges of want of care and diligence, and that the most prompt means had been resorted to by them for extinguishing the fire on board her. It was his duty to move, that the Court of Proprietors should confirm that resolution by ballot, and that the ballot, for the purpose, be taken on Friday, the 4th of August. The Court then adjourned.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Dec. 18.—Mr. T. E. Beale, Assistant to Magistrate and to Collector of Sarun.—19. Mr. C. W. Steer, Fourth Judge of Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit for Division of Patna.—29. Mr. J. Donnithorne, Salt Agent and Collector at Hidgellee. Mr. J. W. Laing, ditto at Bullooh.—Mr. C. Phillips, Collector of Land Revenue and Customs, and Salt Agent at Chittagong.—Jan. 12.—Mr. John Trotter, Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. Mr. R. Saunders, Mint Master. The Rev. J. Whiting, a Joint Chaplain at Cawnpore; the Rev. C. Whimberly, District Chaplain at Allahabad.—26. Mr. W. T. Toone, Salt Agent at Arracan; Mr. P. Nepean, Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Allahabad; Mr. J. Shum, ditto ditto at Patna; Mr. J. Dunbar, Assistant to the Collector and Salt Agent of Bullooh; Mr. R. J. Taylor, Collector of Beerboom; Mr. T. Wyatt, Deputy Collector of Hidgellee; Mr. G. A. Bush, 1st Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue Lower Provinces.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Jan. 26, 1826.—Capt. G. H. Robinson, 34th N. I. to command the Escort of the Resident at Caimmabood, v. Capt. Maxwell.—Feb. 8. Lieut. Col. W. B. Walker of the Invalid Estab. to command the Patna Provin. Batt.—16. Capt. C. J. C. Davidson, Engineers, to be Executive Engineer to the Rohilkund Div. of the Department of Public Works, v. P. M. Hay, prom.; Lieut. E. Swetenham, Engineers, to be Garrison Engineer at Almorah, and Executive Officer in Kemaon, v. Tindal, killed in action.

PROMOTIONS.

Infantry.—Major J. A. Shadwell to be Lieut.-Col. v. Wiggens, dec.; Major J. H. Cave, to be Lieut.-Col. v. Shadwell, transferred to the Invalid Estab.; Major J. Grant to be Lieut.-Col. v. Clark retired.

15th N. I.—Brevet Capt. and Lieut. A. Durie, to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. W. Innes to be Lieut., in succession to Keirmander, transferred to Invalid Estab.

22d *Ditto*.—Capt. T. W. Broadbent to be Major; Brev.-Capt. and Lieut. G. Oliphant, to be Capt. of a comp., and Ens. J. Hunt, to be Lieut., in succession to Grant, *prom.*

46th *Ditto*.—Brev.-Capt. and Lieut. H. L. Barnett, to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. W. Nash to be Lieut., in succession to Waldron, *prom.*

66th *Ditto*.—Capt. P. M. Hay to be Major; Lieut. H. A. Newton, to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. T. L. Egerton, to be Lieut., in succession to Shadwell, *prom.*

68th *Ditto*.—Capt. F. Young to be Major; Brevet-Capt. and Lieut. C. Thornaby, to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. W. Alston to be Lieut., in succession to Cave, *prom.*

Artillery.—Brev.-Capt. and 1st Lieut. F. S. Sotheby, to be Capt.; and 2d Lieut. J. H. H. McDonald, to be 1st Lieut., in succession to Hall, *dec.*

Admitted to the Service.—Mr. T. B. Study, as a Cadet of Cavalry, and *prom.*, to the rank of Cornet; Mr. J. Farmer, *do. do.*; Mr. H. F. Lord, *do. do.*; Mr. F. G. McKenzie, as a Cadet of Artillery, and *prom.* to the rank of 2d Lieut.; Mr. F. A. Williams, as a Cadet of Infantry, and *prom.* to the rank of Ensign; Messrs. S. Brown, J. Locke, C. G. Langdon, and R. D. Lockhart, *do. do.*—*Medical Department*: Messrs. R. Laughton, W. Begie, M. D., and A. Christie, *do.* as Assist.-Surgeons.

Jan. 25. Capt. C. Keirmander, 15th N. I., is transferred to the Invalid Estab.; 2d Lieut. J. Smith, Engineers, *do.* to the Madras Estab.

FURLOUGHS.

To Europe.—Jan. 12. J. S. Kirby, of Artill. for health; Capt. B. Blake, 69th N. I., for health.—20. Brev.-Capt. W. P. Welland, 55th N. I., for health.—Lieut. J. L. Revell, 7th N. I., for health.—25. Capt. H. F. Salter, 2d Lt. Cav., on private affairs; Lieut. J. Cornfield, 1st N. I., for health; Lieut. J. G. Sharp, 94th N. I., *ditto*; Lieut. H. Beaty, 62d N. I., *ditto*; Lieut. T. S. Warner, 18th N. I., *do.*; Capt. C. Taylor, 4th N. I.; Ens. J. H. Rice, doing duty with the 28th N. I.; Capt. H. E. Peach, 16th N. I., for health; Lieut. P. P. Fitton, 27th N. I., *for do.*; Lieut. C. J. Crava, 23d N. I., *for do.*

To the Cape of Good Hope.—Capt. T. Dickinson, 55th N. I., on account of health, for twelve months.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Jan. 21.—Senior Superior Surg. A. Ogilvy to officiate as 2d Member of the Medical Board until further orders.—22. Mr. J. McKenna, Surgeon, is appointed to do duty as an Assist. Surg. on this establishment.—Feb. 16. Assist. Surg. J. Grant, to officiate as Assay-master during the absence of Dr. Atkinson.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Feb. 2. Mr. G. J. Cassamajor, Register to Court of Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut; Mr. E. Bannerman, Assist. to Chief Secretary to Government; Mr. William Montgomerie, Commercial Resident at Tinnevely; Mr. H. Montgomerie, Deputy to Commercial Resident at Ingeram; Mr. J. Cullow, Head Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Bellary; Mr. H. Williams, Assist. to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara; Mr. S. Crawford, Assist. to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of the Southern Division of Arcot.—12. H. Chamler, Esq. to act as Secretary to the Government in the Public Department; Mr. B. Cunliffe to be Principal Collector and Magistrate of the Southern Division of Arcot; Mr. H. Vivian to be Collector and Magistrate of Chingleput; Mr. A. F. Hudleston to be Sub-Collector and Assist. Magistrate of Canara.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Jan. 6. Lieut. Henderson and Ens. Halloway, 48d N. I., to do duty with the 18th instead of the 9th N. I.—10. Capt. J. Nash to command Seringapatam Local Bat. v. Norton, dec.; Lieut. G. A. Brodie, 3d L. C., to act as Brigade Major to centre division of army, v. Nash; Major-Gen. Sir John Doveton to command the Army of this Presidency, v. Lieut.-Gen. Bowers; Capt. J. Smith, 9d L. C., to do duty with 1st L. C., and take command of detachment of that regt. at Arcot; Lieut. S. Stuart, 17th N. I., to do duty with Carnatic Europ. Vet. Bat.—17. Lieut.-Col. G. A. Wetherall, H. M.'s. Royal regt., to be Mil. Sec. to Major-Gen. Sir John Doveton, commanding army in chief; Capt. H. B. Doveton, 4th L. C., to be Aid-de-Camp to ditto; Capt. P. Macdougall, H. M.'s. 48th regt., to be Aid-de-Camp to ditto; Lieut. G. Brady, 83d N. I., to act as Brigade Major to Northern division of army, v. Brodie; Lieut. F. B. White, 10th N. I., to act as cantonment Adj. at Wallajahad, v. Brady; Lieut. F. Eades, 30th N. I., to act as Adj. to Seringapatam Local Bat. during the absence of Lieut. Mitchell on sick cert.; Capt. F. Doveton, 3d L. C., to act as Deputy Judge Adv. Gen. during the absence of Capt. Muscott on foreign service; Lieut. W. Gray, 21st N. I., to act as Adj. to 2d Extra Regt. during the absence of Lieut. Hammond on sick cert.; Lieut. J. Macdonald, 45th N. I., to have rank of Brev. Capt. from 15th Jan.—20. Capt. P. Montgomerie, of Artillery, to be Commissary of Stores to Force on service in Ava; Ens. W. C. Macleod, 30th N. I., to act as Assist. to Superior Engineer of Presidency.

PROMOTIONS.

2d Light Cavalry.—Sen. Lieut. J. Smith to be Capt., and Sen. Cornet S. F. McKenzie to be Lieut., v. Allan invalidated.

4th Ditto.—Sen. Cornet E. W. Ravenscroft to be Lieut. v. Lewis, dec.

Infantry.—Sen. Major J. Wahab, 33d N. I., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Ford, dec.

3d N. I.—Sen. Major A. Grant, 18th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Mackenzie prom.; Sen. Ens. G. W. Moore to be Lieut., v. Adams killed in action.

4th N. I.—Lieut. E. Haldane to be Quart.-Mast., Interp. and Paymaster, v. Stokes.

9th N. I.—Sen. Capt. C. A. Elderton to be Major; Sen. Lieut. A. Milne to be Capt.; and Sen. Ens. J. Robertson to be Lieut., in suc. to Bell, prom.; Sen. Major C. Ferrior, 43d N. I., to be Lieut. Col., v. Conroy, killed in action.

18th N. I.—Sen. Capt. D. Ross to be Major; Sen. Lieut. R. J. H. Vivian to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. A. Cowie to be Lieut. in suc. to Grant, prom.; Sen. Major J. Bell, 9th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Ford, dec.

20th N. I.—Sen. Lieut. T. A. Chauvel to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. J. Forbes to be Lieut., v. James, dec.

21st N. I.—Sen. Lieut. Br. Capt. W. Drake to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. P. M. Stirling to be Lieut., v. Norton, dec.

22d N. I. Sen. Lieut. C. Hutton to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. C. Messiter to be Lieut., v. Peake, dec.

29th N. I.—Lieut. R. H. Symes to be Adj., v. Elliott, permitted to return to Europe.

31st N. I.—Sen. Ens. W. H. Budd to be Lieut., v. Leslie, pensioned; Sen. Lieut. T. Ruddiman to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. J. Smith to be Lieut., v. Mackintosh, dec.

33d N. I.—Lieut. G. Brady to be Adj., v. Ker, prom., Lieut. J. Campbell to act as Adj. during absence of Lieut. Brady on other duty.

33d N. I.—Sen. Capt. J. Lambe to be Major; Sen. Br. Capt. J. Ker to be Capt.; and Sen. Ens. T. R. Smith to be Lieut., in suc. to Wahab, prom.

34th N. I.—Sen. Lieut. C. C. Bell to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. L. M. M'Leod to be Lieut., v. Stedman, killed in action.

38th N. I.—Sen. Lieut. J. M. Boyes to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. E. Clutterback to be Lieut., v. Dowden, dec.

42d N. I.—Lieut. J. Fitzgerald to be Adj., v. Zouch; Lieut. C. Macleod to act as Adj. during absence of Lieut. Fitzgerald on other duty.

43d N. I.—Sen. Capt. C. Cracroft to be Major; Sen. Lieut. A. M'Leod to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. W. Elsey to be Lieut., in suc. to Ferrier, prom.

44th N. I.—Sen. Ens. Josiah Wilkinson to be Lieut., v. Blanch, dec.

1st Europ. Regt.—Sen. Lieut. E. Franklyn to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. N. Burrard to be Lieut., v. Cursham, killed in action.

Artillery.—Lieut. E. Amsinck to be Adj. to 1st Brigade of Horse Artillery, v. Brooke, prom.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Jan. 4, 1896.—Lieut. Col. Com. D. C. Kenny, from 37th to 47th N. I.; Lieut.-Col. Com. A. Molesworth, from 47th to 43d N. I.; Lieut.-Col. Com. M. L. Pereira, from 43d to 37th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Com. J. Mackenzie (late prom.) to 1st Europ. Regt.; Lieut.-Col. H. Durand, from 39th to 45th N. I.; Lieut.-Col. G. Jackson, from 24th to 39th N. I.; Lieut.-Col. T. Smithwaite, from 45th to 24th N. I.; Lieut.-Col. J. Ford (late prom.) to 25th N. I.; Capt. T. T. Paske, from 4th Bat. of Artil. to 2d Brig. Horse Artil., v. Lewis; Capt. W. Brooke (late prom.), posted to 4th or Goluudause Bat. of Artil.—9. Ens. S. C. Briggs, removed from 42d to 31st N. I.; Lieut. W. C. Carruthers, Inv. Estab., posted to 4th Nat. Vet. Bat., and will join and do duty with Seringapatam Local Bat. at Nundidroog.—14. Lieut. T. H. Zouch, 42d N. I., posted to 2d Bat. Pioneers, v. Blanch, dec.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Jan. 10.—Assist. Surg. W. Mortimer removed from 18th to 42d N. I.—18. Assist. Surg. J. Barton posted to 9th N. I., and will proceed in medical charge of troops proceeding to Rangoon on the *Belle Alliance*.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Jan. 6. Capt. J. Campbell, 1st L. C., for health.—10. Lieut. W. Hyslop, 3d L. C., for health.—13. Lieut. Gen. Bowser, Commanding Army in Chief, on Furlough.—Lieut. W. E. A. Elliot, 29th N. I., for health.—Assist. Surg. J. Richmond, for health.—17. Lieut.-Col. C. Brook, of Inf., for health.—Maj. R. Parker, 3d L. C., for health (via Bombay); Lieut. J. Everest, 18th N. I., for health.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Jan. 2.—Surg. J. Bird to be Residency Surgeon at Sattara.—3. Assist.-Surg. W. Erskine to be Civil Surg. in Kattywar; Assist.-Surg. Kane, do. do. at Sholapore; Assist.-Surg. H. Johnstone, do. do. at Basora.—Surg. V. C. Kembell attached to the European General Hospital, to be Superin. Surg. v. Morgan, prom.; Sen. Assist.-Surg. J. Glen, prom. to Surgeon v. Gibson, dec.; Sen. Assist.-Surg. J. M'Morris to be Surg. v. Craw, app. Superin. Surgeon.—19. Assist.-Surg. G. H. Davis to take charge of the Lunatic Asylum until the arrival of Mr. Howison.—20. Surg. F. Trash is app. to the medical duties of the European Gen. Hosp. v. Kembell, prom.

MEDICAL ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Jan. 13.—Surg. William Dalgairns, M.D., to take rank v. Christie, retired; Surg. J. Batchart to take rank v. Oglivy, app. Superin. Surg.; Surg. J. Bird, to take rank v. Gall placed on the pension list; Surg. R. T. Barra to take rank v. J. Warner, dec.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Lieut. W. F. Allen, 24th N. I. for three years, on sick certificate; Ens. E. Carpenter, 18th N. I., do. do.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Dec. 22.—Lieut. R. G. King to perform the duties of Quartermaster and Interp. in Hindoostanee to 3d N. I., v. Candy app. a Quar-

termaster of Brigade; dated 22d Nov.; Lieut. and Interp. Brown, 8th N. I., to officiate as Interp. to 1st L. C. and 4th N. I. until further orders, v. Lieut. Ottey, of latter regt. ordered into arrest; dated 14th Nov.; Lieut. and Interp. Fortune, Prov. Batt. to perform duties of Interp. to 10th N. I. at Ahmedabad, during the absence of Lieut. Dampier, on sick certificate; dated 20th Oct.: Capt. J. H. Irwin, 19th N. I., to take charge of Brigade Major's office during absence of Capt. Gillum, on leave of Presidency; dated 21st Nov.—26. Lieut. Bell, 9th N. I., to have charge of Commissariat accompanying Brigade to Colapore.—Jan. 2. Ens. Gilberne 23d N. I., to command the Local Corps in Candeish, v. Majoribanks, dec.; Lieut. S. Stephen, to be Executive Engineer at Poona; Lieut. A. C. Peat, to be ditto. at Surat and Broach; Lieut. E. Foster, to be do. in the Northern Districts of Guzerat; Lieut. R. H. Robinson, 2d Light Cavalry, is app. to act as Quarterm. to the left wing of that regt. until further orders.—14. The rank of Major is conferred on Capt. J. W. Aitchison, Deputy Adj. Gen. of the army.—20. Lieut.-Col. Commandant Wilson, 2d Lt. Cav., to command the Baroda Subsid. Force during the absence of Lieut.-Col. Kennedy; Lieut.-Col. Command J. F. Dyson, 18th N. I., to command the Malwa Field Force; Lieut.-Col. Com. J. P. Dunbar, 2d Lt. Cav., to command the Subsidized Troops in Catch; Lieut.-Col. Com. W. Turner, 1st Lt. Cav., to command in Candeish.

PROMOTIONS.

Infantry.—Lieut.-Major N. C. Maw, to be Lieut.-Col. v. F. F. Stauton deceased.

of European Regt.—Lieut. Capt. J. Elder to be Major, v. Maw, prom.: Lieut. C. Walter to be Capt., v. Taylor, placed on the pension-list.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

APPOINTMENTS.

Head-quarters, Dec. 22.—Capt. Wetherall, 13th Lt. Drags., to be Extra Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Sir T. Pritaler.—Jan. 13. Lieut. Hamilton to act as Quarterm. to the 13th Lt. Drags. v. Acting Quarterm. Rossor.—24. Lieut. Deverall to act as Adj. to 47th Foot during the absence of Adj. M'Carthy; Capt. Johnson to take charge of the men of H. M.'s regiments left at Meerut; Mr. J. Brown to do duty as Volunteer with the 1st Royals; Mr. J. Darbot, do. do. 31st Foot; Mr. Stubbs do. do. 48th Foot.—Jan. 21. Capt. Greville, 16th Lancers, to act as Major of Brigade to H. M.'s Forces, during the absence of Major Bristow; Lieut. Brownrigg to do duty with the Detachment of that corps in Fort William.

FURLOUNDS.

To Europe.—Brevet-Col. M'Creagh, 13th Light Inf., for two years, for health; Brevet-Capt. Nunn, 31st Foot, for one year, for do.; Lieut. Brown, 41st Foot, for one year, for do.; Lieut.-Clarke, for two years, for do.; Lieut. and Adj. Henry, for do. do.; Lieut. Pietet, Royal regt., for do. do.; Assist.-Surg. Devitt, 20th Foot, for do. do.; Lieut. Roberts, 48th Foot, for do. do.; Lieut.-Ratcliffe, 6th Foot, for one year, for health; Lieut. R. Campbell, 31st Foot; Capt. Smith, 44th do.; Lieuts. O'Halloran, Ogilvy, Mackrell, and Langmead, 44th do.; Ens. Graham, 29th do..

To Sea.—Captains Parby, of the 4th, and Taylor, of the 13th Dragoons, on medical certificate, the former for six months, and the latter for eight months.

COURTS-MARTIAL.

A general Court Martial was held at Poohah, on the 14th of October last, on Lieut. C. F. Holmes, of the 20th Foot, for "not having taken steps to clear his character from a report highly disgraceful to him, respecting certain occurrences that took place between him and Capt. Bolton, of the same regt., at Ahmednuggur, in August 1825." The Court honourably acquitted the prisoner of all and every part of the charge.

A general Court Martial was also held at Meerut, on the 19th of October last, on Capt. John Jenkins of the 11th Light Dragoons, for "want of punctuality displayed in his money transactions," and for "making false assertions to his brother officers," such conduct being "unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman." The Court found the prisoner not guilty of the charges, and therefore acquitted him.

A general Court Martial was also held at Head Quarters of the Grand Army, camp before Bhurtpoor, on the 22d December last, on Lieut. Edward Griffiths, of the 59th Foot, for "coming to the mess of the regiment in a state of intoxication," and for "being drunk whilst the regiment was on the march from Ferozabad to Etamadpoor." The prisoner was found guilty, and adjudged to be cashiered, but, in consideration of his distressed circumstances, as represented by his commanding officer, his length of services, and his having purchased his first commission, he was recommended by the Court to be allowed the sale of his ensigny.

PROMOTIONS.

[From the London Gazette.]

18th Light Drags.—Cornet W. Penn, from 16th Lt. Drags. to be Lieut., v. Kelso, dec.; dated June 29. Cornet A. Browne to be Lieut. by purch., v. Ellis, prom.; dated July 6.

16th Dragoons.—Lieut. T. L. C. Menteath to be Capt. by purch. v. Baker, prom.; dated July 18. Cornet T. Blood to be Lieut. by purch., v. Menteath; same date. Ens. C. Cotton, from 19th Foot, to be Cornet, v. Penn, prom. in 13th Lt. Drags.; dated June 29.

1st Foot.—Maj. H. H. Farquharson, from half-pay, to be Maj., v. Campbell, prom.; Capt. J. Anderson, from half-pay 23rd Foot, to be Capt., v. Rowan, prom.; dated June 12. J. Mayne, Gent., to be Ens., v. Campbell, dead of his wounds; dated June 22.

3d Dragoons.—To be Captains: Capt. T. Muuro, from half-pay 43d Foot, v. Bowen, prom.; Capt. J. Patton, from half-pay, v. Daniel, app. to the 60th Foot; dated June 8.

6th Dragoons.—Capt. J. Hill, from 47th Foot, to be Capt., v. Cowell, who exch. & dated Jan. 1. Ens. B. T. F. Bowes to be Lieut. by purch., v. Dunn, app. to 44th Foot; R. M. Beebee, Gent., to be Ens. by purch. v. Bowes; dated May 25.

11th Dragoons.—Capt. A. Smith, from 2d West India regt., to be Capt., v. Prudenoux, app. to 73d Foot; dated June 29.

18th Dragoons.—Capt. W. W. Lynar, from half-pay, to be Capt., v. Rogers, prom.; dated June 8. H. F. Way, Gent., to be Ens. by purch., v. Fortes, app. to 53d Foot; dated June 29. Ens. C. J. R. Collinson, from 26th Foot, v. Auldjo, prom.; dated July 11.

20th Dragoons.—Lieut. P. Hennessey, from 67th Foot, to be Lieut., v. Wood, who exch.; dated Nov. 4. Serj.-Major H. Hollingsworth to be Adj., with rank of Ens., v. Stony, who has resigned the Adjutancy only; dated Dec. 3, 1825.

Capt. R. Garrett, from half-pay 96th Foot, v. Frankland, app. to 84th Foot; Capt. W. C. Langmead, from half-pay, v. Falls, prom.; dated June 8.

30th Dragoons.—To be Captains: Capt. J. Proctor from h. p. 43d Foot, v. Howard, prom.; Capt. J. G. Geddes, from h. p., v. Fox, prom.; dated June 8.

38th Dragoons.—Major W. Frith to be Lieut.-Col., v. Evans, dec.; Brevet Lieut.-Col. Hon. J. Finch, from h. p. Royal West India regt., to be Maj. v. Frith; dated Dec. 18, 1825. Capt. T. Vyvyan, from h. p. 41st Foot, to be Capt. v. Rains, prom.; Capt. A. Macdonald from h. p., v. Davis, app. to 75th Foot; dated June 8. Capt. C. Blackett, from h. p. 7th Lt. Drags. to be Capt. v. Vyvyan, whose appointment has not taken place; dated July 6.

41st Dragoons.—Ens. J. E. Deere to be Lieut. v. Ferrar, dec.; dated Nov. 4, 1825. Ens. J. Ellis to be do., v. Sutherland, killed in action; Ens. J. Smith to be do., v. Gossip, killed in action; dated Dec. 2, 1825. E. J. Vaughan, Gent. to be Ens. v. Deere; dated Nov. 4. J. Arata, Gent. to be do.

v. Ellis; O. W. Gray, Gent., v. Smith; dated Dec. 2, 1825. Second Lieut. A. Tucker, from 60th Foot., to be Lieut. by purch. v. Childers, whose promotion to a Lieutenant by purch. has been cancelled; dated July 6.

44th Ditto.—Maj. J. C. L. Carter to be Lieut.-Col. v. Dunkin, dec.; Capt. T. Mackrell, to be Maj. v. Carter; Lieut. J. C. Webster, to be Capt. v. Mackrell; dated Nov. 12, 1825. To be Lieutenants: Ens. H. L. Hayard, v. Webster; dated Nov. 12. Ens. J. D. de Wend, v. Carr; dated Dec. 17. Lieut. W. Dunn, from 6th Foot, v. Eastwood, prom.; dated May 25. To be Ensigns: T. W. Halfhide, Gent., v. Layard; dated Nov. 12. S. Grove, Gent., v. de Wend; dated June 22, 1826.

45th Ditto.—Seagram, Gent., to be Ens. without purch. v. Stanford, prom. in 80th Foot; dated June 22, 1826. Hospital-Assist. A. Callendar to be Assist.-Surg. v. Patterson, prom. in 13th Foot; dated June 15.

46th Ditto.—Capt. W. Chalmer, from h. p. 52d Foot, to be Capt. v. Stuart, prom.; dated June 8.

48th Ditto.—Capt. G. Crossdale from h. p., to be Capt. v. Yule, prom.; dated June 8. Capt. J. Skirrow, from h. p. 53d Foot, to be Capt., repaying the difference to the half-pay Fund v. Crossdale, whose app. has not taken place; dated June 29.

49th Ditto.—Maj. R. Beauchamp from half-pay, to be Maj., v. Glegg, prom.; dated June 8.

54th Ditto.—Maj. H. Lumley from half-pay, to be Maj., v. Kelly, prom.; dated June 8. Volunteer E. D. Wright to be Ens. without purch. v. Sergeant, dec.; dated Jan. 19.

59th Ditto.—Lieut. N. Hovendon to be Capt., v. Pitman, killed in action; dated Jan. 19. Ens. W. Fuller to be Lieut., v. Griffiths, cashiered; dated Jan. 9. Ens. J. N. Barrow to be do., v. Hovendon; dated Jan. 19. Volunteer J. Hennessey to be Ens. v. Barron; dated Jan. 19.

67th Ditto.—Lieut. G. H. Wood from 20th Foot, to be Lieut., v. Hennessey, who exch.; dated Nov. 4, 1825.

69th Ditto.—Capt. F. Towers from h. p. 7th Lt. Drags., to be Capt., v. Bennet, prom.; dated June 29.

71th Ditto.—Lieut. P. C. Masterson to be Capt., v. Husband, dec.; dated Nov. 7, 1825.

80th Ditto.—Ens. R. Stanford, from 46th Foot, to be Ens., v. Duff, app. to 92d Foot; dated June 15.

97th Ditto.—Brevet Lieut.-Col. P. Wodehouse, from h. p., to be Major, v. Austen, prom.; dated June 8.

Cape Corps, (Cavalry).—R. Burges, Gent., to be Cornet by purch., v. Van, app. to the 16th Lt. Drags.; dated July 6.

Allowed to dispose of their Half-pay.—Lieut. J. Reid, half-pay 54th Foot; Lieut. G. Drury, half-pay, 33d ditto; Capt. S. Hepl, half-pay, 3d Ceylon Regt.

BREVET.

To be Lieut.-Colonels in the Army:—Major F. Fuller of the 50th Foot; Major M. Everard of the 14th ditto; Major C. Bishopp of ditto.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Dec. 18. On board the H. C.'s ship *Java*, the lady of Professor Craven, Bishop's College, of a son.—22. The lady of T. R. Davidson, Esq., of Barasut, of a daughter.—26. At Fort William, the lady of Lieut. Ripply, 2d European regt., of a son.—30. On the river, near Buxar, the lady of J. F. Fuller, H. M.'s 59th regt., of a daughter.—Jan. 11. At Barrackpore, the lady of George Govan, Esq. M. D., of a daughter.—12. At Bishop's College, the

lady of Professor Holmes, of a daughter.—21. At the house of Mrs. Commodore Hayes, Bankshall, the lady of W. Jackson, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.—24. At Chowringhee, the lady of H. Lushington, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a son.—29. At Fort William, the lady of Lieut. O'Gorman, H. M.'s 31st regt., of a daughter.—31. The lady of W. Ainalie, Esq. of a son. Feb. 1. The lady of H. V. Hawthorn, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.—8. At Chowringhee, the lady of the late J. J. Hogg, Esq. of a son.—12. At Howrah, the lady of H. H. Griffiths, Esq. of a son and heir; at Garden Reach, the lady of G. Ballard, Esq. of a son.

Marriages.—Dec. 27. Donald Butler, Esq. M. D., Assistant-Surgeon, H. C. service, to Miss Eliza Thomson Morrison.—31. At St. John's Cathedral, Capt. G. White, of the ship *Sherburne*, to Miss Emma Dyer Adams.—Jan. 9. The Rev. Hawtayne, Archdeacon of Bombay, to Margaret Franks, eldest daughter of the Hon. Sir J. Franks.—28. At the Cathedral, H. Hales, Esq. to Mrs. Penrose; Mr. G. Rebello, of the Sea Custom House, to Miss C. Henry.—30. At St. John's Cathedral, J. Alexander, Esq. of the Madras Cav., to Miss F. Abbott.—Feb. 4. At Barrackpore, at the house of Lieut. Corfield, J. Meliss, Esq. of Kishnagur, to Magdalen, youngest daughter of the late Major Nairne.

Deaths.—Jan. 11. At Dum-Dum, the infant son of C. B. Crommelin, Esq. of Gorruckpore.—12. Robert Fulton, Esq. late of Mymensing, aged 65 years.—20. B. Hardtman, Esq., Surgeon, and Sub-Assist. H. C.'s Stud, aged 28 years.—25. Mr. J. Mills, late of Rungpore, indigo-planter, aged 29 years.—31. Mr. S. C. Allen, Deputy Register of the Board of Revenue, aged 30.—Feb. 7. Madame T. L. V. Rabot, aged 70 years.

MADRAS.

Marriages.—Dec. 27.—At Vellore, Lieut. Oliver Frederick Stuart 16th regt., N. I., to Harriet Thompson, fourth daughter of the late J. D. White, Esq. of the Medical Board.—Jan. 5. At the Vepery Church, Mr. T. Oliver, to Lucy Ann, daughter of the late Mr. W. Hitchins. At St. Thomas's Mount, Lieut. Middlecoat, Artillery, to Miss Hampton.—13. Mr. John Law, architect, to Miss C. S. Paterson.—25. At St. George's Church, Stewart Crawford, Esq. of the Civil Service, to Harriet Page Dyer, eldest daughter of Samuel Dyer, Esq. M. D.—28. At St. George's Church, J. Schrorder, Esq. Veterinary Surg. H. M.'s 18th L. Drags., to Maria Louisa, second daughter of S. Harwood, Esq. of Taunton, Somerset.—Feb. 2. At St. George's Church, Capt. H. Robison, Nizam's service, to Mrs. Thomson.

Deaths.—Dec. 23. Mr. C. Dewsnapp, Conductor of Ordnance.—28. In Black Town, Mr. B. Careless, aged 64 years.—Jan. 2. At New Town, Mrs. Jane Case, aged 74 years.—23. At her house, at St. Thome, Mrs. F. G. Rutter, (relict of the late Thomas Rutter, Esq.,) aged 42 years.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Jan. 17. At the Parsonage, the lady of the Rev. Henry Davies, Senior Chaplain, of a daughter.—19. The lady of Captain Ottey, 11th regt. of a daughter.—20. The lady of J. B. Simson, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a daughter.

Marriages.—James Fawcett, Esq., to Susan Isabella, the only daughter of Capt. J. Freun, of the Hon. Company's Marine.—26. Capt. William Henderson, 2d Bombay European Regt., to Miss Eliza Millard.

Deaths.—Dec. 28. T. H. Binny, Esq., Bombay Civil Service.—Jan. 2. Ens. f. Armand, of the 22d N. I., aged 20 years.—8. Mrs. Khatoo Zachary, (relict of the late Zachary Ovanjan, Esq.,) aged 90 years.—29. At Byculla, David Malcolm, Esq. aged 48 years. Mr. Malcolm was the younger brother of Sir James, Sir Pulteney, and Sir John Malcolm.

CEYLON.

Births.—Dec. 21. At Colombo, the lady of Major Fraser, of a son. Jan. 4. At Colombo, the lady of W. Granville, Esq., Paymaster-General, of a daughter.—12. The lady of H. Matthews, Esq., H. M.'s Advocate Fiscal's office, of a son.

Marriages.—Jan 14. At Colombo, Mr. J. Ebert, to Miss Emilia Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. C. Jansen.

PENANG.

Births.—Nov. 7. The lady of Lieut. W. J. Macvitie, Artillery regt., of a son.—Dec. 8. The lady of the Rev. R. S. Hutchings, of a son.—18. The lady of John Anderson, C. S., of a son.

Death.—Oct. 29. Mrs. Wyatt, wife of Capt. Wyatt, of the Country Service.

OUT STATIONS.

Births.—Dec. 27. The lady of Lieut. Thomas Bayly, H. M. 20th regt., at Poonah, of a son.—Jan. 8. At Viziamagram, the lady of Major Marrett, commanding the 11th N. I., of a son.—7. At Masulipatam, the lady of Capt. J. Matthews, 57th regt., of a son.—8. At Lahorpore, the lady of Capt. J. Hailes, Sub.-Assistant, H. C.'s Stud, of a son; at Bhoj, the lady of Ens. Doherty, 18th N. I., of a daughter; at Nagpore, the lady of Lieut. Col. Wilson, of the Rifle corps, of a daughter.—12. At Negapatam, the lady of Mr. J. M. Muhl-dorff, of a son.—13. At Patna, the wife of Mr. D. Jozz, of the Patna collectorship, of a daughter.—18. At Ellichpore, the lady of Capt. W. Ledlie, of the 29th Bengal N. I., of a still-born son.—22. At Jubbulpore, the lady of Capt. M. Nicholson, of a son.—20. At Meerut, the lady of H. Tackott, Esq., H. M.'s 11th Drags., of a son.—Feb. 1. At Hadjeeunah, the lady of W. J. Baldwin, Esq., of a son; at Gourypore, the lady of J. R. Cook, Esq., of a son.—6. At Bauleah, the lady of G. G. Macpherson, Esq., of a daughter; at Dacca, the lady of Capt. J. Watkins, 62d N. I., of a daughter.

Marriages.—Dec. 19. At Berhampore, Capt. D. Wilkinson, 28th N. I., to Miss Beaty, only daughter of the late F. Beaty, Esq., R. N.—Jan. 9. At Mysore, Mr. William King, of the Residency Office, to Miss Arabella Jane Fermier, second daughter of Mr. J. W. Fermier, of the Revenue Board.—20. At Hamirpore, in Bundelcund, Gavin Turnbull, Esq., H. C.'s Medical Establishment, to Miss J. J. Fenwick.—21. At Chinsurah, Mr. J. F. Malcolm, to Jane Mary, eldest daughter of the late B. Saunders, Esq., attorney-at-law.—28. Mr. L. de Almeyda, fourth son of the late J. B. Almeyda, Esq., to Mrs. A. M. Rebeiro.

Deaths.—Dec. 8. At Amherst Island, near Cheduba, John Breen, Esq. of the firm of Breen and Co., aged 67.—12. In camp, near Colapore, in his 28th year, Andrew Gibson, Esq., M. D., Surgeon 1st Gren. reg.—19. At Goa, Major A. Pereira, aged about 77 years. Major Pereira was a native of Bombay.—21. At Secunderabad, Matilda, the infant daughter of Mr. Sub-Assist. Surgeon W. Collins, aged 16 months.—24. At Saugor, the infant daughter of Dr. Urquhart.—27. At Cuttack, Lieut. J. G. Gordon, 30th N. I., son of A. Gordon, Esq. of Belfast.—29. At Colapore, in the Southern Mahratta country, Lieut. Wensley Lewis, of 4th Light Cav.—Jan. 13. At Mazagaum, V. Hale, Esq. of the Hon. Company's Civil Service, aged 29.—14. At Surat, the infant son of Major G. S. Whitehill, 10th N. I.; at Akyab Island, Arracan, Lieut.-Col. L. Wiggins of the 62d N. I.—17. In Assam, Capt. J. H. Waldron, 40th N. I.; at Kedgerree, W. Chalmers, Esq., Judge and Magistrate of Rhangulpore, aged 40.—19. At Prome, Mr. G. Godfrey, clerk of the Pay-Office, Ava, aged 25.—20. Near Chatterpore, the lady of Dr. G. T. Urquhart; at Serampore, Capt. Arch. Montgomerie, of the Pension Establishment.—27. At Monghyr, J. Petty, the eldest son of J. P. Ward, Esq., C. S., aged 5; in camp, at Bhurtpore, of his wounds received in the storm on the 18th, Lieut. Henry Candy, of the 1st Bengal Europ. Regt. This gallant young officer belonged to the two companies of that distinguished corps which headed the assaulting column on the Jugeena Gate, under Lieut.-Col. John Delamatin, and having lost all their own officers, were, on the termination of the day, led back to their tents by those of another regiment.—31. At Serampore, Capt. A. Montgomerie, of the Invalid Establishment, aged 28.—Feb. 5. At Delhi, C. Cowell, the youngest son of Lieut.-Col. Cooper.—12. Mr. A. Cass, of the Hon. Company's Marine, aged 64; at Samsarang, J. A. Agancer, Esq., late head teacher of the Armenian Philanthropic Academy.

At sea.—Nov. 19, on board the ship *Carnatic*, on his passage to Penang. Capt. H. B. Scarborough, of the Country Service.—Jan. 11, on board the H. C. frigate *Hastings*, of the Low Island, Lieut. Charles Boye, aged 22.—*Lately*, On board the *Hercules*, whilst proceeding from Arracan to Madras, Capt. R. Agnew, of 1st Gr. Bat.

EUROPE.

Deaths.—July 16. At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Macgregor, 93d Regt., of a son.—18. At Lympstone, Devon, the lady of Major Collis, of a daughter.

Marriages.—June 21. At Berlin, J. Annesley, Esq. H. M.'s Consul at Barcelona, to the Baroness Clementine of Brockhausen.—24. A. Wood, Esq., Bengal Medical Estab.. to Caroline Stewart, daughter of Col. Sherwood, of the Bengal Artillery.

Deaths.—May 2.—On board the ship *Maitland*, Eliza, wife of Lieut.-Col. D. Campbell, of the Bombay Establishment.—6. On her passage from Calcutta, Mrs. Boyd, widow of the late J. W. Boyd, Esq. H. C.'s service.—June 5. At the Royal Palace, Seville, Sir John Downie, Major-Gen. in the Spanish service.—26. At his residence in Wells, J. Holloway, Esq., Admiral of the Red.—July 2. At Tansachy, near Forres, Major-Gen. W. Grant, aged 78 years.—5. At High Wood, of apoplexy, Sir Stamford Raffles, late Lieut.-Governor of Bencoolen and Singapore.—6. At London, John Farquhar, the late owner of Fonthill Abbey.—7. At Berna, in Switzerland, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Moseley Power, K.C.B. and K.T.S.—16. At Dublin, the Hon. Lieut. S. T. Oagley, Grenadier Guards, aged 90 years.—20. At Plymouth, Capt. the Hon. R. Rodney, R. N. of his Majesty's ship *Dryad*, brother to Lord Rodney.—*Lately*, at Liverpool, where he arrived in bad health, Capt. Donnelly, H. C.'s Military service, Bengal, and nephew to Vice Admiral Donnelly.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.—FEB. 8, 1826.

Government Securities, &c.

	Buy Rs. As.	Sell Rs. As.
Remittable Loan, Six per Cent.	Premium 25 8	25 8
Five per Cent. Loan	Discount. 1 8	2 8
New Five per Cent. Loan	Ditto. 0 12	1 8

EXCHANGE.

On London, Six Months' Sight, per Sicca rupee 21 a 22
 On Bombay, Thirty Days' Sight, 98, per 100 Bombay rupees.
 On Madras, do., 98 a 96 Sicca rupees, per 100 Madras rupees.
 Bank Shares—Premium 5,800 to 5,500.

MADRAS.—FEB. 1, 1826.

Government Securities, &c., as last quoted, viz.:

Six per Cent. Paper, 96 per Cent. Premium. }	Market very dull.
Old Five do. do. 1 do. Discount. }	
New do. do. do. Par. }	

EXCHANGE.

On England, at Three Months' Sight, 1 10'
 Ditto, as Six Months' Sight, 1 10½'
 On Bengal, 104 at 107 Madras rupees, per 100 Sicca rupees.
 On Bombay, 98 Bombay rupees, per 100 Madras rupees.

BOMBAY.—FEBRUARY 4, 1826.

EXCHANGE.

On London, Six Months' Sight 1s. 10d. to 1s. 11d.
 On Calcutta, Ninety Days' Sight, 102 Bombay rupees, per 100 Sicca rupees.
 On Madras, Thirty Days' Sight, 97 ditto, per 100 Madras do.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1896.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
June 30	Portsmouth	Lonach ..	Driscoll ..	Bombay	Feb. 5
July 1	Off Falmouth	M. Wellesley	Coulson ..	Mauritius	Mar. 23
July 1	Off Plymouth	Maria ..	Thomson ..	Mauritius	Mar. 30
July 2	Portsmouth	Thos. Grenville	Manning ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 29
July 2	Portsmouth	Mary Ann ..	O'Brien ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 11
July 2	Portsmouth	Cæsar ..	Watt ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 11
July 2	Off Plymouth	Triton ..	Orear ..	N.S. Wales	Feb. 8
July 2	Off Falmouth	Andromeda ..	Muddle ..	N.S. Wales	Dec. 22,
July 3	In the Clyde	Catherine ..	Porter ..	Bombay	Feb. 22
July 3	Gravesend ..	Oscar ..	Stewart ..	Mauritius	Feb. 26
July 5	Portsmouth	William Miles	Sampson ..	Penang ..	Feb. 15
July 5	Dartmouth ..	Columbia ..	Wilson ..	N.S. Wales	March 8
July 6	Portsmouth	Kains ..	Sinclair ..	Mauritius	April 2
July 6	Weymouth	Triumph ..	Green ..	Bombay	Feb. 18
July 9	Deal ..	Bussorah Merch	Stewart ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 5
July 10	Deal ..	Alacrity ..	Findlay ..	Bombay	Jan. 18
July 10	Portsmouth	John ..	Popplewell	Bengal ..	Feb. 21
July 11	Deal ..	Midas ..	Balgrie ..	N.S. Wales	Feb. 18

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1896.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Jan. 6	Calcutta ..	Java ..	Driver ..	London
Jan. 13	Bombay ..	Cornelia ..	Archer ..	Boston
Jan. 17	Calcutta ..	Neptune ..	Cumberlege	London & Madras
Jan. 18	Calcutta ..	Elphinstone	Maclean ..	London & Madras
Jan. 24	Calcutta ..	Medina ..	Briggs ..	London, &c.
Jan. 26	Bombay ..	Catherine ..	Porter ..	Greenock
Jan. 28	Madras ..	Wellington	Evans ..	London
Feb. 2	Calcutta ..	Claudine ..	Christie ..	London
Feb. 4	Madras ..	La Madras ..	Douzan ..	Bordeaux
Feb. 7	Calcutta ..	Norfolk ..	Greig ..	London & Madras
Feb. 8	Calcutta ..	Prince Regent	Salmon ..	Singapore
Feb. 13	Bombay ..	Windsor Castle	Heathorn ..	Bengal
Feb. 19	Calcutta ..	Resource ..	Tomlin ..	London & Madras
Feb. 23	Calcutta ..	Eliza ..	Faith ..	London
Feb. 23	Calcutta ..	Osprey ..	M'Gill ..	Liverpool
Feb. 23	Madras ..	Barossa ..	Hutchinson	London & St. Jago
Feb. 26	Calcutta ..	Upton Castle	Theaker ..	Bombay
Mar. 2	Madras ..	Fairlie ..	Short ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1896.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
June 23	Liverpool ..	John Taylor	Atkinson ..	Bengal
June 25	Deal ..	Hoppo ..	Simpson ..	Batavia
June 26	Deal ..	Burrell ..	Metcalfe ..	Cape and Mauritius
June 27	Deal ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	China
June 27	Deal ..	Hugh Crawford	Langdon ..	New South Wales
June 29	Hull ..	Emma ..	North ..	Bengal
July 1	Deal ..	Cambridge ..	Barber ..	Madras and Bengal

Date. 1896.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
July 1	Deal	.. Reaper	.. Broad	.. Bengal
July 1	Deal	.. Asia	.. Adamson	.. China
July 1	Deal	.. Isabella	.. Wiseman	.. China
July 3	Portsmouth	.. Carn Brae Castle	.. Davey	.. Bengal
July 3	Deal	.. Laburnum	.. Tate	.. Bengal
July 4	Deal	.. Ellen	.. Camper	.. Cape and Mauritius
July 7	Deal	.. Milo	.. Winslow	.. Manilla and China
July 7	Deal	.. Symmetry	.. Smith	.. Bengal
July 10	Deal	.. Mary Ann	.. Spottiswoode	.. Bengal
July 10	Deal	.. Ceylon	.. Davison	.. Ceylon
July 10	Deal	.. Britannia	.. Ferris	.. Cape and Mauritius
July 15	Greenock	.. Warner	.. M'Vicar	.. New South Wales
July 16	Deal	.. Rockingham	.. Fotheringham	.. Bengal
July 16	Deal	.. Lady Kennaway	.. Surfieu	.. Bengal
July 16	Deal	.. Madras	.. Beach	.. Cape and Bengal
July 16	Deal	.. Princess Amelia	.. Kellaway	.. China
July 16	Deal	.. Phoenix	.. Anderson	.. Cork & N. S. Wales
July 17	Deal	.. Winchelsea	.. Everest	.. China
July 17	Portsmouth	.. Cleveland	.. Havlock	.. Mauritius
July 19	Deal	.. Jessie	.. Winter	.. Cape and Mauritius
July 19	Deal	.. Cornwall	.. Younghusband	.. Bengal
July 19	Portsmouth	.. Coromandel	.. Boyes	.. Bengal
July 19	Portsmouth	.. Lalla Rookh	.. Stewart	.. Madras, Penang, &c.
July 20	Liverpool	.. Ionia	.. Purnell	.. Cape and Mauritius
July 21	Greenock	.. Mary Hope	.. Farmer	.. New South Wales
July 22	Deal	.. Lady Flora	.. Fayer	.. Bengal
July 22	Liverpool	.. John Hayes	.. Worthington	.. Bengal
July 22	Deal	.. Woodford	.. Chapman	.. New South Wales
July 22	Liverpool	.. Ganges	.. Mitford	.. Bengal
July 24	Deal	.. Newcastle	.. Brown	.. Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Thomas Grenville*, from Bengal:—Mrs. Elliott; Mrs. Droz; Mrs. Harvey; Mrs. Crommelin; Rev. Mr. Thomason, Chaplain, Bengal; C. Elliott, H. C.'s Civil Service; W. Sherrer, Esq. ditto; Mr. Allen; Capt. Hutchinson, Bengal Engineers; Capt. Wrottesley, H. M. 16th Lancers; Lieut. Williams, Bengal N. I.; Mr. G. Simms, Assist. Surg.; Miss Tempelar, Miss Drew, Miss E. F. Crommelin, and Miss M. E. Hawkins; Masters G. Money, Gilbert Money, W. A. Crommelin, F. Currie, and M. Alastie; 8 servants.

By the *Lonach*, from Bombay:—Mrs. Col. Bellasis; Mrs. Col. MacDowall and child; Mrs. Marriott and child; Mrs. Norton and two children; Thos. Warden, Esq. Civil Service; Rev. Mr. Norton; J. D. Nicol, Esq.; Col. Mark Napier, H. M. 6th Foot; Lieut. Col. Mayne, Dep.-Qu.-Mast.-Gen.; Maj. Morgan, 7th N. I.; Maj. Cash, Queen's Royals; Maj. Tovey, and Surg. Arnott, H. M. 20th Foot; Capt. Groves, Madras Cavalry; Lieut. Robinson, H. M. 4th Lt. Drags.; Ena. Carpenter, 13th N. I.

By the *Kaïas*, from the Mauritius:—Lieut. Bardwood, R. N.; Maj. Pritchard; Capt. Foreman; Capt. Gunn; Lieut. Ince; Lieut. Walmsley; Assist.-Surg. Ball; Mrs. Gunn; 165 invalids of H. M. service.

By the *Bussorah Merchant*, from Bengal and Madras:—Mrs. Smith; Mrs. Melge; Mrs. Mears; Miss Fitzgerald; Capt. Melge, 45th Regt.; Lieut. and Adj. Kenny, H. M. 80th Regt.; Mr. Manton; 7 servants; 30 invalids.

By the *Atacilly*, from Bombay:—Lieut. Millegan; Lieut. Sewell.

By the *Andromeda*, from New South Wales:—Mr. Mansford; Mr. W. Hamilton, Surgeon, R. N.; Mr. Hamilton, from Van Diemen's Land; Mrs. Hamilton and two children; Mrs. Bisbee and two children; Mr. R. Betbune; Mr. Walter and servant.

By the *Miles*, from Penang:—Lieut. Kerr, 66th Bengal, N. I.

By the *John*, from Bengal:—Mrs. Stephenson; Mrs. Bayle; Mrs. Sutherland and children; Mrs. Cole and children; Mrs. Richardson and children; Lieut. Richardson, H. M. Royals; Lieut. Smith, H. M. 45th Regt.; Surg. Nisbett, R. N.; Mr. Cole.

By the *Triton*, from New South Wales:—Maj. Goulburn, Colonial Secretary at N. S. Wales; Lieut. Carnac, of the Buffs; Doctors Anderson and Cunningham, R. N.; Messrs. Nott, Hindson, Campbell, Price, and Seaton.

By the *Warren Hastings*, Mason, from Bengal and Madras: Mrs. E. Mason; Mrs. Clegborn; Mrs. Manning; Mrs. Maidman; Mrs. Horsman; Mrs. Latham; Mrs. Cursbam; Miss Ghinnery; A. Brook, Esq. C. S.; Doctors W. Horsman and R. Prince; Mr. J. Richmond, Assist.-Surg. Madras estab.; Miss and Master Mason; Misses Elliott, Savage, Smith, and two Clegborns; Master Elliott; Master and Miss Prince; two Misses Smallkey; two European female servants; two Native servants; Mr. M. M'Farlane, free-mariner; 21 invalids, three women, and 5 children.

By the *Matthews*, from Bombay:—Mrs. Col. Tucker; Mrs. Capt. Tabois; Mrs. Capt. Sparks; Miss Taylor; Maj. Faquharson, Bombay army; Capt. Tabois, Madras army; Capt. Parker, H. M.'s 46th Foot, in charge of invalids; Misses F. Tucker, E. Edwards, and H. Young; Masters H. P. Tucker, F. Grice, H. Grice, F. Hart, M. Bond, J. Edwards, P. Young, and J. Taylor; six European servants; one Native ditto; detachment of invalids of H. M.'s 46th Foot; six women and three children. (Mrs. Col. Campbell, Mrs. Capt. Young, Col. Tucker, Mr. J. Taylor, and four invalids of H. M.'s and H. C.'s services, died at sea.)

By the *Windsor*, from Madras and China:—Brig.-Gen. MacCreagh and servant; Col. and Mrs. Higgins and Native servant; Mrs. Baker and infant, and one servant; Misses Caroline and Ellen Baker; Masters R. and C. Frank.

By the *Lord Hungerford*, from Bengal:—Capt., Mrs., and Miss Nunn; Mrs. Harvey and child; Lieut. M'Cann. From Madras:—Capts. Reid and Lawrence; Lieuts. Gompety and Bird; C. Hyde, Esq.; T. T. W. Thomas, Esq.; Mr. Hampton; Mr. Rump; Mr. P. Middleton; Dr. J. Shuter; 39 invalids; 4 women; 12 children.

By the *Duke of York*, from China, &c.:—T. Mila, Esq. merchant, from Batavia; Mrs. J. Elliott, from ditto; Master J. Stewart, from St. Helena; Thos. Gahagan, Esq. (Madras Civil Service,) and Mrs. Gahagan, from the *General Palmer*, returned from ill-health.

PASSENGERS OUPWARD.

By the *Lady Flora*, for Bengal:—Colonel and Mrs. George; Colonel and Mrs. Rogers; Mrs. Commodore Hayes; Miss Thomas; Mrs. Hastie; Rev. Mr. Macpherson, and Lady; Capt. Waugh and Lady; Messrs. Lang, Uistat, Traversa, and Small, writers; Messrs. Bust, Gerard, Hayes, Middleton, and two Billelts, cadets.

By the *Ceylon*, for Ceylon:—Lieuts. Keogh, Keen, Philips, and R. A. Philips, H. M. service; Mr. Gibson.

By the *Madras*, for Cape and Bengal:—Mrs. Beach; Mrs. French; Mrs. Macbeane; Misses Campbell, Digby, French, and E. French; Mr. French; G. French, cadet; Mr. W. French; Mr. Boyd and Mr. Macbeane, free merchants; Messrs. M'Leau, Edwards, and Johnson, cadets; Mr. Honeywood, free merchant; Dr. Babington, Assist.-Surg.; 7 servants.—For the Cape: Mrs. Achard; Mrs. Ebdon; Misses Ebdon, Henry, Kilby, Bird, Gorrison, and Campbell; Col. Bird, H. M. service; Doctors Bailey and Bordaft, R. N.; six children of Mrs. Ebdon; four servants.

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AUGUST 1826.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 33.—SEPTEMBER 1826.—VOL. 10.

MONSIEUR DE SISMONDI ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF INDIA.

It is no less honourable to the distinguished foreigner whose name stands at the head of this article, than it is humiliating to our patriotism as Englishmen, to see the interests of two such countries as Greece and India occupy, successively, his thoughts and his pen, while hundreds of our countrymen, of equal fortune, leisure, talent, and far more abundant professions, remain silent as the grave on the massacres that deluge the one with blood, and the oppressions that weigh down the other with suffering and misery.

With respect to Greece, it has been shown in the able and impressive Appeal of M. de Sismondi, given before, how all Europe leaves us in the rear; the people of every country but our own, pressing forward to the aid of the persecuted Greeks, while we alone hold back as if we feared to give them a helping hand. It *might* indeed be urged as some palliation for our apathy in this respect; that other nations being geographically nearer to Greece, had a more direct interest in her emancipation, and were more likely to need a barrier against the encroachments of the Turks than ourselves. But not even the shadow of an excuse can be alleged to justify our criminal indifference with respect to India,—which we call with no small pretensions of superiority, our Empire in the East,—for which we have an especial Board of Legislature,—from which tens of thousands of our countrymen have derived all their consequences and all their wealth,—to which our manufacturers may look for the largest and richest mart that ever yet invited commercial enterprise, and which we are therefore bound, by every tie of honour, and every consideration of interest, to protect and improve.

To see, therefore, the great interests of this vast dependency of England almost totally neglected here, while they are made the subject of inquiry and discussion by foreign writers of the most

commanding talent, and our system of rule over this distant country treated of, again and again, in the most popular periodicals of the Continent, is a reproach to the nation that so manifestly neglects its duty as well as its interest; and if not felt and removed by some effort to overtake and outstrip foreigners in the race, will unquestionably lead to such a revival of general inquiry into the weakness of our position in India, as cannot but encourage the ambition of continental powers to share with us that vast dominion, by attempts at least to recover their old, and perhaps to add to these new conquests on the shores of Hindoostan.

From whatever quarter, however, such inquiries and disquisitions proceed, we think it right to lay the facts developed, and opinions entertained by the writers, before our countrymen, both here and in the East, where especially foreign periodicals are but little known, and where this publication has the means of giving to the contents of others a more general circulation than they could ever command while confined to their original pages. With this view, we proceed to give an analysis, accompanied with occasional extracts of the article of M. de Sismondi, as published in the Number of the 'Revue Encyclopedique' for May 1826. The article is professedly an account of the 'Oriental Herald,' its origin, progress, object, and character, on which the writer expatiates freely, and with approbation. Our object is not, however, to repeat the commendations bestowed on the work itself or its conductor. They who are curious in such matters may be gratified by an inspection of the original, where they will find an estimate drawn, certainly with a *flattering* hand, but as we have no personal acquaintance with the enlightened author, we have no right to doubt but that it is also a *faithful* one. After a short introductory account of the nature of this publication, the writer passes to the general consideration of Indian affairs, commencing with the following:

'A universal impulse appears to draw the human race towards a more happy period. It raises to the full enjoyment of liberty the two continents of America; it admits the black race to all the benefits of civilization, whether in Hayti or at Sierra Leone; it establishes a new Europe in Australasia, where we see population and commercial cities rapidly springing up, endowed with all the advantages of old England. But this general movement, which fills the philosopher with joy, which consoles him for the misfortunes he has suffered, by the hope that the generations which succeed him will be better and more happy, is yet but feebly felt in the vast empire of India. In all these places where civilization is progressive, we see that the teachers of the human race are the most civilized people of Europe, who, with the activity which is natural to them, disperse themselves over the universe, carrying to the most remote nations their industry, their commerce, and, at the same time, their ideas, and guiding also by the education they give, intelligent beings for the cause of humanity, and friends for their country. But India is shut out from these benefactors of the human race. The Company of merchants who govern this vast empire repulse them with all their power. The British Government has concluded treaties with most of the American republics formerly subject to Spain; it has guaranteed to its subjects the liberty to purchase lands, to explore mines, to exercise every description of industry

in these remote climates; nay, even to remain there in case of war, under the protection of the same laws as American citizens: or, if they wish to retire, they have secured them a whole year subsequent to the commencement of hostilities, in which to dispose of their property.

'None of the acts of the Ministry have gained them so much popularity as the conclusion of these treaties. But the empire of India *belongs* to the British Government; and yet those advantages which it has obtained for the English in Mexico, in Peru, in Buenos Ayres, it refuses to them in Hindoostan! No Englishman can there purchase land; none can establish any kind of industry attached to the soil; none can labour to raise the Indians to the rank of the English, and in teaching them the arts of England, teach them at the same time her manner of thinking and feeling, without especial and express permission. The Englishman who cannot be sent away from Mexico, or Rio de la Plata, without trial and judgment by law, can be banished without inquiry, or without formality of any kind from Bombay or Calcutta; his property, which is sacred in the midst of Spanish creoles, or the copper-coloured nations of America, can be annihilated under the eyes even of the English Judges themselves, by the first caprice of the English East India Company.'

Here is at once an enumeration of evils and absurdities, or rather we should say, of *crimes*, compounded of folly and wickedness, which ought to make every Englishman blush that such things should be told of his country and himself. Can the intelligent people of France, of Italy, of Germany, of Russia, among whom the *Revue Encyclopedique* largely circulates, and to whom the reputation of M. de Sismondi is a guarantee for his fidelity of description—can these people peruse such a picture of our Indian policy and not entertain a contempt either for our understandings, if we think this system of policy a good one, or for our characters, if, knowing it to be bad, we resist every attempt to improve it? The North Americans have already set the example of trading largely to India, and without incurring any expense whatever for establishments there, participating in all the benefits of a commerce, which till lately was open to all the world and shut only to Englishmen, excepting only the monopolists of the East India Company,—the condition in which China still remains. The South Americans will no doubt speedily do the same, and the continental nations will follow: so that, before long, we shall probably see all the advantages of a commercial intercourse with India, which is the *only* real advantage to be enjoyed by ourselves or others, and the only plea on which the East India Company's charter is continued; shared more largely by other nations, leaving us all the "honour and glory" of paying all the charges of governing the country, and saddling the nation with an annually increasing debt, while wise men divide among them the unincumbered profits of a free and flourishing trade. The folly of this exclusion of Englishmen generally from India, and the subjection of the few who are permitted to enter it to such odious and despotic power, is seen by all eyes but our own. But, like most crimes against society, this contains within itself the seeds of its own punishment, and if not remedied in due time, will be avenged on its perpetrators with the

most terrible and destructive consequences. We pass on to the observations of the author :

‘The two continents of America are much more extensive than India, but they are far from containing an equally numerous population, and in many respects they are not so far advanced. India contains at least a hundred millions of inhabitants; it is really as civilized as Europe, setting aside the countries subjected to the sceptres of Russia and Austria. The Indians, far from being barbarous, were civilized long before ourselves; they preceded us by several thousand years in the perfection of agriculture, of industrious arts, and in the knowledge of letters and figures, which we possess from them, in the taste for poetry, in the study of metaphysics, and even in what some people conceive to be the art of governing, that is, in the regularity and promptitude of obedience. But the Indians have been for several thousand years under the influence of a Holy Alliance, resembling in some respects that which we have seen in our days formed in Europe, a league between the civil, military, and sacred powers, to prevent men from ever passing beyond that point in civilization to which they had arrived; to keep them there stationary for centuries, and afterwards to let them retrograde.

‘The Native sovereigns of India have been long since deposed: but the conquering Musulmans, Moguls, and Tartars, have taken their place in this Holy Alliance. Notwithstanding the difference of faith from the Hindoo priesthood, they have embraced their political system for retaining man under the yoke, to take care of him like any other industrious animal, rather than as a free being. The British East India Company, in wresting the Indian sceptre from the Mogul, entered in its turn into this India Holy Alliance against the progress of the human race: and they have endeavoured to keep all things stationary; they have declared their opposition to all colonization, and have prevented the spread of Christianity in India by all the obstacles they could oppose to its progress. They also obstinately refused, as long as they could, to sanction the foundation of schools, and when at last they were induced to appropriate an annual sum to the charges of public education,—about a farthing per head for each child of an age to need education,—they wished the greatest part of this sum to be given to endow the Sanscrit Colleges for re-teaching the fables and superstitious of Brahma to those who had nearly forgotten them!

‘But the force of circumstances, the enterprize of the present century, and the general activity of Europe begin at last to triumph over the politics of the East India Company. If the mass of the Hindoo people, having lost all motive for emulation, all hope of advancement, is perhaps still more degraded than it was under the Musulman yoke; on the other hand, in this same nation there exists a certain number of men, who begin to think of raising themselves above their manufactures, and their culture of rice, who have learnt the English language, and through it the philosophy and the sciences of Europe, and who are at last advancing towards that state of mental cultivation to which man is destined by Providence. The most eminent amongst these is the illustrious individual whom we have before mentioned, the Brahmin Ram Mohun Roy, who, having directed his investigations to Christianity, has found the fundamental principles of this religion in the most ancient Vedas, and has in consequence become a Christian, without ceasing to be a Brahmin; for he has shown to his fellow-countrymen how the religion of their fathers might be purified and freed from all which the base passions of their priests have added to it, in such a way as to harmonise it with those of nations the most enlightened and moral.’

We may observe, in illustration of this assertion respecting Ram Mohun Roy, which will no doubt appear singular to many, that it is not so difficult, as it would at first sight seem, to become a Christian and still retain all the distinguishing characteristics

of a Brahmin. The latter, like a Jew, is a person descended from a particular seed or stock, and can only cease to belong to that body by a departure from those customs which peculiarly preserve the supposed purity of the race. The Jew, who is of the seed of Abraham, who observes all the fasts and festivals, who abstains from forbidden meats and drinks, undergoes all the required purifications, and observes towards his parents and his offspring the duties imposed by the ritual of his religion, will always continue to be a Jew, whatever changes may take place in his speculative belief; as did Moses Mendelsohn, the celebrated philosopher, who lived so much in Christian society, and even Spinoza, who was so remarkable for his infidelity. Judaism and Hindooism are more matters of birth and ceremonial than of doctrinal belief; Mohammedanism and Christianity are the reverse. No man, not of the seed of Abraham, *can* become a Jew, even if he were to undergo circumcision and follow the synagogue for ever. Neither can one not born of the sacred caste of India ever become a Brahmin, though he were to entertain every opinion held by that class. But any man may become a Christian or a Mohammedan by merely submitting to the ritual of baptism or circumcision, and making open profession of the respective faiths, without vitiating their title by any departure from the precepts of each in the practice of ordinary life. It is this remarkable difference which makes the Jews and the Hindoos alike indifferent to proselytism. They cannot admit converts, and therefore they never persecute others for not being of their faith; while, on the contrary, proselytism is the distinguishing feature of Christianity and Mohammedanism, in consequence of which each wishes to convert the other, and each persecutes, systematically and in accordance with the spirit of their several religions, all who differ from themselves, constantly teaching that those who do not embrace their particular faith are their natural enemies in this world, and without hope of salvation in the next.

Ram Mohun Roy, though he has long since outlived any active belief in the absurd superstitions of the Hindoos, has never departed from the observances of the Brahmins, in abstaining from animal food and fermented drinks, and in preserving that bodily purity which they deem so essential to perfection of mind. In consequence of this, he, in the first place, avoids all reproach as to the ordinary motive of changing his profession of faith for the sake of worldly interests or sensual gratifications; and, in the next, he retains, by this means, an intercourse with, and an influence among, the other Brahmins of India, which he would inevitably lose by any departure from the observances common to their caste. At the same time, he boldly and openly professes his preference of Unitarian Christianity over all other modes of faith, or rules of action; and labours without scruple to inculcate this preference wherever his writings or his influence can extend. Such a bene-

factor of his species would be likely to become an object of hatred and jealousy to so narrow-minded and illiberal a Cabinet as that which rules the fate of India; and therefore it is that his efforts to improve his fellow-countrymen were, as will be seen in the sequel, crushed in their infancy by the paralyzing hand of tyranny which Mr. Adam and his coadjutors laid upon the Indian Press. M. de Sismondi continues:

'This new activity, this search after a more widely extended knowledge, has been strongly seconded by a class of men becoming every day more numerous in India, and who are destined to perform there an important part. They are called half-castes, being the children of English fathers and Indian mothers. There are very few Europeans who, in those burning climates, do not contract a temporary alliance, which is perhaps repugnant to our manners, but which is there sanctioned by universal custom. It is not, therefore, according to the general proportion of illegitimate births that the growth of half-castes should be calculated, but by the thousands of unmarried men who every year arrive in India, and who, almost all, on quitting it, leave behind them a family. Their sons, most frequently, receive an education perfectly English; they unite, therefore, the knowledge of the language, the laws, the liberties of their fathers, to that of the languages, manners, and opinions of the East. The Company, who harbour against them the greatest hatred and jealousy, will not admit one of them to the most unimportant civil or military employment of which they have the disposal. They are consequently, in general, obliged to devote themselves to commerce; and many of them have acquired, both in the British possessions and the states belonging to the tributary princes, very large fortunes.'

We are glad to perceive from this, that the story of the plundered house at Hyderabad has not been told in vain; and that all Europe will soon know how unworthy are the Monopolists of India to retain a system of government, by which they first rendered it impossible for any of the Anglo-Indian race, descendants of their own stock mingling with the blood of the natives of the country, to obtain either honours or wealth in the territory subject to their own immediate rule, and thus force them to seek the reward of their enterprize under the more liberal rule of independent or tributary Native states; and then, when, under such forced exile, they have acquired by their industry and talents a sufficient provision for their declining years, stripping them of all they possess, under the wicked as well as hypocritical pretence of their being in receipt of usurious gains; the pretenders to these scruples being themselves the greatest usurers, the most corrupt gainers at the expense of others, by their exclusive system, that the world has ever yet beheld. It is well that this is now fully understood throughout Europe; but the time is fast approaching when it will be rung in the ears of every man in Europe also, to rouse them to shake off a monster that, without benefiting itself, still preys upon the vitals of the country. For while the East India Company win no honour, and but a paltry profit for themselves, they bring ruin on the land they rule, and disgrace on the nation to which they belong—by their plunder of the one, and their restrictions on the enterprize of the other. After adverting to the disadvantageous

position of the mixed race, the author passes to the Native Indians, and says :

‘ One of the first effects of this new impulse amongst the large mass of Indian inhabitants, has been the publication of Journals, written, either by the native Indians or by the half-castes, in the languages of the East. These publications spread amongst an intelligent population, whose civilization may be dated back several thousand years, all the ideas which belong to modern times, and all the progressive movements of that nation which has contributed the most to the improvement of the world. It was not without fear and alarm that the India Company witnessed this ray of light, which had already pierced the depths of the abyss. It began to feel that the men it had so long treated as brutes, had proved that they were men by thought and by inclination ; it has, therefore, placed new restrictions on all the periodical writings published in the languages of India as well as in English, though it would appear that they are not justified by the laws of England in this usurpation of power. It is impossible to read, without the deepest emotion, the Memorial which has been addressed to the King by the illustrious Ram Mohun Roy, in concert with several other distinguished Indians of Calcutta, to demand the support of the liberty of the press in the Oriental languages.* In reading it, it is impossible not to feel that the writer unites all the experience of India to all the knowledge of Europe ; that stationary sort of wisdom, which was already ancient when Alexander visited the East, to the progressive wisdom of the present age. He is animated by the love of liberty, by the hope of the amelioration of his race ; he appreciates with justice the causes of its degradation ; he knows that the liberty of the press protects governments against their own abuses, and ennobles the people, at the same time that it instructs them.

‘ We have not space for long extracts ; but our readers will hear, no doubt with pleasure, a Brahmin claiming, in the name of his countrymen, the full liberty to examine into religious matters. The India Company assumed as one of their motives for establishing restrictions on the Press, the fear that imprudent publications would alarm the Natives with apprehensions of an interference with the principles of their religion. The petitioners reply :

“ After a body of missionaries have been endeavouring for about twenty-five years, by preaching and distributing publications in the Native languages in all parts of Bengal, to bring the prevailing system of religion into disrepute, no alarm whatever prevails, because the faithful subjects of your Majesty possess the power to defend their religion by the same means that are employed against it ; many of them have exercised the liberty of the press to combat the writings of the English missionaries ; and they think no other protection necessary to the maintenance of their faith. While the teachers of Christianity employ only reason and persuasion to propagate their religion, the faithful subjects of your Majesty are content to defend theirs by the same weapons, convinced that a true religion needs not the aid of the sword or of legal punishments to protect it. We have never been able to conceive the fears indicated by the ninth section of the ‘ Restrictions on the Press,’ because we have seen that the Government did not express any displeasure at the publication of that which was written on the religion of the great mass of the people, and did not claim for itself the exercise of any arbitrary power to prevent it.”

‘ It is thus that the Indians terminate their request :—

* Memorial of Ram Mohun Roy and other distinguished Natives of India, addressed to the King of England.—‘ Oriental Herald,’ No. 17, for May 1835, vol. v. p. 508—515.

"We, the faithful subjects of your Majesty, separated by the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to the heart of your Majesty by that sympathy which forms a paternal link between you and the most humble of your subjects; we supplicate you not to consider our condition with indifference. We appeal to you by the honour of that great nation, which, under your royal auspices, has obtained the title of "Liberator of Europe," that you will not permit thousands of your subjects to be oppressed and capriciously trampled on; we appeal to you by the glory of your crown, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to condemn the Natives of India to perpetual oppression and degradation."

So powerful an appeal as this from a native Indian to an English monarch, would, in the hands of such a man as Burke, have filled the world with admiration, and roused up a thousand pens in Europe to support his claims. Such a document, addressed from any philosopher of antiquity, born in a Greek or Roman colony, to the rulers of the parent state in his day, would be treasured up and referred to as one of the most interesting emanations of the human mind. But this Memorial, which is a masterpiece of English composition, whether for the touching eloquence of its appeals, or the convincing power of its arguments, has fallen dead from the press, as a thing that had never been. Mr. Denman was, indeed, about to read some portions of it to his Majesty's Privy Council, on the occasion of the Appeal to that body against the Restrictions on the Indian Press, but he was interrupted and prevented by Mr. Brougham, who attended to defend the East India Company, and was the cause of the Memorial of Ram Mohun Roy not being read to the King's advisers; while, as to his Majesty himself, his more important daily occupation of "fishing on Virginia water," which we learn from the 'Court Circular,' published by authority, to be his "favourite diversion," has no doubt prevented its ever reaching his royal ears. It is, therefore, as M. de Sismoudi observes, that—

Up to the present moment this touching prayer has not been complied with; but the inhabitants of India and the friends of humanity must not be discouraged. The press, notwithstanding the shackles with which it has been burthened, is still a powerful engine, which hastens the progress of human knowledge. It is a great step to have brought the Indians to feel the want of daily publications, to direct their attention towards the affairs of the whole universe, to demand of their governors an account of what they do by them or for them. Germany does not, any more than India, enjoy a perfect freedom of discussion, and yet a restricted but active press has given life and thought to all Germany; all ranks of society have become more enlightened, the desire for knowledge increases every day; and the governors, although they do not suffer any control over their operations, although they stifle with all their power the manifestation of public opinion, permit it nevertheless, because they feel its power.

For the rest, thanks to Mr. Buckingham, the remnant of the liberty of the press of India is now found in England. Let not the Indians forget this; let them support him in his enterprise; let them never permit silence to be imposed on the only advocate who can now speak boldly for them. It is, without doubt, a great disadvantage for an opposition Journal to find itself separated by the whole breadth of the globe from the abuses, the malversations,

the excesses of authority, of which it undertakes to enforce the repression, as well as from those correspondents from whom it receives information; but, since it is the fate of India to be governed by a nation placed at so great a distance from her; since, on the other hand, that governing nation completely recognises the sovereignty of public opinion, which, when it is once clearly pronounced, infallibly brings in its train both the ministers and the parliament; it is in the heart of this nation, in the bosom even of public opinion there, that the voice of the advocate of India should make itself heard.

We trust that this appeal to such of the British residents in India as feel any desire to hasten the improvement of that country will not be made in vain. We have endeavoured, again and again, to draw their attention to this important consideration—that without *their* aid and continual correspondence, it is impossible, at the immense distance at which we are placed from the scene of action, to obtain accurate information as to what is transpiring in the country: and although it is perfectly easy to expose the absurdity and wickedness of the system of the Company's government from the facts that are already notorious to all the world, yet this exposure will derive greater additional strength from the illustration afforded by recent instances of its operation in the country itself. Now, indeed, it is so much the fashion to deny what is called “abstract theory,” and to regard only narratives and facts, that it is more than ever incumbent on those who have any principles to illustrate, plain and self-evident as these may be to the mind of the individual advocating them, to remove all excuse for scruple on the part of the sceptical by adding proof and illustration—although, like gilding refined gold or painting the lily, it may, to stronger eyes, appear a “wasteful and ridiculous excess.” It will be for the friends of the natives of India, and of the reputation of England, residing in that country, to communicate the facts and opinions within their power to acquire and to form. They may rely on the most unreserved publication of all that comes to us authenticated when facts are concerned, or freely expressed when opinions only are involved. Out of this co-operation the desired good cannot fail ultimately to arrive, in the mere ordinary operation of things, and by the natural progress of increasing knowledge and revolving time. But we shall do all in our power to accelerate that progress by every aid that can be applied through the medium now devoted to this great and honourable end. The writer proceeds:

‘Of all the interests which have ever been submitted to the consideration of men, those of India are the most extensive. The good and the evil which an administration may do has never presented itself in proportions so colossal; never have the questions of public good been capable of being explained in such clear terms. If the English public once begin to think about it, they will soon be interested; they will no longer be able to exclude from their thoughts the consideration of all the good which they may do, and all the evil which they may avoid. But that apathy with which the human mind always considers things that are far distant must first be conquered. At present, India, in which the English can do every thing, and China, in which they can do nothing, are to them equally indifferent. Mr. Buckingham must make

them feel that he labours for their interests, and calls them to the performance of their duties; he must make himself heard, and spare nothing to awaken attention. Let him for this purpose call to his aid all the eminent talents of England: and attention once aroused, the facts will speak for themselves.

This is undoubtedly the great difficulty to be overcome. The *knowledge* of the way in which it may be surmounted is not difficult, but the *accomplishment* of the end by the means which that knowledge points out, is, under existing circumstances, almost impossible. The apathy of the English nation to this most important branch of its duties and its interests is admitted. But a *coalition* of talent emanating from the principal writers of England, and employed in the pages of the leading Journals, quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily, would no doubt completely rouse the nation from its sleep on a subject so full of startling facts, if these were agitated but for a single session. The trial of Warren Hastings fixed the attention of all Europe in a degree scarcely less intense than that with which they beheld the progress of inquiry into the conduct of the late Queen. There is nothing therefore in the name of India, the nature of its affairs, the distance of the scene, or the obscurity of the events, which the powerful charm of splendid talents united in one common cause, yet brought to bear from a hundred quarters, and directed to a hundred different points at once, might not be effectually overcome. But the exercise on any particular subject of such talents as are to be found in the eminent writers of England, is only to be secured by the payment to them of a certain number of shillings per page, as lawyers are paid for their folios—rising in demand according to their celebrity—from ten guineas to as much as a hundred for a single article. At this rate, and by these means, the first talents in the country may no doubt be commanded, and articles on any given subject produced, whether for an Encyclopedia, a Review, or a Newspaper. But without this golden wand, the pen of the enchanter is not to be moved: and he who has been already stripped and plundered of all that his industry had acquired for the declining years of his existence, can be in no condition to procure the talent which is only to be purchased at such a rate. He may call indeed such pens to his aid, but he may for ever call in vain. The continental literati are a totally different class and description of persons from those who chiefly sustain the literature of England, and are as much their superiors in the motives which actuate their advocacy of particular views and principles in literature and politics, as they are in the bold and uncompromising manner in which they send forth, under the guarantee of their personal as well as professional responsibility and names, assertions and opinions which men in England would hardly dare to utter, except under the all-protecting shelter of an anonymous disguise.

The talents of the whole nation, indeed, whether in writers or speakers, is, with very few exceptions, as much a marketable com-

modity as any other description of service that men can perform : and the class of literary and political writers, formerly to be found in men of fortune, who devoted their leisure to schemes of improvement for the human race, is now almost extinct. A few sexageparians are still left, but throughout England generally, any man under forty would conceive it altogether labour in vain to write an article on any subject, however great the interest to be promoted by it, without his stipulated number of guineas for the pages to be produced. Where other means of subsistence are not available there can be no dishonour in this. But the universal spread of this love of money, and the practice of measuring every thing by its standard, has infected even men of ample fortune, who, half a century ago, would have been ashamed to ask any reward beyond the pleasure of contributing to support a good cause. Literature in England has, in short, degenerated into a mere trade. Money is the only end and aim of book-writers, as well as booksellers ; that production is universally admitted to have the greatest merit which a bookseller will purchase at the highest price : and as the taste of the day, and the probability of a large sale, are the only standards by which he measures merit, the copyright of ' Harriette Wilson ' would produce a much larger sum than the noblest production of the human mind, directed to the highest object of intellectual inquiry, and most calculated to advance the happiness of the human race !

In politics it is but little better. There also the most melancholy instances of prostituted talent are every day exhibited. The editor of a London journal will write the leading articles for a Tory, a Whig, and a Radical paper, all within the same year, and be best pleased with his engagement on that which produces the largest weekly pay. Some, indeed, of this versatile race employ their talents on both sides at once, and can be editors of an ultra Government paper in town, and write " leaders," as they are technically called, for two or three violent opposition papers in the country. We happened not long since to be thrown into contact with a veteran of this class, who had been some twenty years on the town, who had witnessed the birth and exit of more papers than he could count years of his life, and who confessed, that after the vicissitudes he had seen, it was now become a matter of the utmost indifference to him what was the subject or what the view of it that was desired. He was equally ready for any that might be proposed, and felt rather happy at having outlived all his younger scruples on that head. We have heard that this individual, who is only one of a large and increasing class, has been one among the six or seven successive editors whom Mr. Murray has found it necessary to try upon the ' Representative.' Whether the others who preceded and followed him in office, at all resembled him in his indifference to politics, we do not know : but whatever were

their real opinions, they would be compelled to shape them to the proprietor's views in what they wrote, and this is all that would engage their attention.

In public assemblies the resemblance still continues. The corrupting influence of legal habits and practice seems to gain ground every day, and the predominance of legal men and legal feeling in most of these assemblies, gives a demoralizing tone to their whole composition. Could any one, without seeing and hearing it for himself, believe that Mr. Serjeant Spankie, the furious democrat of the 'Morning Chronicle,' should become one of the meanest tools of despotism?—and that after decrying with all his force the licentiousness of the Press in India, and loading it with the most degrading fetters, he should come to England, defend in open court the publication of 'Harriette Wilson's Memoirs,' and sink into the apologist of the lowest and most licentious slander and obscenity? Could any one, without seeing it with his own eyes, printed in legible characters on the official paper, believe that a fee of five or ten guineas could induce Mr. Brougham to appear before the Privy Council, to join this very Mr. Serjeant Spankie in opposing Mr. Denman and Mr. Williams on the Appeal against the restrictions of the Press in India? and that this zealous and disinterested advocate of the untutored negroes of the West Indies, should have opposed the reading of the Memorial of Ram Mohun Roy, and other native East Indians, which, as a production of talent for Indian minds, was entitled to his highest respect, and which, as pleading the interests of a hundred millions of civilized, and, comparatively with the negroes of Africa, intelligent beings, ought to have won his regard? When such things as these are matters of every-day occurrence, it is no wonder that confidence in public virtue should decline; nor is it at all to be marvelled at that mankind should now begin to look for some other cause than mere indignation at oppression and crime, when they seek to account for the brilliant display of talent brought to labour for years in succession on the impeachment of Warren Hastings; or that they should think there was something more than mere chivalric devotion to the cause of female innocence, which set the whole nation in a flame at the period of the late Queen's persecution and trial. When, by the discussion of any Indian question, there is a hope that the Ministry of the day *might* be turned out, and an Opposition, on its defeat, step into power, place, emolument, and all its train of advantages, then indeed we may see an Amherst as well as a Hastings impeached before the High Court of Parliament; and when a cabinet is to be reversed by the decision, we may then see the cause of a persecuted individual in humble life taken up with as much warmth as that which inflamed the nation, and agitated the world during the triumph of Queen Caroline over her spies and persecutors. It is this conviction which, above all others, induces us to

to think that nothing can be hoped for India, until the Government of the country be taken from the hands of the mercantile Company, about whose "concerns" (as if the fate of the millions subject to their rule were not worth a thought) the nation do not trouble themselves for a moment, and placed in the hands of the Ministers of the Crown, when the mere contest which this alone would excite for the power and patronage inseparable from such trust, would arouse the "hatred, envy, and malice" of patriotic zeal, and a thousand tongues that now remain silent, because there is nothing to gain by exercising them, would start from their repose, and fill the air with clamours against the system, whose abominations they had never before discovered, until, by making them odious in the eyes of the people, they were likely to be called to the helm of state themselves, to assist in their removal. Then, indeed, but not till then, the agitation anticipated by M. de Sismondi might take place. He thus describes it :

"In effect, the English will see unfolded to them such details of injustice, such traits of rapacity, of despotism, of corruption, as will shock them still more from the stigma this will affix to the English name. They will deem themselves responsible before God and man for the fate of a hundred millions of subjects, which they have acquired by means stained with many crimes, and to whom they have given the most absurd government that can be imagined. Then will the whole community unite their voices in the general clamour, every one will reproach himself for his former silence or his apathy, every one will second with all his power the general efforts to prepare from that time the abolition of the Company at the expiration of the charter. Who would not blush, in short, to have confided the Government of a country so important to the human race, to a Company of merchants? to have considered the fate of human beings as a commercial speculation? to have consented that the happiness or the misery of thousands of individuals, the progress of civilization or barbarism, true religion or polytheism, of moral education or ignorance, should melt away into halfpence and farthings, to the account of profit and loss, in the books of an anonymous society? to have, in fact, constituted a divided sovereignty, cut up into scrip receipts or bonds, which are bought and sold daily, according to the state of the market; so that the sovereign of yesterday is a stranger to India to-day, and may become sovereign again to-morrow, only because he has taken advantage of the variation of half per cent., to sell out, or re-purchase in, a certain portion of India Stock!

If such an absurd system as this could be fairly brought before the country, so that persons of influence in the affairs of the nation could be induced seriously to reflect on and discuss it, there can be no doubt but that it would become the scoff and ridicule of all intelligent persons. But it is not enough even that it be *thought* ill of. Men must have a direct pecuniary and personal interest in the amelioration of the system, and the improvement of the country, or they will not associate themselves in any numbers to effect it. The West Indians, who hold a few sugar and coffee plantations in islands containing not one-hundredth part the population of India, and not a thousandth part of the wealth, intelligence, and capacity for moral and intellectual improvement, have an association, a club, an organised body in the legislature, several public journals in

their pay, and funds always at their disposal to encourage any undertaking in concert for the defence of their rights to hold a certain number of their fellow-creatures in slavery, and to treat them as the beasts of the field. The East Indians, exclusive of the Company, who acquire more unnumbered wealth than these, in the country from which they return, have one Royal Society for philological and antiquarian research; one club for securing cheap breakfasts and dinners; no organised body in the legislature or elsewhere; no journals in their patronage or pay; and no funds at their disposal to do any thing in concert. The consequence is, if a West India question is to be agitated in the Houses of Lords or Commons, there are forty or fifty Peers, temporal and spiritual, who come down to the house to take part in and vote on the question: while the House of Commons presents a body of two or three hundred persons to defend their vested rights, to chain, to lacerate, and to buy and sell their fellow-men. Let an East Indian question be announced, and neither Peers nor Commoners attend: or if agitated without announcement, they leave the house at the sound of the very name. In the Lords, the subject would hardly detain one member for half an hour. In the Commons, not more than half a dozen could be counted as likely to remain. The only intelligible cause of this intense interest about the affairs of so uninviting a country as the West India Islands, and so unengaging a people as the negro slaves that cultivate them, and the total absence of all interest about the affairs of so splendid and attractive a country as Hindoostan, so full of magnificent associations, from the time of Alexander of Macedon to Aurungzebe, and filled with the most interesting varieties of people, religion, arts, manners, &c., is simply and exclusively this: namely, that the West Indians have large property in their plantations, which may increase or decrease in value by the result of any measure determined by the senate: and therefore they hasten, not to defend the negroes, but to keep up the highest possible standard value of their estates; while, that the East Indians having no property in India, do not take any interest in questions not affecting their fortunes: so that though the West Indian will stay till daylight to assist in securing by his vote a certain decision of any question relating to these islands, the East Indian will not wait a moment lest his curry should cool or his claret get flat, and hastens away from the house, first to dine, and then to look in again, perhaps on his way to the Opera, and see, as a mere matter of curiosity, how the question was decided.

This is by no means an exaggerated picture of the parts taken by the respective classes to which the interests of each country are supposed to be intrusted: and as to those who are neither East nor West Indians, but merely general members of Parliament, the only interest they take in such "local questions," as this is called, is inasmuch as its decision may affect the strength of their

respective parties, or the fortunes of their patrons, friends, and connections. If neither of these are touched by it, they merely walk down to the house to see what is going on; and if, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they hear on their way that there are *only* petitions to be presented about India, they walk back again, to save themselves the *bore* of listening to such weary subjects.

If any doubt remains, however, whether that which touches the fortunes and the pockets of the members would attract a full house, and what does not affect either would be sure to make an empty one, we need only advert to the currently received fact, that the houses have never been known to be so full as when the members' own privilege of franking letters was to be discussed, that being almost the only subject in which every member had an individual and pecuniary interest; and that the benches are never so empty as when India is the subject of debate, because neither the remittance of rents nor produce from that country, nor the rate of dividend in India Stock in this, is at all affected by any measure that may be carried in the senate. We have the West India interest, the Canada interest, the agricultural interest, the commercial interest, the manufacturing interest, the shipping interest, and the party interest, all ready to assemble on the first sound of alarm from the leaders; but the interest that is to guard the rights of a hundred millions of our Eastern subjects is no where to be found, unless it be in the members of the Board of Control and Court of Directors, whose only interest is to stifle all inquiry, and throw a veil over transactions which cannot be developed without reflecting discredit on themselves, and all investigation into which they therefore steadily and uniformly oppose.

After the extract from M. de Simondi's article at which we left off, there are no less than eight pages of the *Revue Encyclopedique* dedicated to an analytical account of the 'Oriental Herald,' and the substance of some of the most interesting papers contained in the published volumes is very faithfully given. Into this it is not our intention to enter. The work is before the world, and must speak for itself. We cannot but be highly gratified, however, to find that it is becoming extensively known on the continent as well as in England; and the unsolicited and truly disinterested commendations of a man of such distinguished reputation throughout all Europe, cannot fail to make it more so. The rest we leave to time.

After speaking of the papers on the present war in India—on the Deccan booty—on the proceedings at Rangoon—and on the affairs of Hyderabad, M. de Sismondi continues:

Such is the condition to which the protection of the Company has reduced the Nizam, the Peishwa, the Nuwaab of Oude, and a great number of Rajahs and Nabobs; such is the state to which they proposed to reduce the Kings of Ava and Pegue, and other tributary Rirams, if the present war had suc-

ceeded. It is to be hoped that the publication of the 'Oriental Herald' will enlighten the English nation on this odious system of politics; war is but a passing and temporary calamity; conquest, whatever sorrow and whatever humiliation it may cause, may be the commencement of successive amelioration. But to ravish from the people their independence, and to guarantee princes only in the abuses of their government, to render every amelioration impossible, all resisting useless, and the demands of tax-gatherers more urgent, is uniting too many ills, too many crimes, against poor humanity. Let them allow their neighbours to be their own masters; or let them fairly and frankly conquer them; but they should abstain from making such shameful arrangements as those which recognise the princes and forget the people, which let loose upon the latter the whole national forces, yet abstain from affording them protection. Let them be sovereigns, with the obligation to fulfil all the duties of sovereignty, or let them be nothing.

Many articles (continues the writer) on the Government of Oude, and the part which the Company has taken in its revolution, confirm what we have just said of the miserable state of the tributary sovereigns. If the English will not effect a remedy for the advantage of the people, they ought at least, for the honour of the public functionaries, to save them from those degrading intrigues with eunuchs and the women of the seraglios. The treasures of all the Courts are only employed to purchase by turns either the justice or the favour of the powerful English; what they dare not accept as presents, they borrow in the full confidence that they will never repay, for the protected princes can refuse nothing nor demand the restitution of any thing. Sometimes, also, the officers and servants of the Company will have bestowed on them the places of commander of elephants, camels, and bullocks, with enormous pay for their condescension.

Nevertheless, the fate of these princes excites, in general, the compassion of the English public more than that of their own people, from that aristocratic spirit which is inherent in the nation. Mr. Burke, when he accused Warren Hastings, did not become indignant at the sufferings of the people, but at those of the *princes* of India. The Emperor of the Moguls was for him the image of the King of England; the Princes of Oude and of the Carnatic represented the Cavendishes and the Russels, the hereditary defenders of British liberty. Even at present, the English philanthropist, who breathes the most ardent wishes for the welfare of India, demands, above all other things, that aristocracy should be again established there. If it is intended to raise an enlightened class, who are to owe their independence to their fortunes, to the cultivation of their minds, and to respect for the Company's agents: and without doubt this wish is reasonable. But to change ancient tyranny into a constitutional aristocracy, and to expect from them knowledge, virtue, or zeal for the public good, is giving to tigers the care of a flock of lambs. These princes were only powerful by the aid of the sword, of torture, and of crimes; when this reign is at an end, they also must fall with it.

If this (asks the benevolent writer) be the fate of those who are merely subjects of states tributary to the English, what must be the fate of those who live under its immediate rule? If a free press were permitted to them, they would answer for themselves. Those who now affect to inform the world on that subject, and who write home in their official despatches announcing that they are the most happy and contented of beings, do not choose, however, that the Indians should use their own judgment in framing an answer. Their reason for this dread it is not difficult to divine. Human nature is nearly the same on the banks of the Ganges and the Thames; and the same reasons which would, if men in power dared go so far, repress every approach to freedom of expression

here, operate in exactly the same manner there, only that they have more power in the latter case, and use it accordingly. The writer gives an extract from the article "On the Inefficacy of the Means now in use for the Propagation of Christianity in India," from the 'Oriental Herald' for June 1825, and continues :

'The most crying abuses are signalized in these few lines; others are also exposed in the different numbers of the work which we have before us; and still more will, no doubt, be laid open during the ensuing year. Nevertheless, hope has begun to beam for India; she depends on the appeal which Mr. Buckingham's Journal makes to public opinion; on the progress of that opinion, every day becoming clearer and more powerful; on the spirit which now animates the Ministry, in which there has never before been united so complete a knowledge of what constitutes the welfare of nations, and so sincere a desire to attain it; as well as on the approaching termination of the Company's charter. This expires in less than nine years; and we may now indulge the almost certain hope that it will never again be renewed.'

We live in that cheering hope; and while life and the means of subsistence be spared us, we trust we shall never relax in our endeavours to secure its accomplishment. The author passes in rapid review the two articles in the 'Oriental Herald,' one entitled "Brilliant Results of Free Trade and Just Laws in the Settlement of Singapore," and the other "On the Administration of Justice in British India, and the Introduction of Native Juries into Ceylon," in which there is much of deep interest to all the friends of humanity and liberal principles. After lamenting the steps taken by the Company to destroy all the good so immediately produced by the former, he says :

'The same fate does not certainly menace the island of Ceylon, which belongs to the Crown and not to the Company. An experiment, still more important, has been made there since the year 1811. In this island, inhabited by a people of the same origin, the same character, manners, and religion as the natives of the neighbouring continent, juries, composed of natives of the country, have been instituted, with a success which has far surpassed the most sanguine hopes of its author. The inhabitants have not only shown that they feel all the importance of their new duties, and of the support of real justice, but they have felt the greatest gratitude; they have attached themselves most firmly to the British Administration, and have manifested it during the war with the King of Candy. They have, in short, given a proof of their moral improvement by a voluntary resolution, taken at the suggestion of the President of their Supreme Court, (Sir Alexander Johnston,) to declare all the children born of slaves in their island free after the 12th of August 1816. The proprietors of slaves, of all castes and of all religions, unanimously concurred in this great act of philanthropy. Certainly there could not have been a more glorious success to encourage the zeal of the friends of India and of humanity. It will not fail to influence the English nation and its Ministry; and we venture to flatter ourselves that the 'Oriental Herald' will have every succeeding year to proclaim some great measure preparatory to the liberation of India, until the happy epoch, when the Association which now trades with its government and its justice shall be abolished for ever!

We say, with all our heart, AMEN!

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF DR. FRANKLIN.*

In expressing our opinion of a new 'Life of Franklin,' there seems to be no necessity whatever for entering at all upon a detail of his actions, either public or private, as they are already very generally as well known as any sketch could make them, and to be more thoroughly comprehended must be studied in the more voluminous narratives of his biographers, and the historians of America. Some few reflections, however, which an attentive examination of his character has suggested, may perhaps be in place in the present article; especially as the reader will not be likely, so far as we have seen, to meet with any thing resembling them in the 'Lives' hitherto published of this great man.

The ordinary failing of biographers, as our readers well know, is partiality for the subject of their memoirs. This, much more frequently than want of judgment, leads them to make a false estimate of his virtues and abilities, and dims and obscures their perception of his errors and failings. It is a fault that originates in an amiable motive; but in forming our notions of men, the love of truth is, after all, *the most amiable* principle, perhaps, by which we can be guided, and the most likely to contribute in the long run to the interest both of writer and reader. Under this conviction; we shall not scruple to direct our readers' attention to one or two stains, of no great magnitude, in the character of Franklin; not for the purpose of detracting from his fame, which, we trust, is imperishable, but in order to show the dangerous tendency, even in the best natures, of a strong affection for money.

But before we perform this ungrateful part of our task, let us look at two or three other points of his character, intellectual and literary; as well as at a few of those circumstances which communicate to his sketch of his own life those natural, homely charms, that will always recommend it to all unsophisticated minds. It is well known that, in the hands of a good writer, the history of events the most ordinary may, by amplification and artfulness of detail, be made to fasten on the imagination of the reader with irresistible force; and, by being sprinkled with alluring images, and the roots of delightful associations, to leave so agreeable an impression on the memory, that, without any great expectation of instruction, the reader will often be tempted to recur to it as a source of enjoyment.

* The Life of Benjamin Franklin, including a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the War of Independence, &c. 12mo. London, Hunt and Clarke, 1836.

In Franklin's narrative, which is a complete exemplification of this truth, there is much useful instruction, and more amusement. He carries us back, with evident pleasure, to the ancient history of his family, and, by way of introduction, relates a story or two of his "ancestors." From these, it should seem that he sprung from an energetic race, and was hardy and enterprising by a kind of inheritance. His father, although a petty tallow-chandler, was a keen shrewd man, and to his natural endowments, had added some slight tincture of letters. He accidentally got a sight, we are told, of some of Franklin's earliest attempts at composition, and the judgment he pronounced upon them appears to have been sound and enlightened. The amount of Franklin's obligations to his father's sagacity, however, we can by no means determine; but we suspect that it had a very considerable influence on both his character and fortunes.

It is hard to preserve humble adventures and petty difficulties and distresses from ridicule and sarcasm; and, perhaps, nothing could do it but the knowledge that they happened to a man afterwards illustrious, and were the broken and briery path to a structure of solid and acknowledged grandeur. Perfectly aware of this, Franklin studiously diversifies his narrative with anecdotes, sketches of character, literary allusions, adventures, conversations, and by this means confers romantic interest on a story otherwise bordering on a too great simplicity. Still, he was quite an egotist; for, although he fixes up these lights by the side of his path, it is not to draw off the eye of the reader, but to throw additional glare on his own movements. With all his apparent plainness, he was a skilful rhetorician. Not that he by any means affected "swelling and gigantic words," or the glitter of much ornament, the refuge most commonly of those who have nothing better; but, like Lysias or Phocion, he wielded a brief and well-polished style, which pierced and wounded his antagonists in argument, and in peaceful narrative composed and delighted.

As a writer, Franklin's merits are very considerable. His thoughts are generally clear and weighty, his views practicable, his sentiments kindly and correct. But he rarely rises to great warmth or energy, is seldom imaginative, and never sublime. The current of his thoughts flows equably, like a gentle river, which, winding away from the mountains, is never hurried through chasms or dashed over foaming precipices. It is quiet, or gently stirring, like the cheerfulness of old age. His style, like his character, is remarkable for artful simplicity. Caution has left the marks of her footsteps on every period. No warm wild gushes of nature, no impetuous passion, no fiery metaphors scarcely curbed on the very limit of resemblance, ever meet you there. There are writers among whose thoughts you move with as much awe as you would among the prodigians domes and pillars of some ancient forsaken city. But

Franklin is none of these: his thoughts and language rather resemble the domestic style of architecture, in which, though there be no magnificent porticoes, colonnades, or friczes, there is every convenience that can contribute to the comfort or corporeal enjoyment of life. His meditations centre perpetually in the useful. They are bounded by the visible world. They turn on life, or the arts that render life agreeable. In fact, you never for a moment forget, in Franklin's company, your artificial wants and feelings; he holds no communion with untutored nature; cares not for her solitudes and her wilds; or, if he casts an eye upon them, it is only to reconnoitre their weak points, in order to discover how man may best carry into their utmost recesses the invasion of the arts. Bear him into the depth of the "howling wilderness," his first thought would be, to pitch upon a convenient spot for the site of an insurance office, or of a stocking manufactory. He would prefer the sound of Don Quixote's fulling-mill to the roar of a desert cataract. His inquiries always tend to ascertain what can be made of Nature, caring little for the feelings which Nature, as she is, is calculated to inspire. His ideas, therefore, can scarcely be called sublime, perhaps, but they are sane and useful; more so, very possibly, than those which generate more lofty aspirations and more daring wishes.

Without intending to disparage in the least the merits of Franklin, whom we admire for his virtue and unshaken attachment to freedom, we shall venture to say, that we think his greatness was owing a good deal, at first, to the littleness of those around him. Chance, or whatever you please, led him very early to pay some attention to the cultivation of his mind; and, as the greater number of his countrymen followed not the same path, to feel, in consequence, that he was soon their superior in intellect. From the sense of superiority, he naturally passed to the manifestation of it; and, as the criticism that had to deal with his juvenile efforts was fortunately not over fastidious, he was encouraged to pursue his meditations, until, at length, practice and success added power to confidence, and raised him to what he afterwards was. In England or in France, Franklin might no doubt have acquired opulence, and a considerable degree of literary and philosophical reputation; but, we imagine, his name could never have been added to the illustrious list of patriots and statesmen whose actions shed the brightest lustre over the historic page. Europe is overstocked with learned and sensible men, and was, even in Franklin's days. There is no gaining a reputation here by a few slight essays, however ingeniously written. To attract the notice of societies so polished, so enlightened, and, at the same time, so superciliously indolent, requires immense labour, and a degree of genius far greater than was displayed by Franklin in his early productions. Accordingly, we daily find ambitious and able young men starting up, and aiming at literary reputation. Unmindful of the vast number of candidates with similar pretensions

and powers, who all at once crave the ear of the public, they expect to be instantly listened to, and distinguished; and failing in this, as in most cases they inevitably must, they grow dispirited, distrust their own powers, or the world's capacity to judge of them, and degenerate into misanthropes or spiteful critics. The meanest, perhaps, of these, transplanted to the convict plains of Australasia, or to the Cape of Good Hope, or to Canada, might rise immediately to celebrity, and exert an incalculable influence on the destinies of those countries.

But to return to Franklin:—If you except his youth, which was the sport of those vicissitudes that formed his character, he passed his whole life in affluence, and died rich; wherever he appeared in America, he was always received by his countrymen with applause and veneration; to his judgment and integrity they confided the defence of their rights before the Mother Country, and the representation of their wrongs and greatness to France; they created him President of that state in which he had collected his wealth and created his fame; he saw that the roots of his immortality had struck deep into their hearts, and must have felt the most profound delight in witnessing the freedom and happiness he had been a chief means in diffusing. Yet, in the midst of all those mighty energies which the creation of a new and free government had put in motion; surrounded by an industrious, warlike, and happy population; beholding the circle of civilization widening every moment, and embracing progressively the forest, the savannah, the desert and its hordes; seeing kings humbled, curbed, defeated in their tyrannical projects, and the rights of human nature established in defiance of their power; in the midst of all this, we say, could Franklin sit down calmly to enumerate the petty losses and disadvantages he had sustained in aiding to produce so glorious a state of things! The grounds of his dissatisfaction we know not, but both he and his family were dissatisfied with the conduct of America towards him; and, it seems, he allowed himself to be carried so far by this feeling, as often to quote the silly old observation respecting the tendency of republics to *ingratitude*. His present biographer says, he considered that the American Government never properly remunerated his services. What a pity it was that any thought of Mammon should have glided into so excellent a mind! Never remunerated his services! What, then, did he look for the *wages* of virtue? Did he wish to keep an exact account with the Americans, for so much patriotism so much money? It is very well for us to make the most of our heroes; but certainly the old republics of Greece and Rome produced virtue of a higher stamp than Franklin's. We never read that Epaminondas reproached the Thebans with being the cause of his having dined indifferently; or that Timoleon complained of the small salary of his grandson. Did our own Milton, upon whom Nature heaped as much greatness as humanity can bear, did he

ever drop one peevish or petty reflection to the prejudice of his cause? Did he hint that republics are constitutionally addicted to ingratitude? Did he murmur, in his loneliness and poverty and desertion and blindness, at the lot which his glorious advocacy of freedom had brought upon him?

But perhaps it is hardly fair to institute any comparison between such men and Franklin. His character, though highly estimable, and in fact extraordinary, was of a very different kind. By the constitution of his nature, he was destitute of all imagination and enthusiasm, inclined to parsimony, addicted to calculation; and disposed, even in the performance of virtue, to reckon up nicely the advantages it was likely to procure him. The most accurate judges of human affairs have decided, without any contradiction, that the ways of virtue and wisdom point to the same end; and Plato, perhaps too paradoxically, insists that virtue is nothing but wisdom itself under another name. Be this, however, as it may, Franklin had great wisdom; and finding himself possessed of a constitution of body that could without much difficulty be made the instrument of his mind, he very soon determined to acquire those virtues, or habits, which he saw clearly were indispensable to the proper enjoyment of life. Among these were industry, frugality, honesty, temperance, patience, and mildness. Munificence, magnanimity, generosity, as forming no part of his scheme, were omitted. Let us not be understood to mean that Franklin was never generous, magnanimous, or munificent; we merely say, that he was not so habitually, and from the impulses of his nature; and, in proof of this, we may mention his well-known neglect of his family; his money transactions with his friend Collins; his mercenary principle of courtship; and that petty dissatisfaction at the degree of pecuniary remuneration he had received from his country, on which we have already animadverted.

One remark more, and we have done with the failings of this great man. The attentive reader of his memoirs and miscellaneous works must perceive distinctly that Franklin was all his life an unbeliever. His creed was much the same as that of Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Bacon, Bayle, Pope, and Paine. He believed in the existence of God; he thought a future state of existence probable. In one word, he was what the moderns call a Deist. But, since he was conscientious in his disbelief, and sought not, at least in his riper years, to disturb the belief of others, liberal and moderate Christians would be disposed to pardon his infidelity, and to hope that God would do the same. For his own part, he must have been well convinced that in lofty, well-regulated minds, the sanction of established religions was not necessary to the existence of virtue. He knew that virtue is of no particular creed; that it has been the attribute of men who believed much, and of men who believed nothing. He had read of Epaminondas, of Socrates, of

Marcus Brutus, of Sir Thomas More, of Fenelon, of Algernon Sidney, of Confucius, of Atticus, and of Cato. He knew his own virtues, and believed in their reality. What, then, could have moved him calmly and deliberately to insinuate that, to dissipate a man's religious notions is to deprave and pervert him? That infidels act iniquitously without the smallest remorse? To strengthen this belief, he enumerates two or three Freethinkers, whose behaviour towards him had been bad; and cites his own conduct towards a friend who had intrusted him with the receipts of a sum of money, which he converted to his own use, but afterwards repaid; as also his neglect of Miss Read, afterwards his wife; and all this with the evident design of fathering the defects of his own disposition and principles upon his irreligious notions. He forgets to mention Keimer, a pious rogue, and all the other believing knaves, both Quakers and others, whose wickedness must have been equally familiar to him. We are quite sure that we are no less impressed than Franklin with the incalculable benefit which religion confers upon civil society; but it is not clear to our apprehension that the true interests either of religion or of virtue can be promoted by hypocrisy and falsehood; and in the passage referred to, we regard Franklin as guilty of both.

We shall enlarge no farther on this point, but proceed to hazard a few remarks on another topic. It seems to be commonly thought a very wonderful thing that Franklin, "a poor printer's boy," &c. should have ascended by economy and prudence to affluence and distinction, and have mingled on familiar terms with those polite and fashionable circles which are looked upon by some people as the very pinnacle of every thing great and illustrious. For our part, however, we can perceive nothing exceedingly marvellous in all this. Franklin's intercourse with the polite world chiefly took place in France, where the fashionable circles were not so very inaccessible as people seem to imagine. Anything new or strange might be introduced into those circles, from the barbarian of Siam to the poison-shooting Indian of Franklin's own country. It is much the same with us. Washington Irving, we believe, has been known to visit in Grosvenor Square; and so likewise have the tattooed savages of the Sandwich Islands, and Chinese brokers from Canton. And as to Franklin's economical maxims, we confess we see nothing extraordinary either in them or their result. The instances are innumerable of persons acquiring by industry and frugality much greater wealth than Franklin ever possessed. Individuals in this country, and in our own times, have risen to the possession of princely fortunes, and palaces suited to a king, by merely preparing blacking for our shoes. But they deserve not, on this account, to have their names handed down to posterity as if they were great and extraordinary men. We applaud their industry; but we venerate not their memories. The part of Franklin's

character truly extraordinary was, his capacity to unite the laborious pursuit of wealth, with ardent patriotism, and an inextinguishable thirst for knowledge. And it is in this point of view that he should be held up to the contemplation of mankind. Sordid, money-making philosophers, if such be objects of admiration, are no rarities in this age. We have chrysopeitic doctors, some with long beards, and some without, who understand every method under heaven by which a shilling can be generated, or made productive of other shillings. What we appear to want are persons who, without undervaluing the arts of wealth, regard independence of mind, and watchful hatred of tyranny, as something still more valuable, as something without which even wealth itself may prove a burden and a curse. Franklin was one of these. He loved to possess a well-furnished pocket; but then he thought that the possession of it would be of little value, unless he lived in a country where no man could put his hand into it without his consent. Nor was this feeling merely the effect of parsimonious habits; for Franklin was a proud and independent man, as well as calculating and economical. He loved freedom as much, we firmly believe, for its own sake, and for the sake of those intrepid and manly virtues which it generates, as he valued it for its natural tendency to promote national wealth, and multiply those conveniences and enjoyments which diffuse happiness among the great body of the people. Though his feelings were not of the most sensitive kind, he appeared to experience considerable delight in witnessing the increasing comforts and pleasures of the industrious poor; they were a testimony to the value of his own virtues, and of the maxims he laboured to render popular. Genius and intellectual power always command our admiration for whatever end they may be exerted; but they challenge something more as often as, descending from the dazzling pursuits of reputation, they bend an anxious eye on the miseries of mankind, and labour with earnestness to remove them. For example, who can refuse to admire the genius that created *Don Juan*, the *Satyricon*, or the *Aloysisia*, though humanity is likely to reap but little benefit from the adventures of the licentious Spaniard, the libertinism of the court of Nero, or the inconceivable profligacy of Meursius's heroines. But is this admiration so intense and pleasurable as that which springs up involuntarily in the mind at the bare mention of the name of Howard; the name which suggests innumerable pilgrimages to the shrines of misery, to lessen the sum of human suffering, to remove unnecessary bitterness even from deserved punishment? No less intent than Howard on the propagation of happiness, Franklin cultivated a more productive soil. His countrymen were a rude industrious people, who wanted but two things to make them flourishing and happy; and Franklin, who perceived that those two things were knowledge and liberty, had the genius and the virtue necessary to diffuse the one, and contend successfully for the other. To his

labours, America owed her earliest public libraries and colleges; to his sagacity, in great part, her achievement of independence; to his genius and invention, her greatest claims to reputation for science; and, exclusive of these first-rate considerations, it was to his contrivance and ingenuity that she first owed the lighting up of her cities, and the economical and comfortable warming of her private apartments.

Excepting those few blemishes which we have thought it our duty to point out in his character, Franklin was the model of a good citizen, plain and humble in his social, proud and unbending in his political relations. Largely acquainted with the wisdom of past and present times, he felt that in judging of the various contrivances which men have resorted to for securing the happiness of society, he was entitled to much deference; and he could not always conceal the disdain he harboured for the juggling mountebanks whom he sometimes saw at the head of human affairs. Notwithstanding his injudicious remarks on the ingratitude of commonwealths, which may, perhaps, be attributed after all to the previsions of old age, he was all his life a rigid republican. No other government, he well knew, could possibly secure to man his natural dignity, or provide those incitements to ambition, which rouse and maintain the energies of genius, never so capable of steady indefatigable exertion, as when they carry their aim towards the summit of all earthly glory and power. In all proud minds, there is a grating sense of inferiority under all governments directed by hereditary chiefs, where every longing look cast towards the throne is rebellious and treasonable. In republics it is virtuous to aim at the highest dignities. There, no man, let him be born in circumstances ever so humble, ever so untoward or unpromising, can be considered as excluded, by some ruling star, from all hope of wielding the sovereignty of the state. There, hereditary castes, entailed dignities and titles, stifle not his aspirations; wicked and absurd privileges insult not his understanding; factitious greatness mocks not his genius. There the highest office of the state lies pillowed on glory in the centre of millions of worshippers, to be approached and possessed by the most worthy, but still periodically accessible, and therefore ever diffusing an animating invigorating influence. In this light, Franklin contemplated government: as a thing intended originally for the good of all, and then only answering the end designed, when it fulfilled every practicable wish of those who instituted it.

Major Cartwright, whose whole life was a series of abortive attempts at doing good, might notwithstanding this be the subject of an instructive volume; but how much more instructive and complete is the example of Franklin, who scarcely ever undertook anything that he did not perform, and whose undertakings were almost always of the greatest magnitude! His life was full of action and vicissi-

tude ; was connected with the most glorious events ; was consistent ; was virtuous. His biography, therefore, can never fail to be highly instructive. For as his life was diversified and full of interest, the faithful picture of it must be so likewise.

The work before us we consider to be the production of an able and veracious writer. It takes up the thread of Franklin's story at the beginning, and pursues it with pleasing brevity through all its details both public and private. Apparently quite free from prejudice, the author has attempted to describe Franklin exactly as he was, to put his actions in their true light, and to attribute to them their due influence in producing the liberation and prosperity of America ; and in our opinion he has been very successful. His style of narration is clear and agreeable, and calculated, from a certain amenity and benignity which it every where breathes, to impress upon one's mind a very pleasing idea of the writer. He seems, moreover, to have formed a very correct estimate of Franklin's abilities ; and when he touches upon his failings, he appears to do it with a kind of filial regret, obeying the dictates of truth, but obeying them without that glee and alacrity which some men feel when they can safely indulge in censuring great men. In one word, he has produced an excellent little work, which we have great pleasure in recommending to as many of our readers as delight in that most instructive branch of literature—biography.

SONG.

AIR—" *The Streamlet.*"

NEAR a bank, where fair Emma reclined,
A streamlet flow'd gently along,
Where often her languishing ringlets she twined,
And enchanted the woods with her song.

The zephyr that play'd on its wave,
Hung wantonly o'er the sweet strain,
And stole through the rocks of a wild mossy cave
To breathe it in echo again.

The blue liquid curls of the breeze
Impatiently linger'd their stay,
Till the transport of music their rippings would cease,
And melt them in murmurs away.

There, oft on this streamlet she'd gaze,
Till the magic that beam'd from her eye,
Would arrest the career of its serpentine maze,
And release it again with a sigh.

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL VIEW OF THE LAW OF LIBEL
IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA.

No. V.

Practical View of the Law of Libel in England.

Among barbarous nations, and in rude ages, the crime of seditious libel is unknown; it implies the use of a weapon too delicate, and the contemplation of objects too remote and abstract, for their gross capacities and feelings. With the progress of civilization, as men begin to perceive the errors of their rulers, and to scan measures which do not immediately affect their persons or properties, they essay their power of checking the rigour and modifying the designs of Government by the clandestine publication of strictures on its proceedings. But then the weight of Government is so preponderant, that such attempts are crushed whenever their authors are discovered; the same gigantic strength is employed to chastise the most respectable and the meanest antagonist, and no distinction is made, whether the offensive matter is of the most temperate and merited; the most harmless and venial, or the most furious and hostile description; the same power feels the smart, estimates the injury, and proportions the punishment. The rising intelligence and awakened sympathy of the people soon put an end to this reign of terror, and interpose an impartial judge of the fact between the accuser and the penalty which he seeks to draw down on the head of the accused. But a long, long period intervenes before this nominally independent judge—the *jury*—becomes really independent, impartial, and capable of balancing all the considerations on which a verdict in cases of libel ought to depend. "It is," said Mr. Erskine, * "because the liberty of the press resolves into this great issue, that it has been in every country the last liberty which subjects have been able to wrest from power. Other liberties are held under Government, but the liberty of opinion keeps Government themselves in due subjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age, and the world has been only purged from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it." To the same purpose, De Lolme: "And, indeed, this privilege is that which has been obtained by the English nation with the greatest difficulty, and latest, in point of time, at the expense of the executive power. Freedom was in every other respect already established, when the English were still, with

* Trial of Paine, 22. State Trials, 487.

regard to the public expression of their sentiments, under restraints that may be called despotic." The state of the law regarding libel affords, therefore, one of the best criterions of the political and moral condition of a nation, to which a higher place in the scale of excellence may be assigned in proportion as it abstains from making that impalpable crime the object of temporal penalties.

In taking a rapid review of cases of seditious libel, we cannot ascend higher than the reign of Henry VII., in which, it has been already mentioned, that Sir W. Stanley was executed for expressing, as his private opinion, an incontrovertible truth, that the hereditary right to the crown was in the house of York, and not in that of Lancaster; and that some of the meaner sort were "caught up and hanged" for dispersing libels consequent upon that tyrannous act. The succeeding reign showed how far it was possible to carry the rage of persecution for opinion. By stat. 26, Hen. VIII., c. 13., it was made *high treason* if any one did maliciously *wish well*, or *desire by words*, or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt any bodily harm to the person of the King, Queen, or of their heir-apparent, to deprive them of their dignity, title, or name; or if any did slanderously and maliciously publish, and pronounce, by express writing or words, that the King was heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper, &c. By stat. 28., Hen. VIII., c. 7, it was made *high treason* if any one procured, or did any thing by words, writing, print, or deed, *for the repeal* or avoidance of that act; or if any one, by words, writing, imprinting, or any other exterior act, directly or indirectly, accepted, took, *judged*, or *believed* the marriages with Queen Catherine and Anne to have been good and lawful; or slandered the sentences of the Archbishop therein; or took, accepted, named, or called any of their children legitimate; or craftily imagined, invented, or attempted, by colour of any pretence, to deprive the King, Queen, or their heirs, or those the King should appoint, of any of their titles, styles, or regal power; and if any being required, by commissioners properly authorised, to make oath, *to answer such questions as should be objected to him*, upon any clause, article, sentence, or word in that act, *did contemptuously refuse to make such oath*, or, after making it, *refuse to answer*, he should be guilty of high treason.*

By stat. 1, Edw. VI. c. 12, it was ordained, that if any person, "by open preaching, express words or sayings," affirmed any thing in derogation of the King's titles or prerogatives, he should, for the first offence, forfeit all his goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during the King's pleasure; for the second offence, forfeit the issues and profits of his lands, benefices, and other spiritual promotions, for life, with his goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during life; the third offence to be high treason. But if the above

* 4. Reeves' Hist. Eng. Law, 275.

offences were committed by *writing, printing*, overt deed or act, it was high treason for every offence.* Similar provisions are contained in the 1 and 2 Philip and Mary c. 9. By an earlier act of the same session, to speak slanderous news of the King, Queen, or any common person, was punishable with the loss of both ears; and if it was by book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, the offender was to have his right hand stricken off.

In 1519, John Udale was capitally prosecuted for publishing, anonymously, 'A Demonstration of Discipline.' He was sentenced to death, but died in prison, in 1592, "quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief." When brought up for judgment, he said:

'No judgment in law ought to be given in case of felony, but upon a party first found guilty thereof by a verdict of twelve men; but I am not so; for proof whereof I pray you it may be remembered, that your Lordship gave the jury in issue only for the trial of the fact, *whether I were author of such a book*, and freed them from inquiring the intent, without which there is no felony.' . . . 'I acknowledge the record against me, but I appeal to your Lordship's conscience whether you delivered not unto them (the jury) speeches to this effect: "As for the felony, you are not so much to inquire, but only whether he made the book, leaving the felony to us."'

Here is one of the earliest instances of that monstrous usurpation of the functions of the jury which it required more than two hundred years to put down, and for the retention of which, Lords Mansfield, Thurlow, Kenyon, and all the Judges contended to the last.

In 1612, Bartholomew Legett was burnt in Smithfield for *Arianism*; and in the same year, Edward Wightman for Arianism, mixed with various wild fancies; as that he, Wightman, was the Holy Ghost, &c. Fuller in his Church History says, that the people "beheld them with compassion, not minding the demerit of the *guilt which deserved the same.*"

In 1629, Sir John Elliott, Denzil Hollis, and Benjamin Valentine, were prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench for seditious speeches in Parliament. The prisoners denied the jurisdiction, and judgment was given upon a *nihil dicit*, by Jones, as follows:

'The matter of the information by the confession of the defendants, is admitted to be *true*, and we think their plea to the jurisdiction insufficient for the matter and manner of it; and we hereby will not draw the *TRUE LIBERTIES of Parliament into question*,—to wit, for such matters which they do and speak in a *parliamentary* manner. But in this case, there was a conspiracy between the defendants to slander the estate, and to raise sedition and disorder between the King, his peers, and people; and this was not a *parliamentary* course. All the judges, except *one*, have resolved the statute of 4 Hen. VIII, to be a private act, and to extend to Strode only. But every member of Parliament shall have such privileges as are there mentioned; *but they have no privilege to speak at their pleasure.* The Parliament is a high court, therefore it ought not to be disorderly, but ought to give good example to other courts. If a judge of one court should rail upon the state or clergy, he is

* Ibid, 469.—See a description of such mutilation inflicted in the reign of Queen-Elizabeth for a pasquinade.—Fortunes of Nigel, III. 175.

punishable for it. A member of Parliament may charge any great officer of the state with any particular offence; but this was a malicious accusation in the generality of all the officers of state; therefore the matter contained within the information is a great offence, and punishable in this court.'

They were fined and imprisoned during the King's pleasure. In justifying this invasion of the liberty of speech in Parliament, no more sophistry was required than in numberless instances of the invasion of the liberty of the press.

In 1629, Mr. Richard Chambers was tried in the Court of Star Chamber, on an information preferred by the Attorney-General, for having said, *when examined as a witness by the Privy-Council*, that the merchants of England were more wrung and screwed than in any part of the world, not excepting Turkey. He was sentenced to pay a fine of 2000*l.*, and subscribe a submission.

In 1630, Dr. Alexander Leighton was proceeded against in the Star Chamber for being the author of 'An Appeal to the Parliament, or a Plea against Prelacy,' and sentenced to be whipt, stand in the pillory, have one ear cut off, one side of his nose slit, branded on one cheek with the letters S. S., (stirrer up of sedition,) and seven days afterwards, his sores being healed, to be again whipt, stand in the pillory, have his other ear cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and his other cheek branded; all which was executed, as minutely noted in Archbishop Laud's 'Diary.'

In 1633, the learned Prynne, for his 'Histriomastic,' in which it was said he alluded to the Queen's having acted in a pastoral at Somerset House, though that took place *after* the publication of his book, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, pillory, loss of both ears, and to pay a fine of 6000*l.*

In 1634, Lord Balmerino was tried in the Court of Justiciary, in Scotland, for high treason, in being the author of a *petition*, which was never subscribed nor presented; sentenced to death, and, after suffering a long imprisonment, pardoned. Gordon of Buckie, who had been engaged in the murder of the Earl of Murray, was (by an exercise of that power which the judges of Scotland still possess!) appointed on the jury as a *sare man*; but, on the contrary, he exerted himself earnestly, "with tears streaming down his aged cheeks," to save the prisoner. The jury were equally divided; but Traquair, their chancellor, (foreman,) though a Secretary of State, urged that it belonged to them only to judge of *facts*, and to leave to the court to decide what crime they amounted to, and decided the fate of the prisoner by his casting vote.

In 1637, Prynne was again tried in the Star Chamber, with Blastwick, a physician, and Burton, a clergyman, for several libels. Prynne begged that the Bishops, being parties, might retire from the court; to which the Lord Keeper replied:

'In good faith it is a sweet motion, is it not? Herein you are become libellous. And if you should thus libel all the lords and reverend judges, as

you do the most reverend prelates, by this your plea, you would have none to pass sentence upon you for your libelli, because they are parties.'

Prynne's counsel (Holt) avowed to the court that he durst not set his hand to his client's answer, and the court would not receive it under the prisoner's hand! Bastwick was exactly in the same predicament. His counsel would not sign his answer, but he offered it to the court upon his oath. Burton's answer was signed, but referred to the *Judges*, who rejected it as impertinent and libellous. So the cause was taken *pro confesso* against them all; and they were all flogged, stood in the pillory, lost both ears, (the little that remained of Prynne's being closely cut off,*) and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The places of their imprisonment were afterwards changed by an order of council to Jersey, Guernsey, and the Scilly Isles. Feb. 22, 1640, the House of Commons resolved, that the sentence given against Prynne, in the Star Chamber, Feb. 17, 9 Car., is illegal, and given without just cause, and ought to be reversed; and that Mr. Prynne ought to be discharged of the fine of 5000*l.*, &c. &c.; that he ought to have reparation, &c.; that the sentence given against Mr. Prynne, 14th June 1637, 13 Car., is illegal, and given without any just cause, and therefore ought to be reversed. Prynne and Burton were escorted into London by ten thousand persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands, which they strewed in the way.

In the same year, 1637, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was tried in the same court for *receiving* a private letter, written five years before, from Lambert Osbaldiston, master of Westminster school, reflecting on Archbishop Laud. The crime of Williams lay in not revealing the guilt of his correspondent, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to the King, and 3000*l.* to the Archbishop, to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and to make submission. Osbaldiston was fined 5000*l.* to the King, and 5000*l.* for damages to the Archbishop, and to stand in the pillory, but he made his escape.

In the same year, John Lilburne, Prynne's clerk, for publishing libels, printed in Holland, and refusing to take an oath of inquisition to answer all interrogatories that should be put to him, was whipt from the Fleet-prison to Westminster Hall; and there, while standing in the pillory, he continued to rail till an order came from the Star Chamber, then sitting, that he should be gagged. In 1642, he was taken prisoner by the King's troops at Edge-hill, and indicted of high treason, but rescued by the Parliament's threat of retaliation. Being incurably addicted to attacking the existing Government with his pen and tongue, he was banished by the Long Parliament, but returned to England under the protectorate. Crom-

* Mr. Southey is facetious on Prynne's "picking up the stumps of his ears in the days of his sober repentance."—Quart. Rev. No. 57. p. 906.

well, however, was not more patient of his libels, but had him tried by a jury for high treason in 1649. But Lilburne insisting with invincible spirit that the jury were judges of the law as well as the fact of his being the author of the publications laid in the indictment, obtained a verdict of Not guilty. "Extraordinary were the acclamations for the prisoner's deliverance, as the like had not been seen in England; which acclamations, and loud-rejoicing expressions, went quite through the streets with him to the very gates of the town, and for joy the people caused that night abundance of bonfires to be made all up and down the streets." Notwithstanding this acquittal, Lilburne was detained in prison several years, and at last died a Quaker before the restoration.

From this period to the death of Cromwell, no state prisoner had the benefit of trial by jury, except Sindercome, who had undertaken to assassinate him. In 1656, Sir H. Vane was questioned before the Council, and, without further trial, imprisoned in Carisbrook castle, for a book entitled, 'A Healing Question propounded and resolved, upon occasion of the late Public and seasonable Call to Humiliation, in order to: Love and Union amongst the Honest Party.' The High Court of Justice consisted of upwards of fifty judges; and when Sir Henry Slingsby, in 1658, desired to be tried by a jury, the Lord President Lisle replied: "We are all here your jury, as well as your judges. We are the number of two or three juries. And your jury is well known, for they are chosen by the Parliament. You are to plead to your indictment." On his making a second demand for a jury, the Lord President said: "Acts of Parliament make *justice* and law; they are both. They think fit to change the custom of trials that have been in former times, and all persons must submit to it." Hume's apology for the abolition of jury trial is as follows:

'If no other method of conviction had been devised during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were assured of entire impunity. And to every man *but himself*, and to himself, *except where necessity required the contrary*, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. High Courts of Justice were created to try those who had engaged in conspiracies and insurrections against the Protector's authority, *and whom he could not safely commit to the verdict of juries*. This subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity,' &c.

The doctrine of Lisle, that Acts of Parliament are the standard of what is just and unjust, is precisely that which his contemporary, Hobbes, had not long before given to the world; while the admission of Hume, that a usurper is under the "necessity" of perpetrating any act, however unjust, that may conduce to the stability of his usurped authority, and is absolved from the plainest rules of natural justice—even that which forbids any man to be judge in his own cause, when he cannot "safely" conform to them—as plainly accords with the principles of Machiavel. The one con-

founds the distinction between right and wrong, the other disregards it.

Notwithstanding the many proofs that Cromwell entertained a just sense of the extremely precarious tenure by which he held his power, and that he neither overlooked printed attacks on his measures nor subjected their authors to a fair trial, but imprisoned them after acquittal, or without trial, it has not been uncommon to represent him as insensible to the sting of libels, and tolerating the licentiousness of the press. Thus the writer of the article* before quoted supposes him to have said: "My government is not worth preserving if it cannot stand against paper shot," and proceeds:

'The sagacious usurper, accordingly, trusted to the strong arm of power, and never prosecuted for libels; but a good government, founded upon free principles, and planted in the hearts of the people by the blessings they conferred upon them, would have far less to fear from paper shot than the military despotism of Cromwell, who, after all, lived to feel that the press is the appointed scourge of evil rulers, ~~when it dared to tell him in the face of the country,~~ that the people could only enter upon the inheritance of their birth-right by his death.'

Now, the author of 'Killing no Murder,' whether Colonel Titus, or some other, was so far from daring to do any such thing, that he most carefully concealed himself, and baffled the strictest search which Cromwell's police could make for him, not trusting to the protection of "the country" against "the scourge of an evil ruler." But the speech attributed to Cromwell, whereby hangs this gratuitous compliment, is probably a confused echo of what he said of Harrington's 'Oceana,' which was inscribed to himself, and offered him as a tempting model of a Commonwealth: "The gentleman had like to trepan me out of my power, but what I got by the sword I will not quit for a little paper shot."

After the restoration, the use of juries was revived, but their ignorance and corruption made the institution generally seem but a vain form which opposed no obstacle to the career of oppression. The inefficacy of the legal safeguards which existed in those days to exclude tyranny, affords strong grounds for inculcating the duty of incessant vigilance and self-control on the part of all who are clothed with authority or influence, lest, while they respect the letter, they offend against the spirit, of those institutions on which the national welfare is founded. With the same laws there may be a great difference between the moral qualities possessed, and the happiness enjoyed, in one age or country and another. On the other hand, perhaps too much of the improvement which succeeded the revolution has been ascribed to *men* and too little to *laws*.

* The point of time, (says Blackstone,) at which I would choose to fix the theoretical perfection of our public law, is in the year 1679, after the Habeas

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 53, p. 121.

Corpus Act was passed, and that for Licensing the Press had expired; though the years which immediately followed it were times of great practical oppression. It is far from my intention to palliate or defend many very iniquitous proceedings, contrary to all law, in that reign, through the artifice of wicked politicians, both in and out of employment. What seems incontestable is this, that *by the law*, as it then stood: (notwithstanding some invidious, nay, dangerous branches of the prerogative have since been lopped off, and the rest more clearly defined,) the people had as large a portion of real liberty as is consistent with a state of society; and sufficient power residing in their own hands to assert and preserve that liberty if invaded by the royal prerogative. For which I need but appeal to the memorable catastrophe of the next reign. For when King Charles's deluded brother attempted to enslave the nation, he found it was beyond his power; the people both could and did resist him, and in consequence of such resistance obliged him to quit his enterprize and his throne together.'

Upon which Mr. Fox, admitting the correctness of the statement, exclaims: "How vain then, how idle, how presumptuous, is the opinion that *laws* can do everything! and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that *measures*, not *men*, are to be attended to!" Doubtless *both* are to be attended to; and it would be as wrong to reject a good measure because it came from Caius, as it would be to accept a bad measure because it originated with Titus. But the large acknowledgment which Blackstone himself makes, that "some invidious, nay dangerous, branches of the prerogative have *since* been lopped off, and the rest more clearly defined," is quite incompatible with the "perfection" ascribed to the constitution from 1679 to 1688. The mere existence of a doubt in Westminster Hall, as to the King's power of arresting the law of the land by *non obstante*, was an immense imperfection, and occasioned half the evils of the reign of James II. The refusal of counsel to prisoners on trial for high treason, a privilege which was not conceded till 1695, and which was resisted on this very ground, that before the revolution, "the fault was not in the *laws* but in the *men*,"* was also a very great imperfection. Would the seven bishops have been acquitted of libel, but for the exertions of the counsel, the ablest men then at the bar? Would Russell, Sydney, and so many other martyrs, have been illegally convicted and executed, if counsel had been allowed to instruct and animate the jury, while they over-awed the bench? When Sydney asked counsel on the point of there being *one* witness, he was told that was a point of *fact*. When he desired counsel on the question, whether *conspiring to levy war* was treason, the Chief Justice said: "You had as good ask me whether the first chapter of Littleton be law." Who has not been struck with this affecting and sublime incident in the trial of Lord Russell?

' LORD RUSSELL.—May I have somebody to write, to help my memory?

' LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—Any of your servants shall assist you in writing anything you please for you.

* Speech of Attorney-General Treby, 5 'Parl. Hist.' 659.

‘ LORD RUSSELL.—My wife is here, my Lord, to do it.*

‘ LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—If my Lady please to give herself the trouble.’

Lord Russell’s challenges of jurors, for want of freehold, were rejected; and the Attorney-General’s challenges for the same cause, on the trial of Fitzharris, admitted. Sir John Hawles† shows other instances in which prisoners were ensnared and overpowered for want of professional assistance, and well observes: “I doubt it will be suspected in this case and many others, they (the judges) did not make the most of their client’s (the prisoner’s) case, nay, generally have betrayed their poor client, to please, as they apprehended, their better client, the king.” “By the law, as it *then* stood,” therefore, the people were far from enjoying “as large a portion of real liberty as is consistent with a state of society.”

The proof that they possessed such a measure of liberty drawn from the expulsion of James II., is by no means conclusive. The earlier attempts of John and Charles roused a more spirited, though less unanimous resistance; and if James had been content to rule a nation of *Protestant* slaves, he would have prosecuted his enterprise with a better chance of success, and at least have protracted the struggle. Nor was it by the exercise of any political power, residing in the hands of the people, that they asserted and preserved their liberty. It was by the suppression or obstruction of all the organs by which that power is lawfully expressed, that the people were driven to interpose their physical force in order to chase the tyrant from his throne. If the press had been free, if that single branch of the constitutional power of the people had been left in their hands, it might not have been necessary to resort to so severe a remedy. It was, then, by the development of the latent energies of the constitution that the Revolution was brought about; and yet it has been since appealed to for the purpose of showing that all its ordinary functions were *then* in full vigour and activity.

‘ Was it, (said Mr. Canning,) by meetings such as these (at Manchester, &c.) that the Revolution was brought about, that grand event, to which our antagonists are so fond of referring? Was it by meetings in St. George’s Fields, &c. &c.? No—IT WAS BY THE MEETINGS OF CORPORATIONS IN THEIR CORPORATE CAPACITY,—by the assembly of bodies recognized of the state,—by the interchange of opinions among portions of the community known to each other, and capable of estimating each other’s views and characters. Do we want a more striking mode of remedying grievances than this? Do we require a more animating example? And did it remain for the reformers of the present day to strike out the course by which alone Great Britain could make and keep herself free! ‡

* Thus disfigured by the version of Sir John Dalrymple.—“I ask none (no hand) but that of the lady who sits by me.”

† ‘Remarks on the Trials of Edward Fitzharris, Stephen College, Count Koningsmark, the Lord Russell, Colonel Sydney, Henry Cornish, and Charles Bateman; as also on the Earl of Shaftesbury’s Grand Jury, Wilmer’s Homine Repligiando, and the award of execution against Sir Thomas Armstrong.’

‡ Speech at Liverpool, 1820.

A REQUIEM FOR THE BRAVE.

WEEP not for the brave ! Weep not for the brave !
 Their last good fight is fought ;
 Calmly they sleep by their own bright blue wave ;
 They died as heroes ought.
 Calm they are looking down
 From blessed regions, now,
 With the Martyrs' starry crown
 Bound on each glorious brow—
 Then weep not for the brave !

The bursting of the shell, and the dread shock
 Of the exploding mine,
 The fierce wild " Allah Hu," that seem'd to mock
 The Christian songs divine,
 Is now to them no more
 Than the dream of a troubled sleep ;
 Than the storm that has passed o'er
 To those on the tranquil deep—
 Then weep not for the brave !

Weep not for the brave ! weep not for the brave !
 We do not weep for those
 Who, in other days, found an immortal grave
 Amidst their country's foes.
 Who of Numantia old
 Thinks now with timid sighs ?
 No ! but her fate more stirs the bold
 Than a thousand victories—
 Then weep not for the brave !

Shades of the mighty fallen ! whose renown
 Hallows both earth and sea,
 Come from the waves of Salamis ! look down
 From great Thermopylæ !
 Look on yon desolate shore ;
 Yon blacken'd wall o'erthrown !
 There GREEKS have fallen once more
 With a glory like your own.
 Then weep not for the brave !
 Their hour was come ;
 'T is sweet to die for, when we cannot save,
 Our native home.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A VISIT TO THE HOSPICE OF GREAT
ST. BERNARD.

Few intelligent or curious travellers pass Martigny without diverging from their route to ascend the Great St. Bernard. During the fine season, this is by no means a very arduous undertaking, as the numbers of our fair countrywomen who have accomplished it, sufficiently show. The passage is interesting on account of its celebrated convent, whose inhabitants have acquired a well-merited reputation for their benevolent and disinterested exertions in the cause of humanity; and also as being the difficult path by which, in 1800, Napoleon conducted his army to the victory of Marengo, and the conquest of Italy. In addition to these considerations, the circumstance of the Hospice of St. Bernard being the highest inhabited spot in Europe, and, with reference to the line of perpetual congelation, perhaps in the world, attracts many to the spot. According to M. de Saussure, the Hospice is situated 1257 toises, or 7542 French feet, above the level of the sea. The ascent on mules occupies about ten hours, including a halt to refresh the cattle. The passage exhibits that grandeur of scenery and picturesque beauty which distinguish Switzerland in general, and more especially the Alpine regions. The villages which are passed through at intervals, are filthy and miserable, like all the hamlets in the Valais, and the population are a melancholy picture of poverty, wretchedness, *cretinism* and *goitres*. As far as the village of Liddes, which is about half way, the ascent is easy, and the country cultivated. The road soon after begins to get more steep and broken, and the landscape assumes a more barren and wild aspect, until at length the traveller finds himself amidst frowning heights, terrific precipices, and perpetual snows. The difficulties and dangers of this passage have been greatly exaggerated; the ascent is so easy and the path so practicable, that the traveller needs not once get off his mule. It is by no means dangerous in summer, and the places where a *faus-pas* might not be made with impunity are very few. In winter, of course, the depth of the snow, which equalises the surface of the country, and incapacitates the traveller from perceiving the perils by which he is environed, renders the passage very hazardous, and accordingly, notwithstanding the benevolent labours of the monks, scarcely a winter passes without some lives being lost; for, notwithstanding its dangers, the pass is very much frequented, as it saves an immense round about to those who have to pass between Italy and the Valais. The terrible *avalanches* which fall in winter and in the beginning of spring, and the *tourmentes*, or whirlwinds of snow, constitute the chief dangers of this passage. The rain which falls

in the valley, becomes sleet as the traveller ascends, and ultimately snow; and the different stages of this process are plainly perceptible. This sort of weather, if it does not add to the beauty of the scene, at least gives the traveller the advantage of seeing it clad in all its wintry horrors, without the actual evils which attend an expedition to it in winter.

The Hospice is situated at the highest part of the pass, which is there contracted into a narrow valley. It is a large, long, and irregular building, containing much room, *sombre* in its aspect, yet cheering as rising out of the chill and comfortless waste which surrounds it. Here, rich and poor, Jews, Pagans, and Christians—persons of all ages, sexes, sorts, and conditions—are received with a kindness and courtesy which know no distinctions; their wants are supplied and their sufferings are assuaged, no prying questions are asked, no remuneration is demanded, none is received. In a corner of the little chapel stands a box, into which those who can afford it, and who please, may drop their contributions for the support of this admirable institution, but no hint is given, not even is the existence of the box indicated to the guest; if he finds it out and contributes, it is entirely voluntary, and the right hand knows not what the left has given.

In the chapel is interred Desaix, who fell a conqueror at Marengo. A handsome monument in relief, representing the death of the General, was erected to his memory by his brother in arms, Napoleon. It is said, that Desaix and Napoleon entered into an agreement, that in the event of either falling in battle, he should be interred on the top of St. Bernard by the survivor. It is impossible to say how far this may be founded on fact, but it seems more probable that Napoleon caused Desaix to be interred there as a sort of memorial of the passage of the army. The Prussians accuse Napoleon of having caused Desaix to be assassinated, but no credit can be attached to so improbable a story. That Desaix was the real conqueror at Marengo is most certain. Napoleon had lost the battle, and was actually in retreat, the Austrian general considered the battle as won, and imprudently extended his flanks; at this juncture, Desaix, who had crossed the little St. Bernard, suddenly charged his left flank and forced it, whilst Napoleon forced the centre. The glory of the battle then was Desaix's, and the First Consul was about as much the winner of it as Wellington was of Waterloo, the Prussians in the latter case having done nearly what Desaix did in the former.

Various traditions have been handed down respecting the origin of the Hospice, but no certain records exist on the subject. The most probable account of it seems to be, that it was established as a sort of post for the protection of travellers from the predatory bands who infested the pass, and afterwards was given up to monks, who took upon themselves the task of relieving travellers.

The establishment was formerly very wealthy, possessing lands and revenues more than sufficient to defray its expenses. In succeeding periods, however, it was stripped of these, and it now possesses no property but some small rents in the Valais; these, and the contributions which are raised in various countries, constitute its only means of fulfilling the truly admirable ends of its establishment. The religieux of St. Bernard are regular canons of the order of St. Augustine. The vows they make are chastity, poverty, and universal and indiscriminate charity. The qualifications required of those who enter the order are, good education, probity, and respectable standing in society. Youths possessed of these are admitted to a noviciate of one year, after which they are examined by the Prevost and a Chapter, and, if found qualified, are admitted as canons. During their probation they assist in the menial offices of the establishment. The functionaries are the Prevost, who is the superior; the Prieur, second in authority; the Sacristain, who has charge of the chapel; the Clavandier, who is steward; the Cellerier, who is purveyor; and the Hopitalier, who superintends the infirmary. Of these offices, that of Prevost lasts for life, each of the others last for three years; all, without exception, are conferred by the canons themselves, who exercise the right of *universal suffrage*.

The Prevost being, generally, a man advanced in life, whose youth has been passed in the active duties of the establishment, and who is unable to bear the rigorous climate of the elevated regions of the Hospice, has permission to reside at Martigny, where there is a house belonging to the fraternity. Once a year, in the month of August, on the festival of St. Bernard, he ascends to the Hospice and holds a chapter for the examination of novices. The Prieur generally remains above, and is the chief authority. The number of canons is not limited, and generally consists of from twenty to thirty; of these, ten or twelve are generally resident at the Hospice, and the rest are employed on missions or the duties of the establishment. The residents are almost all young men, the climate being too severe for those who are advanced in life. They suffer much from pains in the head, eyes, and ears, and from indigestion; evils incident to their elevated atmosphere, and to the little exercise they are able to take during the greater part of the year. They breakfast at seven, dine at one, and sup at seven; their meals are remarkably plain and simple, and the intervals between them are filled up by devotion, study, or cheerful conversation. Some of them wander over the mountains, and clamber the loftiest peaks in their botanical and mineralogical pursuits; others cultivate music and drawing; and time, even in this dismal abode, never seems to hang heavy on their hands. They receive their guests with great politeness and hospitality; their conversation is full of cheerfulness and intelligence, and all appearance of restraint and cere-

mony is at once banished. Indeed, their intercourse with the world, even in this seclusion, is, during a part of the year, greater than that of many who dwell in the vicinity of cities; for their visitors, during summer, are very numerous. As the rules of their order enjoin that the refectory "shall ne'er by woman's feet be trod," the brethren have fitted up a salon in a very neat and tasteful manner, where they receive their lady-guests, and do the honours with much *politesse*. The salon is embellished with various drawings and other little decorations, presented by visitors who have experienced the hospitality of the monks. Amongst other gifts of this sort, there is a piano-forte, which was sent by a party of English, in remembrance of their kind reception at the Hospice.

The dogs of St. Bernard have long been renowned for their sagacity and their usefulness, and poetry and romance have, as usual, engrafted upon authenticated facts not a little of invention; adding thereto a sufficient portion of that indispensable ingredient, the marvellous, to supply dainty fare to the consumers of 'Interesting Narratives' and 'Providential Deliverances.' The dogs are represented as issuing forth alone, in the midst of storms and snows, carrying baskets with provisions, and conducting, nay, even dragging the fainting traveller to the hospitable convent. The following facts, as collected from the monks themselves, are given, it will be readily believed, with no intention of disparaging the labours of the very useful quadrupeds in question:

During the winter (that is, from November to May, these being the months when the passage of the Great St. Bernard is dangerous from snow and avalanches,) a servant of the Hospice, called the Marronnier, goes every day about noon to a place about a league below the convent, and half way down the mountain, where the monks have a small sheltered house. In the neighbourhood of this there is an elevated spot, which commands an extensive view down the pass; he ascends this, and calls as loudly as he can; if he sees or hears nothing in reply, he returns for about a quarter of an hour to the hut, he then reascends and repeats his cries. This is repeated a third time, and then, if nothing meets his experienced eyes or ears, he returns to the convent, as his prolonged absence might occasion apprehension to the monks. This is done both on the Italian and Swiss side of the passage. Should the Marronnier not return, it is a sign either that some one requires aid, or that an accident has befallen himself, and others set out accordingly to render assistance. In his expedition he is accompanied by a dog, who carries a basket, with a bottle of wine and other restoratives; should he meet with any one in distress, he brings him to the convent, if he is able to proceed so far, if not, he puts him into the hut and goes in search of further assistance. Near the hut or refuge is another hovel, with grated windows, in which are deposited any dead bodies which may be found, that they may be recognised by

their friends; and so unfavourable is the temperature there to putrefaction, that a body can remain upwards of a year before the process of decomposition commences. The monks do not go out unless their assistance is required, when they are always active and ready. The chief use of the dogs is to guide those who go out, and their sagacity in discovering the path, even when it is entirely covered with snow, is very surprising; some astonishing instances of this are recorded by the monks, who are by no means given to romance. They have also a very acute scent, and can smell a human body, if it is not very deeply covered with snow; when there is reason to suppose that one has been buried in an avalanche, the monks make use of long poles with iron spikes at the end, which they thrust into the snow, and they can tell, by the resistance experienced, whether they come in contact with a rock or a body. The number of dogs kept at the Hospice is usually only three or four, that number being considered sufficient for the service required of them, and the expense of keeping being very great. They are generally of a dark brown colour, shaggy, with black points, very large, perfectly gentle and good-tempered, with a docility and comprehension of their business quite astonishing; they bark when they are desired, uttering a deep and loud bay, and obey the signals of their masters, which they seem perfectly to understand.

After a fall of snow, the surface soon becomes hard and icy; the next fall that comes rests upon this slippery foundation, and, after a little thaw, or the action of the sun upon it, the smallest agitation of the air, even the tread of a footstep, or the jingle of a mule's bells, is apt to bring the whole superincumbent mass down with overwhelming force, filling up whole valleys. For this reason, the spring is the most dangerous season for avalanches. In winter, the great risk is from being benumbed, or losing the path; also from the drifting of the snow, and from the dreadful *tourmentes* which occur in the Alps; but avalanches at this season of the year hardly ever happen. In spring, on the other hand, when the sun first begins to acquire power, avalanches are frequent, and most of the passages are very dangerous. Guides, however, from their experience, acquire a knowledge of the indications that usually precede these events, and can generally predict them with sufficient accuracy. About the Jung-Frau, and the Oberland of Bern, where the height of the mountains requires a greater degree of heat to cause avalanches, the very middle of summer is the season during which they occur most frequently. The only sure remedy, when the limbs are frozen, is to rub them with snow, and to bathe them with ice and water, until the circulation is gradually restored; spirits and sudden heat are highly dangerous. The number of persons annually rescued from destruction, and relieve benevolent exertions of the inhabitants of St. Bernard, is
Of these, nine out of ten are unable to make any return,

of gratitude: this the monks know well, yet their humanity is unabated, and their efforts are unrelaxed. When the rank and circumstances of those who enter this order, voluntarily to embrace poverty and privations, to encounter the dangers and terrors to which they must be exposed in the exercise of their duties, and to brave a climate so rigid and so ungenial, that even the hardiest constitutions cannot long withstand its severities; when these are considered, it is impossible to conceive that any thing but the most exalted sense of duty, and the most enthusiastic and chivalrous devotion to the cause of humanity, could dictate a choice so full of hardships, and so destitute of attractions.

The passage of Napoleon's army over the Great St. Bernard occupied fifteen days in all. The guns were dismounted, and dragged by the men, and, from the early period of the year, (May 15,) the *trajet* was attended with much of the difficulty and danger which belong to it in winter. Napoleon spent three days at the Priory of St. Bernard, at Martigny, whilst the van of the army passed, and was all affability and courtesy; he then advanced in the middle of the army, slept the first night at St. Pierre, and reached the Hospice the following day. He spent two hours there; and, during this time, he looked over the establishment; made many inquiries into its means, its details, and its ends; frequently breaking off into some military remarks and questions relative to the situation and aspect of the pass and the country to which he was moving, and of which he displayed the most intimate and minute knowledge. He was much pleased with his reception, and expressed himself satisfied of the utility of the establishment.

The passage of a great army, particularly a French army, through a difficult and dangerous route, could not, of course, be unaccompanied by romantic incidents, and numerous developments of *faits*. Passing over the many instances of individual heroism and enthusiasm displayed by the army, I shall mention the following anecdote of its leader, which is current amongst the guides:

In ascending the pass, the mule on which Napoleon rode stumbled. By a strange coincidence, this happened at almost the only spot where a false step would be hazardous, and the First Consul would have been precipitated from a height considerably more fearful than that of the Tarpeian rock, had not the guide of an officer darted forward and caught the falling hero. Napoleon desired to have his preserver for his guide, and entered into familiar conversation with him. Amongst other things, he asked him what the people said of the passage of the army. The man replied, "Ma foi—we can say no good of it; it ruins us. I had begun to build a house, but I cannot now go on with it." When the army had crossed the passage, Napoleon told the guide not to go away without seeing him; but the man, apprehensive that he would be put in requisition, and compelled to go on with the army, concealed

himself, and returned secretly to St. Pierre, his home. About five years afterwards, a person came to St. Pierre, and made inquiries respecting a man who had guided an officer over the passage in 1800; and, mentioning the circumstance of his having been engaged in building a house at the time, the guide was easily found from these particulars; he was asked what his house had cost him, and on his replying forty-eight louis, the money was paid to him. The recompense was certainly not very munificent, but it showed that the service performed was not forgotten.

Napoleon did not make his grand road over St. Bernard, because at the bottom of the pass on the Italian side is a narrow defile, extending for several leagues, where an army might be greatly harassed. The Simplon and Mount Cenis are political roads, designed as channels through which two armies might be poured at once upon Milan and Turin, and the whole of Italy might be overrun. In the last years of his reign, Napoleon meditated the construction of a road over St. Bernard, similar to the two others, for commercial convenience. The plan was made out, and on the summit of the passage, on the site of the ancient temple of Jupiter, was to have been erected an equestrian statue in bronze of the Emperor, bending towards Italy, with the inscription—"Hannibal—Julius Cæsar—Napoleon." His fall prevented the execution of this amongst numerous other projects.

In 1798 the Hospice of St. Bernard was occupied by a garrison of about 200 French troops. The advanced post of the Austrian army was a few miles below, on the Italian side. The French army having gained some advantage, the garrison of St. Bernard placarded it in the face of the Austrians. The latter, to show how little they valued this bravado, advanced in considerable numbers, and, clambering the heights which overhung the Hospice, menaced it on every side. The officer who commanded the garrison was a good deal embarrassed at seeing himself threatened on all sides by a force greatly exceeding his own, but he was *un homme de tête*, and did not lose his presence of mind. He had but one small field-piece, but he instantly manufactured a park of artillery of that description, familiarly termed *quakers*, which he planted ostentatiously at various apertures, and fired his gun first at one side and then at the other, making a show of numerous pieces of ordnance. At the same time, he paraded his men out of one door and in at the other, in uninterrupted succession, after the fashion of a scanty company, performing a pageant in a country theatre. The ruse succeeded completely; the Austrians thinking the French were in great force, did not deem it prudent to hazard an attack, and retired, whilst the French and the monks laughed heartily at the stratagem. The same French officer behaved with great moderation in his command, under very difficult circumstances, as the following anecdote will show: Two Austrian deserters, who came

to the Hospice, declared that the monks were in correspondence with the Austrians. The commandant, with laudable forbearance, refused to act upon the unsupported evidence of deserters, and contented himself with watching the brethren closely. The following morning one of the dogs of the Hospice came in with a scroll attached to his neck, addressed by the Austrians to the monks, and containing some communication relative to the motions of the former. This seemingly strong confirmation of the previous intelligence would perhaps have justified the French officer, considering the delicate situation in which he was placed, in adopting very harsh and summary measures towards the fraternity. He summoned them before him, showed them the state of the case, and declared that the dogs must immediately be shot, and their masters consigned to the Council of War. He listened, however, to their solemn protestations of innocence, and passed over the whole affair, extending his clemency even to the poor dogs. The explanation of the business was this:—one of the servants of the Hospice had fallen sick at a village on the Italian side of the passage, and one of the dogs, who was much attached to him, was in the habit of daily going down to pay him a visit; on his return from one of these friendly expeditions, he was intercepted by the Austrians, and was made the bearer of the above mentioned despatch, which was intended to confirm the previously concerted story of the two deserters.

MORNING IN SUMMER.—A SONNET.

(Written in the suburbs of London.)

THE cool air, kissing soft my temples, tells
 The sun hath scarce resumed his arrows bright
 And fiery, hence to chase dark-tressed Night,
 With whom, this season warm, most pleasure dwells;
 And lo! I hear the tongue of busy bells
 Counting the hour in yonder city wide,
 And waking other sounds on every side
 Where Quiet scarce at night her steps compels.
 From many dark-brow'd domes the smokes ascend,
 And soil the golden-tinted robe of morn,
 Telling where wrinkled labour still doth bend,
 As oft as heaven's new rays the earth adorn;
 While music oft those prison'd warblers lend,
 That, from their native woods far, sing forlorn.

Bron.

ON MOHAMMED AND THE KORAN.

It is our intention in the present article to give some account of Mohammed and the work in which he laid down his principles, and to show the influence they exerted on the people by which they were adopted. But before we proceed to Mohammed himself, we must first shortly turn our attention to the country in which he lived, and the religion which prevailed at and prior to that time.

Arabia was from the earliest period peopled by the Semites, or the offspring of Sem; * and the testimony of Scripture, which proves the antiquity of the Arabs, is confirmed by their manners and language. In the classics, there is very little to be found concerning the ancient Arabs, because they were never subdued by foreigners, and, with the exception of some incursions which they suffered from the Æthiopians, always lived in a state of peace and tranquillity. The Æthiopians were, in fact, only a tribe of the Arabs; and although the Holy Writings describe Cush as a descendant of Ham, † still their language proves that they are from an Arabian stock, a point which is acknowledged by the Æthiopians themselves.‡

The commerce of the Arabians with India and Phœnicia must have been considerable at a very early period; since there can scarcely be a doubt, that Ophir, so often mentioned in the Bible, was a colony of Hindoos on the southern coast of Arabia, and the Arabic tribe Sheba is frequently mentioned as having brought gold and incense to the Hebrews.§ From the Arabs, we have no historical accounts, and their traditions are little to be relied on, although some of them seem to have a good deal of historical truth. The Arabians were divided into peculiar tribes and families, and there is reason to believe that their number was twelve, perhaps in imitation of the tribes of the old Hebrews, or, more probably, in conformity with the numbers of the signs of the zodiac. These tribes infested each other with continual wars, and scrupulously abstained from intermixing with each other in matrimony, being separated by a different faith and different religious ceremonies.

The general religion of the Arabs was, as we are led to believe, entirely Sabean, introduced, perhaps, by the Assyrians. The religion of the happy few was Monotheism; styled in the Koran the religion of Abraham, but that of the people consisted of the grossest idolatry. They represented the Divine Power in all forms and shapes, and particularly adored the heavenly bodies, like the Hin-

* Gen. x. 26—29.

† Gen. x. 7.

‡ Ludolf Hist. Æth. p. 200.

§ Isaiah, lx. 6.

doos, Assyrians, Babylonians, and even the Hebrews, before the time of Moses. And certainly this is the oldest religion of the world ; for it is exceedingly natural that man, awakening from a state of insensibility, and looking around him, should be first struck with the bright phenomena of heaven, and, seeing the sun rise with all its glory, persuade himself that it was the great governor of the other celestial bodies. Impressed with their grandeur, he addressed his prayers to them, particularly the sun, to which common centre of light and warmth all the gods of the Heathens may be reduced. On more accurate observation, they soon discovered the motion of the stars ; and this observation gave rise to astrological reveries, and various religious superstitions. This is the pure Sabeian faith, consisting in the love and admiration of the different heavenly bodies.

Soon, however, the people directed their attention to nature around them, and observing both its destroying and propagating powers united, they represented Nature under the symbol of Durga, Mylitta, Astarte, and Venus, which, among different people, convey the same idea only expressed by different names. As to the Arabs, there is no doubt that the *Urđtal* and *Alilat*, which Herodotus found worshipped in Arabia, and named by that historian *Dionysos* and *Urania*, were no other deities than the sun and moon. The Arabian writers also tell us, that the sun was adored by the tribe *Hamyar* ; the moon by the families *Kaman* and *Thakif* ; that the tribe of *Asad* worshipped the planets *Mercury*, *Lakm*, and *Giedom*, *Jupiter*, and so on. Ancient names, like *Abdosheems*, (servant of the sun,) frequently occur in the old Arabic writings, which tend to confirm the truth of this mode of worship. The adoration of *Venus*, however, seems to have been general ; for they consecrated to this deity the *Friday*, called therefore *Aruba*, (good, beloved,) and the most sacred of the temples among the Arabians were those of *Venus* in *Sanaa*, called *Beil-Gomdar*, and the *Caaba* in *Mecca*, the great temple common to all Arabia.

This last temple is an exceedingly old building, to which the Arabians frequently came in pilgrimage from different parts of the country, like the *Hindoos* to their temple at *Benares*. They always went round it seven times, murmuring, at the same time, praises to their deities ; and when they came opposite to the great door, they prostrated themselves on the earth, so that seven parts of the body should touch the ground ; viz. the feet, knees, face, and arms, a custom which the *Hindoos* also religiously observe in their *Astanga*.^{*} They also, like the *Hindoos*, always took care to turn their face towards the east, to salute the sun at its rise. That the Arabs, by most of their idols, understood personifications of the stars, is certain, and it is equally true that they ascribed to some planets a

^{*} Ward's *Introductory Remarks on the Hindoos*, p. 60.

malignant nature; for instance, Saturn, to whom they used to sacrifice human beings in order to appease his wrath. To the sun, on the contrary, there was sacrificed, once a year, a virgin, which, in their opinion, was one of the greatest acts of honour they could render this deity.* But not the stars alone, and their corresponding deities, were worshipped; there were also persons who adored fire, and these must have been the Magers, some of whom lived among the tribe Tamims; in fact, we find in this country, at that early period, all kinds of superstition and idolatry prevailing. There were in Arabia, among some of the tribes, several Christians, but they are represented by all the old authors as being intolerant and persecuting, and living in no way according to the precepts of their master. There were also among the Arabs some Jews, who, however, neither by precept nor example, took any pains to ameliorate the condition of the great mass of the people.

Such was the corrupted and debased state of Arabia in the sixth century, and is it to be wondered at, that a man possessed of superior understanding, and beholding with pain the condition of his country, should have exerted himself to put a stop to the persecution and various religious superstitions which then prevailed? The life of this wonderful man is, perhaps, too generally known to require that we should describe it in detail; we shall therefore confine ourselves to the notice of a few circumstances which enabled him to begin the reformation, and contributed to his great success.

Mohammed was born in the year 572 after Christ, in Mecca, in which place his family, who belonged to the celebrated tribe of Coreish, had for a long time the inspection of the Caaba. He had the best possible education which his parents could give him; and when he styles himself in the Koran an idiot, he seems to use the expression in a religious sense. The intercourse which the inhabitants of Mecca had with the people of other nations, by means of the annual fair held at that place, the pilgrimages to the Caaba, and the annual meeting of poets at the neighbouring Okadh, had so far enlightened their minds as to make some of them at last view with contempt or pity a people whose religion, in a great degree, consisted in running round the Caaba, prostrating themselves before idols, throwing stones in the valley of Mina, and worshipping them, particularly one black stone, which lay in the neighbourhood of the temple.†

Mohammed, from his early youth, perceived the folly of these ceremonies; and when he afterwards travelled into Syria and the adjacent countries, and conversed with men of different religions,

* Sura, liii. c. 19, 20.

† This stone is said once to have been as white as an hyacinth, but became suddenly black on being touched by a female in a certain state of health.

he soon acquired new religious opinions, which, on his return home, he communicated to his family. It was particularly from his uncle, Abu Sophian, that he first met with opposition; but, as might be expected, it merely had the effect of making him more attached to them, and making them more generally promulgated. In the year 622, with which the Mohammedan era, called Hegira, begins, he was obliged to leave his native city, and therefore went to Medina, where he found so many followers, that he was soon able to appear in the field against his adversaries. Success attended his arms; and it was at this time that he composed and made known the Koran, which he pretended was given to him by the angel Gabriel. At last, Mohammed defeated his enemies, entered Mecca, destroyed the idols, and consecrated the Caaba to the service of God. He died in the year 632, at Medina, having first had the satisfaction of seeing his principles spread over all Arabia, and a great part of Persia and Syria.

This is but a brief statement of Mohammed's life; for that part which relates to his religious character is more fully given in the Koran, which, in fact, may be considered as his diary, and a commentary on his actions. As soon as Mohammed had resolved on reforming the religious state of his countrymen, he left no means untried by which he could render himself competent for the undertaking: he conversed frequently, in his travels, with men of learning, whatever their condition in life or religion might be. Indeed he must have had frequent intercourse with Christians, and was not ignorant of the Gospel, from which he sometimes endeavoured to prove his prophetic character. It seems, therefore, very probable that the Nestorian Monk, Bahira, at Borra, who foretold that Mohammed would become a great man, but warned him to beware of the Jews, had designed him to be a promoter of the Christian religion in Arabia. But greater still is the acquaintance he shows with the Jewish traditions and fables; and several quotations from Rabbinical works could be given, exactly corresponding with several passages of the Koran. He has also intermixed in the work some of the Persian dogmas. In fact, it would not be difficult to go through the whole Koran, and show, passage by passage, what was copied; after which, we must confess, there would remain very little of Mohammed's own composition. This would, however, on many grounds, be incompatible with our present purpose; we shall therefore content ourselves by giving a short account of what a true Musulman has to do and believe, according to the doctrines of the Koran.

The whole of the Islam may be divided into two parts, the one relating to belief, the other to practice. The articles of faith are as follow: "There is a God, eternal, omnipotent, omniscient, most merciful, *one* and not *threefold*, who created all things by the great *be!* and it was." There is no religious creed which points out the attributes of the Deity more clearly than this; they are exactly the

same as laid down in the Scriptures. The mystery of the Trinity is a grave argument, which Mohammed brings against the Christians; and we doubt not that the adoration of the Virgin Mary, whom he thought to be the third person, instead of the Holy Ghost, and the worship of images, contributed much to the polemic invectives which occur in almost every chapter of the Koran. Again, he says, "The great God created the angels out of fire, to praise him; and Adam, being created out of clay, was soon adored by all the angels, except one, who refused, and on this account was driven from heaven, and became the enemy of man; men also, created from angels, were betrayed by Eblis, and excluded from paradise. They now live on earth, where they enjoy all the benefits the benevolent God has bestowed upon them; each of them is accompanied by a guardian angel, who writes all his works down in a large book." These traditions Mohammed received from the Jews, and added to them what might be agreeable to his countrymen.

The idea, however, of a guardian angel seems to be originally Persian; for, in the 'Zendavesta,' every one has his Fevver; and the Indian god of hell, Yama, keeps a book for the deeds of men. In another part we find the following: "That man might always remember his duty and do good, God sent to him the Scriptures by several prophets, all of whom merit the highest veneration. Moses brought them the Pentateuch, and David the Psalms; but these books were corrupted by the Jews. After them came Jesus, the word of God, who was begotten from Gabriel, born from Mary, but nevertheless was mere man like Adam; and last of all came Mohammed, the greatest prophet of all."

The Rabbins believed that the soul of Adam was transferred to Abraham, from him to David, and so on to all the prophets, and it is nearly certain that Mohammed thought the same, although he does not distinctly express it. The corruption of the old Testament by the Jews is so often imputed to them by Mohammed, that we should think at first sight they had really made some alteration in the text, but as no instance of the kind has been found by the most learned critics, we must almost conclude that he imputed to the Jews what was ascribed to the early Christians, or, what is more probable and can even be proved,* he meant they had effaced some of the prophecies relating to himself. He styles the composition of the Koran a miracle, because it was given him by Gabriel; all other miracles he denied, with the exception of his visiting heaven, which he pretends to have done. His followers, however, have attributed to him many miracles, chiefly similar to those performed by Christ, and many a writer, on the other hand, has accused Mohammed of what he never did. We may, in fact, on this occasion use the words of Bayle † on that subject.

* Maraccius Prodom, p. 50.

† 'Dict. Historique et Critique, Art. Mahomet, rem. H. p. 266. edit. 1730.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 10.

“ Il ne faut jamais imputer aux gens ce qu'ils n'ont point fait ; et par conséquent il n'est point permis d'argumenter contre Mohammed en vertu des rêveries que ses sectateurs content de lui, s'il n'est pas vrai qu'il les ait lui-même débitées. Il sera assez chargé quand même on ne lui fera porter que ses propres fautes, sans le rendre responsable des sottises, qu'un zèle indiscret et romanesque a fait couler de la plume de ses disciples.”

In another part of the Koran we find it stated “ that by it (the Koran) the Old and New Testaments are verified, wherefore man must believe in it, that he may be saved. The soul is immortal, and after death shall be restored to the body, and at the day of judgment shall receive eternal bliss in paradise, or everlasting punishment in hell.” The immortality of the soul was believed by the ancient Arabs, hence the custom of placing a camel on the grave, that the deceased might ride on it to the other world, but Mohammed gave a clearer idea of it, although his views are blended with fables and fanciful descriptions. As for the description of his paradise with all its beauties and pleasures, trees, rivulets, girls, &c. it seems almost copied from the ‘ Swarga of Indra ;’ * and his hell with seven doors and seven guardians is called Duzakh, which an etymologist would readily deduce from the Sanscrit Dushaka, (afflictions,) for the bad are tormented with scorching winds, hot water, and every kind of misery. The paradise is destined for all Musulmans, but especially those who fall in battle ; every man whatever, whether he be Jew, Christian, or Musulman, when he believes in God and the last judgment, and does good works, will be saved : this passage Mohammed, when he became more intolerant, denied, but in the first part of the Koran it is so often and so distinctly mentioned, that it is to be wondered how Reland † could give it the meaning, that the going to paradise was to depend on our conversion to the Islam. These are the principal articles of faith contained in the Koran, and we will now mention some of the duties which a true Mohammedan must perform :

1. “ Since a pure body is a fine garment for an unpolluted soul, it is highly recommended, particularly before prayer, for a person to cleanse himself ; if he is travelling and no water to be obtained, he may do it with sand.” ‡ “ Prayers are to be addressed to the most high God in all circumstances at home as well as in the public convents at Mecca, to which place every Musulman must resort as often as he can, at least once in his life.” § “ By fasting God is much pleased, and the general fasting in the sacred month of Ramadan is religiously to be observed ; but what will procure to the

* ‘ Asiatic Researches,’ i. p. 240. † Reland. de Rel Mohammed, p. 132.

‡ Sur. v. 17.

§ Sur. i. 4—7. ii. 191 et passim.

followers of the Islam a very high station in heaven, is the giving of alms to the poor." * These tenets Mohammed found partly observed by his countrymen, and partly he took them from the Jews, among whom we need not mention how much praying and bathing were observed. Processions and pilgrimages to the Caaba he retained, because they were customs his countrymen would not have readily parted with; he consecrated therefore the Caaba to God, and made it the common place of worship, because he revered this old temple, which he believed was built by the angels, and to which he thought Adam repaired from India for the purpose of worship. A great deal of the Mohammedan rites are borrowed from the Jews; even when Mohammed permits polygamy, he follows what the Rabbins had stated on this subject, and, in fact, we find, through the whole of the Koran, Jewish ceremonies and principles, altered somewhat to suit the state of the Arabians. In short, the desire of Mohammed to restore the faith of Abraham prevails throughout the Koran. Besides these laws and duties explained in the Koran, and illustrated very frequently by ridiculous examples, this work contains also many traditions concerning the ancient Arabs, and a great number of things belonging to the prophet himself, which are, however, more fully enumerated in the large collection of stories and traditions called the 'Sunna.' This work is for the most part unknown to us, but the fine expressions of Mohammed, in the specimens given us by Mr. Hammer, † lead us to wish that we possessed the whole of it.

If we now look with strict impartiality on the corrupted state of the Arabs before the time of Mohammed, or those men of whose virtues and vices, wisdom and folly, the ancient poems give so exact a picture, with no laws or religion to restrain them, we must allow that he was, in some degree, the benefactor of his country. He can by no means be compared with Christ, as has been attempted to be done by some; but there is no doubt, that after the Christian religion, the Mohammedan holds the first rank. Mohammed has been accused as the destroyer of learning and good taste; and it has been said, that in the Koran he established doctrines which prevent the followers of his religion from advancing in the arts and sciences. We can refer our readers to the learned work of Reland, ‡ for the best refutation of these assertions; it is true, that Mohammed interdicted the mixing in religious controversies and the examination of the truth of his religion, but that he feared the Islam would be overturned by the cultivation of philosophy we do not believe. This science also at that time was known in Arabia, and the numerous philosophers, under the Caliphs, sufficiently prove that

* Sur. ii. 40.

† 'Fundgruben des Orients,' vol. i. p. 144.

‡ 'Reland de Religione Moham.,' p. 127 and foll.

the Islam was not endangered by their learning. Mohammed also prohibited the infliction of pain on human bodies and those of animals, but no where do we find this prohibition carried so far as to prevent the cultivation of anatomy, or any other useful study. He, however, prohibited painting and sculpture; most probably on account of the superstitious use made of these arts by the Christians at that time.

The only arts in which the Arabs pretended to excellence were poetry and rhetoric, and it is not true that Mohammed prohibited these, for there are several sentences by him in favour of poetry in the 'Sunna;' for instance, "back to your poetry, children, for therein is contained the history of your ancestors." Nay, he himself boasted very much of poetry, and when we compare many passages of the Koran with other pieces of poetry of the same age, we are obliged to give the preference to the former. This was perhaps felt by Lebid, who having affixed some verses to the gate of the temple, as a public challenge to his fellow-poets, and finding at the next meeting of the Poetical Academy at Ocadh near Mecca, the answer of Mohammed, declared it to be divine, and embraced the religion of his rival. By the academy just mentioned the Arabic language was brought into a high state of perfection, it was spread with the religion of Mohammed over the greater part of Asia, and it became the fashion for the poets of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Mauritania, and even of Tartary, to write in Arabic, so that the golden age of Arabic literature would have begun had not the writers, intoxicated with the new religion and the beauties of the Koran, taken a fancy to imitate its style, and adopt its expressions. Under the Caliphs we see them first relinquishing these imitations, and Abulola, Motenabby, Abutemman, Bochtary, Ybn Romy, and other celebrated poets, are a sufficient proof that there was nothing in the Koran to retard the cultivation of the poetic art. The religion of Mohammed has its defects, but on the one hand they have been too often magnified, and on the other too much extenuated by persons who, in their investigation, have not been entirely free from prejudice and partiality, of some kind or other.

 TO — —.

BELIEVE me, dear, no other eye
 Can tempt my heart to rove
 From thee, whose kiss and balmy sigh
 First taught my soul to love.

The worshipper shall cease to bow,
 The bark forsake the sea,
 Ere I forget my early vow,
 Or break my plight to thee!

L. L. L.

BERNIER'S TRAVELS IN THE MOGUL EMPIRE.*

THE Travels of M. Francis Bernier, in the Mogul Empire, have always maintained a very high rank in the department of literature to which they belong. Their author was a man of uncommon attainments and abilities, who had distinguished himself by his writings before he left Europe to visit the East, and contracted friendships with several eminent persons in France, which he appears to have cherished during the remainder of his life. Little seems to be known respecting his birth or early studies. That he was born at Angers sometime about the year 1625; that he was educated for the medical profession; and that, after taking his degree of doctor of physic at Montpellier, he resolved on gratifying his eager desire for travel, is all that his present translator has thought proper to collect concerning that portion of his life which preceded his Oriental enterprise. It appears, however, that having adopted the Epicurean philosophy, at that time brought into great vogue in France by the celebrated Gassendi, our traveller devoted much of his time to the doctrine of atoms. He composed two short tracts in Latin against the astrologer Morin, who had attacked Gassendi, in one of which he is said to have exposed with great severity an Apology which the unhappy astrologer had put forth. Poor Morin, it seems, conceived the very strange notion of confuting Gassendi by predicting the time of his death; but as the philosopher would not die at the time appointed, Morin and his philosophy were sadly exposed to ridicule by the wits of those days, among others by Bernier, who moreover seriously reprehended the practice of publicly foretelling the death of individuals; observing, that with weak minds the prophecy might strongly tend to produce its own fulfilment. This little controversy took place about the year 1651, and three years afterwards, we find our Epicurean forsaking the *gardens of Gassendi*, not to bury himself in greater ease and retirement, according to the maxims of the Gargettian sage, but to traverse regions scorched by a tropical sun, exposed to danger, and perpetually harassed by fatigue.

The first scene to which his curiosity conducted him was Syria; from whence, after a short stay, he passed into Egypt, and resided a whole year at Grand Cairo. In this city he was infected with the plague; but recovering from this tremendous disease, and finding his thirst for knowledge still unabated, he departed from Egypt, with the intention of visiting the various kingdoms of

* Travels in the Mogul Empire, by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. In two volumes, cr. 8vo. London, 1826.

Abyssinia. Proceeding, therefore, across the desert, he arrived at Suez, where he embarked in a galley for Giddah. From thence, after an irksome detention, he sailed along the shores of Arabia Felix to Mokha, near the straits of Babelmandel, intending to cross the Red Sea to the islands of Masuah and Arkecko, and to proceed immediately from these islands to Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia. At Mokha, however, he learned that a Christian traveller, entering Abyssinia without permission, would endanger his head ; or, if his life were spared, would run the risk of being, at least, compelled to marry, and settle for ever in the country.

On this account he abandoned his intention of visiting Gondar, and turned his thoughts towards Hindoostan. Embarking therefore in an Indian vessel, and passing the straits of Babelmandel, he arrived in two-and-twenty days at Surat, in the Mogul empire, towards the close of the reign of Shah-Jehan, or King of the World. In this country he remained above ten years, during eight of which he was physician to Aurung-Zêbe, and high in favour with Danechmend-Khan, the favourite Omrah of the Great Mogul. Few travellers ever possessed so many facilities for acquiring just notions of the countries and people they visited, as Bernier's situation at the court of Delhi afforded him ; in the capital, he mingled familiarly with persons of the first rank in the state ; and when on a journey in the country, there were but few places to which the favourite court physician could not find admittance. Being on terms of intimacy with some of the chief statesmen of Delhi, he had moreover the most excellent opportunities to inform himself accurately of all those extraordinary transactions in which he saw the fratricidal children of Shah-Jehan engaged, and which terminated in the triumphant exaltation of Aurung-Zêbe to the throne of Hindoostan. Perceiving that he had arrived in India at no ordinary epoch, he seems to have immediately conceived the design of composing a history of the revolution to which he was witness, and to have made the most minute inquiries respecting the causes of events, and the characters of those who produced or suffered by them. These researches must have been unusually successful, for his exactness has not, that we remember, been called in question on any material point, up to this day ; and as to his abilities as an historian, we will venture to say that they have never been surpassed by any writer who has recorded the affairs of India. The characters he has drawn of Shah-Jehan and his children, the chief *dramatis personæ* of his history, are admirable, particularly those of Begum Saheb, (the daughter and mistress of Shah-Jehan,) and of Aurung-Zêbe. This Mogul prince united in an eminent degree the great qualities of a monarch with the profoundest hypocrisy and the most desperate wickedness ; he was at once his father's jailer, the executioner of his brothers, and the wisest and most beneficent sovereign that India had known for ages. Properly to describe such a man, to do justice to his virtues, without lessening the de-

testation due to his crimes, to exhibit him now under one aspect, and now under another, and on every occasion to excite in the reader the very emotions which should be excited, is indisputably a task of some difficulty; but it is that which Bernier, we think, has executed with great success.

It has frequently been remarked that history is the best painter of manners. In description, customs and peculiarities appear singly, like the various limbs of the human body in a series of anatomical plates; but in history they are all shown in their places, like the same limbs united, and performing the vital functions. Therefore, though a considerable part of Bernier's work be taken up with historical relations, the manners of the Moguls and Hindoos are nevertheless delineated with the greatest fidelity; not all of them, certainly, but such as a judicious traveller, who had viewed the whole, would choose to introduce into his design.

It is not possible, within the limits of an article, to give any thing like an analysis of the whole work, brief as it is; nor, in fact, is it necessary; our object being to recommend these excellent travels to our reader, not to present him with something that might serve as a succedaneum for them. For this reason we shall entirely pass over those portions of the work in which the author treats of the extent, riches, and superstitions of Hindoostan, though highly interesting in themselves; and, plunging at once *in medias res*, take up our author at the commencement of his journey into Cashmire. It is the most delightful section of the book. Aurung-Zêbe, Juggernaut, and the Brahmins, may, undoubtedly, seem at first to merit our chief attention; but the ideas they excite are so much more painful than otherwise, that we willingly turn from them to visit the loveliest spot in Asia, more especially as the magnificence of the Mogul is to bear us company over the tremendous heights of Bember, all the way to the Shalimar of Cashmire.

The motives of Aurung-Zêbe for visiting the terrestrial paradise of the Indies, appear not to have been exactly known. He had been ill, however, and it was stated that he wished to breathe the pure air of the mountains before the approach of the summer heats, which it was feared might cause a relapse. Yet some attributed the excursion to the arts and influence of Rochinara-Begum, who, besides a desire of tasting the delights of Cashmire for their own sake, was actuated by a wish to rival the pomp and magnificence which her sister, Begum Saheb, had displayed during the reign of her father.

The king left Delhi on a lucky day and hour, according to the astrologers, in the December of 1664. He was attended by an army of about fifty thousand men, several parks of artillery, a splendid seraglio of women, and nearly the whole population of Delhi. The oxen, mules, horses, camels, and elephants, accompanying this vast retinue, formed a great army of themselves, and

spread over the face of the country for many miles. With this multitude Bernier set out for Cashmire, in the suite of Dauechmend-Khan. His own train and equipage, which were equal, he observes, to those of a cavalry officer of rank, consisted of two Tartarian horses, and a groom; a powerful Persian camel, and its driver; a cook, and a servant to go before his horse with a flaggon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country; a tent of moderate size; a carpet; a portable bed made of four very strong but light canes; a pillow; a couple of coverlets, one of which, twice doubled, served for a mattress; a soufra, or round leathern cloth used at meals; some few napkins of dyed cloth; three small bags of culinary utensils and earthenware, which were all placed in a large bag, and this bag was again carried in a very capacious and strong double sack made of thongs. His stock of provisions consisted of excellent rice; sweet biscuit flavoured with anise, lemons and sugar. Other necessaries were purchased on the way, at the camp-bazar. His patron, Dauechmend-Khan, very kindly ordered him to be presented every morning with a new loaf of his own household bread, and a flaggon of Ganges-water, with which, like every other person attached to the court, he had laden several camels.

The royal retinue proceeded very slowly, occasionally diverging from the high way in search of water or game; so that in passing from Delhi to Lahore, a distance of about one hundred and twenty leagues, or fifteen days' journey, not less than two months was consumed. A very remarkable and luxurious mode of travelling was adopted by the Mogul sovereigns, whenever they chose to journey in military pomp; two sets of tents were provided for the occasion, one of which was constantly a day in advance of the other; so that when the emperor came up to his halting-place in the evening, he had only to march into a tented city with his retinue, where he was sure to find every thing admirably disposed for his reception.

When the Grand Quarter Master, who marched forward with this advanced camp, came up to the appointed spot, an extensive space was immediately cleared and levelled by the pioneers, and some commanding situation chosen for the King's tents. The space thus selected was encompassed by lofty screens of Indian cotton, on which vases of flowers were painted; and within this enclosure the imperial tents were pitched. When the emperor and his army occupied the camp, the nobles were generally assembled twice in the twenty-four hours, in one of the royal tents, for business or for state; and certainly the splendid body of nobility, which formed the Mogul court, moving to or from the evening assembly, through long streets of tents, and between rows of burning torches, must have been "a grand and imposing spectacle."

In smaller tents, at no great distance from the imperial residence, and under the charge of various Omrahs, were deposited the

arms, the harness, and the brocade vests which the emperor usually presented to ambassadors or favourites. Fruits, sweetmeats, Ganges-water, the saltpetre with which it was cooled, and the betel for mastication, occupied four other tents; while thirty or forty more were appropriated to culinary purposes, and to the led-horses, elephants, birds of prey, dogs, leopards for catching antelopes, nil-ghaus, or grey oxen, which Bernier considered a species of elk, lions, rhinoceroses, Bengal buffaloes, which attack the lion, and tamed antelopes, that "frequently were made to fight in the presence of the King."

Notwithstanding the immense multitude contained in these camps, a great degree of order prevailed; watchmen and guards kindled fires, and perambulated the tented streets during the night, crying, *Kaber-dar*—"Have a care!" And other soldiers were sent by the Grand Provost (*Cotonāl*) to visit the various quarters of the camp, and the bazars more especially. However, those who walked out of their tents in the evening were subjected to one grievous nuisance—the smoke and stench arising from the innumerable fires of cow and camel dung and green wood, which the common people kindled about that time to cook their victuals. The smoke arising from these fires, when driven about by the wind, was sometimes so dense as to involve the atmosphere in total darkness, and render it quite impossible for any one, at a distance from his tents, to find his way back, unless guided by the moon, or the lantern, called *Light of Heaven*, fixed upon an extremely lofty pillar near the imperial tent, and always visible when every thing beneath was covered with impenetrable darkness. The modes of travelling adopted by the Great Mogul we will present the reader in Bernier's own words:

'Most commonly he is carried on men's shoulders, in a tucktravan, or field-throne, wherein he sits. This tuckt is a species of magnificent tabernacle, with painted and gilt pillars and glass windows, that are kept shut when the weather is bad. The four branches, or outer parts of the poles by which this tuckt is carried, are covered either with scarlet or brocade, and decorated with deep fringes of silk and gold. At each branch are stationed two strong and handsomely dressed men, who are relieved by eight other men constantly in attendance. Sometimes the king rides on horseback, especially when the weather is favourable for hunting; and at other times he is carried by an elephant, in a *mik-dember*, or in a *hauze*, which is by far the most striking and splendid mode of travelling, as nothing can surpass the richness and magnificence of the harness and trappings. The *mik-dember* is a small house, or square wooden tower, gilt and painted; and the *hauze*, an oval chair with a canopy of (supported by) pillars, also superbly decorated with colours and gold.'

The princesses and great ladies of the seraglio likewise affected variety in their modes of travelling; sometimes they were carried on men's shoulders in magnificent chandools, not unlike the tucktravans; at others, in close and beautiful palanquins, or in capacious litters suspended between two camels, or elephants; and, occasionally, they ascended a *mik-dember* mounted on the back of a

stupendous Pegu elephant, which at such times was decorated with silver bells, and the most costly furniture. An accident which occurred to certain ladies of the seraglio, on Aurung-Zèbe's present journey into Cashmire, will illustrate the danger to which those lovely creatures were sometimes exposed in their aerial palaces.

'The king was ascending the Peer-Punchal mountains, the highest of all the mountains, and from which a distant view of the kingdom of Cashmire is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies in mik-dembers and amaris. The foremost, appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and acclivity of the path before him, stepped back upon the elephant that was moving in his track, who again pushed against the third elephant, the third against the fourth, and so on until fifteen of them, incapable of turning round, or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow, fell down the precipice. Happily for the women, the place where they fell was of no great height; only three or four were killed; but there were no means of saving any of the elephants. Wherever these animals fall under the tremendous burthen usually placed upon their backs, they never rise again, even on a good road. Two days afterwards we passed that way, and I observed that some of the poor elephants still moved their trunks.'

This misfortune, though seriously told, will put the reader, who is familiar with the Caliph Vathek, in mind of the accident that befel a part of the cafila which that commander of the faithful led, in his impious expedition, over the mountains between Samarah and the Rocnabad. The ladies, on that occasion, were compelled to jump, half naked, out of their palanquins and cages, to escape from the conflagration of the cedar forest; while the wolves and tigers lay close on the sides of their path to snap them up as they ran. But we are now on the borders of Cashmire, and must not loiter with Vathek.

Cashmire, which, according to the ancient historians of the country, was formerly a lake, is now a sweet valley, of about ninety miles in length, and thirty, or thirty-six, in breadth. It is surrounded by mountains, the nearest of which are of moderate elevation, covered with trees and verdure, and grazed by innumerable flocks and herds. Behind these hills, vast ridges of mountains, bleak, rugged, and capped with eternal snow, rear their summits far above the clouds. The sides of the gentler eminences abound with game; partridges, hares, antelopes, and animals yielding musk. Lions, bears, tigers, and serpents are, with few or no exceptions, unknown in this country. The fields are beautifully variegated with sweet-scented flowers, and numerous swarms of bees are constantly seen alighting on them, or heard murmuring among the thick foliage.

'——— The humming bees, that hunt the golden dew
In summer's heat, on tops of lilies feed,
And creep within their bells to suck the balmy seed:
The winged army roams the fields around;
The rivers and the rocks remurmur to the sound.'

The whole valley is watered by a thousand springs and rivulets, which are conducted by means of aqueducts, even to the tops of the hills, and distributed in abundance over the fields of rice. These little streams, falling down from the rocky and precipitous sides of the mountains, form innumerable cascades in their descent, and, uniting their waters at the bottom of the valley, swell into a beautiful river, which flows out of Cashmire between two stupendous rocks, and falls into the Indus near Attock. This abundance of perennial springs and fountains maintains perpetual verdure in the fields and hillocks. Gardens, meadows, vineyards, fields of wheat, of rice, of hemp, or of saffron, intersected by small canals of water, wandering rivulets, or diminutive lakes, give the whole kingdom a most luxuriant and enchanting appearance. The flowers that enamel the ground are even more beautiful than those of Europe; and, among the whole, that which challenges preeminence is the rose, the most lovely and the sweetest of all vegetable productions. This sultana of flowers no where in the East diffuses so delicate an odour, or is clothed with such matchless beauty, as in Cashmire, where that exquisite *ottor* is produced which perfumes the chambers of Oriental beauty. Fruits of the finest flavour are abundant all over the country,—such as the apple, the pear, the plum, the apricot, and the walnut; and in the gardens are found melons, water-melons, skirrets, red-beet, radishes, and the major part of our pot-herbs.

Cashmire is the name of the capital as well as of the country. It stands on the borders of a fresh lake in the plain, about two leagues from the mountains, which sweep round it in the form of a semicircle. The river Galum runs through the middle of the city, and numerous covered floating-baths are always seen upon it. Although freestone is plentiful in the country, all the houses are built of brick and timber; but, as their flat-roofs are covered with fine earth, and planted with a variety of flowers, the city at a distance has the appearance of a beautifully chequered parterre.* Nearly all the houses have gardens, particularly those on the banks of the river; many have canals also communicating with the lake, on which the owners keep pleasure-boats. The lake itself is full of little islands, which are laid out in pleasure grounds, and look like large emeralds floating in the water. They are covered with green bowers, fruit-trees, and the large-leaved asp, whose lofty palm-like head quivers for ever in the wind. The beauties of this lake, and its diminutive fairy isles, contrast remarkably with those of the *Lago Maggiore*, in Italy. Rude, abrupt shores surround the Italian lake; but its isles, fifteen miles from the beach, are described by an illustrious French author as “le séjour du monde le plus enchanté.”

* Forster's Journey from Bengal to England.

is nervous and elegant. Altogether it is one of the most agreeable books of travels that can be met with, possessing all the freshness of novelty, though written a hundred and sixty years ago, and full of those acute remarks and profound reflections which characterise the productions of a truly philosophical traveller.

THE PERSIAN MINSTREL.*

Come, sit on this soft bank, my love,
The moon is dreaming on these flowers,
And zephyrs curl yon silver lake ;
With thee, the black-eyed girls above,
And Paradise' bright streams and bowers,
No longing wish, no sigh can wake !

Fair were the halls thou 'st left for me,
Dilara ! bright the gems, the gold ;
And, ah ! the young hopes, brighter still !
And can my love repay to thee
The loss of treasures heap'd, untold ;
The heart by friends made vacant, fill ?

See, love, those old, but undimm'd fires,
Trimm'd by the dusky hand of Night,
In yonder high eternal dome :
Like them shall burn my warm desires,
Still trimm'd by Love with new delight,
Still lighting up thy sweet heart's home.

This soft-toned lute, this practis'd hand,
This voice by secret love made sweet,
And all the lore the heart supplies,
Will smooth our path to every land,
Will soften every breast we meet,
And light with favour all young eyes.

Then cheer thee, love, though all estranged
Thy mother's breast, thy father's court,
And all thy youthful friends may be,
Love whispers that thou hast but changed
One palace roof of poor resort
To tread the floors of kings with me.

Brew.

July 15, 1836.

* "The Persian Khanyagere seems nearly to have resembled our old English minstrel, as he usually accompanied his barbut, or lute, with heroic songs."—BACKFORO.

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. XIII.

Commerce of Smyrna.—Articles of Importation.

COFFEE has always borne the first rank among the importations into Smyrna: and West India coffee has now become an article of first necessity. Immense quantities of it are consumed; it sells for short credit, and very easily barter for the productions of the country. The small green bean is preferred; but, in general, any quantity will sell in proportion to its value, except Java and common Batavia coffee, which are not liked; and it is immaterial whether it be packed in bags, barrels, or casks. The coffee of Martinique is highest in repute; and by that name all descriptions, which have a small green bean, are sold. The reason of the Turks preferring this green coffee, is on account of its freshness, in which state it yields a bitterness of taste, and makes a beverage strong and thick—qualities that are both admired by all the Orientals. It was not until the year 1810 that West India coffee was used in Turkey in any considerable quantities, and its first introduction is to be attributed to its low price, when contrasted with the scarcity and dearth of Mokha coffee. Before that period, most of the religious Turks considered the use of West India coffee as sinful as the use of wine: but having gradually conquered this prejudice, it may be expected that the consumption of this article will always be considerable. If, however, prices in England should ever be much higher, the consumption would very probably decrease, as the lower classes of people here could not then afford to indulge themselves so much in the use of their favourite beverage as they do at present. It may be computed that Turkey consumes within herself about two millions of okes, or about five million pounds of coffee, annually. In former times, when Mokha coffee was the sole description imported, and that of the West Indies was unknown, from two and a half to three millions of okes of this sort were brought to Smyrna yearly by way of Egypt. Before it arrived at market, its expenses usually amounted to 150 per cent. on the prime cost. The late wars of the Egyptian Pasha have prevented this article from arriving with its accustomed regularity in Turkey; but even should the communication be re-established, as of old, no considerable quantities could be for a long period expected, as all the plantations are reported to have suffered from these wars. Some of this arrived here by sea, *via* Suez and Alexandria, and some was brought by land caravans of camels in packages of from 150 to 200 okes. Since the interruption of the direct intercourse between Turkey

and Arabia, the Americans have brought cargoes of Mokha-coffee round by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; but the length of the voyage causing a deterioration in the quality of the article, it sells at 10 per cent. less than that which comes by way of Egypt. The Mokha coffee has a mild, oily, and aromatic taste; the leaves are remarkably small, and of a brownish hue, partaking but little of either yellow or green. When it is roasted and pounded, it loses less in weight than the West India, as the one yields 320 drachms, and the other only 260 drachms per oke. In the Mokha coffee a small portion of the shell is always left; and, without that useless addition, the Turks would not believe it to be real, but pronounce it the production of some other country. If West India coffee is weighed immediately after its arrival in Turkey, the cwt. produces about 40 or 41 okes; but, by remaining long on hand, it loses in weight, so that the cwt. will not yield more than 38 or 39 okes. At Constantinople, all coffees but those of Mokha were prohibited, until the impossibility of procuring that sort proved the necessity of admitting others. Its principal consumption is in winter, and particularly in the month of Ramadan, which, being regulated by the lunar year, falls on the new moon of different seasons in succession. West India coffee is generally worth—common St. Domingo, 230 to 240 piastres per 100 okes; middling West India, 260 to 270 piastres; and fine Martinique, 300 piastres, for the same weight. Fresh Jamaica is also esteemed. Of Mokha coffee, the usual price is from 550 to 600 piastres per 100 okes. The tare of West India coffee is two rotolos per bag; and for all other packages the real tare is taken.

SUGARS: The first white qualities are always preferable. Havannahs are most current; yet Martinique and Guadaloupe clayed sugars, if very white, and of a dry kind, with a strong rich grain, will also sell very well. In brown sugars, the Havannahs are always preferred; the brown should bear a proportion to the white of about one-fourth. The season of consumption falls mostly in spring and summer; and the brown is particularly used in spring for sweetmeats, made of fruits and flowers. These are entirely articles of luxury, confined to the towns of Turkey near the sea-coast, for they are scarcely acquainted with sugars in the interior, where they have honey as a better substitute. Brazil sugars are not much liked, as they have not a very strong grain; yet they sell also. Crushed sugars sell fast; but Muscovadoes are difficult to go off, and there are long credits. The consumption for Smyrna may be annually from 500 to 600 tons; and the most current sorts are generally worth as under:

White Havannahs, per quintal,	95 to 100 piastres.	} Tare for boxes 14 per cent. Ditto 18 per cent.
Brown ditto,	65 to 70 ditto.	
White Brazils,	80 to 85 ditto.	

Clayed sugars in casks, fine white,	95 to 100 ditto.	} Tare for casks 10 per cent.
Ditto, second,	80 to 85 ditto.	
Ditto, third,	70 to 75 ditto.	
Crushed sugars,	88 to 102 ditto.	

Refined sugars, for the use of Turks, must be small, and in loaves of about 3 lbs. weight. Those for exportation from hence, to other parts of the coast, must be Hamburg loaves, not exceeding 10 lbs. in weight, and very dry and firm: their whiteness appears to be of little consequence. When it arrives here in a damaged state, it is then of extremely difficult sale. It should be put up in casks of seven or eight cwt. The tare for paper and string, of all sized loaves, is 4 per cent.; and of the casks, the real tare is generally taken. The Turks use the small Hamburg loaves, of 3 lbs., for presents among themselves: they sell ordinarily at 130 to 135 piastres; and Turkey loaves at 120 to 125. A thousand barrels of Turkey loaves, from 7 to 8 cwt. each, might be annually sold in Smyrna, besides an equal number of Hamburg loaves.

COCOA is an article not at all used among the Turks; but chocolate might be sold in small quantities, to the amount of 300 or 400 okes, for the use of the European families resident here.

PEPPER is used here in winter in considerable quantities. That of the East India Company's sales is always a few paras higher than that imported by the Americans, on account of its being better packed and cleaned. Every bag weighs from 110 to 115 okes, and the tare is seven rotolos per bag. The consumption may amount to about 700 or 800 bags; but the Americans generally furnish that article abundantly from Sumatra. Black pepper is the only kind used; the price of which is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ piastres per oke for the East India Company's, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{5}{8}$ for the others.

PIMENTO: Jamaica pimento, of a small grain, is that which is preferred. It is worth about four piastres per oke, and larger grains $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$. The consumption is greatest in winter, and may amount to 20,000 or 30,000 okes. The tare is real.

CINNAMON: Very fine Ceylon cinnamon does not answer; the second quality, or Cassia Ligna, is more current, and is worth from 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per oke. The consumption, which is principally in winter, may be from 15,000 to 20,000 okes.

CLOVES are a current article, and those are preferred which are of a small size, dry, hard, of a light colour, with the flower in the centre. They are worth about 21 piastres per oke. Their consumption is also principally in winter, and may amount to 20,000 or 25,000 okes. It is sent in barrels and in bags.

NUTMEGS are not very current, and must be sold on long credits; they are preferred when without the shell, small, round, and fresh, in boxes, of 70 or 80 okes each, which are worth 50 piastres per

oke. Their consumption is in winter, and does not certainly exceed 3,000 or 4,000 okes annually.

GINGER should be white, fresh, and without dust, and may be sent either in bags or in casks. It is worth from 45 to 50 piastres per quintal; and the consumption is from 1,000 to 1,500 quintals.

CARDAMOMS are by no means a current article; the small quantity sold here brings about 2½ piastres per oke.

PERUVIAN BARK is of very trifling consumption, and should be of the first quality, and not pounded, when it sells from 12 to 15 piastres per oke. Few other medicines answer in Turkey.

TEA: Hyson tea sells in small quantities for the use of the Europeans, and also for the Turks, who use it as a beverage when sick; for both of which 50 or 60 chests or boxes are sufficient for a year's consumption. The price is, for the best, 15 piastres per oke.

INDIGO: Of the various sorts of this article, the Bengal has been found to answer best. It should be light enough to swim in water—by which criterion the Turks judge it—in square pieces, and of violet colour, either in boxes or hides. The good quality is worth from 36 to 38 piastres per oke. It is here an article of great necessity; and its principal consumption is in spring and summer, when 250 to 300 boxes of 2 and 2½ cwt. each may be sold. The inferior qualities of East India indigo are of difficult sale, and on long credits. Spanish indigo in serons, very fine, light, and of a violet colour, is also in demand; it is worth 42 piastres per oke; and about 300 serons, of 45 to 50 okes, may be consumed in a year.

COCHINEAL is an article of very current sale. The silver sells, but the black is preferred, particularly when large, shining, and without dust. The silver should not be of a reddish colour. It is put up in sacks of 70 or 80 okes, and those sacks packed in barrels. This article is often falsified by a preparation of wine, which renders the silver of a black colour. Its consumption is generally in spring and summer, when from 200 to 250 barrels of it are used at Brusa, Aleppo, and Damascus. The black cochineal is worth 120 to 125, and the silver from 110 to 115 piastres per oke. The tare is always real.

DYEWOODS of Pernambuco and Brazil are current, when of the best quality. They are then worth 150 piastres per quintal; but both the price and consumption depend greatly on that of Cochineal, as more of them are used when Cochineal is dear. The annual consumption may be computed to be from 500 to 600 quintals at least.

LOSWOODS of Campeachy, Honduras, and Jamaica are of easy sale, and bear a price of from 20 to 22 piastres per quintal. They

should be in large and straight pieces to answer this market, and their annual consumption is then estimated at near 3000 quintals.

WOODS of St. Martha, and Nicaragua, are also very current, to the amount of 1000 quintals per year, and sell at 50 piastres per quintal. No other kinds of dye-woods than those enumerated will find a sale at Smyrna, at any credit or price.

COPPERAS came formerly from Trieste alone, but it now also comes from England; the quality of it is however inferior to the Swedish. It is worth from 12 to 15 piastres per quintal, but sold on long credits. The consumption may be taken from 3,000 to 5,000 quintals annually.

VERDIGREASE comes to this place from Montpellier. If the article is cheap, 8,000 or 10,000 okes may be annually consumed; but it having once reached as high as 22 to 25 piastres per oke, the consumption was reduced to about 3000 okes, and it was even then sold on very long credits.

ROCOU is the production of Cayenne, and is an article which the Americans have lately introduced here. It is a red colour, and used mostly at Damascus and Aleppo, worth 9 to 10 piastres per oke; 2,000 to 3000 okes being the yearly consumption.

RED LEAD, or Red Arsenic, is of tolerable sale, and is used in dyeing. Its price is from 60 to 65 piastres per quintal, and the consumption amounts to about 1000 quintals annually.

WHITE LEAD, or White Arsenic, is an article of great necessity, as it is used in the preparation of all their colours for painting. From 2000 to 3000 quintals are annually consumed, and easily sold for 80 piastres per quintal on short credits.

TOBACCO is so much grown in Turkey, that very little is required to be imported. Twenty or 30 hogsheads of Virginia, Maryland, and Porto Rico, would be sufficient, as those kinds are chiefly used in the manufacture of snuff, which was formerly imported from Europe, but is now made by themselves. American leaves are worth in general from 50 to 60 piastres per oke, but segars have been found not to answer here.

RUM for the market of Smyrna should be strong, and of a dark colour, in puncheons of 120 gallons, when it will sell at the rate of 6½ to 6¾ piastres per gallon, to the amount of 80 or 100 puncheons annually. Very little of it is used in the town, the larger portion being sent into the interior of the country.

ALMONDS: Sicilian sweet almonds, without the shell, are found to answer well, for, although this country produces almonds, they are not sufficient for its own consumption, importing at least from 700 to 800 quintals, which sell from 90 to 95 piastres each.

SALT FISH, particularly Newfoundland cod, or Baccalion, is sale-

able to the extent of 500 to 600 quintals, if it arrives in January, or February, before the commencement of Lent.

BUTTER is consumed in very considerable quantities. The country itself produces a great deal, but not sufficient to supply the demand. Large parcels are sent from Russia, in casks, or hides, the quality of which is much liked, and sells from 3½ to 4 piastres per oke. Irish butter, of a yellow colour, is well known; it may easily be sold at 4 piastres per oke, and should be sent in firkins, upon which a tare of 20 per cent. is allowed. Two or three cargoes could be sold in winter; but it should be remarked, that as the buyers are shop-keepers, a long credit may be calculated on.

PROVISIONS in general, such as salt beef and pork, hams, cheese, porter, wine, &c. cannot be recommended but in small parcels, as their consumption is entirely confined to European families, who very generally import their own supplies of those articles.

SAL AMMONIAC comes in great quantities from Egypt, and is used in tinning over the copper kitchen utensils of the country. Before the year 1798, it was sometimes sent from England, but since that period has been discontinued, as it did not pay a profit. The English is far inferior to the Egyptain, which in those years sold at 25 piastres per oke, while the English never fetched more than 18 to 20 piastres per oke. So great has been its decline of value from abundance that it has since sold at 5 or 6 piastres per oke, and the English would, of course, have been proportionately less.

TIN, IN BARS, is an article of necessity, always current, and easily sold for cash. It serves principally to tin over the kitchen utensils of the Turks, and to make the usual adulterations in the silver coinage. The manufacture of Daniel, and of Daubuz of Falmouth, are preferred. Peruvian and all other kinds of tin in blocks sell also, but about 15 per cent. below the British in bars, from the loss of weight and expenses in melting it into bars for use; and of all the English sorts the Falmouth or Cornish tin is best. The annual consumption is about 1000 barrels of 4 cwt. each, and it is sold at 238 piastres per quintal of 44 okes; but if the price were below 200 piastres, it is thought the consumption would be considerably augmented. It is used at every period of the year, but more particularly about the feast of Bairam, when the Turks are in the habit of new tinning the inside of their kitchen utensils, for the service of that festivity.

TIN, IN PLATES, is an article of current sale, but always on credit, as the buyers are Jews. The yearly demand is from 1000 to 1200 boxes of 225 plates each. The size called No. 1. is worth 95 piastres. No. 2. is 8 or 10 piastres less, and not so saleable; and

No. 3. cannot be sold at all. The boxes should have the mark C × R burnt on them.

ZINC comes to this country from England, and is used in the coinage of the Mint at Constantinople, upon the state of which the demand chiefly depends, though its annual consumption may be considered generally to be from 50,000 to 60,000 okes, and its average price about 3 piastres per oke.

LEAD, IN FIGS, is of current sale for musket and pistol balls, of which there is a manufactory in Smyrna that consumes annually from 1500 to 2000 pigs of about 150lbs. weight each. During the last ten years, Spanish lead has been sent into Turkey in about an equal quantity with the English; but the prejudice running in favour of the latter, it sells at an increased value of 10 per cent. above the Spanish, though there is scarcely any difference in its intrinsic worth. The English lead is worth about 55 piastres per quintal.

LEAD SHOT is an article of necessity, of which above 1000 casks of 3½ cwt. may be sold in a year. Patent shot is always preferred, and should be in bags of ¼ and ½ cwt. each, as they are sold by the English cwt., which is worth about 55 piastres. As the season of consumption is chiefly in winter, it should be here in July or August, and not later than February to be sold within the same season. The mines of Tocat produce only a small quantity of lead, which is consumed in its immediate neighbourhood.

QUICKSILVER reaches Smyrna from Germany, and is worth about 12 piastres per oke, 12,000 or 15,000 of which are annually consumed, but it is generally sold on credit.

STEEL, particularly German steel, is a necessary article, and comes in boxes of from 1½ to 2 quintals each; the finest and most current quality has No. 0. burnt on the boxes, and this sort is worth 92 piastres per quintal. No. 1. is worth 87 piastres, and No. 2. 80 piastres per quintal; but neither of those qualities sell so fast as the other. The tare allowed on No. 0. is 8 rotolos per box; that on No. 1. 10 rotolos; and that on No. 2. 12 rotolos. The consumption of the whole may amount to 4000 or 5000 boxes annually, and falls chiefly in winter. English steel has been tried in the market here, but has not paid for its importation.

IRON is a very necessary article throughout all Turkey, and the sort in general use is that of Russia; though the Swedish iron is preferred. When the iron was from 13 to 15 piastres per quintal, the annual consumption was from 50,000 to 60,000 quintals; but when the price advanced to 20 and 22 piastres, the demand was lessened to 30,000 or 35,000 quintals, though it continued still to sell for cash and on short credits. Swedish iron will always bring a price of 20 to 25 per cent. more than that of Russia, but its consumption does not exceed 1500 to 2000 quintals per year. In

Romelia there are mines of very excellent iron, particularly those near Philapopoli, which yield a metal proved to be equal to the Swedish; but the manner in which they are conducted confines their production to a small quantity; and the ruinous measures of the Turkish government operate equally upon the mines of iron, gold, and silver, of which there are a number throughout the country, capable of being made a source of national wealth.

IRON PLATES should be in pieces of a square yard each, or mixed in the proportion of one-third of 10 sheets to the cwt., one-third of 15 sheets, and one-third of 20 sheets. From 800 to 1600 quintals are annually sold, at 50 to 55 piastres per quintal.

NAILS are consumed here in very great quantities, and those of Germany are current at 50 to 52 piastres per quintal; but Russia has, of late, imitated the German nails, and so surpassed them, that they sell at 55 piastres. Those which have been sent from England were sold at a loss of 30 to 50 per cent. The yearly consumption may be from 5000 to 6000 quintals, and falls mostly in spring and summer; they are sold at two, four, and six months' credit, but seldom or never for cash.

CUTLERY, such as arms, knives, forks, razors, scissors, and such articles as are not used by Turks, cannot be recommended, as the consumption of the Europeans here is very confined.

EARTHENWARE: Wedgewood plates, of cream colour and plain, sell in small quantities, at 3 piastres per dozen, when assorted in the proportion of one-third soup plates, and the rest shallow plates; but no other sort of earthenware would be likely to answer.

GLASS WARE is of considerable consumption, but is furnished from Bohemia at so much cheaper rates than it could be done from England that its exportation from thence could not answer.

WATCHES: English watches are easily sold in Turkey, of which those bearing the name of George Prior are preferred; those of Benjamin Barber come next, and the third in estimation, are those of George Charles. They are made up of two sizes, and are of silver, in tortoiseshell cases, having the Turkish figures on the dial. They sell from 130 to 160 piastres each, and from 90 to 100 dozen are annually disposed of. In Geneva, they have imitated the watches of George Prior, but they do not sell so well, the price varying from 60 to 120 piastres each. The Swiss make also gold watches for this market, which sell from 200 to 350 piastres each; and of both these kinds Geneva may annually sell about 150 dozen.

COTTON YARN of Great Britain: It is not more than twenty years since English twist has been known in Turkey; before that time they used India yarn, which is now entirely discontinued: those were assorted of all numbers, of which the Turks used the coarsest only, exporting those which were too fine for them to

different parts of Europe. The consumption of British yarn increases every year, as it becomes better known. It may be calculated to have been, a few years since, from 400,000 to 500,000 pounds, English; it is now from 600,000 to 800,000 pounds; and it is thought that the consumption of this article may be augmented to a million of pounds, at least. In Smyrna, the manufacturers know very well the difference between mule and water twist, but they make scarcely any difference in price, as proof of which, the following sales may be quoted, made in the same day, both on the same credit:

Water twist, 1600 okes, No. 30 to 42—12 piastres per oke,
 Mule twist, 2000 okes, No. 36 to 44—11½ do. per oke.

Sometimes cash may be obtained for twist, but in general it is sold on a credit of from one to four months, payable in instalments; but as the buyers are of good repute, and punctual in their engagements, the payments follow, generally, on the appointed day: a consideration of the first importance in a country where justice is so difficult of access. As the purchasers here do not pay for water twist in proportion to its value, it cannot be recommended to send any of it; at least, it should not exceed one-fourth in proportion to the mule twist, and should be assorted for Smyrna from No. 30 to 40. For mule twist the following assortment is recommended: Nos. 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, of each number a bale, and all of the same size. The most convenient bales are of 300 pounds weight, but they must not at all exceed 600 pounds. The bundles would be preferred if of 10 pounds each, but five-pound bundles will also sell; those numbers are the most current in the manufactories of Smyrna, where nothing under 30 or above 60 is used. It is also recommended to make up assortments of those numbers in 10 bales of each number, and to mark each assortment differently, from 1 to 10. The yarn is not weighed here, but sold by the invoice weight, at the rate of 36 okes per 100 pounds. The finer qualities of mule twist do not bring better prices here than the second. They have begun in Smyrna to dye the British yarns, which it is thought are destined for exportation from hence into Russia.

MUSLINS are an article in considerable demand throughout Turkey, and are mostly employed in making turbans for the men, and head-dresses and veils for women of all conditions.

INDIA MUSLINS were, some years ago, in general consumption here, and sold on four or six months' credit, to be balanced in one and a half or two years. At that period the Turks were much prejudiced against all English manufactures in imitation of India goods, but they have now overcome that prejudice, and purchase whichever may be cheapest. It is thus that the British have almost entirely replaced the India muslins, with the exception of a small quantity, which is sold at 25 to 30 per cent. less than former

prices. Among those, the qualities which used to be invoiced, at 20 to 30 piastres per piece are most current, and none should cost more than from 35 to 40 piastres per piece to command a sale.

INDIAN MANUFACTURES: Those in most general demand throughout Turkey are as follows: cassocs, calicoes, long cloths, tanejs, terrendacs, mule mulls, surbets, allibalies, F. mulls, S. mulls, and carbans. Those goods should be never less than yard-wide, and if they exceed that measure by one-eighth or one-quarter it would be preferred; excepting that such breadths should not affect the length of the pieces, which must be always from 20 to 21 yards: and humhums, of $12\frac{1}{2}$ yards long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard wide; with seersuckers, of the same length and yard wide only, should be of yellow stripes, as no other colours will do, and the broader those stripes are the more saleable.

The following articles cannot be recommended for Turkey, viz. baftas, addaties, emmerties, gueracks, doosoolies, mahmondies, salempores, cottarnies, jamdonies, alatches, silk sashes, checked and striped calicoes; and, in general, all coloured goods, except seersuckers.

GERMAN MUSLINS have shared a like fate with India goods, and are almost entirely superseded by the English manufactures. There are now scarcely any consumed, whilst some years ago from 55,000 to 60,000 pieces were sold in Smyrna; at present, however, the fourth part of the quantity could not be disposed of at any time, or in hardly any moderate time.

BRITISH SHIRTINGS and Calicoes are also in good demand, and a stout substantial quality is preferred, which may be sold, at good prices, to the amount of 6000 or 8000 pieces in a year, but if India calicoes were not to arrive in any quantity, it might be easily extended to 8000 or 10,000 pieces, of which the lowest qualities would sell best, and in general be sure of realising a handsome profit.

FURNITURE CHINTZ: The consumption of this article in a year may be from 2500 to 3000 pieces of 28 yards long and seven-eighths yard wide. The finer qualities are worth 75 piastres per piece, and the inferior qualities sell at about 15 per cent. less; but the first is more readily purchased, though at a more advanced price. As they are mostly used for sofa coverings, &c., patterns should be had for guides; though in that, if they are gay and brilliant, they will not fail. They should be glazed, and contain 50 pieces in a box or bale; every five pieces of a separate pattern.

PRINTED CALICOES for winter should be in pieces of 28 yards long, $\frac{7}{8}$ yard wide, and unglazed. They should arrive here in the months of August and September, when from 30,000 to 40,000 pieces might be sold, and be assorted by reference to finished patterns, and packed in the same way as the chintzes, when the finer

sort would fetch 70 piastres per piece, and second qualities 65 piastres : both, however, should be on a good cloth, as, if it were inferior, it would lessen its price 10 or 15 per cent. ; and inferior goods of this kind would not do at all.

PRINTED CALICOES for summer should also be in pieces of 28 yards long, $\frac{7}{8}$ yard wide, and unglazed. They should arrive here in the months of February and March, when from 25,000 to 30,000 pieces might be sold. The same observations, as to assortment, quality, packing, &c., apply to these as to the printed calicoes for winter use.

JACCONOTS : A common sort of jacconot handkerchief has been sent here, of $\frac{7}{8}$ yard square, with a white border, which is used to print upon, and sells at $11\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per dozen. Some of red and blue borders have been sent, which sell only at 11 piastres, whereas, without such borders, they would fetch $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 13 piastres per dozen. This quality, in pieces of 20 yards long, and $\frac{7}{8}$ wide, might be sold to the amount of 30,000 to 35,000 annually, at 24 to 25 piastres per piece. If of the same quality, in pieces of 20 yards long, and a full yard wide, any could be sent, 10,000 pieces could be sold annually, at 28 to 30 piastres per piece, in addition to the former. Jacconots of 20 yards, by $\frac{7}{8}$ wide, with gold ends, are worth 55 to 57 piastres per piece ; and the consumption may be 6,000 pieces. Jacconots of 20 yards, by yard wide, with gold ends, are worth 41 to 42 piastres per piece ; and the consumption may amount to 10,000 or 12,000 pieces annually. There is also a quality called 6-4ths, but which is really $1\frac{3}{8}$ yard wide, and in pieces of 10 yards long, which are very current at 17 piastres per piece, without gold ends, and of which from 40,000 to 50,000 pieces are sold in every year.

CAMBRICS are sold here, in pieces of 12 yards, by yard wide, of a quality worth from 25 to 26 piastres per piece, of which 5000 or 6000 pieces are annually consumed ; and another quality, of the same length, called 6-4ths, but really $1\frac{3}{8}$ yard wide, sells at 35 piastres, to the amount of 15,000 pieces yearly.

MULLS, made in imitation of India muslins, 20 yards long by yard wide, with gold ends, have been sold at 36 to 38 piastres per piece, though latterly they have brought no more than 31 to 32 piastres ; and about 12,000 to 15,000 pieces are the annual demand.

SURBETS, made also in imitation of the India goods, 20 yards long by yard wide, have been sold at 38 to 40 piastres per piece ; but subsequently, like the mulls, were depressed to 30 piastres ; and the annual consumption does not exceed 10 or 12,000 pieces. All those kind of goods should be in packages of 50 pieces each.

CAMBRIC HANDKERCHIEFS, of white ground with small printed borders, in $\frac{7}{8}$ yard squares, would sell in considerable quantities, as

also pullicats, but at very low prices. The price has been about 12 piastres per dozen, though they were formerly at 15 and 16.

BOOK MUSLINS, FANCY GOODS, and MANCHESTER GOODS in general, cannot be recommended without particular orders from correspondents, on any new opening of a market.

NANKENS, either of India, Malta, or of England, are but a small object, as serving only for the Europeans: of these, the short pieces are most saleable, and are worth $4\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per piece, and the long ones sell at $6\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per piece.

SHALLOONS were, about twenty years since, one of the principal articles from England to Turkey. In the year 1792 there were imported 50,000 to 52,000 pieces; the price was then, for the fine ones, 38 piastres, and for the ordinary ones, 26 to 27 piastres per piece. They have since risen, the finest from 95 to 105 piastres, and the ordinary from 70 to 75 piastres per piece. The importations, since 1808, have not exceeded 1500 or 2000 pieces annually, in consequence of the high price at which they sell, the very general substitution of printed calicoes, and the improvement of the Angora shalloons, which surpass the English in beauty and substance. The season for the sale begins in spring, and summer is the time of their highest demand, as the article is used only for the dresses of Levantine men. In those former years, when its consumption was so extensive, sales were made at four or six months' credit, but accounts seldom balanced within the year, and sometimes extending even to two years. The credit is now, however, confined to two and four months, and accounts are generally settled in six. The shalloons of Halifax are preferred, particularly those of the manufacture of Kirshaw and Sons, and of Birch and Kirshaw. The same assortments are sent from other parts of England, but they sell 10 or 15 per cent. lower, though the quality be equally as good. The Germans, and people of Languedoc, have endeavoured to do something in this article, but have not succeeded.

CASIMERES are only for the consumption of the Europeans here, and therefore little is necessary. Fifty or 60 pieces are sufficient for an annual supply. They come principally from Germany, and are worth $6\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per pike, while the English sells at 9 piastres.

CLOTHS: The competition in this article is very great; sales of which are made on credit, one-third to be paid every two months; but the accounts are scarcely ever settled before one or two years. British cloth does not pay at all, as the prices and charges are higher than those from the continent. The best mahoot cloths, of Edward Vernon of London, sell, with difficulty, at 18 to 19 piastres per pike. Broad cloths are too good for Turkey, and are not paid for. The English shaltec mahoots, or ladies' cloths, have been imitated with success in the Netherlands, under the name of Seraglio

cloths; and sell at 15 to 15½ piastres per pike, with a discount of 10 per cent. The Netherlands have equally successfully imitated the mahoots, which sell at 17 and 17½ piastres per pike, with a discount of 10 per cent. also. Of these two qualities of cloth, there is an annual consumption of from 400 to 500 bales of 12 pieces each. Those goods are partly consumed here, and partly in Egypt and Syria, where the prices are from 15 to 20 per cent. higher than in Smyrna; those cloths are 9-4ths Brabant ell-wide. Before the French Revolution, the merchants of Languedoc used to do much in cloths with Turkey, and sent here annually from 2500 to 3000 bales of 12 pieces each, which were mostly bartered. Those cloths were very cheap and of a common quality, yet they were of a proper texture, and served for the poor people. The French may now send from 200 to 300 bales only in a year, as the difficulty which impedes their navigation occasions them to cost much dearer than formerly, and the inferior cloths of Germany now replace them, which are sent here to the amount of about 1000 bales annually, and sell from 6 to 11 piastres per pike. It is nearly twenty years since the English endeavoured to imitate those cloths, and succeeded very well in point of quality, but they stood about 25 per cent. dearer than the Languedoc cloths, and consequently were not of current sale. Germany furnishes also some fine cloths, in addition to those inferior ones, particularly those manufactured by Matthew Cherin of Liepzig, which are worth 21½ piastres per pike, and of which the annual consumption may be from 150 to 200 bales of 12 pieces. The manufacture of Clermonts of Vaels, near Aix la Chapelle, is worth 23½ piastres per pike, and they furnish from 150 to 200 bales annually.

 ON EARLY SCENES.

AH! much loved scenes of early youth,
 Through which I've wander'd wild and free,
 When even fiction seem'd like truth,
 And fancy's dream reality.

How oft with boyish glee I've ranged,
 With merry heart, and footsteps light,
 Through scenes, which now seem sadly changed,
 Then beaming like the summer bright.

For now, alas! the world has shrouded,
 With its cares, our youthful mirth;
 Or sorrow, with its darkness, clouded
 The happy thoughts that here had birth.

L. L. L.

**SKETCH OF THE POLITE LITERATURE OF THE HINDOOS,
INCLUDING THEIR TALES, POETRY, AND THE DRAMA.**

THERE is no class of composition more in favour with the Orientals than tales and narratives, and this preference is not less prominently shown in India than in Persia and Arabia. The Arabian tales of 'The Thousand and One Nights' have long been familiar to every European nation; but there are several Indian collections of the same kind, which might, perhaps, meet an equally favourable reception, if they were introduced by some able hand to European readers. In one of these, entitled 'Vrihatkathâ,' which is a collection of tales by Sômadêva, there are some of striking novelty, and evincing great powers of imagination. This collection has been abridged by the author himself, from a larger work of his own, called the 'Kathâ Sarit Sâgara; or Ocean of the Streams of Tales,' which is still extant, and in substance the same with the abridgement. It is not a very ancient work, but it is superior to most others, on account of the elegance of its style and its completeness, the author having collected from all sources popular tales, and added to these several of his own invention. It is quite worthy of a good English translation.

Besides this collection, there are innumerable single tales. Some of the compositions of this kind, which are partly written in prose and partly in verse, form, in Sanscrit, a separate class, called *Champûs*, of which a long list might be given. Amongst these, we shall mention only one, the 'Vâsavadattâ of Subandhu,' a short but interesting romance, of which Mr. Colebrooke has given an account.*

We may mention here a class of similar compositions, which seem not to rank very high with the learned of India, although amongst the people they are very popular, we mean the three collections of fairy-tales, the 'Suka Saptati,' the 'Vêtâla Pancharinsati,' and the 'Sinhâsana Dvâtrinsat.' The reason why these are not much esteemed by the learned arises principally from the want of elegance in the narrative; for many of the very same tales have been embodied in the great collection of Sômadêva. Their popularity is sufficiently proved by their being translated into almost all the modern languages of India, and many of them into Persian. We have, for instance, the 'Suka Saptati, or Seventy Tales of a Parrot,' first in a Sanscrit edition, in which every thing, the whole of the superhuman machinery, as well as the pictures of life and

* Asiatic Researches, vol. x.

manners, are purely Indian. This is thought to have been the ground work of the well-known Persian book under the same title ; an opinion which was entertained by Sir William Jones, as we have seen it expressed in a manuscript note of his, written in his copy of the Sanscrit 'Suka Saptati.' It would be incorrect to call the Persian composition a translation, for only the outlines of the tales are there retained, while the manners and actions of the persons introduced are conformable to Persian notions. This Persian version has been retranslated into several modern Indian dialects, but these translations are very different from the work which may be considered the original source of these different editions.

The 'Hitôpadêsa' experienced a similar fate. The literary history of that work has been ably discussed by Mr. Colebrooke, in his preface to the edition of the Sanscrit original, (Serampore, 1804,) and by Mr. de Sacy, in his preface to the Arabic version, called the 'Kalila wa Dimna.' In a former number of this publication, (vol. ii. p. 23,) in a paper on the 'Fables of Pîlpai,' it was conjectured that the merit of having produced the original did not belong to India. Without doubt, the 'Hitôpadêsa' is not the work which was translated into Pehlevi by the learned physician of Noushîrvân. It is stated, indeed, in the introduction to the 'Hitôpadêsa' itself, that that work was recast from an earlier composition of the same kind, called the 'Panchatantra.' It is this last-mentioned work which Mr. Colebrooke shows to have been the original of all the Persian, Arabic, and other versions of these apologues ; but the 'Panchatantra' was undoubtedly of Indian origin. This has been shown by Mr. Colebrooke to be the general tradition of all Persian and Arabic writers who have touched upon this subject. But in addition to this, there is a paper of Dr. Wilson's laid before the Royal Asiatic Society, which is quite conclusive on that point, and the situation and acquirements of this gentleman make his authority of great weight.

In Indian poetry, their lyric compositions deserve notice. These are not so numerous as other branches of polite literature in Sanscrit, but some of them are works of superior merit. Some of the vernacular dialects, as the Hindi and Brij Bhakh, are richer in this respect than the parent tongue ; and it would be gratifying if some of the gentlemen in India, qualified for the task, would furnish an account of the literature extant in those and other of the vernacular dialects of the country. Works of an historical description are now wanting in Sanscrit, and this deficiency might, perhaps, in some degree, be supplied by such works in the provincial dialects.

Amongst the lyric poems in Sanscrit, the first place is undoubtedly due to the 'Gîta Gôvinda' of Sayadêva, which has been elegantly, though not very faithfully, translated by Sir William Jones. — ('Asiatic Researches,' vol. iii.) This poem consists of a variety of amatory songs between Krishna and his beloved Râdhâ. It is a

kind of dialogue in verse, and Sir William has not improperly called it a pastoral drama. It is a glowing picture of fervent love; its style in the highest degree vivified and brilliant, and the harmony of the verse superior to any other Sanscrit composition whatever. Most of the songs are written in rhyme; and this circumstance is worth mentioning, since some literati have been led to derive the use of rhyme in modern languages from the Arabic, through the medium of the Spanish, an opinion which ought to be abandoned after the discovery of rhymed poems anterior to any imaginable influence of the Arabic poetry on any language of the West. On the whole, rhyme presents itself so naturally in many languages, that it would be more useful to inquire, how it happened that some nations never adopted the use of it at all. The existence of regular rhymed poems in Sanscrit, (in which, however, its use is but limited, and where it seems to have been introduced from the derivative language called 'Prākrit,') needs hardly to be traced to any foreign influence.

Next to Sayadēva, in rank, is Bhartrihari, a different person from the author of the insipid epic poem mentioned above. We possess from him a collection of detached amatory stanzas, of extraordinary beauty. Another erotic poet, Chaura, has left fifty stanzas, said to have been uttered by him, when he was going to suffer death after having been detected in an intrigue with the king's daughter. From Kālidāsa we possess two short amatory poems, the 'Vasantilaka,' and the 'Prasnōttaramālā'; and, from the general merit of the other compositions of this distinguished author, we may be allowed to suppose them interesting, but we cannot speak of them from an actual acquaintance.

It would almost seem, as if the lyric poetry of the Hindoos were entirely confined to erotic subjects; at least we know of but very few, and those not very distinguished, lyric compositions of a different kind: Of songs of wine and joy, of which the Persians have such abundance, we know of no specimens in the Indian languages. Descriptive poetry is of very frequent occurrence in Sanscrit; but more generally interspersed in larger compositions than as separate poems. The 'Ritu Sanhāra,' or assemblage of the Seasons, by Kālidāsa, is an instance of a purely descriptive poem, of which Sir William Jones speaks in very high terms. The 'Mēghadūta' of the same author contains also chiefly descriptive poetry, though properly belonging to the erotic class.

The dramatic literature of the Indians is that which possesses the greatest merit, and is the most agreeable to the European standard of criticism. Dramatic poetry has always been considered as the most difficult branch of the art, and has almost everywhere been the highest kind of literary composition at which a nation has arrived. A good drama, indeed, requires the deepest knowledge of the human mind, and the powers of all the other branches of poetry;

it affords no less opportunity for epic narration than for lyric effusions and a display of rhetorical talents. The faculty of inventing, so necessary for the production of a plot, cannot be disputed to the Hindoos; it is rather the exuberance to which their writers are liable of which we complain; but the dramatists of Hindoostan have, as Mr. Colebrooke justly observes, been "more restrained within the bounds of poetical probability, when composing for exhibition before an audience, than in writing for private perusal, or even for public recital."

Of their dramatic literature comparatively but little has been communicated to the European public; the 'Sakuntalâ,' translated by Sir William Jones, has every where met with a most favourable reception. It is certainly one of the most distinguished productions of this kind amongst the Indians, though there are several others which are equal to it, and one or two which, in our opinion, are even superior. The 'Mâlâti Mâdhara,' of which our readers will find an account in the tenth volume of the 'Asiatic Researches,' may be considered as the chef d'œuvre of this kind in Sanscrit.

A satisfactory investigation of this department of Sanscrit literature can only be accomplished in India; and it is therefore with great pleasure we announce to our European readers, that the learned Dr. Wilson has lately made very extensive researches on this head, and is at present engaged in laying the results before the public, together with translations of several unpublished plays. It is indeed high time that this should be done; for a long time dramatic exhibitions have ceased amongst the natives, and many of their *nâttakas* have already been lost; the rest, we fear, would soon share the same fate, if not rescued from destruction by European scholars.

The dramatic compositions that we have seen belong all to the same class—the serious drama; we find, however, that Sir W. Jones speaks of a farce, in which the Brahmins are ridiculed;* a composition of this kind would be particularly interesting: and, if any such exist, we shall be glad to be the medium of laying it before the world.

For eloquence, either forensic or political, a country constituted as India has been, from time immemorial, affords no opportunity. History, that able teacher of practical political wisdom, which often speaks in vain to those who stand most in need, of its instruction, is quite neglected among the Hindoos. On other branches of knowledge, as philosophy and law, there exist many works in prose, but they do not lay any claims to elegance of style in composition, and are not much in use.

* Catalogue of Manuscripts presented by Sir W. Jones to the Royal Society, No. 50.

This last class of books is however, more suited to a European taste than those to which the Hindoos ascribe a sacred authority, although they are less important in a historical point of view. The authors of their lighter works, intended merely for the amusement of the readers, were less encumbered by national prejudices and religious tenets than the writers of works on scientific or religious subjects. It is from these that we principally derive our ideas of Indian taste, and it is to these, therefore, that European criticism is chiefly applied.

The principal works, that have been noticed in this sketch, appear to have been composed subsequent to the works on sacred literature. From the absence of a fixed chronology, we cannot with accuracy fix the exact period. It is probable, however, that most of them were written after the beginning of the Christian era, and before the invasion of the Mohammedans; a period of which but little is known, except that India seems to have then enjoyed a greater tranquillity than at any subsequent date. That but few, and by no means the most distinguished of these works, can have been written under the Mohammedan rule is indeed evident from their contents; so entirely free are they from any traces of foreign influence, and so unmixed is the Indian genius in all their similes and allusions; besides which several of them contain historical references, which fix them as anterior to the period mentioned.

Enveloped as is the political history of India in fiction and darkness, the history of its literature shares the same fate. In a country, constituted as this seems for ages to have been, the cultivation of literature would depend greatly on the degree of encouragement it received from the throne. That the golden age of Indian poetry should, therefore, be intimately connected with the names of princes who distinguished themselves by its support might be anticipated, and tradition corroborates this anticipation. But, as is the case with tradition generally, it selects one single person, with whom it connects all celebrated literary names, and on whom it lavishes all the honours due to princely patronage. This fortunate person is *Vikramâditya*, (or "the Sun of Might,") who has generally been placed so early as at the beginning of our era. There is a stanza current amongst the pundits, in which "the nine gems of the court of Vikrama" are enumerated, as living at his palace and enjoying his undisturbed favour. But it is known that some of the writers, thus made contemporary, lived at periods of considerable distance from each other; and the name of *Vikrama* appears in so many different places, that it is quite impossible to assign any certain period to that great patron of Indian learning; if, indeed, the whole may not be as much an allegory as the history of Apollo and the Nine Muses on Parnassus.

THE CITIES OF THE PLAIN.*

SLOWLY the Orient kindled with the light
 Of morn, and vapours curl'd in misty wreaths
 O'er vale and upland, tinged with lurid beams
 Refracted o'er the horizon, when went forth
 From the doomed city, with their Guardian Powers,
 The chosen family. O'er Siddim's plain—
 Late field of carnage, where the vassal kings
 Battled for freedom with their tyrant foes—
 They fled; and dark and darker grew the heavens,
 Till blackness spread along the ground, and roll'd
 In masses o'er the mountains; fitful gleams
 Of gory light threw o'er the skies a gloom
 Unnatural and awful; like the smoke
 Of conflagrated worlds, it gather'd round,
 And human faces seem'd, amid the night
 Of morn, like demons', when their lightning eyes
 Pierced through the fiery midnight of their hell.
 And they, who were in after ages called
 Mothers of Nations, glanced in shuddering fear
 On the outspreading horror of the doom
 That hung wide o'er the Cities of the Plain.
 The birds, with screams and fluttering of their wings,
 Rose from the leafy palms, and fled in haste
 To the far pinnacles of mountains, crown'd
 With forests inaccessible—or down
 'Mid dells and cliffy gorges and ravines
 Took refuge fearfully—ever and anon
 Tremblingly peering over the dark crags,
 And shrinking quickly back. The flocks and herds
 Look'd up amazed, as o'er the morning skies
 Thicken'd the miracle of horror's night;
 The green turf wither'd, and the bubbling springs
 Fail'd; and they gather'd thickly, side by side,
 Snuffing the sulphureous air, and on the clouds
 Of blackness gazing with instinctive dread
 And silent terror, shrinking into nought.

“ Time wears apace; Almighty vengeance waits!
 Flee for your lives—to the far mountains flee!
 Look not behind! Destruction's midnight wings
 Winnow the Cities of the Plain!” Thus urged
 The high Avengers, and their stern reply
 Was ever to all searchings into doom—

“ On! for the lightning slumbers in the folds
 Of the dark storm-clouds till your safety 's gain'd.”
 And on they hurried o'er Phœnicia's plains,
 Like birds before the falcon; but the heart

* Concluded from our last Number—page 262.

The Cities of the Plain.

Is wedded to its earlier blisses, past
 All sundering ; it cannot leave loved things
 Behind, when Danger's ruthless eye is fix'd
 In withering fascination on their hearts,
 And the keen sword is ready to devour,
 Without a pang, a shrinking of the soul,
 A last, long lingering gaze that bids farewell
 For ever and for ever !

From the last hill-top, that o'erlook'd the plain
 Of Jordan, ere they sunk below the view
 Of kindred and of love for ever, turn'd
 The mother with a bleeding heart, and gazed
 Once more upon the city that contain'd
 Her death-doom'd children ; with her head uprais'd,
 Her eyes through tears down piercing, her tall form
 Bent forward anxiously, her hands outspread,
 And anguish on her brow, she stood ; and thus
 Her troubled spirit parted ;—o'er the towers
 Of proud Gomorrah lingering for awhile,
 Then with a shriek, upsoaring to the skies,
 Where all is mystery to man ; and there,
 The statue of Despair, her pale corse stands,
 Piteously o'erlooking the Dead Sea, where all
 Her hopes were buried to arise no more,—
 A monument of Love that spurn'd at Heaven.

While thus the son of Haman fled and gain'd
 Zoar, in terror of impending doom,
 Light carollings of valmest joy arose,
 And songs of high carousal ; and the voice
 Of mirth, and the gay laugh, that told a heart
 Reckless of sorrow, in frail trust of days
 Sunny as Yemen's silvery waves—within
 The bowers and halls, and palaces of pomp
 Of those proud cities, ripe for judgment ; there
 The cup was pledged to beauty, and the dame,
 In wanton mazes, moved to the full sound
 Of merry instruments, and gleaming eyes,
 Like the gazelle's, voluptuous roll'd around
 In wooing wantonness, while bosoms heaved
 Beneath the diamond zone, inviting arms
 Lascivious, and the rounded limb was thrown
 In harlot attitudes ; and mad desire
 In frenzy burn'd, and riot reign'd unchecked
 Through the devoted Cities of the Plain.

Sabaa's caravan of costliest wealth,
 Spices most fragrant, pearls of matchless price,
 And gorgeous raiment and refined gold,
 And balm of Mecca and distill'd perfumes,
 And rainbow plumes and coral shells, and all
 That Oriental luxury can give,
 Upon that eve, in long and bright array,
 Had enter'd in Gomorrah, and thence spread
 Through Sodom, Admah, and Zebolim, there
 Imparting loud festivity and joy ;
 Where sound of human voice would never wake
 Through endless ages, nor a living thing

Breaths, nor a tree or shrub grow green, or bear
Fruit, save that where ashes dwelt within the core.
Then stream'd the festal lights through colonnade
And hall and bower and chamber, and perfume
Scented the lengthening streets, and joyousness
Leapt high in every heart, till morn burst on
Their festival of guilt, and with its light
Dimm'd the bright blazing of their revelry.
Then to their couches, with dim eyes that saw
The tempest not, that lower'd in wrath around,
Sunk the gay habitants. Through the lone streets
Silence and solitude prevail'd, save where
The unfrequent pilgrim hasted on his way,
Or the vast caravan, departing, sent
The echoes of their many hurrying feet.

The storm of wrath had gather'd, and it hung
In mighty folds of blackness round the skies,
Reveal'd by the great sun, whose disk on high
Gloom'd like a universe of blood, and made
Palpable darkness over all the earth ;
Girdling the awe-struck spirit like the clasp
Of anaconda or cerastes, charged
With crushing power and venom past all cure.
Wild meteors burst amid the lurid skies,
Oft like the world's artillery combined,
And shatter'd globes of fire drove through the gloom,
Like the re-wakening flames of hell amid
The everlasting night of Destiny.
Shadows of demons pass'd upon the gale,
That blew and howl'd along with louder roar
Than worst tornado, and wild voices peal'd
Louder than lawless hurricane, and trumps
Sounded along the heavens, and the blast
Raced with the lightning, as from every point
Burst the wild tempest of Almighty wrath.
Oh, then the heaving earthquake, and the roar
Of rocking thunders, and the blasting glare
Of lightnings, that flash'd not, but fell on earth
In one eternal blaze of flame, and spread
O'er all the slumb'ring cities, that outburn'd
In spiral pyramids of quenchless fire,
As they would mingle with the burning skies.—
Oh, then the terrors of the Lord appear'd !
Above, below, a universe of flame,
Unquenchable ! and thunders, not like earth's,
Oft intermitted, but unceasing shocks,
So loud, all worlds replied ; so strong, they shook
Ten thousand meteors from their sightless spheres.

Then forth in terror and in madness rush'd
The myriads of the Cities of the Plain.
From crackling roof and crashing battlement,
And falling tower and blazing colonnade,
They leapt in raving agony—the flames
Clinging like serpents to their tender flesh.
Then women delicate, with cherish'd babes,
And blooming maidens, and grey matrons, rush'd
Through the dread furnace ; and the haughty Kings,

The Cities of the Plain.

Beca and Birshā, and Shemeba—blent
 With men of all degrees, stood 'mid the storm
 In anguish howling; and their infant ones,
 And daughters beautiful, and tender wives,
 Clung round them, wailing; and ten thousand prayers
 Shriek'd with unnumber'd curses; but the flames
 Roar'd on more wildly, and the lightnings glared
 More awfully, and the loud thunders peal'd
 Louder, and the fire-tempest faster rain'd
 Ruin at every cry. A wall of fire
 Rose round them, high as heaven, and it grew
 Narrower and yet more narrow, and their flesh
 Consumed; and then their agonizing shrieks
 And imprecations grew more terrible.
 Still darker wax'd the heavens, and the glare
 Of their proud cities far around reveal'd
 Unnumber'd living victims. Death rode on
 The lightning and the hurricane, and slew
 In every thunderbolt; and Jordan's stream
 Boil'd as it rush'd along, and mountain rocks
 Asunder burst to their foundations; earth
 Burn'd like the heavens, as it heaved and heaved
 Beneath the countless multitudes; the world
 Rock'd to and fro, and all the heavens did seem
 Ready to fall. Hosts upon hosts now lay
 Dead, and the dying fell upon them there;
 And 'mid the howling of the tempest still
 Rose countless groans and yells of agony;
 And demons in the air did mock them then,
 And bade them wear their raiment of great price,
 Their perfumes, and their jewels!—But a voice
 Now drown'd the thunders and the hurricane,
 The howlings and the mockeries, and cried,
 "Let it suffice!" and, on the instant, earth
 Yawn'd in a bot'omless chasm 'neath the host
 Of Sodom and Gomorrah; and the dead
 And dying—kings and counsellors, and men
 Lowly and proud, and women fair, and babes
 Lovely, and all, of all degrees, went down
 Together in the gulf; their blazing roofs
 And gorgeous temples, palaces and towers,
 Like meteors falling through the depths of hell,
 Glaring wide o'er them: and the Dead Sea rose,
 As the last shrieks wail'd through the affrighted air
 Like yells of fiends hurl'd from the verge of Heaven.

L. F.

March 12, 1826.

ON VISITING AND CONVERSATION.

It must be evident that authors necessarily make a number of observations on life and manners, for which, when thrown together, it is exceedingly difficult to find any suitable title. This induces many to prefix to their speculations the most extraordinary epigraphs; and these, at first sight, appear to confer an air of originality, of which, however, they are very far from being an infallible token. Reflecting on these circumstances, it has always appeared much better to us, to place common inscriptions at the head of our essays, and to reserve what little ingenuity we might possess to be infused into the body of the piece. Subjects are not infinite, but they may be infinitely varied by the manner of treating of them. Therefore, although it be now impossible to speak of things that have never been spoken of before, it seems to be still in our power to make new reflections on topics apparently familiar, but, for that very reason, little heeded or understood.

The cause why men visit each other and converse, abstracting all considerations of business, seems to be simply the love of pleasure. This is the passion truly universal; this is the pivot upon which the world intellectual, as well as the world of sense, turns. Philosophers and saints feel it in their speculations and devotions, and yield to it too, in their way, as completely as the Sybaritish gourmand, whose stomach is his Baal and Ashtaroth. Nor is this at all surprising, in reality, for the gratification of this passion is *happiness*—a gem for which all the world search, and but few find.

From the first institution of society, however, mankind have always been persuaded that happiness is a god that cannot be approached singly. Through this belief, indeed, we have congregated into nations, built cities, invented public worship, formed ourselves into clubs distinguished by particular opinions or costumes, instituted marriage, and desired children. We have, and can have, no conception of independent, solitary being. Even God, whom we have fashioned, as Aristotle observes, after our own image, is believed to have surrounded himself with the society of angels, and to delight in the songs and praises of these inferior and dependent spirits. And as to man, he is so little capable of entire solitude, that if cast by shipwreck alone on some desolate island, he would part with every other advantage under heaven in exchange for a companion. We have no enjoyment whatever from which all idea of other beings is excluded. Nothing beginning and ending in self. The presence, therefore, of other beings of our own species is delightful to us all; and if we love to retire occasionally into solitude,

it is not for the purpose of segregating ourselves from mankind, or from any antipathy we indulge for company and conversation, but because we hope, during our temporary absence, to enlarge and perfect our powers of pleasing, that we may return to the circle of our friends more rich in the materials and science of happiness. Society, indeed, is man's proper sphere; solitude his aversion, and his bane. And if learned men, forgetting the aim of study, contract, sometimes, a fondness for loneliness and musing, they soon become conscious of indulging an unnatural propensity, and either grow to despise mankind, to think disdainfully of their hopes and fears, or they sink into a timid, feeble distrustfulness of their own powers, and shun society from mere dread. Every kind of learning has a natural tendency to create effeminacy of character, because it has a tendency to enfeeble the physical structure. On this account much attention is paid, in every good system of education, to the development of our bodily powers, which, as all real philosophers have always inculcated, exert a much stronger influence on the character of our minds than mere learned men have ever been able to comprehend. But the mind itself has its gymnastic exercises as well as the body; exercises, without which it is almost impossible to acquire that amplitude and intrepidity of intellect which a great writer of our own times regards as the distinguishing attributes of genius. These gymnastics are, conversation and argument. No one, however, we hope, will imagine that we mean to dignify with the name of conversation the silly nonsensical chit-chat that prevails in society. Our intention is far different; nothing appears to us to deserve the name but that free manly interchange of ideas, which takes place among friends. Time may be consumed by the hour in gratifying that childish vanity which loves to hear its own voice; but, surely, we do not call such abuse of words, conversation. We are afraid that Dr. Johnson, the greatest talker of modern times, not excepting Mr. Coleridge, had a vicious theory on this subject. He was himself the great catholic church, in his own eyes, and every deviation from his creed was heresy. To his ear, the growl of triumph he uttered over an antagonist vanquished in argument, was far sweeter than the note of the nightingale. His meat and drink was contention; nothing but that could rouse his sluggish nature into anything like ecstasy. He was an intellectual gladiator, animated and cheered in combat by the applause and acclamation of that miniature amphitheatre in which he always brandished his syllogisms. But it was this that made him what he was. Like certain voluptuaries that must approach pleasure through the avenues of pain, Johnson reached the goal of his ambition through the buffetings of passionate and contentious argument. Dr. Parr, too, celebrated for his conversational talents and careless wig, was partial to the amphitheatral style, and seems to have loved to nonplus an ignoramus. Perhaps the most striking thing in his conversation, however, was the contrast observed between the liberality of his

opinions and the strict orthodoxy of his wig and gown. People did not expect to find those clerical ringlets and that dark symbol of the ecclesiastical spirit serving as a covering to republican independence, and universal tolerance; the tree looked sombre and forbidding, but, to the surprise of the searcher, it bore golden fruit. This was the feature that chiefly arrested attention in the character of Dr. Parr; and further than this, he does not appear to have differed much from other very learned men. We are inclined to yield a much higher credence to the stories told of Mr. Coleridge's household or fireside eloquence; his writings indicate this sort of talent. Bright, fanciful, but flagging suddenly, as if from want of stimulus, his genius seems formed by nature for detached efforts, springing out of immediate enjoyment. The questions, objections, replies, rejoinders of conversation, are as so many steps upon which his mind mounts up and soars away into sublimity; otherwise, like the flying-fish, it makes short bounds, and sinks again upon the surface.

If we may credit the relations of ancient writers, Socrates possessed the powers of dialectic eloquence beyond any man that ever lived. There seemed to be some spell in his language; it attracted like the songs of the syrens. Persons who had once heard it, immediately grew attached to his person, burned incessantly to hear him speak, walked with him, lived with him, or purchased a few hours of his company at the peril of their lives. Yet, undoubtedly, this plain old man affected no peculiar splendour of style. His language did not glitter, like a coronation robe, with metaphors; it was only exquisitely natural. The most remarkable feature, perhaps, in his conversation, was his amazing versatility, and that readiness with which he entered on the particular arts or professions in which those with whom he happened to converse were engaged. With the lover, he could converse of love; with the juriconsult, of law; with the statuary, of sculpture; with the gardener, of plants and trees; with the painter, of pictures; with the general, of war; with the politician, of government; and he spoke, not merely to draw out his companion, whoever he might be, but evinced, during the colloquy, a thorough acquaintance with the art or mystery under consideration. No doubt he owed much of this facility and extensive knowledge of human concerns, to his practice of frequenting the workshops and manufactories of the city, as well as the forum, the courts of law, the haunts of philosophers, and the tables of the great. But it was by no means his superior knowledge that communicated that incomparable flavour to his conversation; for numbers have possessed much more knowledge than Socrates; but some peculiar and lofty kind of wisdom, which, when clothed in words, appeared to elevate the auditor as well as the speaker, which is the summit of eloquence. Many speakers, as well as writers, appear to affect an air of superiority over the persons they address, by which, if they sometimes excite our admira-

tion, they lose our love, which we bestow on none but those who are willing to treat with us on terms of equality. The monarchical principle, odious in every point of view, is insufferable in conversation. There, every man is a democrat; thinks himself entitled to make his voice heard; and that immediately, and not by proxy. The warmth of argument levels all distinctions; and so soon as an individual calls in the aid of his dignity to support his positions, he is thought to have infringed the laws of social intercourse. A positive dogmatical style may be indulged more safely by any one than by a man in power; for, while in other persons it appears to be merely the effect of temper, in the prince or great man it seems to imply a secret reference to his authority, and often engenders deadly hatred and animosity. Napoleon understood this; for, although often hurried into excessive warmth by the impetuosity of his character, he always seems to have been anxious to repair, by concession and apology, any breach of good manners he had been guilty of. Arguing one day with Bertrand, who obstinately maintained his opinion, though it seems to have been quite erroneous, Napoleon exclaimed, "Bah! c'est impossible!" "Oh!" says Bertrand, "if that is the way you mean to talk, there is an end of all argument." The great man felt the reproof, and exerted all his ingenuity to mollify the anger of his follower.

The persons who shine most in conversation are, perhaps, those who attack established opinions and usages; for there is a kind of splendid Quixotism in standing up, even in defence of absurdity, against the whole world. The same principle holds good in authorship. No one is astonished or startled at seeing the things which are believed by every body defended, however ingeniously; but let some daring speculator venture to call in question the universal opinion, and all ears are erected to listen. People imagine, and in most cases imagine truly, that the intellect which amid the stream of popular prejudices can resist the current, and repose firmly on itself, must be great as well as extraordinary. To command considerable attention, therefore, either in writing or talking, a man must hazard bold thoughts, bold figures, and unusual expressions. This was Lord Byron's theory; he perceived that the literary appetite of the public was beginning to flag, over-clogged with common sweets, and he determined to awaken it again with pungent sauces and high-seasoned ragouts. Thus sailors, grown drowsy through fatigue and long watching, often contrive to keep each other awake at night upon the ocean, by repeating fearful tales of shipwreck, and by painting, in their rude but strong expressions, the hardships and horrors to which their manner of life is peculiarly subject. The vulgar, too, on land, sitting up late, to watch over the dead or the sick, scare away sleep by ghost-stories and relations of murder, which usually grow more awful and atrocious as the night advances. Precisely in the same manner, the apathy of excessive civilization,

forestalling a feature of returning barbarism, is only to be roused by the paradoxical, the tremendous, or the supernatural.

Perhaps, if we made the most of it, conversation might be a better nursery of popular ideas than reading. What every body talks of must be interesting to every body, but we can never know exactly what people employ their minds upon unless we converse with them. From conversation with the world we learn its wants; but it is by conversing assiduously with our own thoughts that we discover how to supply them. There are some few subjects, however, which we may know, *a priori*, will always please—immortal theses, upon which the wit of man can never be exercised in vain. Do we imagine, when we open some new treatise on Love, that the author may have discovered a fresh vein, and mined more deeply than all former adventurers? Not at all: we know very well that the little god has already usurped all beautiful epithets; all soft expressions; all bewitching sounds; and the utmost we expect from the skill of the writer is, that he have thrown all these together, so as to produce a new picture. Love is immortal, and does not grow wrinkled because we and our expressions fade. His heart is still as joyous and his foot as light as when he trod the green knolls of Paradise with Eve. He will be young when he sits upon the grave of the thousandth generation of our posterity, listening to the beating of his own heart, or sporting with his butterfly consort, as childishly as if he were no older than the daisy under his foot. His empire is a theme of which the tongue never grows weary, or utters all that seems to come quivering and gasping for utterance. We think, more than we ever spoke, of love; and if we have a curiosity when we first touch some erotic volume, it is to see whether the author has embodied our unutterable feelings, or divulged what we have never dared.

Demosthenes and Cicero, and many others, we dare say, since them, were in the habit of converting the subjects they heard discussed in conversation, into theses. The thunder-tongued Athenian, we are told, whose periods afterwards convulsed Greece through all her states, condescended in his youth to chronicle the arguments of ordinary men; labouring, however, to improve what he had heard, in thought and expression; sifting every word, weighing every syllable; pouring his fire and his soul into every metaphor. Cicero's themes were chiefly, if not entirely, of a political nature, and written, not so much to exercise his pen, as to call off his mind from disagreeable reflections. Nor were they composed during his youth, when such exercises are most useful, but after he had gone through all the public honours of the state, and had seen his country enslaved by the least tyrannical of all tyrants. Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding' arose out of a casual conversation; and, perhaps, the most fashionable essays of the present day are little more than the echoes of the familiar chit-chat of a certain coterie.

As fine conversation is eloquence subdued in tone and broken into dialogue, the same characteristics belong to both. We always wish, when we discourse, to pour our opinions and sentiments into the mind of our companion, to the exclusion of his own; and in proportion to the value we set on his friendship and judgment is the vehemence of our efforts to obtain his suffrage in our favour. It is for this reason that warm language, in debate, seldom gives offence; perhaps never, when both disputants are men of superior understanding. We consider the eagerness of our antagonist to beat down our arguments, a proof that he feels their weight, and attributes power to the mind that wields them. And this, however he may chafe and fume in the utterance of it, is a most unequivocal compliment to our abilities. Sneering and irony, exhibiting on the other hand an affectation of superiority, are generally abhorred. But they are figures of speech which wound the mind that handles them much oftener than they lead to victory. Very powerful intellects resort to them but rarely, unless it be to abate the insolence of coxcombry, or to pour the laugh of a company on presumptuous ignorance; and for this purpose they were employed by Socrates against the Sophists. They poison, however, the kindliness of conversation, provoking all parties to put on their most desperate weapons, and changing the friendly contention of the palestra into the fierce struggles of the field of battle. Warmth of manner, and vehemence of voice and gesture, enliven conversation, as we have observed, when they degenerate not into rudeness and intemperance. They are the signs, too, of great singleness of heart, and earnestness of purpose; and their presence or absence was frequently turned, by the old orators, into an argument in favour or disparagement of the narratives or asseverations they accompanied. We are told by Plutarch, that a man came to Demosthenes one day, desiring him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault: "Not you, indeed," said the orator, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Aye, now," replied Demosthenes, "you speak like a person that has been really injured." Cicero, who left few fine thoughts in all the literature that had preceded him untouched or unadorned by his pen, introduced a splendid amplification of this idea into one of his pleadings. It was that which he pronounced in defence of Q. Gallius, accused by the orator Calidius of an attempt to poison him. According to his own description, the style of this speaker was pure and beautiful, but void of vehemence and energy; it delighted the ear and charmed the understanding, but it threw no fire among the trains of passion. It gave light, like the moon, but it was cold. Such a style of speaking suited not vehement accusation; and though, on the occasion in question, he had to describe an attempt upon his own life, his habitual manner underwent no very visible alteration. He told his story clearly and elegantly,

but without passion or energy. Yet, although this was his natural style, which he could not, under any circumstances, be expected to change materially, Cicero deduced from it a powerful argument in invalidation of his charge. "Is this an affair, Calidius," said he, "in which you would behave yourself thus, if you were in earnest? Would you, with that eloquence, which has so frequently been exerted for the benefit of others, neglect your own cause? Where is your affliction? Where that passion which extorts words and complaints even from the ineloquent? I see in you no perturbation, either of mind or body; you strike not your forehead, you lay not your hand upon your heart; nor (which is the most ordinary symptom of passion) do you even stamp upon the ground with your foot. Nay, so far are you from having shaken us with emotion, that we were in danger of falling asleep during your harangue!"

Action in conversation, as in oratory, sometimes conceals the absence of more lofty qualities; the eye, charmed with a succession of passionate and graceful movements, prejudices the case, and hinders the mind from dwelling coolly on the language and sentiments which these movements were only meant to render more impressive. There is enchantment, too, in a mellow musical voice, that often gives to very ordinary discourse the effect of eloquence. Speaking, in his work on great orators, of the various excellencies of the speakers of old Rome, Cicero characterises Cn. Lentulus as a pleader who gained by action only the reputation of an orator; "concealing," says he, "beneath his striking movements, the mediocrity and barrenness of his genius." It is, no doubt, great merit to be able successfully to hide, under graceful gesture, sweetness of voice, or copiousness of language, the natural meanness and poverty of one's thoughts; it is much greater, however, not to need these painted screens.

There undoubtedly is great persuasive power in the countenance, independent of words. A picture or a statue, representing man or woman, if regarded attentively, has a very strong influence upon the spectator's state of mind. When it is clothed with bland sweet looks, the person contemplating it will involuntarily adjust his own features into the same kind of expression, and adopt the smile of the stone or canvass. In gazing stedfastly at the Venus and Adonis of Titian, we have often detected our own countenance relaxing into the softness and alluring fondness of the goddess, and, an instant after, into the gentle reproachfulness of the youthful hunter, delayed for a moment by her tenderness from his favourite sport. Turning round, too, to observe the effect of the same picture upon the fair portion of the spectators, we think we have remarked that the most lovely women looked still more lovely as they meditated, enrapturedly, on that Queen of Beauty, clinging in disordered earnestness to the departing object of her affections. On the other hand, beholding the face and form of Hercules or Jupiter, we in-

sensibly give to our muscles a strenuous or sublime expression, answerable to the loftiness of the emotion which the image excites within our soul. Nay, the casual glance of a countenance, caught in passing in the street, has the power to influence our looks and musings; gentleness and benignity inducing a soft and pleasing expression and tone of mind, and gloom and sternness the reverse.

But if beauty, attacking us in this flying Parthian manner, have so much power, it is perfectly irresistible when drawn up in array against us, face to face. Reason then opposes it in vain. Something mysterious seems to emanate from the features as the words are uttered, and, though the mere attribute of form, to mingle with the sounds of the voice, and render them enchanting. Perhaps considerations of sex, however obscure and remote, may insinuate themselves into all the pleasures which beauty inspires; and assist in conferring on sounds and phrases a charm beyond the force of eloquence. Lips steeped in loveliness can never fail, whoever be the auditors, to coin sweet bewitching words, and send them like arrows to the heart. Language assumes a new nature in the mouth of beauty. It grows feminine; purifies itself from the stains of art; and is then most invincible, when, throwing off all pomp and metaphor, it appears naked, like Love. We imagine Cleopatra must have lisped Greek most divinely. Her words borrowed melody from her eyes, and must have seemed full of honey, and rich overflowing gracefulness, because the lips from which they fluttered were so unmatched in softness and beauty. Perhaps there are persons to whom this kind of thinking may seem unintelligible. They might better understand old Montaigne's illustration of the nature of the logic of circumstances. He thought robes, ermine, and badges of authority, exceedingly great helps in conversation; like the old Roman, who was of opinion that it was very absurd to argue with a man who commanded thirty legions. But beauty, and power, which is generally the handmaid of beauty, have much the same effect on the human mind: both subdue it, render it submissive, blind, cringing, fawning, flattering. Who is there that has not observed, in his own case or in his neighbour's, some few poor unmeaning syllables, borrowing tenderness, force, or sublimity from the bright eyes that presided, like stars, over their birth? As to the eloquence of rank and office, of court dresses and lawn sleeves, it is a topic too stale, we fear, to bear mention. But it may be predicated generally, that those buds of rhetoric which put forth upon the stock either of beauty or power are apt to fade very rapidly when thrown for a moment into the shade, and to defy all future showers to give them their bloom again. The jest of an ex-minister is as flavourless as a mummy; as unintelligible as its hieroglyphical epitaph. Three days after his fall, his wit, under the spunge of oblivion, has grown as much a mystery as the name of him who built the pyramid, or the taste of Lot's wife.

The wit and conversation that are relished for their own sake, are those of equals. We soon grow weary of condescension or of condescending, and long for that freedom which prevails only among "birds of a feather." It is pleasant enough to watch familiarity feeling its way among the doubtfulness of new associations; now making a slight advance; now retreating; watching the gleams of character bursting out from behind the studied folds of etiquette; treading softly on prejudices or failings; now congratulating itself; now despairing. But the mind is never easy until it meets associates in broad daylight; when the failings and peculiarities of each are perfectly known; and when few or no thoughts remain in the breast that might not be suffered to venture over the lips.

When this is the case, conversation is in some respects more valuable than books: for men often hazard, in friendly familiar intercourse, expressions and remarks which they would hesitate to put on paper, either because they might consider them too dangerous or bold, or, though useful, too common. Besides, men love to converse about the subjects with which they are best acquainted; they frequently prefer writing about what they wish, or would be thought, to understand. The most ordinary company may convict a person of ignorance, if he presume to talk of things unknown to him; but it is not so easy to interrogate an author on the meaning of his book. When Hobbes was at any time at a loss for arguments to defend his unsocial principles, *viva voce*, he always used to say—"I have published my opinions; consult my works; and, if I am wrong, confute me publicly." To most persons this mode of confutation was by far too operose; but they might have confoundedly puzzled the philosopher in verbal disputation.

Men are social or otherwise in proportion as their sources of happiness are more or less common. Happiness is self-satisfaction, however produced. If an individual, therefore, be so constituted that he can draw advantageous comparisons between himself and others in most cases, he is sure to be generally happy; and as this can be done best in solitude, where the virtues and enjoyments of others dwindle to almost nothing in the distance, while their own appear in all their magnitude, seclusion is the paradise of proud minds, divested of power, an attribute that always enables a man to make those comparisons which, no secret remorse preventing, constitute happiness. Others, whom no self-flattery short of fatuity can vest with great qualities, seek in noise and bustle for happiness. If they are inferior, they wish to forget it. They mingle with jovial companions, parasites of the bowl, fellows whom Bacchus makes equal. With these the instruments of bliss are delirium and forgetfulness; as with that Arabian prince, who, having neither a Shakspeare nor a Milton to lift his fancy above "the visible diurnal sphere," was fain to take up with opium, which

transported him, he said, in delicious trances, to the Indies, and, amid the burning desert, refreshed his fancy with shady forests, and meadows, and cooling springs.

Perhaps the surest way to gain a correct idea of the value of conversation, would be, to study and compare together the modes of it which have prevailed respectively among civilized and barbarous nations. The old Egyptian was a devout worshipper of silence and of onions; the Greek was loquacious, but he wrote *Iliads*, and spoke philippics; the Roman, too, loved to hear the echo of his own voice; the modern Gaul and the modern Briton are by no means dumb; while the Huron, the Spaniard, the Cherokee, the Brahmin, the Turk, and the Monk of Mount Athos, hate words, and will ponder whole days with their eyes fixed, their lips closed, and their ideas bound up, as in a frost. Barbarians are taciturn, because they have nothing to say; or, if they do talk, their discourse generally amounts to nothing. But civilized nations, who are continually adding to their intellectual stock, have many motives for avoiding silence: they would learn, and would show that they have learned something; and, from these concurring causes, are seldom sparing of their words. But, as concomitance is liable to be mistaken for causation, it is sometimes inferred from this, that a nation's fondness for conversation is the reason of its intellectual greatness. It is, however, only the effect. The arts are created before we talk of the arts. The birth of eloquence preceded that of rhetoric. When the sciences and the arts have made some progress, however, among a people, they undoubtedly lend their aid in enlarging and purifying the style of conversation. Among the Greeks and Romans, the tone even of the most familiar discourse was very much modified by the constant presence of statues, pictures, vases, urns, and gems. We find them making constant reference, even in their most homely dialogues, to the pictures of Parrhasius, Protogenes, or Apelles, or to the statues of Myron or Lysippus. This arose from the public manner in which the productions of the chisel and the pencil were exhibited. It was even thought bad taste at Athens, in the time of Socrates, to make a private collection of pictures; which might be seen to so much more advantage on the sacred walls of the public temples, mingled with associations of the gods. We bid fair, at present, to rival the Athenians in liberality, for the magnificent and costly galleries of our rich men, and even of our King, begin to be laid open to the public eye, to enrich our fancy and to enliven our conversation. There can be little doubt but that at first both Venuses and Apollos will be criticised with more affectation than judgment; but experience will correct this evil, and lead us, from indiscriminating admiration or ignorant censure, to a more chaste and enlarged apprehension of what is great and of what is beautiful.

But, after all, is conversation to be preferred to books? How-

taigne, who is fond of paradoxes, maintains that it is, and so did Plato before him. "The study of books," says the former, "is a languid, feeble motion, that does not warm; whereas conversation at once instructs and exercises." We differ with him. Writing, in our opinion, is the only means by which a philosopher can converse with all those who deserve to hear him. His friendly circle must always, in great measure, be collected round him by chance; he cannot choose who shall be his brothers; seldom who shall be his friends. Besides, be his intimates ever so well disposed to hear him, he cannot be always speaking; he must sleep, eat, meditate, be idle, die. Nothing, however, can stop the mouth of his book. That can always be made to speak to as many as desire it, at once, and at all hours. Though no one who is indisposed needs hear it, it is always eloquent; is subject to no sickness, no want, no old age. It is an immortal oracle. To converse with the living may, we grant, be more pleasant; but we regard it as much more useful to hold frequent and assiduous converse with the dead.

TO THE EVENING STAR.

THOU Evening Star, thou Evening Star,
I've seen thee shine more brilliant far!
Thy beam hath lost that magic light
Which erst illumed the autumn night,
When Love and I, in other days,
Our vigils kept by thy bright rays;
Till Emily, in all her charms,
Came to my fond expectant arms.
O rapture more than words can tell!
How did my throbbing bosom swell
To clasp her form! her voice to hear,
Thrilling with music sweet the air!
Past, past, is all the lovely scene!
And I, as if it ne'er had been—
Forlorn, deserted, desolate!
Without one thought to cheer my fate,—
Save that undying memory turns
For ever to the past, and burns
To wander yet with pilgrim feet
Where last we met—no more to meet!
Save that all Nature seems to bear
An image of the enchanting fair;
'Tis thus I meet her, ever, still,
By woodland stream, or heathy hill;
And in sweet dreams, by fancy wove,
Embrace, again, my absent Love.

J. M.

PREROGATIVE OF DISMISSAL FROM THE ARMY AND NAVY
WITHOUT TRIAL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The old error of Blackstone respecting *servitude*, the *jus vagum aut incognitum*, to which the military class is subjected, has lately been repeated, with more improvements of his own, by the Judge Advocate-General of the Bombay army, Lieutenant-Colonel Vans Kennedy, in his 'Practical Remarks on the Proceedings of General Courts Martial.' The compassionate regrets of these writers have never made the slightest impression on the army, because they have never recognised the validity of those "marks of servitude" to which they refer. The officers of the army are perfectly satisfied with the law administered by courts martial, but it is in the prerogative exercised by the King and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, of *dispensing with that law*, and of inflicting the heaviest punishment, short of death, *without trial*, that some among them (for in a civil and military life *some* will advocate the most arbitrary systems and proceedings) do discover a defect pregnant with much evil to those who are thereby lured into the abuse of power as well as to their victims. Yet this *only* flaw in the system, this *only* just ground of complaint, is tacitly or expressly sanctioned by every writer on military law, including those who lament "that a set of men, whose bravery has so often preserved the liberty of their country, should be reduced to a state of servitude in the midst of a nation of freemen"! Whether it be just and expedient that such a prerogative should exist, is the question which I propose calmly to examine.

In a debate in the House of Commons on the case of Sir Robert Wilson in 1822, the theory of this prerogative underwent a thorough discussion; and the strongest arguments which the collective ingenuity, reading, and experience of the responsible advisers of the crown could supply, were urged in its support. If, therefore, it can be shown that those arguments were weak and insufficient, the fault may fairly be attributed to the unsoundness of the cause, and not to the unskilfulness of the advocates. "If an officer," said Lord Palmerston, "could not be divested of his commission but by the decision of members of his own body, a fourth estate would be created in the realm most prejudicial to the constitution." If an officer could not for any crime whatever be divested of his pay and commission but by the decision of members of his own body, then indeed all estates would be swallowed up in one military republic, which would tyrannize at will over the non-military part of

the nation. But since the funds by which the army is maintained are under the entire control of Parliament, and since military men are, like the rest of their fellow-subjects, amenable to the ordinary courts of justice for every description of non-military offence, it is obvious that the abolition of the prerogative of dismissal without trial would have no tendency to render the army independent of the King, or of Parliament, or of the laws. There was a time when the clergy struggled for exemption from the jurisdiction of secular courts, but no such pretension has ever been advanced by the army; they claim only to be judges of all *professional* delinquencies, a claim which is practically admitted in all professions.

Lord Palmerston further said, "Let Parliament once make *the army* independent of the Crown, and it would not be long ere the army would make itself independent of Parliament. In support of this truth he would appeal to the annals of our history, in which it will be found written in characters of blood. No sooner had it been declared by Parliament that *the army* could not be dissolved by the Crown—no sooner had *the army* thus been pronounced independent of the crown, than it brought the Sovereign to the scaffold, and turned the Parliament out of doors. (*Hear, hear, hear!*) The same cause would no doubt produce the same effect in the present day." In the times to which Lord Palmerston alludes, there were two armies in England, one commanded by the King, the other by the Parliament. Of course the Parliament's army was "independent of the crown;" but it was not made so by a law that no officer should be divested of his commission, except by the sentence of a court-martial. Such a law would have been equally just and convenient for both parties, but would have had no tendency to bring the army of the one under the control of the other. There never was a contest, discussion, or question, between the King and Parliament respecting the power of punishing individual officers or soldiers for military offences, but respecting the *command* of the existing militia. When after sixteen years of civil contention, and after the King had relinquished the power of dissolving Parliament without their own consent, the few remaining bonds of mutual confidence had been broken, the Parliament, well knowing the decisive nature of the proceeding, passed a bill for ordering and directing the *militia*, nominating the lieutenants of counties and their deputies, and making them accountable to Parliament. To this bill the King must either have consented and been virtually deposed, or maintain his refusal by the sword. He chose the latter alternative; *

* When the Earl of Pembroke, one of a committee, asked him whether he would grant the militia, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time, he replied, "No, by God, not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this, which was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

but six years later, when a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, he was willing to resume his sceptre on the terms of "settling the militia by sea and land in the Parliament's hands for twenty years." Before Charles I. could have the power to cashier an officer, he must first have persuaded the officer to serve him in his war against the Parliament; his principles must first have led him to obey the King's proclamation, forbidding obedience to the ordinance of the Parliament. Having given him a commission in a particular rank, it still remained at the option of the King what body of troops to place under his command, and in what situation to employ him. His command of his own army to every useful purpose would be in no degree abridged by disability to deprive, not of situations of trust and confidence, but of *rank* and *pay*, otherwise than by the sentence of a competent tribunal, civil or military, according to the nature of the offence charged against him.

The difference between holding a commission qualifying an officer to be employed in a particular rank, and holding an office of trust on the staff, or an important command, and the necessity of making the latter situations dependent on the confidence reposed in the zeal and talents of the officers so trusted and placed in command, are points so obvious, that it could not be supposed that any inference could thence be drawn, that a commission in the service should be held by the same tenure; and that it could be asserted, that because the fittest men ought to be selected for situations of trust and confidence, and the unfit removed from them with or without cause assigned, it therefore followed that an officer should be equally liable to be removed *from the service* who had held no office of trust and confidence, who had exercised no important command, and who in his subordinate capacity had been guilty of no act of disobedience or misconduct, or of none meriting so severe a punishment. Yet the only colourable argument which was advanced in the course of the debate, was built on a palpable *confusion* between those very distinct cases. Lord Londonderry said: "He had perhaps been brought up in a prejudice, but he had imagined that there was something summary in the power of the crown, especially in military matters; he had supposed that this summary power was more necessary even than in the civil branch of the Government. (*Hear, hear!*) He saw now, however, that he was mistaken, and that every military officer held under a freehold tenure, and that it was an act of robbery to affect him in any way unless after trial. (*Hear, hear, from the Ministerial, re-echoed by the Opposition benches!*) He saw now, that instead of being peculiarly subordinate, the military officers of the crown were as independent as the holders of offices in the civil departments, having places not at pleasure but for life. (*Hear, hear!*) He certainly should have been disposed to say, that the case of other civil officers holding their places at pleasure was more analogous: he certainly should

say, if a civil office-holder were dismissed, that it was a question of confidence, and not crime; he should say that this principle was not less essential to the military than to the civil service, and as it was manifest that in the Civil department the duty could not go on from hour to hour, and from day to day, if there were not confidence; and if it were necessary to prove a crime before there was an alteration in an office, he should say that the army still more could not exist without confidence, and must be a prey to disobedience and disorganization. (*Hear, hear!*)” Nothing could more strikingly evince the irrelevance of this reasoning, and the abuse of power to which it inevitably leads, than the case then before the House. At the time of his dismissal, Sir Robert Wilson was not employed in any military capacity; he was not charged with the execution of any military duties “from hour to hour, and from day to day,” so that there was no occasion for reposing any confidence in his zeal or skill; he was in the enjoyment of the reward, in honour and money, of long and distinguished service, and of these he had been robbed, not for any crime, not on the grounds of any “counter-case” that could be exhibited, but for a forfeiture of “confidence;” that is, because it was pretended that *if he were again employed*, he would not display those military virtues of which he had given so many signal manifestations! If a civil officer were to retire on a pension after twenty-nine years of faithful and able service, would it be justifiable, would it be tolerated, that he should be deprived of his pension on the bare allegation of a cessation of *confidence* on the part of Government in the superannuated Civil servant? When Sir Robert Wilson was actively employed, he was frequently removed from one situation to another, not always at his own request, but without his ever thinking himself entitled to object or murmur. But he *had* a right to expect that he could not be dismissed, disgraced, and impoverished, without a crime charged and proved. Confident in his own integrity, an officer may wisely expend 6000*l.* in the purchase of preferment, if his rank were to be held during good behaviour; but no man of an independent mind would give such a price for what he would be liable to forfeit, if his opinions and conduct in non-military matters were disagreeable to the Minister of the day.

Not many years before the dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson, a case of an opposite description was brought before the House of Commons. The Duke of York was accused of being privy to various corrupt transactions connected with his patronage as Commander-in-chief; and, after a laborious inquiry, the House was moved to address the King to remove his Royal Highness, not from the service, but from an *office* of the highest trust and confidence. This motion Ministers resisted, on the ground that there was no crime proved on the evidence of sworn witnesses!!

What sophistry is now employed to palliate, was formerly avowed

in the plainest terms. When the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham were dismissed for voting against the Excise Bill, Sir Robert Walpole explicitly asserted the propriety of such an exercise of the prerogative *for parliamentary opposition alone*. He imagined no theory about "creating a fourth estate in the realm," nor about "loss of confidence," but said that "the behaviour of an officer (as a member of Parliament) may be influenced by malice, revenge, and faction, and on the pretence of honour and conscience; and if ever any officer of the army, because the King refused to comply with some very unreasonable demand, *should resolve to oppose in every thing the measures of Government*, I should think any man a most pitiful minister if he should be afraid of advising his Majesty to *CASHIER such an officer*." Perhaps future ministers will no more venture to repeat the case of Wilson, than the present ministers would dare to repeat that of Bolton and Cobham.

Lord Londonderry "had there, in a paper, the names of no less than 212 officers who, in the last ten years, had been removed without a trial. That paper proved that there were instances after instances in which, *after acquittal by a court martial*, the parties had been dismissed; and this not from any notion that the court martial had decided improperly, but because there were many cases in which *legal guilt* could not be proved, but in which, notwithstanding, there were circumstances to affect the character of a gentleman, or the harmony of the regiment, or in some way or other the good of the service." Here is a statement which may well make us pause. Two hundred and twelve officers dismissed in ten years, and in each case the judgment of a court martial either not resorted to, or not regarded! When it is considered that there is no species, degree, or shade of military offence, or of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, that is not visited with an appropriate and adequate punishment by the sentence of a court martial, is it possible to imagine that in *every one* of these 212 cases there must have been either a needless exercise of the prerogative, or an unjustifiable act of oppression? The Indian army presents an example of the practicability of maintaining discipline, during the last ten years, without *ONE* instance of the dismissal of a European commissioned officer, but by the sentence of a court martial,—without *ONE* instance of an innocent man, or venial offender, being sacrificed "to preserve the harmony of the regiment," or to promote "in some way or other the good of the service"! Nor is there probably to be found in the Indian army, during the last fifty years, a *single instance* of dismissal *after acquittal* by a court martial. I do not stop here to insist on the efficiency of the Indian army. *Si monumentum queris, circumspice!*

In 1801, ministers removed Admiral Sir Hyde Parker from the command of the fleet in the Baltic, a station to which he ought never to have been appointed. Nothing can be more absurd than

the remonstrances of Mr. M'Arthur on this tardy correction of the great error which the Admiralty had committed. He admits that the prerogative of dismissal *from the service* without trial, or after acquittal, "is unquestionable." Yet the removal of an incapable officer from a most important command, without "an impartial investigation of his conduct," will, he thinks, "to posterity appear enigmatical and paradoxical," and contrary to "every known constitutional principle and practice"!!

If the prerogative of dismissal should be disallowed and abolished as inexpedient and hurtful to the service, the annulment of the analogous prerogative of *suspension* from the service exercised by governors and commanders on distant stations would, of course, follow. On the other hand, if it is retained as indispensable for the King, it cannot be refused to distant governors and commanders, who have sometimes exerted it to such an extent as *almost* to persuade their superiors to "cut it off and cast it from them." Great caution and moderation have, no doubt, been repeatedly enjoined, but since no specification of what ought to constitute a fit case for suspension can be given, so as to circumscribe the range of the prerogative within certain definite limits, it is, in fact, left unlimited, and the permitted exception, expressed, as it must be, in general terms, renders the rule nugatory, as in the following order, dated Horse Guards, 1st February, 1804: "In consequence of some circumstances which have recently occurred, by which the Commander-in-chief conceives the discipline of the army, and the interests of his Majesty's service to be materially affected, his Royal Highness judges it expedient thus publicly to make known his sentiments, that a practice which has obtained in more than one instance, viz. commanders on foreign stations sending home officers with articles of accusation pending against them, without the same having been duly investigated, is *detrimental to the King's service, and, EXCEPT IN CASES OF THE MOST URGENT NECESSITY, should be avoided*, as this measure, though it may relieve the commanders on the spot from some embarrassments, seldom fails to transfer them, with increased difficulties, to head quarters."

Since military men, in the course of duty in camp and in quarters, are more intimately associated than the members of any other profession; and since the honour and dignity of the whole body is elevated or depressed by the high or low standard of qualifications deemed requisite in those who are considered worthy to be admitted into, and to continue members of their society, it might be supposed that the adjustment and application of that standard may safely be entrusted to courts martial. Has any inconvenience ever been experienced, or dissatisfaction been excited, by *abstaining* from the infliction of punishment without trial? No such examples can be appealed to; whereas, in the administration of Sir George Barlow, we have the clearest demonstration that an army

may be thrown into confusion and rebellion *by the exercise of the prerogative of suspension alone.* It is susceptible of the most satisfactory evidence that, if Sir George Barlow, retaining all his other evil qualities and erroneous principles, *had not possessed* this mischievous prerogative, there would have been no seditious combinations among the officers of the Madras army in 1809. In noticing those disturbances, let us see how Sir John Malcolm, in his excellent "observations" on them, steers between approbation of the prerogative in general, and condemnation of every instance in which it was exercised by Sir George Barlow. He begins by objecting to the only justifiable act connected with those transactions, the refusal to subject the Quarter-Master-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, to trial by a court martial on a charge, signed by twenty-eight officers commanding regiments of cavalry and battalions of infantry, that, in an official report on the subject of the tent contract, he had "made use of false and infamous insinuations" against their characters. Sir John Malcolm informs us that "the officers who had signed the charge against Lieutenant-Colonel Munro were, on reflection, and on learning the sentiments of the Judge-Advocate-General, so convinced that the charges they had made were either groundless or illegal, that they wrote to the Commander-in-chief to suspend the prosecution of them." But even if the accusing officers had not been so soon brought to a better way of thinking on the folly they had committed in preferring such a charge, it would have been an act of unpardonable weakness and injustice on the part of Sir George Barlow, if he had refused to protect the author of a Report recommending the abolishing of the tent contract, which had been sanctioned and carried into execution by Government. Granting that concession to the unreasonable demands of the twenty-eight officers would have been received with feelings of temporary satisfaction, and that the certain result of the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro would have been his honourable acquittal, still it would have involved an irreparable compromise of dignity, of justice, and of the principles which ascertain and fix responsibility among the several gradations of authority. And when we consider that "the accusers themselves had shown they distrusted the cause they had so rashly adopted," and the successive acts of irritation and oppression which followed the decision of Government in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, there appears nothing to support the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, that "great, numerous, and obvious evils resulted *from that decision.*" Sir John truly observes, that it is "a proposition too extravagant for notice," namely one which "implied that Government did not conceive there were at that moment thirteen officers, either in the King's or Company's service, on the coast, upon whose honesty and honour it could rely," as members of a court martial for the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro. But if that could be urged for the purpose of placing in a state of accusation and hazard an officer

whom Government deemed innocent and meritorious, with how much more force may it be urged for the protection of an officer whom Government consider to be guilty of some crime, offence, error, or indiscretion, and whom they are disposed to punish without the intervention of a court martial? Yet we shall find Sir John Malcolm admitting that in such cases there *may be* "a moment" when Government may act on the supposition that thirteen officers, on whose honesty and honour they can rely, are not to be found!

The next important act of Sir George Barlow was the publication of a General Order dated January 31, 1809, in which General M'Dowall was removed from the command of the army for having published an order, under date January 28, arraigining the conduct of Government in having released Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from Arcot, and Major Arles, the Deputy Adjutant-General, was suspended from the service, on the ground of his having given currency to the offensive order of the Commander-in-chief. That order (of the 28th January), Sir John Malcolm justly observes, "is certainly indefensible," and "the Government order," he proceeds to state, "as far as related to General M'Dowall, could have given rise to no serious consequences: *but the suspension from the service, in the same order, of Major Boles, had an immediate and electric effect over the whole army.* There was hardly an officer, in either the King's or Company's service, that did not doubt the justice of this measure, or that did not feel that it inflicted a vital wound on the first principles of military discipline; and *the universal clamour and indignation that it excited was, NO DOUBT, THE PROXIMATE AND DIRECT CAUSE OF THE REBELLION THAT EN- SUED.*" "The wisdom and expediency of the act is defended by none; and some of the first law authorities* in England doubt its justice. The subject has been completely exhausted; and I shall say no more upon it, than that there, perhaps, never was so complete a want of knowledge displayed of the character of military feeling, as in the attempt made to prevail upon Major Boles to degrade himself in his own profession, by making an apology for having performed what he deemed his duty, and what he could not have expressed his regret for having done, without an admission of guilt. The urgency with which this apology was sought, is of itself a proof that the Government had been precipitate." "On the 1st of February, the day subsequent to that on which Major Boles was suspended, an order was issued suspending the Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Capper, for the same offence, that of being concerned in circulating the offensive order of the Commander-in-chief." "*From the hour that these measures were adopted, the state of the army underwent a complete revolution.* The

* Vide Mr. Pigott's opinion, printed with the Memorial of Major Boles.

most discontented had, till this period, been cautious in their measures, and aimed at no more than obtaining some attention to what they deemed their grievances. There is no doubt that, before these orders were issued, a very general spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed; *but there was no danger of that taking any mutinous or rebellious shape.* Many, and among these some of the most respectable officers of the army, had up to this date taken no concern in those proceedings that had offended Government; but *the suspension of Colonel Capper and Major Boles,* (particularly the latter, who, it was perfectly known, had no share in the councils of the Commander-in-chief, and whose act of signing and issuing the obnoxious order was therefore exclusively ministerial,) *effected a complete and dangerous change in the general temper.* All seemed to be actuated by the same resentment at measures which they deemed arbitrary and unjust."

Here then it is indisputably established that, if Sir George Barlow had not been armed with the prerogative of suspension from the service, he could not have thrown the Madras army into rebellion. It would have remained only discontented with the rule of an unpopular Governor, for which there was no possible remedy but his abdication or removal. Reft of that useless and dangerous prerogative, he would have retained all needful power for the maintenance of discipline and subordination. There are certain medicines of great power, which require the utmost care and skill in their administration; but those medicines are both necessary under certain circumstances of disease, and physicians intrusted with the exhibition may certainly acquire, by study and practice, a due degree of care and skill. It is not so with him who is invested with that species of arbitrary power we are now considering. In the first place, it is not necessary under any circumstances; secondly, skill in the use of it cannot be taught; nor are there any means of discovering who possesses such skill.

If the whole army were thus actuated by involuntary sentiments of disgust and resentment, what effect could be expected from the extension of the same arbitrary punishment to *some* of those who were suspected of entertaining such sentiments, with more than the usual degree of force and liveliness? Since neither innocence, nor honourable feelings of indignation and sympathy, could protect men from the heaviest punishments, was it not to be apprehended that they would seek protection in combination and resistance? Among the manifestations of the general feeling which were brought to the notice of Sir George Barlow by the informers whom he employed and encouraged, were the preparations of an address to the Governor-General, (*which was never transmitted,*) remonstrating against the acts of the Governor of Fort St. George, and soliciting his removal; and an address, or letter, to Major Boles, conveying to that officer a contribution for his support during what

the addressers deemed his unjust suspension. For being suspected of being concerned in these proceedings, the following officers were, in an order dated 1st May, 1809, suspended from the service: Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur St. Leger, Major John De Morgan, Captains Josiah Marshall and James Grant; and the following were removed from their commands, or staff appointments: Lieutenant-Colonels Bell, Chalmers, and Cuppage; and Captain J. M. Coombs.

The reflections of Sir John Malcolm at this stage of Sir George Barlow's career, are deserving of particular attention: "Though the right of suspending officers from the service, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known, is one that has been *very properly* vested in the Local Governments of India, they possess no power which should be exercised with such extreme caution. It never can be wisely exercised in any cases but those of *most clearly-established guilt*, where trial would either endanger the authority of Government, or expose its dignity to the highest insult and degradation; which is indeed one, and perhaps the most effectual, mode of endangering its existence. Every officer is conscious, when he enters the public service, that he subjects himself to military law, but not to arbitrary power. There are, however, (*as has been shown*.) extreme cases, which create exceptions that interfere with his right to this jurisdiction: but when the ruling power is compelled to act contrary to usage, it is bound, in all such cases, to establish the necessity of its so acting, by an exposure both of the nature of the crime and of the proof of its having been committed. [There may be some rare exceptions to this rule, which apply to secret confederacies against a state, where the object is *to deprive an individual of power, more than to punish as an example*. This consideration could, on the 1st of May, have hardly applied even as a fair pretext to any one individual of the many that were punished.*] The King of England may, no doubt, strike any officer's name out of his army without assigning any reason; but his adviser would incur serious responsibility; and an inferior authority, exercising this great power, should be still more cautious, lest the very purpose for which it was granted be perverted, by the destruction of that general confidence in the justice of their rule, upon which the power of departure (when the safety of the State absolutely requires it) from ordinary forms of law is grounded. No sense of expedience, or desire to strike terror, (by the mere display of arbitrary power,) can warrant the slightest deviation from principles so essential to preserve the temper and order of a military body under this alarming, though legal, departure from its usual rights and privileges."

* In the original, this and the preceding sentence stand in a *note* at the foot of the page.

"It was a remarkable fact, relative to the orders issued on that date, that (unless in the case of Captain Grant, who had come forward to accuse himself of the act for which he was punished) no proof of the guilt of any of the others was brought forward. They were, indeed, almost all suspended, removed, and disgraced, on the grounds of private information; which, supposing it true, could not, from its nature, and the resentment to which it would expose individuals, be publicly stated. The consequence was, that many of the individuals who had been thus condemned and punished without a hearing, loudly declared their innocence, and brought strong presumptive evidence to support their assertion. They were generally believed; and a sense of their particular wrongs, added to the alarm caused by the sweeping use which Government had on this occasion made of its right of suspending officers without trial, greatly aggravated the discontented, who felt an almost maddening motive to action in the immediate contemplation of the ruin and disgrace which threatened some of the most honourable and distinguished of those that had taken any share in their proceedings."

It is obvious that the exceptions within exceptions contained in the above passage, (as far as they could have directed the judgment, or restrained the passions, of Sir George Barlow,) are abundantly sufficient to cover every instance in which he departed from the ordinary forms of military law. He, of course, maintained that every such instance was a case of (to his own satisfaction) "most clearly-established guilt, where *trial* (*i. e.* if the result of trial should be acquittal) would endanger the authority of Government," &c. Mr. Buchan, Secretary to the Madras Government in those days, in his demi-official 'Accurate and Authentic Narrative,' assures the world that "nothing but the wisdom and energy which distinguished all the arrangements of the Government, throughout the arduous struggle, preserved the barriers of the public authority, and averted the surrender of that authority to the demands of a clamorous and powerful faction." It is indeed a mere truism, that every Governor must necessarily consider every case of suspension as one of "most clearly-established guilt," or (in the language of the Duke of York) "of most urgent necessity." Nor can it be maintained that Governors are more circumscribed in the use of their prerogative than the responsible advisers of the King in the exercise of his. In both cases there is the same necessity, and the same discretionary power, to expose as much or as little, as may be convenient, of "the nature of the crime, and of the proof of its having been committed." Moreover, it was doubtless the intention of Sir George Barlow, in each instance of removal by suspension, "to deprive an individual of the power" of influencing others by his evil principles and example, as well as "to punish as an example."

Will Sir John Malcolm explain what cases of "most clearly established guilt" there can be, in which thirteen officers, sworn to administer justice faithfully and impartially, would not find that guilt to be established, and award an adequate punishment? Or from what other reason the judgment of such a tribunal can be distrusted, than from a consciousness that guilt could *not* be established, or that the authority of Government has been destroyed by a course of tyrannous misgovernment? If respect for the wisdom and justice of Governors be among the most influential motives for submission to its authority, every attempt to support that authority by the infliction of punishment, without trial, must have an opposite tendency. And if "no sense of expedience, or desire to strike terror, (by the mere display of arbitrary power,) can warrant the slightest deviation from principles so essential to preserve the temper and order of the military body," then *every* "alarming departure from its usual rights and privileges" ought to be *illegal*.

When Sir John Malcolm speaks of the ruling power "establishing the necessity of its acting contrary to usage, by an exposure both of the nature of the crime and of the *proof* of its having been committed," he alludes to proof of the mere *facts*, such as whether an individual was concerned in preparing, or did sign a particular paper: but the facts may be indisputable, or admitted, and Government be still far from having established the necessity of its arbitrary proceeding, because the criminal quality of the facts, and the criminal intent and motives of the accused, are yet to be proved. Of those errors of judgment, which disqualify a man for situations of trust and command, the ruling power is the only proper judge; but of *GUILT*, there is no proper judge but a jury or a court martial. And the discretion of the ruling power in selecting fit officers for situations of trust and command, from that of a regiment to that of an army, without even violating the right of exemption from punishment without trial, is proved by the history of the Indian army, in the government of which it will hardly be pretended that there are means of reconciling zeal for the public service with respect for the just rights of individuals, which are not inherent in the constitution of his Majesty's, if not of every army.

An officer dismissed the service, by whatever form of words it may be expressed, is at once bereft of his only means of obtaining a livelihood, and branded with a disgraceful stigma. All the fruits of his youthful studies and matured observations, his past experience and future hopes, are crushed by one blow. The adventure on which he had staked his patrimony, his substance, and his reputation, is shipwrecked. An outcast from his profession, the world is all before him where to seek some refuge for his shame and poverty. And shall this temporal ruin be brought on a man without a verdict of guilty, and consequent judgment? In the en-

joyment of every other profession, an incumbent, or practitioner, is adequately protected by the law ; and even if he were not, he would find some resource in the knowledge and skill of which he could not be deprived, and for which there is a continual demand. The naval officer, indeed, possesses such a resource ; but the military officer has none whatever. In proportion, therefore, to the evil which may be inflicted, should be the purity of the judicial investigation which precedes its infliction.

M. B.

Bengal, January 1836.

WAR SONG OF THE MOREA.

ONCE more, Greeks ! once more
 The battle draweth nigh ;
 It is sounding on your shore,
 It is ringing through your sky ;
 There are barks upon the ocean,
 There are banners in the air,
 All the Pashas are in motion,
 And do ye not despair ?
 They call you to submission—what will the answer be ?
 “ We'll perish—or be free !”

Do you see the distant light
 That flashes from afar ?
 'T is the meteor of the fight,
 'T is the Moslem scymitar ;
 It was mighty on your mountains,
 It was lord of all your hills ;
 It is brighter than your fountains,
 It is swifter than your rills ;
 While you watch its fearful glancings, what dare ye hope to be ?
 “ Dead on the field—or free !”

Dare the scorned slaves of ages
 Tempt the anger of their Lord ?
 Dare they rush where battle rages,
 Who now first draw the sword ?
 And Missolonghi's towers,
 Your bulwarks, where are they ?
 They braved the Moslem powers,
 And, like mist, have pass'd away ;
 Heard ye your comrades' dying cry sweep sad across the sea ?
 “ They perish'd—they are free !”

“ They are free—and far above
 Their desolate earthly home ;
 In a land of peace and love,
 Where their tyrants cannot come.
 And we !—if we remain,
 'T is not to shrink or fly,
 'T is to break our long-borne chain,
 Or in the strife to die.
 And if we live—our land shall be the home of liberty ;
 And if we die—we are free !”

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AFRICAN AND ASIATIC TRAVELLERS.*

THE Geographical Society of Paris have lately addressed a first Series of Questions to Travellers and others interested in the progress of geography. The countries embraced in this series are the following :—Persia, Armenia, Arabia, Tripoli, and Northern Africa, Lybia Proper, Algiers and Tunis, Nubia and Abyssinia. The countries to the west of the Nile, Senegal, France, Poland, North America, South America, and the South Sea Islands. The questions relating to Persia, Armenia, Arabia, and Northern Africa are as follow :

PERSIA.

1. *Mountains.*—To ascertain and show, by researches as accurate as possible, the form, height above the level of the sea, direction, extent, and denomination of the chains of mountains, as well in Persia as in Armenia ; particularly noticing the local names of these mountains, avoiding too general designations, which are only a source of confusion. The name of *Elbours*, for example, is given in the maps to a considerable succession of mountains. It becomes necessary to point out the limits of the chain which really bears that name, and it is of importance to know if it has been volcanic—what were these volcanoes—what are their remaining traces, and to observe the appearance and duration, as well as the periods of the melting of the snows on these mountains.

2. *Deserts.*—To communicate inquiries on the extent of the deserts of Persia, to point out their nature, to ascertain if they are increasing or diminishing, and to say if their extension is opposed or not by any natural or artificial obstacles.

3. *Seas and Lakes.*—To find the level of the Caspian Sea, as well as of the Sea of Aral, and to ascertain if there be a tradition of a falling of the waters, and of the increase or diminution in their saltness. To give a list of their lakes ; to mention their length, breadth, and depth ; to describe the animals that live in them, and the shells that are found there ; to bring home some of these shells.

4. *Course of the Rivers.*—To determine their extent, and height at their source, and the interruptions they meet with. To say if they enter the Persian Gulf, or are lost in the sands, and the causes ; to ascertain if there are subterranean rivers ; to communicate some experiments on the evaporation of the waters, and the periods and

* From the French.

duration of inundations ; to mention those rivers at the sources of which particular substances are found.

5. *Soil and Minerals*.—To explain the nature of the soil, and that of the mines, and of the manner of working them ; to communicate the various processes for the fabrication of iron, steel, &c.

6. *Vegetation*.—To mention at what height vegetation ceases, and what are the plants peculiar to the country ; to institute researches into the culture of cotton in Persia ; to send home some grains of that plant ; to enter into details on the sugar-cane of Mazanderaun, and to send home specimens.

7. *Animals*.—To communicate accurate information respecting the she-goats of Kerman ; to ascertain if they are of foreign importation, and if so, the period at which they were introduced ; to describe their shape, and to give a drawing of them ; to point out the origin of the *liftik* or Persian goat, and to send specimens.

8. *Architecture*.—To communicate a correct description of the materials used in the construction of houses, their roofs, and the paving of the streets.

9. *Mummie*.—To enter into explanations on the substance called *mummie*.

10. *Manners*.—To collect researches on the religion, manners, and customs of the Persian Guebres.

11. *Population*.—To inquire into the population, the proportion of the sexes, and of births and deaths ; or at least to state the data for approximation in this respect.

12. *Diseases*.—It would be useful to know what are the parts of Persia where the *cholera morbus* has spread its ravages ; to show the direction of this scourge, and the bounds within which it has been confined.

13. *Geography*.—To point out the geographical difficulties that present themselves ; the errors that may have been detected in maps, and to pay particular attention to names ; to write them as pronounced, and in the Arabic character.

14. *Literature*.—To notice important MSS. that fall in the way, and to buy all those that seem adapted to throw fresh light on the geography of the East.

P. A. JAUBERT.

ADDITIONS TO THE FOREGOING QUESTIONS.

1. *Subterranean Rivers*.—In many parts of Persia, and particularly in the neighbourhood of extensive deserts, the rivers, before they are lost in the sands, pass under ground, and the inhabitants follow their progress by means of wells, which is a very ancient practice. To examine these wells. There are some in the environs

of Teheran, Damghan, and at other places. These wells are mentioned by Polybius.

2. *Antiquities.*—The ruins of the ancient city of Ecbatana are situated in the southern part of Hamadan. An aqueduct, constructed by Semiramis, led the water to this city from a spring situated half a league up the mountain. This aqueduct still exists. It merely consists of a channel conducted along the declivity of the mountain to the source of the water. There are two inscriptions on the rock, of considerable length, in arrow-headed characters. All these facts must be verified, and the inscriptions, and even the bas-reliefs copied, if possible, if there are any.

ARMENIA.

1. *Mountains.*—To ascertain the chains of mountains; point out their phenomena, and collect the local traditions preserved on the subject among the people.

2. *Caverns.*—To visit, if possible, the cavern of Peckman, situated in the canton of the same name, in the Pashalic of Erzeroum. The ancients termed this grotto the cavern of Manali, (vide the 'History of Moses of Korene,' book iii. ch. 45., London edit.) According to the inhabitants, this cavern is sufficiently large to contain many thousand men; there is a lake quite at the bottom of it. To visit also the caverns of the mounts Sassaoum, which are part of the chain of the Taurus, and are situated between the source of the Tigris and the Lake of Van. To visit also the caverns of that part of the Gordian Mountains which are to the south of the Lake of Van. Formerly this mountainous country was called in Armenian *Andzaratsi*, that is, the country of caverns. It is now part of the principality of Djoulamerg, governed by the Kurdi Princes of the name of Hekiari.

3. *Rivers.*—To give particular details on the sources, length, depth, and windings of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Kour, and the Giorok, and to ascertain the number and the names of the rivers, great and small, which join their waters.

4. *Lakes.*—To examine the banks of the lakes of Van, Ormia, Hartehog, Sevon, and Ardchak; to mention their length, breadth, and depth, to indicate the number, name and position of the towns and villages built on their banks, and to give a drawing of the only fish which is said to be found in the Lake of Van.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

1. To determine, if possible, the latitude and longitude of the places where the rivers take their rise, as well as that of the principal peaks in the chains of mountains.

2. To visit the principal monasteries, and ascertain if they possess any valuable MSS.

3. To be very careful in copying proper names, and to mark their agreement with the writing of the country.

4. To point out the most commodious and least expensive mode of travelling.

ARABIA.

1. *Geography.*—Niebuhr, and afterwards Seetzen, Badia, called Ali-Bey, and Burckhardt, have traversed all the coast to the west and south of Arabia, and even penetrated pretty far into the interior of the peninsula; but they have scarcely thrown any light on the central part. We are almost entirely ignorant of the course of the rivers which water it during the rainy season. The direction of the mountains, which divide this continent into many vast plains, is totally unknown. Whether, in all its extent, there exists a considerable stream, preserving its waters throughout the year, is not yet ascertained; although, from the perusal of the ancient geographers, we should be induced to believe that there is such a stream. It is of importance to settle these various points of practical geography.

2. *Population.*—The population of Central Arabia must be inquired into; its tribes, cities, and resources, to ascertain the present state of the Wahabees, considered as a sect, and whether their submission to the Viceroy of Egypt is complete, and will allow European travellers, under the protection of that prince, to traverse the country in safety, to make astronomical and barometrical observations, &c.

3. *Lakes.*—It would be useful to know the lakes of the interior which maintain their waters uniformly at the same level, and, generally, to know all the standing waters which serve for the irrigation of the land, and the wants of the inhabitants.

4. *Canals.*—In many maps a canal is traced at a short distance from the western bank of the Persian Gulf, from Bahreyn to El-Koueyt. Although the existence of this canal is doubtful, we should like to know how it came to be introduced into the maps of Arabia.

5. *Mountains.*—On the summit of the mountain of Tayef, a city, called the *Garden of Mecca*,* the cold is very intense. Arabian authors even say that it freezes. We want, firstly, barometrical observations at the foot and top of the mountain, and made, if possible, while it freezes, and at noon; and secondly, to learn if there is snow on the mountain at any period of the year, and, if so, at what time it begins to melt.

6. *Cities.*—A particular question in geography will also fix

* This point is the boundary on the south-west of Central Arabia, to which the preceding questions particularly relate.

the attention of travellers, viz. : the existence and site of the city of Yemamah, respecting which Arabian geographers differ greatly, and which appears to be situated to the south-east of El-Derreyeh, the capital of the Nedjd. This question is connected with the existence of a large stream, on which Yemamah is said to be built, and which has the name of *Aftan* on modern maps.

Present circumstances are favourable for penetrating to the centre of the Arabian peninsula. These should not be neglected, before the Wahabees again fall under the yoke of the Prophet, an event which would render all observations, by scientific travellers, impossible.

TRIPOLI AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

1. *Mountains.*—The various branches of Mount Atlas in Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, form an extensive table-land, or elevated country, intermixed with valleys, and crowned with mountains, enjoying a temperate climate, and including many fertile spots. We have no certain proof that they extend farther to the east than the lesser Syrtus and the city of Gadames. The assertions of geographers, Arabian as well as European, on this point, are not sufficiently founded on ocular testimony. Admitting that a chain, detached from the table-land of Mount Atlas, southward from the lesser Syrtus, joins the mountains in the interior of Tripoli, it is at least probable that this chain itself terminates within the meridian of the great Syrtus. For the solving of this problem, it is to be wished that travellers would attend to the following leading questions :

What is the extent, from west to east, of the chain of mountains situated to the east of Tripoli, and called Garean, or Ghuriano ? What is their elevation ! If it is impossible to have their barometrical measurement, could not a tolerably complete list of the plants growing on them be obtained, mentioning, as far as possible, the comparative elevation at which they are found ! Is it true that the Mediterranean may be seen from these mountains ! At what distance from Tripoli is this the case ! What are the rocks and stones in the environs of the Castle of *Garean*, or *Ghuriano*, and in other parts of this mountainous region, accessible to the Tripolitans ! Is it true, as related by the Swedish traveller Rothmann, that snow falls here, and in what month does it appear and go away ! Is the chain or group of the mountains of *Garean* connected with those of *Soudan*, which Messrs. Richie and Lyon passed in going to Fezzan ! What do the well-informed natives think of the assertion of the geographer *Edrisi*, that Mount Lamha commences in Morocco, near to Fez, and runs right east, joining the lesser Syrtus, to the south of the Gulf of Kabes, the mountains

of Nofusa, and taking their name, uniting afterwards with the mountains of *Mokra*, (Ghuriano,) when it disappears entirely. Are these facts and names known at Tripoli? What do the Tripolitans think of the opinion of Abulfeda who continues the chain of the Atlas to Egypt, in conformity with the assertions of the pilgrims of the caravan of the *Magrabins*? Are the learned natives of the opinion of Leo Africanus, who makes the chain of the Atlas extend to a place, called *Jubel Moyce*, (Djebbel Moÿs,) west of Alexandria, in lat. 31° N., and long. 41° E. of the isle of Ferro? Della Cella having seen no mountain to the south of the greater Syrtus, "so far as he could see," are we to conclude from this that there is no communication between the mountains which border Fezzan to the north, and those which extend to the south of the desert of Barca, towards Angela and Syonah?

2. *Ancient Ruins*.—The numerous remains of Greek and Roman cities, in the regency of Tripoli, have been very superficially described by travellers; and many, of the existence of which we possess notices, have been altogether neglected. Drawings of these remains, and fac-similes of inscriptions, would throw much light on the history of these countries; and even where they should not enable us to dispense with the accounts of eye-witnesses, may contribute some information, and furnish some points of comparison. Travellers will therefore render great service to the Geographical Society, by procuring designs, fac-similes, or even mere notices of any remains of ancient art existing in the regency of Tripoli.* An English traveller, Mr. Blaquiere, assures us, that a person whom he knows has seen, to the south of the most southern extremity of the greater Syrtus, the ruins of a large Greek or Roman city, in very good preservation. Della Cella makes no mention of them; but they may possibly lie much farther south than the direction in which he travelled.

3. *Gulf of the Greater Syrtus*.—The nautical surveys recently made by Captains Ganttier and Smyth, having had in view to give a more circular form to this gulf of the Greater Syrtus, in place of the indented appearance of the coast on geographical maps, a difficulty arises as to the ancient geography, and the real state of places. Do not marks exist of a physical change in the coast since the time of Strabo and Ptolemy? and are there not some lagoons contiguous to the banks of the Greater Syrtus, which, although now separated from the sea by sand-banks, or dunes, formerly made part of

* Vide the process in the 'Bulletin de la Société de l'Encouragement' for obtaining fac-similes of inscriptions.

it? Are not the limits of the land and water still subject to considerable variations? The exact longitude and latitude are wanted of the point where the sandy coasts of the Syrtus terminate, and the stony and elevated coasts of the Cyrenaïd commence. Details are wanted as to the beds of sulphureous powder, with which, according to a navigator quoted by Della Cella, the gulf of the Syrtus is covered in many places. If these beds are really sulphureous, such a phenomenon corresponds with what is sometimes observed in the waters of Iceland; and it would be interesting to know where are the volcanoes from which the powder proceeds. To solve this question, attention must be paid to the periods when the powder appears, and the prevailing winds at the time. But, above all, it must be ascertained if this pretended powder is not merely the seminal dust of some plants or trees of the Cyrenaïd.

4. *Jews of Mount Garean.*—It has often been said that there are many Jews in the population of Mount Garean. Can this be ascertained? May not these Jews be the descendants of the numerous Jewish population which, under the Roman emperors, occupied the Cyrenaïd? Every manuscript that could be procured from them might become an important historical document, not only from its contents, but also from the form of its characters.

5. *City of Gadames.*—The situation of this important point, for the geography and commerce of the interior of Africa, has been sufficiently determined by the research of Walckenaer; but hence it becomes of the more importance to obtain itineraries leading to it, and particularly towards the west, through that extensive and unknown space which separates the southern part of the regency of Algiers from the country of Touat.

According to Lyon, the population of the city of Gadames is composed of two perfectly distinct tribes, inclosed within a common boundary, but separated into two quarters by a wall. This fact, having an important bearing on ancient history, it is exceedingly to be desired that the most ample details should be procured as to the origin, nature, conditions, and effects of this union.

Two vocabularies of the idioms of these tribes would also be very useful.

6. *Island of Zerbi.*—This fertile, flourishing, and considerable island, is more fully described by D'Anville than on any modern map. It cannot be supposed that he gave details which were not founded on authentic documents. Recent travellers seem to have taken all due pains to avoid visiting this island. Could not an opportunity be found of sending a temporary consular agent to it, in order to obtain information respecting a place where it would seem that very useful commercial relations might be formed?

A FAREWELL TO HOME.

THE glorious sun shed bright
 His summer light
 On the dewy-bosom'd flowers,
 And on his bough each merry bird,
 Trilling his sweetest note, was heard
 Among my boyish bowers.

There was a softer glow
 On every show
 That wizard nature owned,—
 The mountain, wont to rear his form,
 Darkling amid the wintry storm,
 Forgot he e'er had frown'd.

The old familiar rooks,
 From all their nooks,
 Came, cawing loud—farewell !
 Came, too, the graceful slender hound,
 Companion of my bugle's sound
 In every forest dell.

He look'd reproachfully,
 And in my eye
 Brought tears—I turn'd away,
 And hurried where the vessel fair
 Courted, with bellying sails, the air,
 And seem'd to chide my stay !

There, on the farewell beach,
 Too sad for speech,
 Were those I loved, in tears ;
 Gazing upon the merry waves,
 They deem'd so many hungry graves,
 In their foreboding fears.

And, ah ! we needs must take,
 For fond love's sake,
 The kiss I knew the last !
 And the tender shake of friendly hand,
 Oft press'd in joy on that same strand
 In days for ever past.

And while the anchors rise,
 Our answering eyes
 Look'd grief we dared not speak :
 And the tears we never more might shed
 Together, now profusely sped,
 As if our hearts would break !

The ship moves off !—" Farewell !"—
 The fatal knell
 Was in that sad, sad word
 Of all my home joys.—Now I fly
 To taste, beneath some other sky,
 What other lands afford.

Farewell ! familiar home !
 Where'er I roam,
 Back to thy sunny dell
 My heart, I fear me, still will turn,
 Too apt in fairest scenes to mourn.—
 Farewell, sweet home ! Farewell !

Brev.

July 21, 1826.

CURIOUS DOCUMENT RESPECTING THE SPREAD OF VACCINE
INOCULATION.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

July 20, 1826.

I was lately examining an old collection of papers, when I found the following document, given me at the time of its date by my friend Dr. Jenner, with whom I had very frequent intercourse on questions connected with his great discovery.

This translation of a state paper, first published in 'La Gaceta de Madrid del Martes, 14 de Octubre de 1806,' can scarcely, even now, be uninteresting. The narrative of such an expedition, projected by the Government, or rather the *misrule*, of Spain, may be gazed on as "a spot of azure in a cloudy sky," or, "a light shining in a dark place." It may perhaps lead to some information by your foreign correspondents, as to the further progress of Dr. Jenner's discovery. This will peculiarly gratify

ADJUTOR.

'ON Sunday, the 7th of September last, Dr. Francis Xavier Balmis, Surgeon Extraordinary to the King, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, on occasion of his return from a voyage round the world, executed with the sole object of carrying to all the possessions of the crown of Spain, situated beyond the seas, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of Vaccine Inoculation. His Majesty has inquired, with the liveliest interest, into all that materially related to the expedition, and learned, with the utmost satisfaction, that its result has exceeded the most sanguine expectations that were entertained at the time of the enterprize.

'This undertaking had been committed to the diligence of several members of the faculty, and subordinate persons, carrying with them twenty-two children, who had never undergone the small-pox, selected for the preservation of the precious fluid, by transmitting it successively from one to another, during the course of the voyage. The expedition set sail from Corunna; under the direction of Balmis, on the 30th November, 1803. It made the first stoppage at the Canary islands, the second at Porto-Rico, and the third at the Caracas. On leaving that province, by the port of La Guayra, it was divided into two branches: one part sailing to South America, under the charge of the Subdirector, Don Francis Salvani; the other, with the Director Balmis on board, steering for the Havannah, and

thence for Yucatan. There a subdivision took place : the Professor Francis Pastor proceeding from the port of Sisal to that of Villa Hermosa, in the province of Tobasco, for the purpose of propagating vaccination in the district of Ciudad Real of Chiapa, and on to Guatemala, making a circuit of four hundred leagues, through a long and rough road, comprising Oaxaca ; while the rest of the expedition, which arrived, without accident, at Vera Cruz, travelled not only the Viceroyalty of New Spain, but also the interior provinces ; whence it was to return to Mexico, which was the point of reunion.

‘ This precious preservative against the ravages of the small-pox has already been extended through the whole of North America, to the coasts of Sonora and Sinaloa, and even to the gentiles and neophytes of High Pimeria. In each capital a council has been instituted, composed of the principal authorities and the most zealous members of the faculty, charged with the preservation of this invaluable specific, as a sacred deposit, for which they are accountable to the King and to posterity.

‘ This being accomplished, it was next the care of the Director to carry this part of the expedition from America to Asia, crowned with the most brilliant success, and with it the comfort of humanity. Some difficulties having been surmounted, he embarked in the port of Acapulco for the Philippine islands ; that being the point at which, if attainable, it was originally intended that the undertaking should be terminated.

‘ The bounty of Divine Providence having vouchsafed to second the great and pious designs of the King, Balmis happily performed the voyage in little more than two months ; carrying with him, from New Spain, twenty-six children, destined to be vaccinated in succession, as before ; and, as many of them were infants, they were committed to the care of the matron of the Foundling Hospital at La Corunna, who, in this, as well as the former voyages, conducted herself in a manner to merit approbation. The expedition having arrived at the Philippines, and propagated the specific in the islands subject to his Catholic Majesty ; Balmis having concluded his philanthropic commission, concerted with the captain-general the means of extending the beneficence of the King, and the glory of his august name, to the remotest confines of Asia.

‘ In point of fact, the cow-pox has been disseminated through the vast archipelago of the Visayan islands, whose chiefs, accustomed to wage perpetual war with us, have laid down their arms, admiring the generosity of an enemy who conferred upon them the blessings of health and life, at the time when they were labouring under the ravages of an epidemic small-pox.

The principal persons of the Portuguese colonies, and of the Chinese empire, manifested themselves no less beholden, when Balmis reached Macao and Canton; in both which places he accomplished the introduction of fresh virus, in all its activity, by the means already related: a result which the English, on repeated trials, had failed to procure, in the various occasions when they brought out portions of matter in the ships of their East India Company, which lost their efficacy on the passage, and arrived inert.

‘ After having propagated the vaccine at Canton, as far as possibility and the political circumstances of the empire would permit, and having confided the further dissemination of it to the physicians of the English factory at the above-mentioned port, Balmis returned to Macao, and embarked in a Portuguese vessel for Lisbon; where he arrived on the 15th of August. In the way he stopped at St. Helena, in which, as in other places, by dint of exhortation and perseverance, he prevailed upon the English to adopt the astonishing antidote which they had undervalued for the space of more than eight years, though it was a discovery of their nation, and though it was sent to them by Jenner himself.

‘ Of that branch of the expedition which was destined for Peru, it is ascertained that it was shipwrecked in one of the mouths of the river de la Magdalena; but having derived immediate succour from the natives, from the magistrates adjacent, and from the governor of Carthagena, the Subdirector, the three members of the faculty who accompanied him, and the children, were saved, with the fluid in good preservation, which they extended in that port and its province with activity and success. Thence it was carried to the isthmus of Panama, and persons properly provided with all necessaries undertook the long and painful navigation of the river de la Magdalena; separating, when they reached the interior, to discharge their commission in the towns of Teneriffe, Mompox, Ocana, Socorro, San Gil y Medellin, in the valley of Cucuta, and in the cities Pamplona, Giron, Tunja, Velez, and other places in the neighbourhood, until they met at Santa Fe: leaving every where suitable instructions for the members of the faculty, and in the more considerable towns, regulations conformable to those rules which the director had prescribed for the preservation of the virus; which the Viceroy affirms to have been communicated to *fifty thousand* persons, without one unfavourable result. Towards the close of March, 1805, they prepared to continue their journey in separate tracks, for the purpose of extending themselves, with greater facility and promptitude, over the remaining districts of the Viceroyalty, situated in the road of

Popayan, Cuenças, and Quito, as far as Lima. In the August following they reached Guayaquil.

'The result of this expedition has been, not merely to spread the vaccine among all people, whether friends or enemies; among Moors, among Visayans, and among Chinese; but also to secure to posterity, in the dominions of his Majesty, the perpetuity of so great a benefit, partly by means of the central committees that have been established, as well as by the discovery which Balmis made of an indigenous matter in the cows of the valley of Atlixco, near the city of Puebla de los Angeles; in the neighbourhood of that of Valladolid de Mechoacan, where the Adjutant Antonio Gutierrez found it; and in the district of Calabozo, in the province of Caraccas, where Don Carlos de Pozo, physician of the residence, found it.

'A multitude of observations, which will be published without delay, respecting the development of the vaccine in various climes, and respecting its efficacy, not merely in preventing the natural small-pox, but in curing, simultaneously, other morbid affections of the human frame will manifest how important to humanity will prove the consequences of an expedition which has no parallel in history.

'Though the object of this undertaking was limited to the communication of the vaccine in every quarter, to the instruction of professors, and to the establishment of regulations which might serve to render it perpetual,—nevertheless, the director has omitted no means of rendering his services beneficial, at the same time, to agriculture and the sciences. He brings with him a considerable collection of exotic plants. He has caused to be drawn the most valuable subjects in natural history. He has amassed much important information; and, among other claims to the gratitude of his country, not the least consists in having imported a valuable assemblage of trees and vegetables, in a state to admit of propagation, and which, being cultivated in those parts of the peninsula that are most congenial to their growth, will render this expedition as memorable in the annals of agriculture, as in those of medicine and humanity. It is hoped that the subdirector and his coadjutors, appointed to carry these blessings to Peru, will shortly return by way of Buenos Ayres, after having accomplished their journey through that viceroyalty, the viceroyalty of Lima, and the districts of Chili and Charcas; and that they will bring with them such collections and observations as they have been able to acquire, according to the instructions given by the director, without losing sight of the philanthropic commission which they received from his Majesty, in the plenitude of his zeal for the welfare of the human race.'

HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

AN important historical work on the Mahrattas * having lately made its appearance, it becomes our duty to lay before our readers such an account of it as may enable them to form an estimate both of its merits and defects. In the performance of this task; it is, however; by no means our intention to follow the author through the details of his work. The brief abstract to which our limits would restrict us could only consist of a review of those more prominent features, with which our readers are already familiar; or with which a reference to any of the historians of India would render them acquainted; while all those minute particulars which constitute the peculiar value of the present publication must necessarily be passed over in silence. Under these circumstances, we must be excused from entering upon an analysis which it would be impossible to execute with justice to the author, or with advantage to the reader. Before proceeding farther, we will, however, warn the latter against an error into which the title of the work may lead him. This, indeed, sounds like something exclusively devoted to the affairs of a petty province, but the influence, which the turbulent race by whom that province is inhabited have for nearly two centuries exercised in India, has, in a greater or less degree, involved the affairs of every part of the peninsula with their own; and the supremacy thus obtained, together with their martial character, has brought them of late years so frequently into collision with the English, that the 'History of the Mahrattas,' during a considerable period, is scarcely less extensive than the history of India itself.

Declining then to enter into the wide field which lies before us, we propose on the present occasion to offer a few observations on the character of Captain Duff's publication, first indicating in what respects we conceive him to have erred, or rather, perhaps, to have been restrained by a mistaken sense of duty, and afterwards yielding to his work that portion of commendation, to which, as a whole, we still think it entitled.

In entering upon the consideration of a work so closely connected with the history of India, it may not be amiss briefly to contrast those leading principles which a glance at that unhappy country, under the dominion of its native tyrants on the one hand, and of its foreign conquerors on the other, always suggests to us as the dis-

* A 'History of the Mahrattas,' by James Grant Duff, Esq., Captain in the 1st or Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, and late Political Resident at Satara, 3 vols. 8vo.. London, 1826.

tinguishing characteristics of their respective governments. Under the former, the general features of the 'History of the Maharashtra' are so perfectly similar in all respects to those presented by that of any of the other great divisions of Hindoostan, that a very little change of circumstances, and a trifling variation of names, would alone be requisite to render them identical. Ambition, here, as elsewhere, the ruling passion, accompanied by all those horrible concomitants which attend upon it when uncontrolled in its wild career, stalks forth in all its naked ferocity. The finest countries on the earth, in which "all but the spirit of man is divine," have been by that spirit alone rendered little better than desolate wastes; and wars, usurpations, massacres, assassinations, pillage, and every species of cruelty and oppression, crowding upon each other in one long unbroken series, attest at once the power and the malignity of the passion which gave them birth. From the contemplation of such a tedious catalogue of the atrocities perpetrated by man upon his fellow, the mind recoils with instinctive horror, and turns from the disgusting inquiry,

‘How tyrant blood, o’er many a region wide,
Rolls to a thousand thrones its execrable tide,’

to examine what have been the effects produced by the influx of Europeans, of their policy, and of their arts upon the condition of the miserable people whom they have invaded, conquered, broken, and at length subdued.

And here we find another passion, certainly not new to India, but never before constituting, under any of its masters, whether Brahmia, Rajpoot, Mahomedan, or Mahratta, the very essence and soul of its government, or perhaps of any other government on the face of the earth. Ambition now gives way to avarice, and the thirst of power is replaced by the thirst of gold. To the restless and turbulent Mahratta, sweeping and devastating entire provinces in his rapid and indiscriminate career of plunder and of conquest, succeeds the wily speculator, intent solely on pecuniary gains, careless of the nature of the means by which those gains are to be secured, and esteeming the very life-blood of the wretched Native as unworthy of a moment's thought, when put in competition with the weightier and more important considerations deduced from his day-book and his ledger. In him, the love of conquest is no longer motivated by ambition and the hope of plunder alone; a more permanent and powerful interest is superadded to these, in the prospect of wresting, daily and yearly, until the impoverished wretch can yield no more, from the hard hands of the labourer, nearly the entire produce of his industry, in the shape of land-rent and monopolies, carefully graduated to the highest pitch which it is judged possible for him to bear, to be afterwards remitted to Europe under the name of *surplus revenue*, an abomination utterly unheard of and unknown under any civilized government in the world. A government thus

systematized on the principles of trade, every act of which is swayed by the simple question of profit and loss, solely occupied with devising the means of squeezing from the unnerved hands of its subjects and of its tributaries the uttermost anna which they possess, and of extending to every neighbouring state a participation in these blessings of its dominion; a government which, fully aware of the uncertainty of its tenure, never wastes a thought or spends a rupee with the intent to farther any improvement in the condition of the people over whom it rules—nay more, which absolutely prohibits others from attempting to promote their advancement in knowledge and in morals, from a well-grounded dread that such an amelioration in their circumstances would accelerate the moment when its own ill-gotten and abused power must finally give way before the outraged feelings of mankind; a government so characterized presents such an anomaly in the history of man as could not be credited without the overwhelming testimony furnished by themselves in almost every document that issues from their pens.

“The records of the Company’s government in India are” truly, as Captain Duff remarks, “the best historical materials in the world: there we find the reasons for every undertaking, the steady rules intended for conduct; the hurried letter from the scene of action; the deliberations of the Council, the separate opinions of the members composing it, and their final judgment. The scrutiny, censure, or approval of the Court of Directors, from a remote situation, and after a long interval, bring to recollection all that was done, and all that was speculated; what has occurred in India in the meantime, and what opinions have stood the test of events.” In these documents, it may be added, the naked truth is distinctly visible, in all its deformity, through the flimsy covering which is occasionally thrown over it, but which is also frequently neglected, from a conviction at once of its needlessness and inutility. This being the case, we cannot help lamenting that in a work professedly founded upon such excellent materials, the author having, as he states in his preface, read the whole of the Records of the Bombay Government, both public and secret, up to 1795, and extracted from them many large volumes of matter relative to this subject; having been furnished with a compilation made by Mr. Warden from these records for the remaining period; having also obtained a transcript of the records of the old Surat factory, and been allowed partial access to the Bengal correspondence in the East India House—under these circumstances, we repeat, we cannot but lament that he has not given us, in the whole course of his work, one of these documents in its entire state, or even any extract from them of more than a few lines in length. Surely in a history characterized like the present, by the number of new facts which it makes known, derived chiefly from unpublished manuscripts, (which manuscripts also contain the opinions and reasonings of the chief

actors in the events to which they refer, and of those by whom they were controlled,) the reader has a right to look for those *pièces justificatives*, as the French justly term them, which can alone enable him to judge if the facts are correctly stated, and if the inferences are fairly drawn. The author has, it is true, been most laudably particular in giving reference to his authorities on almost every occasion; but when it is considered that those authorities are for the most part completely beyond the reach of his readers, it cannot be doubted that a judicious selection from the documents themselves would have rendered his work more entirely deserving of confidence in regard to facts. It would also have materially assisted in developing the motives of action (in which point consists nearly the whole of the boasted superiority of the Company's records;) and would thus have tended to place in a clearer light many measures, the causes and objects of which are either left in obscurity, or are shown by Captain Duff in a point of view so different from that in which they have been exhibited by previous writers, that it is impossible, without an examination of the original authorities, to come to a just conclusion with respect to them.

In making these observations we are far from imputing to our historian any wilful perversion of facts. A careful perusal of his work, together with a calm consideration of the circumstances under which it was compiled, have satisfied us that it has been his endeavour throughout to relate events with honesty and impartiality; and, making allowance for the natural bias towards the Company which an old and favoured servant may fairly be expected to evince, we are of opinion that he often has succeeded. Still, however, we dislike being compelled to pin our faith to the dicta of any man; and would earnestly recommend the author, if he have it in his power, and if no overruling circumstances forbid it, to publish, in a supplementary volume, the most important and illustrative of those state papers from which his statements have been derived. We say, if he have it in his power; for we cannot help suspecting that the authority to which he considered it necessary to apply for "permission to publish the information" which he had collected, may at the same time have placed limits to its permission which it would be impossible for him to overstep. Such a prohibition would be worthy of that honourable Company which is so anxious to prevent the diffusion of accurate information in regard to India. At all events, its feelings on this head are sufficiently notorious to have rendered any person, acting under its sanction and subject to its influence, cautious in infringing upon so important and recognized a maxim of its policy.

Connected with this indisposition to suffer the English public to become acquainted with the true state of affairs in India, we may notice another omission in these volumes which we feel most

strongly. Is it not a little extraordinary that while the author describes with minuteness the condition of the Mahratta race under their Native chiefs, and in particular dwells at length upon the institutions of Sivajee, the regenerator of their power, and upon the modifications which the system established by him underwent during the supremacy of the Peishwas, (thus fully recognizing the principle that these details fall within the province of history, of which, in fact, they form the most essential and instructive part,) he leaves us almost entirely in the dark with regard to the present state of this extensive territory, under the dominion of the British Presidency of Bombay. And what renders this omission the more remarkable, is the fact of Captain Duff's having been, at the period of the "settlement" of the Deccan, appointed Political Resident at Satara, in which capacity he was necessarily compelled, as exercising all the ministerial functions of the sovereignty, to make himself intimately acquainted with every circumstance of importance connected with that portion of Maharashtra which was placed under his control; so that it is highly improbable that any other individual can possess equal information on this particular branch of the subject with himself.

We should indeed have imagined that the closing chapter of a history, terminating with a revolution that absolutely overturned the whole frame of government previously established, and transferred the sovereignty into the hands of foreigners, would naturally have been occupied with an inquiry into the effect produced by this sudden change upon the condition of the people, together with an exposition of the system laid down for the future administration of their affairs. But unfortunately nothing like this exposition is to be found in the volumes before us; and nearly the entire sum of what we learn upon that all-important subject is, that the territory of the Peishwa was divided into four districts, three of which were permanently retained by the conquerors in their own immediate possession; while the fourth, that of Satara, was, after an interval of three years, during which the infant Rajah of seven-and-twenty had been trained in the art and mystery of good government under the tutelage of a Captain in the Bombay Native Infantry, delivered over to his own charge, he agreeing to hold it "in subordinate co-operation to the British Government." Add to this, that the people were to be impressed with the idea that no innovations were to be made upon ancient rights, and that no change was to be introduced except the better administration of the ancient laws; that the revenue was to be collected by government agents, instead of being farmed to the highest bidder; and that certain of the jagheerdars, who had evinced a disposition favourable to the British interests, were to be allowed to retain possession of their jagheers; and the reader will have (with the exception of one solitary, but valuable, paragraph on the judicial system,) nearly as complete an idea of

the amount of information to be derived from this chapter as though he had perused it with the most persevering attention. But of the system on which the civil administration was to be conducted; of the manner in which, and the officers by whom, justice was to be administered, and (what is an infinitely more important consideration with the Company's government) the revenue was to be collected; of the nature and extent of that revenue; and finally, of all those statistical details which are capable of giving an insight into the real condition and prospects of the people, we are either left in complete ignorance, or induced to found conjectures, in all probability erroneous, upon a few slight and imperfect hints. It may be that the author considers the information of this kind, acquired by means of his situation at Satara, in the light of official secrets, which it would be a sort of treason to disclose. In this case, we must respect his motives, while we regret that they have deprived us of the fruits of his investigations, and while we also express the contempt we feel for that pitiful policy on the part of his masters, which could impress him with such an idea.

On a review of what we have written, we are sorry to perceive that so much of it is couched in the language of complaint; but this language has been forced from us, not by the contents of the volumes themselves, but by those omissions in them from which we have experienced no small disappointment, and for which we are unwilling to hold the author responsible. Had we, indeed, been criticising a work, the hasty compilation of one who, having no very deep acquaintance with his subject, had contented himself with borrowing his statements from the most easily accessible authorities, however imperfect such a production might have been, we should hardly have taken the pains to particularize its deficiencies. But the present history is of an entirely different character. In it the author has evidently spared no pains to render his work as complete and accurate a record of events as could be derived from the almost unbounded command which he possessed of original authorities, as well Native as British. The vast mass of the former, which his official situation and the kindness of his friends placed at his disposal, have contributed, in no small degree, not only to correct, in many instances, the statements of the latter, but also to supply much new and interesting information, which could not have been obtained from other sources. The labour and research employed in the examination and comparison of such a body of materials as those enumerated in the preface; and in the selection and arrangement of that portion of their contents which was judged of sufficient importance to be submitted to the public, must have been great indeed. And if, in the course of the minute detail into which the author has entered, he should appear occasionally to have dwelt upon matters of trivial interest, it should be remembered that this is a blemish almost inseparable from the treatment of a

subject scarcely attempted before, and that, at all events, it is a fault much more pardonable than its contrary.

The reflections interspersed throughout the narrative are neither numerous nor obtrusive; nor are they, in general, distinguished by much depth of judgment, or by the extent of the views which they embrace. We should rather be inclined to characterize them as the plain expressions of an honest opinion, and where the interests of the Company are not immediately concerned, they are mostly just and pertinent. We may cite as an instance that paragraph of the concluding chapter, of which we have before spoken, as containing the author's opinions on one most important branch of the judicial system. These opinions so fully agree, not only with our own, but with those of all practical and unbiassed men, that could we any longer feel surprize at the perverse obstinacy with which the Company's Government refuses to its subjects all the advantages enjoyed by their ancestors, while it studiously perpetrates every oppression by which they were ground down, we should undoubtedly experience that feeling in the highest degree with regard to the present subject. The author says:

'The Panchayet was the ordinary tribunal for the decision of civil suits, and it is that which gives, and, if judiciously administered, always will give, more satisfaction, and be, in their own opinion, of greater benefit to the inhabitants of Maharashtra than any other mode of trial. The English officers of government, who had been accustomed to the courts of Udalt, could not reconcile themselves to the corruption, delay, and apparent injustice of some of their decisions; but in commenting on the evils of the Mahratta system, it is to be feared that they forgot the many defects of their own. Although Panchayets are continued under the Provisional Government, which is still maintained in the conquered territory, it is to be apprehended they can neither exist, nor have a fair trial, where, whilst some are prejudiced, others, overwhelmed by business of various kinds, are discouraged by the difficulties they find in the system; and a few (though I do believe such selfishness in the present state of feeling to be rare) considering it at variance with the interests of the Civil Service, only strive to discover objections, which in some shape may be found to every form of administration, but which time and vigilance would, in this instance, in a great measure, remove. On the temper, zeal, and perseverance of the Government officers, much must depend: Panchayets, where neglected or merely tolerated, cannot prosper; they require a pure and steady superintendance, with all the weight of authority, to correct and amend the faults of the people, which are confounded with the defects of the system. A very active able agency would at first be necessary after a plan of reform had been digested; but once instituted, carefully watched and encouraged at the outset, and carried on for a time, much less interference would become requisite on the part of the Government, and not only would the Natives be called on to administer justice in the form most popular among them, but, leaving advantages to policy out of the question, the Panchayet might be made a powerful instrument for improving the minds and amending the morals of the Natives of India. At present, even in the Mahratta country, those who have a suit will frequently solicit the decision of an English Judge; but the same persons, if intelligent men, when exempt from the impulse which influences their opinions under such circumstances, will invariably declare, that the Panchayet in civil cases is far better suited to the country at large than any mode of decision by individuals.'—vol. iii. p. 406, 7.

These remarks are sensible and judicious: but we must confess,

that we are at a loss how to reconcile the statement of the neglect and almost abandonment into which the Panchayet has fallen, with the declaration (page 486) that under the British rule the people "were to expect no change but the better administration of their own laws," and with the previous assertions (vol. i. p. 234) that "the judicial system of Sivajee, in civil cases, was that of Panchayet, which had *invariably* obtained in the country," and (vol. ii. p. 237) that "in civil cases the Panchayets were the ordinary tribunals," assertions repeated indeed in the opening line of the passage which we have just quoted. That this excellent institution was respected and even improved by their Mohammedan rulers, who had no previous experience of the benefits of such a system among themselves, we have the best authority for believing. "Disputes," says our author, (vol. i. p. 79, 80) "relating to hereditary office or landed property, were decided by panchayet. Under the Beejapoor state, in cases of hereditary property where the Government was a party, there were about fifteen persons assembled on the Panchayet. By some old writings I have seen, two thirds of these appear to have been Mohammedans, and one third Hindoos. With regard to the Ahmednugur state, I have not had the same opportunities of gaining information; but, that claims relating to hereditary property were settled by Panchayet, the old papers in every district will prove." So justly was the Panchayet appreciated by the Mohammedan conquerors of the Deccan; but it was reserved for British rulers, for those who justly boast of trial by jury as the most valuable of their own institutions, to deprive the miserable Hindoo of those first rudiments of the same system, which his ancestors had possessed from time immemorial, and which, if properly encouraged and developed, might one day have expanded into almost equal perfection with that which Englishmen enjoy.

We shall conclude with the Author's observations on the same subject with reference to the criminal jurisdiction.

'The criminal law in the conquered territory was administered, as it usually had been, by the decision of individual judges, assisted by Hindoo authority in regulating the measure of punishment; but the evidence and sentences, in all important cases, were subject to the approval of the commissioner before being carried into execution. Panchayets, in criminal cases, had been known in the Satara country, constituted of the servants of Government. The same mode was revived in that territory, but Panchayets, in criminal cases, might be chosen from the body of the people, although the advantages of a trial by jury would not be at first appreciated, and would require to be introduced by persons thoroughly acquainted with the Natives.' Vol. 3. p. 4978.

From this passage we learn that the Company's Government has been guilty of stretching its liberality so far as to tolerate even trial by jury in certain cases, provided the jurors are chosen from among its own servants. Wonderful generosity!

The reader will see, by the foregoing extracts, that the style of the work is not altogether free from blemish; but this is a minor

consideration, and we agree with the Author that perfect facility of composition is hardly to be expected from one. "who, having quitted school at sixteen, has been constantly occupied nearly nine-tenths of the next twenty-one years of his life in the most active duties of the civil or military services of India." But while we readily admit this excuse for the individual, we cannot shut our eyes to the defects of the system from which it springs; nor can we forget that, while this system is so fatal to the minor graces of composition, it equally precludes the attainment of some of those more solid advantages of which many of the Company's servants in India are compelled through life vainly to lament the want.

TO A LADY, ON HER BIRTH-DAY.

OH! born to bless, and to adorn,
Whatever land thy footsteps tread!
And, like the blush of infant morn,
Around thee light and joy to shed,—
How shall a heart, enthral'd like mine,
Burning to breathe th' impassion'd lay
To Beauty's and to Virtue's shrine,
Its pure and hallowed offering pay?
Should base Suspicion, lurking near,
Tell thee 't is Flattery's poison'd tongue
That pours its accent on thine ear,
And swells the soft seductive song,—
Turn to thine own approving heart,
And it will spurn the dark design;
All pure and lovely as thou art,
Thy soul sincere will vouch for mine.
He who has read the exalted soul
That beams, that burns, that fills thine eye,
Sees, written on th' immortal scroll,
"Truth, Virtue, Honour, Purity."
And could he dare, with Flattery's wile,
To stain what Time shall sully never,
One recollection of thy smile
Would dash to earth the pen for ever.
That eye—that soul—that smile—aye, more—
That all-subduing witchery,
Which, like the spells of ancient lore,
Turn'd Freedom to Captivity,
And binds in silken chains of love,
Drawn by Enchantment's fairy wand,
All who within thy circle move,
Impassion'd by its influence bland;
These—these—have met my ardent gaze;
And oh! could these my muse inspire,
Then—but it must not be—my lays
Should burn with more than mortal fire!

To a Lady, on her Birth-day.

Yes, Excellence! approved of Heaven!
 Forbidden be th' *impassion'd strain*—
 And be the spell that bound me, riven,
 To bring me back to Earth again.
 Then shall I hail th' *auspicious day*,
 When angels, watching o'er thy birth,
 To expectant bosoms, beating high,
 Gave thee to grace, to bless our earth.
 Let festive mirth, exulting song,
 And every bounding throb of joy,
 Mingle in one tumultuous throng,
 To rood with psalm-shouts the sky.
 Yes! bend to Heaven devotion's knee,
 And swell to Heaven the solemn peal;
 And bid the loftiest minstrelsy
 That all-*auspicious moment* hail.
 For whether in thine infant years,
 'Mid highland solitudes unknown,
 Or whether with high-titled peers,
 Gracing a coronet or throne;
 Still, still in excellence the same,
 In innocence of loveliest youth,
 Or loftier rank, or prouder fame,
 Unmoved in soul, unchanged in truth,
 'Tis thine around thy path to shed
 Life, light, and love, in one bright beam;
 And scatter, by thy angle tread,
 Sweet buds of joy, where thorns would raise.
 Live, then, divine Perfection! live,
 The partner of thy fate to bless;
 To him thy brightest lustre give—
 To us thy milder loveliness.
 While he on whom thy soul reposes,
 Bound by the holiest, purest tie,
 Whose path thy smiles can strew with roses,
 Shall join the general song of joy.
 And oh! if he who humbly sings
 Might whisper one soft vancee more,
 And linger still among the strings
 The murmur of his strain to pour,—
 'T would tell thee, that, in rudest forms,
 Nurtured by fell Misfortune's hand,
 Cradled in tempests, nursed in storms,
 And bred in Danger's holocaustous band—
 There still are hearts that warmly feel
 All that refines and graces life,—
 Aye, deeper than the wounds of steel
 That gush amid the battle's strife.
 Mine is that form, and mine that heart,
 And mine the harsh unmeasured strain—
 Unformed in polish'd schools of art,
 But, oh! not, haply, sung in vain.
 For deep within that heart shall dwell,
 Till nature's purple tide shall stay,
 The strong, th' *indissoluble spell*
 That reigns o'er this auspicious day.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ENTOMOLOGY.

WHETHER the theory of those politicians who delight in tracing the greatest events in the moral world to causes the most trifling, be well or ill founded, it is at least certain, that in the physical world the most important results are effected by agents individually contemptible, and at the first glance apparently quite inadequate to the office which they perform. If we contrast the white ant or the locust with the ferocious tiger or the bulky elephant, how comparatively insignificant is the feeble minuteness of the former to the power and mass of the latter. Yet in the maintenance of that due equilibrium among the productions of nature, by which alone the harmony of the whole is preserved, the Creator would seem to have relied less on the more mighty and perfect of his works, than on those which in many instances almost escape the attention of the common observer. The insect tribes appear indeed to have been particularly selected for this indispensable purpose. To restrain within fit bounds the tendency of one class of vegetation to preponderate over another to its entire destruction; to remove whatever has become useless, and thus to make room for a vigorous and healthy succession of more valuable productions; and to withdraw altogether from the face of nature those impurities which, by their loathsome appearance and effluvia, would defile her beauties; these are among the duties imposed upon the insect world, and admirably are those duties performed. The innumerable multitudes in which they swarm together more than compensate for their individual deficiency in size and power; insomuch that it has been asserted by Linnæus, and circumstances appear to support the accuracy of the statement, that the immediate offspring of the eggs deposited by three of our common blue-bottle flies would devour the carcase of a dead horse in less time than the same task could be performed by a lion.

Animals to which has been intrusted so large a share in the functions of the universe are surely not undeserving of the attention of the philosopher. Yet the study of their habits and instincts has not only been generally neglected, but has even attached to those who pursued it some portion of ridicule, which has been bestowed on the "butterfly catcher" equally by those who regarded themselves as learned and by the confessedly illiterate. Some illustrious names have however risen superior to the prejudices of their contemporaries, and have been rewarded for their devotion to the study of entomology by discoveries of the highest interest. Ray, the greatest naturalist whom England has produced; Lister, whose extensive collection of accurate representations of shells has not been surpassed in the century and a half which has elapsed since

its publication ; and Derham, whose researches among the works of the Creation for proofs of the being and attributes of a God, led him to a close investigation of the manners of these minute but powerful instruments of his will, deserve particular distinction as entomologists. But since their days, entomology, as a science of observation, remained almost stationary among us, while in other countries Reaumur, De Geer, and the Hubers were assiduously engaged in exploring its wonders. To counterbalance the vast stores of information amassed by these indefatigable investigators, England had little to offer except the occasional notices of travellers, brief and unscientific communications to the Magazines of the day, the observations of Mr. Curtis on the brown-tailed moth, whose caterpillar in 1782 caused such alarm in the neighbourhood of London, and some facts recorded by Mr. Marshams. Our deficiency has however of late been amply repaired by an entomologist, at once a systematist and an observer, whose acuteness and zeal entitle him to rank with the foremost in the science. In his admirable Monograph of the bees of his native country, and in his numerous communications to the Linnæan Society, the Reverend W. Kirby has furnished the most convincing evidence of his talents for observation and inquiry, and of his acquirements in a branch of natural history to the cultivation of which he has devoted all those moments of a long life which could be spared from the active discharge of the benevolent duties of a christian pastor. To rescue his favourite pursuit from the unmerited contempt to which it had been consigned, to point out to others the pleasures and advantages resulting from its cultivation, and to smooth the path by which it was to be attained, he determined, in conjunction with Mr. Spence, (whose name was also well, though not so extensively known,) on publishing an elementary work, the earlier volumes of which appeared some years since, but of which the concluding portion has only recently been given to the world.*

The work which has resulted from the joint labours of these scientific friends stands alone among the class of publications to which at first sight it would be assigned. Hitherto introductions to particular branches of knowledge have been exclusively either of a popular, or of a scientific cast. Those of the former description, designed in some cases merely for the amusement of children, and in others having a higher aim in the gratification of the literary loiterer, have been universally deficient in scientific value. Their authors indeed, often ignorant of the first principles of the science they professed to treat, and generally unversed in its minuter de-

* An Introduction to Entomology ; or Elements of the Natural History of Insects. With plates. By William Kirby, M. A. F. R. and L. S. and William Spence, Esq. F. L. S.—Vols. I and II. Third edition.—Vols. III and IV. 1806.

tails; must have failed, immediately and utterly, had they attempted to communicate to their readers that information of which they were themselves entirely destitute. Aware of their incapacity they wisely abstained from any but the most general attempts at instruction, and relied principally on delineating in glowing colours the more striking and pleasing features of that department of which they proposed to furnish merely an attractive view. The productions of such writers must of necessity be superficial, and though perhaps adapted to induce attention to the subject, they could not fail to disappoint the reader whose expectations they had tended to excite.

Aloof from these, almost as though afraid of contagion from their approach, stood the authors of scientific introductions. Themselves intimately skilled in the intricacies of the department which they cultivated, and in the deeper mysteries of which their attention was absorbed, its severer beauties alone appear to have been deemed worthy of their elucidation. Aiming, perhaps, at an appearance of profoundness and purity of science, they rejected all the ornaments of style from their compositions, in which brevity, so determined as to assume the form of definition, and facts, exhibited in the unadorned and uncaptivating nakedness of truth, were the points to be attained. Productions thus essentially dry and technical, possessed of course no attractions for the general reader, and were even frequently thrown aside by the commencing student, who was at once deterred from the farther pursuit of the science by the forbidding aspect under which it was presented to his notice.

If the authors of the 'Introduction to Entomology' had restrained themselves within the beaten track of their predecessors, their high scientific acquirements would doubtless have enrolled them in the latter of these classes. They would then have produced a work which, while it was hailed with pleasure by the professors of the science, would have materially assisted the advanced student, but which to the uninitiated would have presented a mere blank. Such, however, was not their object. While they aimed at maintaining among the learned the station which they had deservedly obtained by their former labours, it was equally their desire to make proselytes from among the unlearned. To accomplish this double purpose, a new path was to be tried, and they have succeeded in tracing one which has proved admirably adapted to ensure complete success. By a happy combination of the advantages of both the plans previously pursued, with a familiar and pleasing style, their work has been rendered attractive to every class of readers. The professed entomologist, however profound may have been his researches, will be no less interested in the novel views and facts which they have developed, than will the unpractised novice in the delightful information derived from their

copious illustrations of the varied and wonderful instincts of the insect world.

Of the natural history of insects, these volumes may indeed be considered as furnishing a complete encyclopædia, easy of reference from the arrangement adopted, and condensing within a moderate compass the whole of the leading facts spread over an immense number of books, the labour of consulting which it renders perfectly unnecessary for general purposes. To the information derived from the accurate and systematic De Geer, the observing Reaumur, the patiently scrutinizing Hubers, (emulating in their perseverance and industry the bee and the ant, to whose history they devoted themselves,) from Lyonnet, Marcel de Serres, and every accessible source on which reliance could be placed, the authors have added, from their personal observations, many facts not inferior in interest to those collected from their predecessors. They have dwelt especially on the noxious and beneficial properties of insects: their affection for their young; their food and modes of obtaining it; their habitations; their societies; their means of defence; their metamorphoses, &c.; and have pursued their inquiries on each of these subjects through the whole of that extensive class of animated nature to which their views have been directed. Not a single point of interest appears to have escaped their notice while compiling their digest of entomological knowledge, from the greater part of which all technical expressions have been purposely banished, except such as were indispensably necessary to indicate with precision the object designated. By this abstinence from the parade of science, and by the occasional introduction of explanations of the more usual terms, the work is rendered intelligible to all.

Within the space which we can fairly borrow from subjects more closely connected with the immediate interests of mankind, it would be impossible to furnish any thing like an analysis of the contents of these volumes. It has therefore been necessary to confine ourselves to characterizing them in such general terms of eulogy as their merits justly demand; and we have been induced thus to notice them principally by the desire of introducing to those who, from distant residence, may possibly be unacquainted with its existence, a work by which they may be led to a pleasing and instructive source of recreation during those leisure hours in which the mind seeks relief from the more important concerns of life. In observing the ingenuity, skill, and foresight displayed by insects in the varied contrivances and proceedings which they adopt for the fulfilment of the duties allotted to them by Nature, will be found an ample source of mental gratification, and a remedy for that tedium which the want of active employment so frequently casts around the retirement of a country life. The investigation will, moreover, lead to numerous and novel illustrations of those moral lessons so frequently inculcated from the example of insects; and

will satisfactorily prove that antiquity has not erred in holding forth as patterns for imitation the virtues exhibited by many of these minute philosophers.

When, at the commencement of our notice, we adverted to the general existence of a feeling of contempt for the pursuits of the entomologist, we alluded to that which must now, we apprehend, be rapidly declining among us; at least, if the sale within a few years of three editions of the first two volumes of the 'Introduction to Entomology' be not a most fallacious criterion. To the attractions of its style, and the amusing character of the information which it imparts, must be attributed the popularity which it has obtained; and its extensive circulation must have already done much to eradicate the prejudices entertained against the science of which it treats. In the more general spread of knowledge on the subject, effected through its means, a higher and more correct estimate of the value of some acquaintance with the natural history of insects must have been formed. The will of no future Lady Glanville will be attempted to be set aside on the ground of insanity, the sole proof of deranged intellect relied on consisting in a fondness for collecting insects; nor will any imitator of Sulzer meet with the like encouragement from his friends, on exhibiting to them his figures of insects: one commending him for employing his spare time in preparing prints for the amusement of children, in order to keep them out of mischief, while another admitted that they might furnish very pretty patterns for ladies' aprons. That the students of entomology are not without higher aims will be readily allowed by every reader of the work of Messrs. Kirby and Spence, even though he should not be sufficiently attracted to the science, as many undoubtedly will, to seek in its cultivation the amusement of his leisure hours.

SONNET.

THAT face, the mirror of thy tender soul;
 That eye, whose lustre warms the coldest heart;
 That mouth, whose smile the sweetest charms impart,
 And every impulse of the mind control;
 With that fond look that wounds when 't would console,
 And wakes affection's keen impassion'd smart,
 And throws unconsciously the sharpest dart
 That ever from young Beauty's glances stole;
 Subdue my spirit with resistless power,
 And every thought, save that of love, dismiss.
 Oh! could thy votary at this tranquil hour,
 But crown his hopes with Hymen's holy kiss,
 In vain the threatening storms of life would lower,
 To cloud my soul's unutterable bliss.

J. J.

THE HARDWICKE FAMILY.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

August 21, 1825.

SINCE I sent you the letter of Lady Anson, (printed p. 289,) I have found, and copied, at the British Museum, some interesting original letters from members of her accomplished family. They occupy No. 4325, among the volumes of MSS. which are described as additions to the catalogue of *Ayscough*.

The two first of those which I now offer you, are from Lady Anson's father, and agreeably introduce us to the literary amusements, the *otium cum dignitate*, of a retired Lord Chancellor, who had resigned the seals in 1756, and whom we may not unreasonably suppose (though some stale lawyers may demur, and a later Chancellor, especially, may *doubt*) to have been satisfied to become, at the age of sixty-six, what Lord Chatham describes himself, in his verses of invitation to Garrick,

A statesman, without pow'r, and without gall,
Foe to no courtiers, happier than them all.

The second letter is from his son Phillip Yorke, who, in 1764, succeeded him as Earl of Hardwicke, and died in 1790. The date is in the hand-writing of Dr. Birch. This short letter seems to allude to some engagement with a bookseller, and thus reflects credit on the literary industry of a young scholar whom good fortune had made the heir of a peerage and the son of a Lord Chancellor, for his father attained that dignity in 1757.

The last, and, from its variety of information, the most interesting letter, is by the same hand, and addressed to Mr. Wray, whom Lady Anson has mentioned, (p. 290,) and of whom Mr. Nichols has preserved a portrait, and given an interesting biography in his '*Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*.'

OTIOSUS.

To the Rev. Dr Birch.

REVEREND SIR,

Powis-House, June, 4, 1786.

In your '*Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*,' prefixed to his works,* you frequently quote a life of Sir Walter by *Oldys*, and published in folio.† I have not that book, and should be much obliged to you, if you would be so good as to take the trouble of sending it to my house. It shall be returned in a day or two.

I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
HARDWICKE.

* '*The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*,' 1761, in 2 vols. 8vo.

† In 1786; prefixed to a second edition of Raleigh's '*History of the World*.' In 1677 was published, in 8vo. '*The Life of the valiant and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight*, with his trial at Winchester.'

To the Rev. Dr. Birch, Norfolk-street.

LORD HARDWICKE presents his compliments to Dr. Birch, and acquaints him that he has a curiosity to look into *Morhoff's Polyhistor*, which he thinks is in two thick volumes, in quarto.* He does not know where to meet with it, and should be much obliged to the Doctor to procure him a sight of it. He would keep it but a little while, and return it with great punctuality.

Grosvenor-square, Feb. 3, 1768.

To the Rev. Mr. Birch.

BIRCH,

THIS 6th section concludes my first extract: if it is not in, this month, Mr. Robinson may look out for another abridger of the 2d vol

Yours entirely,

Feb. 28, 1740.

P. Y.

DEAR WRAY,

Paris, Sept. 12, 1740.

YOUR letters have the merit of choice closet pieces, which being rarely to be met with, and highly finished, are greatly valued by the curious. You entertain me with an account of your summer amusements, but drop one which I think the most remarkable, and which I should scarce credit; if I had it not upon the best authority, that instead of Della Valle,† your old friend, or those of later date, the Alcoran and Mynheer Kemfer,‡ you were actually found with a volume of Sir L. Jenkins'. § *Negotiations* before you, and were afterwards content to take up with the humbler occurrences of Master Garrard. You say nothing of your literary repasts in Kew Lane; which makes me doubt whether you have exercised that hospitality to the learned that you engaged to do; but you will alledge, perhaps, in excuse for the omission, that the literati of London, like these of Paris, are now breathing a fresher air; and not easily to be picked up in the purlieus of Tom's-or Crane Court. Abbé Birch, I imagine, resides as constantly in his barge at

* *Polyhistor sive de notitia auctorum et rerum*, printed at Lubeck, 1739.

Daniel George Morhoff was a native of Wismar. He died in 1691, aged 53, "épuisé," adds his biographer "par ses veilles, et regretté pour les qualités de son cœur." Among his works is *Princeps Medicus*, published in 1665, and in which he credulously attributes to the reigning Kings of France and England, who were the matured royal profligate Charles II. and the royal youth Louis XIV., the divine gift of healing by a miraculous touch. Of this scholar there is another curious production, not published till 1706. It is entitled 'Epistola de scypho vitreo per sonum humanæ vocis rapti;' and occasioned by the story of a wine merchant of Amsterdam who broke some drinking glasses, by the loud exertion of his voice. The late Dr. Parr, in 'Some remarks on the literary character of Mr. Wakefield,' describes Morhoff's Chapter 'de conversatione eruditâ,' (*Polyhistor* l. 1, c. 5.) as one which "every man of letters would do well to read." *Mem. of Wakefield*, (1804,) ii. 443.

† Pietro della Valle, I apprehend, the celebrated Oriental traveller, who died in 1659, aged 66. His travels, described in Letters written at the various places he visited, to his friend, a physician at Naples, extended through twelve years, from 1614 to 1626.

‡ Engelbert Kœmpfer, a native of Westphalia, who became a learned physician. He travelled, during the close of the seventeenth century, in Persia, and afterwards to Siam and Japan. His History of the latter is well-known by an English translation. He died in 1716, aged 66.

§ Sir Lionel Jenkins: Between the restoration and his decease in 1685, he was much employed by the Court, as a royalist servilely devoted to the will of the Stuarts. See *Burnet's Own Times*, &c.

Norfolk Street, as the Abbé Sallier does in his apartments at the Bibliothèque Royale, and this leads me to tell you, that I have twice visited that collection, which is indeed a noble one, and does honour to the generosity of the royal founders,* and the taste of those who have had the conduct of it. There are not fewer than 140,000 volumes of all sorts, printed and manuscripts † in the library; the former are arranged, with great method, in three long galleries, and one large anti-room. There is a fourth gallery finishing, for the reception of the rest, which are not in such exact order. The MSS. are very numerous and put up in smaller apartments. Those relating to the French History are out of the cabinets of Cardinal Mazarin, Monsieur Colbert, &c. There is also a species of literature which is not to be met with any where else. I mean several parcels of Chinese, Turkman, and Indian books, with short accounts of the contents, from the Missionaries who sent them over.

The Cabinet of Medals ‡ I have not had an opportunity of seeing, as Monsieur Boze, who is keeper of it, § has been out of town; but I have turned

* 'A New Description of Paris,' translated out of French, 1687, describes "the King's Library," then in *Le Rue Févres*, as commenced at Fontainebleau by Charles V., and "since much augmented by Francis I. and Catherine de Médicis." The following account of the Royal Library, by the President Henault, appeared in 1768:

"On peut regarder Charles V. comme le véritable fondateur de la bibliothèque du roi: ce prince aimoit fort la lecture, et c'étoit lui faire un présent très-agréable que de lui donner des livres; il parvint à en rassembler environ neuf cents, nombre bien considérable pour un temps où l'imprimerie n'avoit pas encore été inventée, et pour un prince à qui le roi Jean, son père, n'avoit laissé qu'une vingtaine de volumes ou plus.

"La bibliothèque de Charles V. étoit composée de livres de dévotion, d'astrologie, de médecine, de droit, d'histoire, et de romans; peu d'anciens auteurs des bons siècles, pas un seul exemplaire des ouvrages de Cicéron, et l'on n'y trouvoit des poëtes Latins qu'Ovide, Lucain, et Boëce; des traductions en François de quelques auteurs, comme les politiques d'Aristote, Tite-Live, Valere-Maxime, la Cité de Dieu, la Bible, &c.—Charles V. les fit placer dans une des tours du Louvre, quel'on nomma la *Tour de la Librairie*.

"C'est de ces foibles commencemens que s'est formée la bibliothèque royale, dont il auroit été difficile alors de prévoir l'éclat et la grandeur: elle fut considérablement augmentée par les soins de Louis XII. et de François I. à mesure que les lettres et le goût des sciences s'entendirent dans la France sous la protection de ces princes. Catherine de Médicis, qui avoit acheté la bibliothèque de Médicis, que le malheur des guerres d'Italie avoit fait transporter à Rome, la garda tant qu'elle vécut, ayant un bibliothécaire à ses gages, et après sa mort M de Thon, qui étoit bibliothécaire du roi, racheta cette bibliothèque des créanciers de Catherine, et en enrichit la bibliothèque du roi. Mais c'a été principalement sous les regnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. qu'elle a été portée à ce degré d'imensité et de magnificence, qui la rendent aujourd'hui la plus riche et la plus précieuse bibliothèque du monde."—*Novv. Abrégé Chronol.* (1759) t. 344.

† In 1687, there were "more than 50,000 volumes," including 12,000 or 15,000 MSS., in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Latin, French, and almost all languages."

‡ Computed, in 1687, as "of all sorts, ancient and modern, no less than 90,000. The sequel of the latter Greek Empire so complete, that Ducange composed from thence the last volume of his 'Byzantine History.'"

§ He was also perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and a member of the French Academy. This learned antiquarian died in 1758, aged seventy-four.

over some volumes of the collection of prints, which seems a very perfect and complete one; and the Abbé, who has the care of it, was very desirous that I should renew my visit.

The library is now lodged at the Hotel de Nevers, Rue Richelieu,* where the Bank was kept in the time of Law,† and the 10th volume of the Catalogue is now in the press; but I despair of getting the 'Memoire Historique,' which you spoke to me about, by itself, though I told Abbé Sallier ‡ it would be a great satisfaction to many of our assens, whose finances would be too far reduced by the purchase of so many thick folios.

I have had an opportunity of presenting the President's § letter to Monsieur Roussaur; ¶ and seeing his collection, though in a more cursory way than I could have wished, but that was owing to the numerous company who saw it with me. The old gentleman was extremely civil to me, and if he comes back to Paris before I leave it, I shall certainly visit him *en philosophe*, and alone. Monsieur Buffon has been unluckily in the country ever since my arrival, and is not like to return in any reasonable time. I have made, however, one attempt (and meditate another) to see the *Jardin de Roi* and *Le Cabinet*, through the canal of Monsieur Duranton, his deputy, but he was out of town, though, like your worship's, his residences en campagne are but short.

I sent the President's letter to Monsieur Fontenelle, ** and visited him, upon the strength of it, a day or two after. He behaved to me with great politeness, spoke very honourably of the English and their productions, and was very glad to hear of the King's beauty to the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. He told me he had been upwards of forty years Secretary to the Academy, and had written 70, or, if I mistake not, 80 Eloges. I replied it was happy for the memory of his brethren of the Academy that he had outlived so many

* Where it still flourishes, under the restored name, 'Royal.'

† John Law, according to his French biographer, was a native of Edinburgh. Having seduced the daughter of a nobleman in London, and slain (perhaps in a duel) the lady's brother, he fled to the Continent, to escape capital punishment, proffering his services as a financier to different courts. His projects were at length entertained by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. His bank was established in 1716. In 1718, it was declared a Royal Bank; and in 1720, the projector was made Comptroller of the Finances. Soon, however, from the ruinous failure of his projects, he became the object of public execration. Banished from Paris, he wandered about Europe, and died in 1729, aged forty-one, at Venice, where he had for some time resided. There he had an interview with Montesquieu, who asked, if a French biographer may be credited, why he had not attempted "de corrompre le Parlement de Paris, comme le ministere Anglois fait à l'égard du Parlement de Londres."—See 'Nouv. Dict. Hist.' (1789) v. 902.

‡ Claude Sallier, a priest, who died in 1761, aged seventy-five, was now keeper of the Royal Library. The 'Catalogue Raisonné,' in 10 volumes folio, was his learned work, 4 MSS., 3 Theology, 2 Belles Lettres, 1 Jurisprudence. A biographer thus describes Sallier's worthy occupation of his office:

"Tous ceux que la curiosité ou l'envie de s'instruire attiroient dans la bibliothèque du roi, trouvoient en lui un guide officieux et prévenant, qui leur indiquoit les routes de ce dédale avec autant de politesse que d'intelligence."

§ Martin Foulkes, President of the Royal Society.

¶ The celebrated naturalist. He died in 1787, aged seventy-five.

** Of which Buffon was the Intendant.

** Now at the age of ninety-two. He lived till Jan. 9, 1787, when he had reached one hundred years, within a month and two days, for he was born at Rouen, Feb. 11, 1657.

of them, since, without a compliment, no one had filled that difficult province so ably as himself.* He mentioned something, but I did not well understand what, which Monsieur Foulkes had omitted answering out of a former letter of his. Perhaps if you give the President a hint of it when you see him, he may know what it is Monsieur F. meant. I desire you would make him my particular compliments at the same time, with many thanks for the advantage of his recommendations.

By the civility of Abbé Guasco,† an Italian, and an honorary member of the Academy of Belles Lettres, I was admitted to one of their meetings. I heard two papers read; one upon the 'Miroirs of the Ancients,' and the other upon the 'Chronology of the Lydian Kings,' but I thought the first very trifling, and the other very dry, and I question whether either of them will be preserved in their printed memoirs. That Academy is now employed by the orders of Monsieur D'Argenson,‡ about a 'Medallic History of the present Reign,' and, I suppose, with a particular view to the successes of the last war.

I hear the design for a new square is dropt, but that the old front of Versailles to the court, which, if you remember, is a very ugly one, will be taken down this winter, and rebuilt in a more elegant taste.

There is little stirring at present *en fait de littérature*, even novels and plays are, during this dead season, kept up in the author's garrets till after the St. Martin, when the town is fuller. I am told that Voltaire is writing a 'Cataline' which will put Monsieur Crebillon's out of countenance; but that, you will say, is no hard matter. The waspish generation of critics has so far disgusted him, that he has neither printed his 'Semiramis' nor his 'Nannine'; the last is taken from our Pamela, but had no great run. I have, you may be assured, frequented their spectacles a good deal, I am a great admirer of Mademoiselles Duménil and Gaussin. The first is excellent for the higher parts in tragedy, as Rodogune and Merope, in which I have seen her, and the last in the tender and soft. I am not much struck with any of their men; and Grandval, their best actor, is to me a disagreeable one. He is very stiff, has no variety of manner, and cannot hit the passionate and affecting strokes, as Garrick does.

I have scribbled you a long letter, and it is time to leave off, only let me desire you to send Lord B——'s medals, and Birch's 'Historical Account,' § to Monsieur Fagel as soon as you can; direct them to Mr. Walters, the King's agent at Rotterdam, with a note to recommend them to his conveyance.

I am much obliged to Mr. Edwards, for the trouble he was pleased to take about the Root House. || Your compliment to him is a very just one; and I

* "Les éloges," says Voltaire, "qu'il prononça des académiciens morts, ont le mérite singulier de rendre les sciences respectables, et ont rendu tel leur auteur."

† He was Fellow of the Royal Society in London, and since 1738 had resided in France, where he became the intimate friend of Montesquieu, whose 'Lettres Familières' he published, with notes. This learned Italian, whose language (*moitié François, moitié Italien, soutenu d'une pantomime expressive*), is said to have given a peculiar interest to his conversation, died at Verona in 1788, at an age very advanced.

‡ A distinguished patron of letters, who afterwards became War Minister, and died in 1764. His father was Minister of State in 1790, and fell with the ruin of Law's project.

§ Probably Dr. Birch's 'Lives and Characters,' annexed to the 'Heads of Illustrious Persons,' engraved by Houbraken and Vertue. The first volume appeared in 1747.

|| See Mr. Edwards's Sonnet, *supra*, p. 290, *note* ||.

prefer his good doctrine greatly to Mr. Flitcroft's. I hope we shall pass some days together before the Parliament meets, for, if I know myself at all, I am not made for a citizen of Paris.

We abound at present with English, and among the rest my good Lord Lond—y, your old disciple at Cambridge, whom I saw the other night very gallantly carrying off three ladies in his chariot, *tut meme le quatrieme*, from the Opera. I may trust this anecdote to your prudence, though the fact was not committed in a corner. If you was not so necessary as a careful shepherd to the little flock at W—r, I should wish for you here, to visit the Palais Royal and the churches. I am also in great want of Pond, without whose judicious eye I may bring home a very bad cargo from Mariette's. Pray tell him that his 'Burgomaster Sixte' is a better Rembrandt than one I saw at the King's Library. I hope he and his pencil flourish. Is your portrait yet taken down for a further improvement?—Yours, &c.

P. Y.

LETTER OF A CIVIL SERVANT TO SIR CHARLES FORBES,
BART., M. P.

In our last, we brought the review of this pamphlet down to that portion of its contents where the author's observations on the home administration of Indian affairs terminate; and promised to resume the thread of our remarks at the part in which he enters on the consideration of the foreign administration as existing at the three principal seats of Government, in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. In entering on this section of his work, he sets out with observing, that the annihilation of the independent states, by which, some thirty years ago, the two latter Presidencies were hemmed around, has removed all necessity for separate seats of Government there, on the ground of proximity to dangerous enemies, and proceeds to say:

'Our empire in India has now become so continuous, that for all the great purposes of Government, it should be viewed as a whole. The object should be to establish, in progress of time, the same judicial and fiscal system throughout all our dominions. A division into departments or provinces should be made, and these should be administered and defended by one general body of servants civil and military. This implies a consolidation of the three existing armies into one, to be distributed into divisions, according to the exigencies of the empire generally.

'The internal administration of the provinces would, under such a system, be most advantageously conducted by presidents assisted by councils, with whom would rest the highest judicial and fiscal authority within their respective geographical limits. In reference to the chartered courts of justice, which exist at the subordinate Presidencies, those towns should continue the seats of provincial governments; the number of these last would, however, require increase proportionate to the extension of territory. In this view the Bengal Presidency would form at least two provincial governments, while central India would obviously present a third. This rough outline would raise the number of subordinate Presidencies to five. The Supreme Government would, under such an arrangement, in form, approach nearer to a Vice-Royalty than at present, and in truth that is its fittest denomination and character. The Supreme Government is the representative of the authority possessed by the

English crown over the totality of the Indian empire, and its organisation and powers should be adapted to that object. For this purpose, I would propose that the Governor-General, or Vice-Roy should be assisted by a privy council,* to consist of seven members, one of whom to be Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, and three of the remaining six to be servants of the East India Company, Civil or Military, according to fitness, while the three other seats in council should be open to selection generally, in the same manner as the governments of the Presidencies are filled under the present system.

The most remarkable thing to be observed in this passage, is the singular fondness with which the writer clings to matters of classification and detail, and the importance attached by him to the names and numbers of the official ranks into which the members of the governing body are to be divided, while he does not once advert to the far more important consideration of the great *principles* of government, without some important change in which no hope can be rationally indulged of any material benefit to the country. There can be no doubt but that the continuous nature of our possessions in India, geographically considered, is such as to render it easy to introduce one uniform system of government throughout the whole. But though more closely connected, in a geographical sense, than they were thirty years ago, they are not at all less distinctly separated than they were then by differences of religion, language, and manners; qualities which effect a much more marked separation between nations and people than any difference of climate or position, however remote. Who would not admit, for instance, that England and New South Wales, though so many thousand miles apart, were more nearly allied to each other, and more suited to the reception of the same laws and institutions, from the similarity of religion, language, and manners in their respective inhabitants, than the people of Bengal and Arracan, who, though contiguous in geographical position, have, neither in their religion, language, or manners, any features of resemblance? The CIVIL SERVANT has evidently overlooked this distinction; and has hence concluded, that provided conquered provinces can be brought in actual continuity of connection, no obstacle will then remain to their being governed by one uniform system. But of so much greater importance, in the estimation of the world, is uniformity in the other features named, that whenever the folly of the existing system of rule is most successfully exposed, it is generally contended, that the *anomalous* condition of our Indian subjects, and the obstacles opposed by a want of uniformity in their religion and manners, &c., renders it impossible to introduce any better system of government among them; so that, because the population of India differs from that of most other conquered countries, it is therefore contended, that the laws by which they are governed must also be different,

* Under this arrangement, the duties of the Provincial Councils would be strictly ministerial, and all the functions of sovereignty would be exercised by the Supreme, or Vice-regal Government.

and every species of injustice thus becomes sanctioned or palliated by the senseless excuse of the whole system being "an anomaly."

The truth is, however, that neither of these features,—namely, continuity of territory, or resemblance in faith or character,—are at all necessary as preliminaries to the introduction of a uniform government. It is sufficient that those to be governed are human beings; that they desire happiness, hate oppression, and have the propensities and aversions common to their race. This is all that is required to make them fit to be governed by one uniform code of laws and one harmonious system. In all the great capitals of the world, there are among their respective inhabitants as many varieties of creeds, complexions, and manners, as in the several nations from which the inhabitants of all such capitals are drawn. But no one ever yet thought of making a distinct code of laws for each: all are subject to the same jurisdiction, or at least with such trifling variations as not to weaken the general power of the laws over every individual of each particular class; and no inconvenience is found to result from such uniformity of authority and submission. It should be thus also undoubtedly in India. There should be but one system of rule for all, founded on some clearly defined and generally acknowledged principles of jurisprudence, reduced into an intelligible and uniform code of laws, accessible to all, so that ignorance should never be pleaded with any show of justice (as it may now be constantly done) in excuse for offending them. If adequate pains were taken to examine and compare the multifarious and contradictory laws by which India has been for ages past, and still is governed, some would no doubt be found to be greatly superior to others. It would be easy to select the first, and reject the last, so as, out of the whole, to compile a perfect code, which might embrace all the great objects of the civil and military government of the country, and be the object of universal adoption. The system of maintaining three different armies, differently paid and provided for, and three separate branches of the civil service, all engaged in the same description of duty, yet remunerated according to separate scales of emolument, can be productive of no possible benefit to the country, while the certain evil of rivalries, jealousies, and envious accusations and recriminations, inseparable from such a system, ought at once to seal its doom. This completeness and uniformity of system is a most desirable reformation, though the argument of continuity of territory is one of the weakest that could be urged in its support. It is desirable on far higher grounds, namely, that of contributing to the common satisfaction of all those engaged in the several branches of the public service, and producing a harmony and co-operation for the common good, which no disjointed efforts of any one branch of the service, unaided by the other, can ever effect. On that ground, we should hail its adoption with great delight; but we despair of seeing it accomplished as long as the India Company continues to direct the helm of affairs.

The reason alleged by the writer of the 'Letter' for wishing to see other members of council added to those now selected from the Company's service is, that such additions would "secure the proper admixture of European principles of policy and administration with local information and local habits, which is indispensable to the due conduct of a Government not referrible only to the immediate subjects, but to an authority exercised from a distance, and in a state of society abounding in circumstances of moral and political difference." This sentence, though a short one, contains much matter for comment, if we could indulge it without losing sight of the claims presented by the succeeding portions of the pamphlet. In the first place, we might remark on the extreme vagueness of the author's expressions here, as well as in almost every part of his 'Letter.' It is impossible, for instance, for any one but himself to define clearly what he means by "*European* principles of policy and administration." If he had said, monarchical principles, aristocratical principles, or republican principles, some clear notion might have been entertained of his meaning; or even, if constitutional principles had been adverted to, vague as that phrase also is, (for opposite parties in politics affix to it the most dissimilar interpretations,) there would have been an approximation, at least, towards a meaning, but "*European* principles of policy and administration" include every maxim and form of government that has ever yet been adopted, from the iron despotism of a Russian autocrat, to the pure democracy which has been at different periods recognized, as the only true and legitimate form of government, in England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and France. There are certain leading principles of this class: such as—that all government should be instituted only for the good of the many;—that all power emanates from the people, to whom those who exercise it should be responsible for their trust;—that civil and religious freedom is the natural right of man;—and others, of similar import, which being universally true, would be universally worthy of adoption, and would be found as well suited to the people of one religion, climate, and complexion as to another. But, from what we can perceive of the author's notions of government from other parts of his book, these are *not* the principles of which he would desire to see an admixture in the administration of India, though they are strictly "*European*;" and have been more frequently acknowledged and acted upon in Europe, from the time of the immortal Greeks of antiquity to their heroic descendants of our own day, than in Asia, the quarter of the world where, indeed, they have hardly yet been tried, though there is nothing in the soil or climate which should render them less likely to flourish there than in any other section of our globe. After establishing the advantage of melting the present divided Governments of India into one, the author proceeds to say;

'The appointments of Writers and Cadets would be in future to the general service, and their points of destination, whether to Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, would remain unchanged.'

' At each of these cities a college is required for the study of the Oriental languages, without proficiency in which, a suitable discharge of the duties of the civil administration in India is impossible. The acquisition of these languages in England, for purposes of business, although practicable, is attended with so much difficulty, and requires the employment of so much time, that the attempt can be attended with no commensurate advantage. When we consider the duties which the civil servants have to perform, and the degree in which the happiness of the Natives of India depends upon their fitness; their previous education, not merely in Oriental languages, but in that general knowledge, which constitutes education in a more extended sense, is of the highest importance. The college at Haileybury was established to place this object beyond the contingencies, that might attend either the means, or the character of individuals. The result has not corresponded with the goodness of the motive; on the contrary, it has been found almost impossible to maintain discipline at the college; and the young men, placed in a mixed academical and official situation, do not appear to have been influenced by the restraints belonging to either.

' But had the college, as a place of education, succeeded, the separation of the young men intended for India from their contemporaries, is in itself objectionable. I have already remarked on the degree in which all important measures of local administration in India are referred to the *political system and national feelings of England*. In England resides the authority from whence emanates approbation or censure; in England the final judgment on the conduct of our Indian administration is, and ought to be passed; and it is, therefore, most essential that the education of the Company's civil servants should be such as to give their minds an early matriculation in those various feelings and modes of thinking, which make up *public opinion in their own country*.'

It is undeniable that the attainment of the languages of the country is indispensable to the due administration of its affairs; in all these subordinate stations through which alone the Company's servants can approach the higher ranks as heads of departments. As to the mode in which this can be best effected, great difference of opinion appears to prevail; although we think it cannot be doubted, but that if a sufficient proficiency in the first principles of the language be attained in this country, (which a very moderate sacrifice of time is sufficient to accomplish,) the voyage to India and the first few months passed at the Presidency after landing, might be more advantageously employed in prosecuting the study, than if no such preliminary foundation had been laid. All that would be necessary, however, to ensure the highest degree of practical perfection in the languages of the country, would be to make the attainment of certain appointments depend entirely on the qualifications of the candidate, in language, and other requisites, to discharge their duties. The *mode* might be safely left to the candidates themselves: and if the reward were sufficient, their zeal might be safely relied on.

We are glad to perceive in one of the paragraphs quoted from the 'Civil Servant,' a most important and valuable admission, namely, that the happiness of the Natives of India depends in a great degree on the fitness of those who rule over them to discharge the duties of their respective offices with justice and fidelity. This is true of all rulers and all people that ever have been or ever

will be. But it has been hitherto very frequently, and we must add, shamelessly contended that India formed an exception to this universal rule; that the happiness of its people was not at all affected by the fitness for office of those who governed them, and it was therefore none of their business to inquire into such fitness, and was highly impertinent in any other person to perform this duty for them:—on which reasoning, the mere attempt to point out unfitness for office in an individual holding power as detrimental to the welfare of the state and the happiness of the people, has been punished as a crime of the deepest dye, and heavier *penalties* inflicted on the individual so acting, than if he had been guilty of any thing short of felony. And yet, if it be true that the happiness of the Natives of India *is* affected by the fitness or unfitness for office of those who rule over them, the individual who endeavours to promote that happiness by pointing out unfitness wherever he may discover it, must be clearly entitled not merely to the gratitude of the community whose happiness he has thus endeavoured to promote, but also to the thanks and rewards of the very Government who loads him with pains and penalties, inasmuch as he is only aiding them to fulfil the pledge for ever on their lips, that the happiness of their subjects is the object of their constant desire to attain. This is their *profession*: but their conduct towards those who repose confidence in their sincerity shows that it is as false and faithless as possible.

The writer of the 'Letter to Sir Charles Forbes' says, that "all important measures of the local administration in India are referred to the political system and national feelings of England." It would have been well if he had said *by whom* they were so referred. Not certainly by the Natives of the country; for the political system and national feelings of England are as little known to them as the state of society in a new planet. Not by the British Governors of the country; for their constant defence of all the atrocious tyrannies which they delight to exercise, is, that it is as absurd as it is unjust to apply the test of English policy and English feelings, to judge of what may be done in India;—that there is no resemblance between the countries or the people;—and even such men as Mr. Adam and Mr. Elphinstone, professing to be Whigs in English politics, and referring with pride to the occasions on which they and their connections have evinced their attachment to freedom, defend their own exercise of the most odious of all despotic principles—the right of inflicting punishment without trial,—on the ground that however harsh it may sound to the English ear, it is just and proper in India; and plainly tell not only their countrymen here, but those by whom they are surrounded on the spot, and who are as capable as themselves of judging of its expediency or necessity, that the condemnation of the practice on the ground of its difference from "the political system and national feelings of England" is absurd, and that they neither know how, to form, nor

are qualified to pronounce, any opinion at all upon the matter! How therefore the 'Civil Servant' can say that "all important measures of the local administration in India are referred to the political system and national feelings of England" we are at a loss to conceive.

To show also that this is no more the case with those who think upon the subject in *this* country, than in those who dare not *say* what they think on it abroad, we may merely add, that in the East India House, in the British Parliament, and by a very large portion of the English Press, the same language is repeated: namely, that Indian conduct must not be referred to English feelings, for that what might seem revolting to our ideas of justice here, may be not only expedient but highly commendable there. And yet, says the author of the 'Letter,' "it is in England" (where these sentiments on Indian rule are maintained) that "the final judgment on the conduct of our Indian administration *ought* to be passed." If this be so, and the fettering the tongues and pens of those living in the country itself be continued, so as to prevent judgment being freely and fearlessly passed on the spot—there is no hope of a just judgment here: for those, who, having no connection with Indian affairs, would be led, in their impartial views, to condemn oppressions and iniquities wherever committed, are terrified from approaching the subject by an apprehension that there are many ponderous volumes to be read before any man can know enough of Indian history and manners, to justify his giving an opinion on the matter, (as if *any* local knowledge were necessary to enable a man to discover an outrage on the just principles of universal justice;) while those who are or have been connected with Indian rule, and who assume the style of oracles because of their supposed superior knowledge of local interests and topics, will be sure to uphold the most detestable acts of oppression on the ground that unless the Government of India is supported in all its exercise of authority, (tyrannous or otherwise, for they make no exceptions,) it must of necessity fall to the ground. This was the language held by Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet and Mr. Serjeant Spankie before the King's Privy Council, on the subject of the Appeal against the Laws for restraining the Indian Press. This is the language held in Parliament by Mr. Wynn and his colleagues, and re-echoed by the Directors in their General Courts. And it is every where received with unobstructed cheers and triumph, to the disgrace of those English hearts and tongues that can remain thus slavishly unmoved at sounds which would have roused a Milton from his tomb.

The 'Civil Servant' passes from this topic to a consideration of the means by which this strong infusion of English feeling, which he thinks so desirable in persons destined for the service of India, may be best attained. This labour might have been

spared, until such a reformation in the system had been effected, as would have admitted the development in the country itself of such a free spirit as is here intended to be cultivated in the mind of the person destined to reside in it. The only end that could now be answered by giving the young aspirants for office "an early matriculation in those various feelings and modes of thinking which make up public opinion in their own country," would be to make them less happy than their colleagues. The possession of such thoughts and feelings leads of necessity to the desire to express them freely: and this, in India, is the greatest crime that any man can commit against the state. For all other offences, he is tried by the laws, and has the protection of a jury. For this alone he is denied the aid of either the laws or a jury, and may be banished and ruined without even an opportunity being afforded him to explain or extenuate his offence. Men who are most devoid of the feelings and modes of thinking which make up public opinion in their own country, are those who go on most rapidly towards advancement in India, and who lead the happiest lives themselves, whatever others may suffer from their deficiency; while, on the other hand, men most deeply imbued with those feelings and modes of thinking, (whatever else may be their virtues or their talents, as in the case of Mr. Courtenay Smith, and others,) will be most frequently subject to the displeasure and reprimand of Government, and be made to walk on paths of thorns while their less ardent and zealous contemporaries recline on beds of roses.

As to public opinion indeed, the three latest, and, as some think, the three greatest authorities of the East—Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Adam,—have declared that there is *no* public; and that consequently "public opinion" is an expression without a meaning: although they all feel its weight when against them, and have each written volumes to appease the very power whose existence they deny! Such is Indian consistency.

In adverting however to the means, by which the thoughts and feelings that make up public opinion here could be best obtained by the young candidate for fame and fortune in India, the author considers the Universities the best place of education: and his reasons for this choice deserve to be given at large.

The Universities are the seats not only of *general* learning, but the training-grounds for the young men entering the several professions, in their *moral* and political conformation: thence the future statesman, soldier, lawyer, and churchman, start with *common opinions* on ALL the great points of national habits and polity; and from thence, therefore, the future member of council, or provincial magistrate, in India, should also commence his career in the distant and peculiar scene of his public exertions.

To this it may be demurred—1st, that the Universities are *not* the seats of general learning: since many of the most important branches of human knowledge are never taught there at all: and the very few useful parts of learning that are there accessible are

notoriously neglected ;—2ndly, that, as to moral education, it is difficult to imagine a more foul or corrupt source, as all who are acquainted with the dissolute lives of the students, fellows, and professors at Oxford and Cambridge well know. And, 3rdly, that common opinions on all the great points of national habits and policy are no more to be rooted in the mind there, than elsewhere ; as persons of every hue and shade of religious and political opinion start from both the Universities at the same time, including every variety, from impatient radicalism to the most slavish submission to authority, and from scarcely disguised infidelity to the most bigoted attachment to church and state.

The only safe and intelligible rules as to the education of persons for the services in India appear to be these :—1st, Establish the position that fitness for office is the only rule that shall be observed in preferring one candidate to another ;—2ndly, Define clearly the qualifications required in the candidate for every office or branch of the service ;—3rdly, Let a public and severe scrutiny decide the claims to excellence of those who propose themselves as qualified to enter on their duties. When these principles are agreed on, the rest may be safely left to the discretion of parents and children, who will obtain the education required, in the way and on the terms best suited to their views and means : and when the prize is worth contending for, exertion will not be wanting to secure it by the successful acquirement of all the requisite qualifications.

The author next passes to an examination of the question at what age it is most eligible for civil servants to leave England for India, and gives the superiority to 19 or 20, which is no doubt preferable on many accounts to an earlier period. As we have given our sentiments on the subject at length, with the reasons on which they are founded, in a former article on this subject,* we may pass it over here ; and take this opportunity to make another pause in the prosecution of the review, as the author here closes the second section of his work, having in the first spoken chiefly of the Home Administration of the Indian Government ; in the second, confined himself to the policy which should be pursued towards the European servants of the India Company, and the constitution of the Government abroad ; and reserving, for the third, the views he entertains of our duties towards the Natives of the country itself. This is, perhaps, the most important section of the whole ; and we therefore the more willingly reserve it for a concluding article rather than hurry through it here. If our comment on this letter should exceed the letter itself, we can only say, in justification (if that indeed be needed) that the extensive range over which the writer's views are spread embraces all that he considers essential in the

* See 'Oriental Herald,' Vol. VI. p. 87.

administration of India ; and that this is not to be skimmed in a few pages. We have no desire to surpass the narrowest limits within which it is practicable to do justice to the subject and its author : but having the promotion of truth earnestly in view, we should do justice to neither if they were hastily despatched with a sarcasm or a sneer. We have suffered the author to speak for himself on all the material points on which we have ventured to differ from him ; and we shall continue to do this with the remaining portion of his production, which we hope in our next to bring to a close.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

As the unsatisfactory accounts respecting the Burmese war have been converted for some months into almost a total silence, there is much room for the most melancholy apprehensions as to the issue of this miserably protracted struggle. The last accounts entitled to attention spoke of our army having advanced nearly to the capital ; and that the General had threatened to storm it forthwith, unless the terms of the treaty formerly proposed, agreed to, and broken, were ratified. It surely betokens little confidence in his success, that after such breach of faith as he complained of, he should offer again to treat and conclude a peace on the same conditions as before, without exacting new concessions ; securities, and indemnities, the usual course of victorious armies when treating with a perfidious and beaten enemy. Since then, a private rumour, we understand, has been afloat, that Sir Archibald Campbell had actually captured Amerapoorra ; and another rumour says, that the Burmese had captured *him* ; or, in other words, that " the champion of the world, the tamer of elephants, the English hero, victorious over the Burmese," &c., (as the Chiefs of Siam called Sir Archibald Campbell,) had ended by being made a prisoner at Ava. Though no optimists, we repose far less faith in this report than in the other—that the capital had fallen before the British arms, an event every way as probable as the fall of Moscow before the superiority of French discipline and martial genius, and an event likely to be equally unprofitable or equally fatal to the conquerors. We have no hesitation in giving it as our decided opinion, that an English army could no more exist during the rainy season about to commence in Ava, so far from their supplies, and surrounded by a savage, fierce, and vindictive native force, inured to the climate,

than Napoleon and his heroes could outlive the fires and frost of Moscow. Putting aside all question about Lord Amherst's wisdom in council, or Sir Archibald Campbell's skill and bravery in the field, (and no doubt these leaders would think it injustice that their two heads should not be reckoned worth the one worn by Napoleon,) it is in vain for the greatest Generals and Statesmen to war against nature. Providence, which sets bounds to empires and to human ambition, has erected natural barriers, moral and physical, in the features of the country and in the character of the people, which forbid their subjection to the rule of British India. Though the reverse appears at present still more improbable, the superiority of the Burmese race has so long been known and felt among the people of Bengal, that the collected voice of sages or the fears of the multitude in successive generations, have given rise to a belief which has now acquired the weight of prophecy, that the Mugs or the Burmese will at last be the rulers of India. The *vox populi, vox dei*, may be fairly quoted as having decided that the Ultra Gangetic nations are a superior race, likely to hold, at some future period, dominion over the more passive tribes of Hindoostan.

We have alluded in the foregoing to the subjoined paragraph, which appeared in the *Globe*:

'Intelligence has been received from the United States, that an American trader spoke on the 4th of March, off Saugor island, at the entrance of the river Houghley, with the *Enterprise* steam-boat; the captain of which reported that the English army had arrived at the Burmese capital, and that Sir Archibald Campbell had signified to the army his intention to storm the city, at the expiration of twenty-four hours, unless the treaty, as formerly negotiated and signed, was ratified in all its parts.'

But the most melancholy, and apparently faithful, picture of the present warfare we have seen, is contained in the following short paragraph from the '*Examiner*':

'A private letter, with the sight of which we have been favoured, dated Calcutta, January 16th, says: "It is the general opinion, that the war will not be so speedily concluded as the sanguine friends of Government have supposed. The gun-boat service is a most wretched one. It appears that the river in which they have to act is not more than two hundred yards broad, thickly wooded down to the water's edge. No sooner does a boat make its appearance in the daytime, than the officer, from his dress and colour (the crew are Natives) is immediately picked off like a crow by the Burmese in the jungle, and at night by a general discharge of musketry at the stern of the boats, the officer's station. Within these last two months, we have lost thirty out of thirty-two in this miserable manner. Arracan, likewise, is the death of Europeans. To see landed from every vessel that arrives invalid officers in the most wretched state is truly distressing. They suffer, more or less, from that horrid disease, mental derangement; and it is afflicting to see the number of fine young men, who by returning to Calcutta have recovered their health, reduced to a state of perfect idiotism.'"

A very general opinion seems to prevail in India, founded on the result of three unsuccessful campaigns, that in the war with Ava, the chief command has been intrusted to an individual by no means qualified for such service; and an earnest desire is evinced to see

him superseded by the Commander-in-Chief taking the field in person. The 'Columbian Press Gazette' of February the 10th, states, on the authority of 'John Bull,' that "Mr. Crawford, the intelligent author of that able and interesting work, the 'Indian Archipelago,' and still holding the appointment, we believe, of Resident at Singapore, is about to proceed to Ava, as one of the commissioners for treating with his golden-footed majesty." The same paper it appears "has also hinted that the Commander-in-Chief is himself likely to assume the command of our armies in Aya. From these arrangements, (adds the writer,) if they really take place, we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results. The talents of Mr. Crawford, and his intimate knowledge of the Native character, are a sufficient guarantee for the wisdom of any measures suggested by him, and the unlimited discretionary power which would of course be conceded to a Commander-in-Chief, would give full scope to the exercise of his judgment." From some speculations in the same paper it is evident that the Siamese, whose friendly disposition and intention to co-operate with us against the Burmese have been *talked of* for years past, are now regarded in the light we long ago represented them, as disguised enemies:

"Without stopping to scrutinize the purport and drift of America in sending Missionaries to Rangoon and Ava, we have only to contrast the barbarous treatment which Captain Smith and other Englishmen lately received at Siam, with the avidity with which the Americans have carried arms and munition thither in the face of that treatment towards Captain Smith, and at the risk of confiscation of their property, to be convinced of the readiness of the Siamese to receive assistance and co-operation against the British power, and of America to grant them assistance. Hence it becomes a matter of the greatest importance to determine the best points to hold possession of, in order to establish and guarantee the future preponderance of our power without again appealing to arms.

'Martaban and Bassein are places we should never give up to the Burmahs; these places I conceive they would cede to us in preference to Rangoon.'

STATE OF THE PRESS IN BENGAL.

The condition of the Press in India is a subject which must always deeply interest every one who takes a real interest in the political, moral, or religious improvement of the hundred millions of human beings, who, in a state of the greatest darkness and debasement, have been committed to the care of a highly enlightened and intellectual nation. As there is only one engine of human improvement which can be brought to bear with effect on so wide a field—and this engine is the press, its actual condition ought never to be overlooked. It is a remarkable fact, which cannot be too often brought to view, that it was after the Marquis of Hastings had acquired considerable experience of the state of India, both in war and in peace, that this confessedly able statesman liberated the press from the shackles of a censorship, from a well founded confidence that any such odious restraints on the voice of truth were not necessary to support any government con-

ducted on just principles. In this opinion his Lordship persevered, and does so, we believe, at the present moment, though, towards the close of his administration, the influence of Mr. Adam and his party, who, by pertinacious opposition to this liberal system and incessant importunities against every freedom of discussion exercised, seem at last to have worn out the patience of the venerable sexagenarian, who had more need of support and cordial co-operation in the arduous duties of his high office, than to be harassed by the factious opposition of his Council. Then it was that he at last yielded, or *appeared* to yield, to their importunities against the freedom of opinion. But though he condescended to *threaten*, he took no *actual* measure to undo what he had before done in removing the censorship. During the short interregnum that followed, the anti-liberal party of Censor Adam seemed determined to blot out all traces of Lord Hastings's government, by banishing editors and enacting laws that might enable them to suppress every journal; at once realizing the wish of Nero, or some other ancient tyrant—"O that the Romans had but one head, that I might cut it off at a single blow." To such perfection of slavish discipline did they bring the press, that it was reckoned a serious crime to print two words in Italics in one paper which had been given in another in Roman. They were part of a description of a public ball quoted from the 'Indian Gazette,' which had said that the Honourable John Adam "affably talked" to the ladies as he passed round the room. A contemporary, not liking this style of adulation, printed the words above quoted in italics, which excited the utmost consternation among the proprietors of the paper, who received private intimation that such a liberty had been viewed with sovereign displeasure, but being the first offence, it was not thought necessary to visit it with punishment!

To ensure the continuance of this reign of terror, it was necessary to select a Governor, who might become a passive tool in the hands of this party; and Lord Amherst, from a certain supposed mildness and tractability, was considered an exceedingly proper man for the purpose. He came out well prepared by the Court of Directors, whose sentiments exactly coincided with those of the Adam party abroad; and on his first arrival, with this preconceived horror of free discussion, he went as far as even the ex-censor himself. In a few days, one writer was banished for alluding to the banishment of another; and a month or two after, a paper was suppressed—revived, or promised a revival, and re-suppressed. But, after one or two years' experience in India, (and being freed also from the advice of the amiable censor,) Lord Amherst now allows the press a latitude of discussion equal to what it enjoyed in the days of his predecessor, Lord Hastings: these two successive Governors being thus alike convinced by experience, in spite of bad counsel and strong prejudices to the contrary, and attesting by their *acts*, (which are much stronger than words,) that there is no danger

arising from free discussion; that it is "salutary to even supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny." This change in the sentiments of the Governor-General, wrought by time and experience, which have cleared away the mist of pretended danger raised by Mr. Adam and his party, to make him the blind instrument of their purposes, is thus spoken of in the 'Columbian Press Gazette,' at present the most able and honest publication in Bengal. It is from a letter, given in that paper of the 24th of March last, on the eulogists of Mr. Adam:

'I well remember how the smooth-tongued 'Bull' informed *his* part of the public of India, that not only did addresses pour down upon Mr. Adam, but that the last was numerously signed, and, what is more, by *the elite* of the Services—a most presumptuous and impertinent phrase, it is true, when applied to about three hundred and twenty out of several thousands, but yet extremely characteristic of that upstart self-sufficiency which has ever denoted his party, though of late abating, in consequence of the greater latitude now generously given (I say *generously*, for, where there are restrictions, it is generous and liberal in the Governor-General to relax them *in spite* of the wishes of *all* by whom he is officially surrounded) to that portion of the press which maintains liberal principles.'

When the Honourable Directors learn this conversion of their Governor, whom they sent out, like a blunderbuss, well primed and loaded, to fire off upon the friends of free discussion, they will be ready to exclaim, "Is Saul also among the Prophets?" Yes—and it would be well for India if a few of these self-sufficient gentlemen, who now rule the destinies of that country—those "wise and reverend seniors" who decide, in privy councils, that the gagging laws for the press in Bengal are agreeable to the principles of the laws of England—those wordy orators who pretend that our Eastern empire is, like a magazine of gunpowder, ready to explode if one spark of truth reach it; it would be well if these sages were sent out, like Lord Amherst, for a few years to gather wisdom on the spot, before they ventured to legislate for a gagged and oppressed people whom they never saw, and whose miserable condition men at the distance of ten thousand miles can neither comprehend nor feel.

We shall now adduce a few instances of the freedom of discussion tolerated by Lord Amherst, which will be found to extend not to minor matters of inferior importance only, but to such as affect his own person and dignity. The following appeared in a Calcutta paper (the 'Columbian Press Gazette') of the 10th of January last:

'We have had frequent occasion to remark with laud and approbation the present talented Government of India. We have bestowed the due meed of praise on the able management of the Burmese war. In their judicial capacity we have done them honour. In the judicious mode they adopted in punishing mutinous Brahmans, by turning them on the roads, with fetters on their legs, to labour with common felons and murderers, thereby soothing the irritated prejudices of the Hindoo population. We have now to sound their praises in a finance measure, which is, at least, equal in ingenuity to their military and

penal performances, and which we should almost be afraid to mention, if we had it not upon authority of which there can be no doubt.

'It was found necessary to send money to pay the troops at Rangoon; and as Company's paper is not very current in the Golden Empire, rupees had to be procured for that purpose; but the treasury, as all the world knows, was exhausted, and in these fickle times it was not deemed expedient to press the Bank very hard. The Governor and Council were at a stand-still, till some one, more knowing than the rest, hit upon an expedient to relieve all difficulties. The Shroffs* in the Bazar were informed that they would get a batta or per centage on all the silver that they should pay into the treasury; and by a natural consequence all the silver in the Bazar was transferred to the great house, and the expedient seemed to answer beyond the most sanguine expectation of its projectors; but the Shroffs were not satisfied with such small gains; they immediately converted their bank notes into rupees, thereby drawing bullion out of the bank, which they immediately carried to the treasury and received the per centage; but the run on the bank became greater than its coffers could answer, and they were actually obliged to suspend cash payments, till they could get reinforcements from the treasury, which was again paid out for bank notes, and again carried to the treasury for the sake of the per centage. So that, in the end, the per centage was paid half a dozen times over upon the same identical rupees; the Bank was drained of its bullion, and the state of the treasury very little improved.

'We understand that the sages of Leadenhall-street intended Mr. John Adam as a sort of dry-nurse to Lord Amherst; true it is, and of a verity, that his noble charge showed a little forwardness, and the other vices of a spoiled child, and would not do as old nurse desired it, "like a good boy;" but, on this occasion, it was nursery's duty to have prevented her charge from spoiling his plaything,' &c.

As the press regulations of India prohibit offensive remarks on the Governor-General, *par excellence*, whether original or copied, the appearance of the above extract, though coming under the latter description (being from an English weekly paper, now no more, called the 'Telescope') shows that very great confidence exists in his Lordship's liberality and indulgence towards the press. Let it be compared with the paragraph which was declared, in September 1823, to be a sufficient reason for suppressing a newspaper—destroying a property valued shortly previous at 40,000*l.* sterling, and visiting the supposed writer of it with banishment and ruin. The composition then supposed to deserve so very awful a visitation was, word for word, as follows:

'Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument, and we hope we may speak of it, as a matter of history, without offence, as we shall express no opinion on it either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary we should not even allude to it, but in so doing we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established laws and government of the country. The article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce as clerk to the Stationery Committee, and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government, as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce being the author of those letters placed in connection with his appointment to his secular office. Thus, it appears, Dr. Bryce's re-

* Native bankers.

puted authorship and pluralities were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal, and of the new laws which are in consequence established for the press.

Such a statement (venturing to guess the most offensive part of an obnoxious paragraph) could not be borne in those days. But now we are told, in the 'Columbian Press Gazette' of December the 30th, that even the 'John Bull' of the East dares to insinuate that "the Government plunged into the Burmah war without knowing what they were going about; and that if they had possessed the information they ought to have had, they would not have dreamt of penetrating to Amerapoor with a handful of men." "We do not dispute the position," adds the 'Columbian.' "We merely admire the consistency of the writer: to be sure he endeavours towards the close of the article to make the *amende honorable* for this imputation on the wisdom of the 'constituted authorities,' by a very pretty metaphor about plucking 'the flowers of safety and victory from the midst of accumulating dangers'—*Mais cela s'entend.*" On the same passage the 'Bengal Hurkaru' remarks:

'The 'Bull' accuses us of *freely indulging in* (of course improper) *allegations* in the same column in which he tells us that the situation of our Eastern army is one calculated to excite regret, not unmixed with apprehension for its safety. Which is the most improper allegation—the statement of a notorious fact, or the assertion of a notorious falsehood calculated to alarm all those who have friends in the army thus devoted to destruction?'

This is a brief and pithy method of reasoning familiar to some Oriental writers. Two or three Editors are of opinion that an army is in a perilous position; and another, in reply, contents himself with asserting "It is a falsehood." But supposing it to be so, or otherwise, we may apply here the remark of Sir Francis Macnaghten on a gross misstatement of the same paper, affecting his judicial conduct and character:

'He (the Editor) has shown us, by his publication of the restrictions (on the Press) that Government and the Supreme Court are put upon the same footing; and yet if it is allowable to question the adjudication of a judge, (or the wisdom of a war,) and not allowable to question an appointment made by the Government, (*viz.* that of Dr. Bryce as clerk of stationery,) I must conclude that the one becomes *criminal* by being stated with *truth*, and the other *innocent* by being accompanied with *falsehood*.'

As another striking instance of the comparative freedom now allowed to the Press by Lord Amherst, we may give the following, discussing the causes of Mr. Buckingham's removal from India; a subject which the Adam party, when in the meridian of their power, prohibited from being ever *mentioned*, and were satisfied with nothing less than the banishment of any one who should even *allude* to it, though, as above shown, in the most respectful manner.

'In yesterday's 'Hurkaru' there is an extract from the 'Australian,' in which allusion is made to the liberation of the Press by the Marquis of Hastings, and the subsequent destruction of its freedom, and the transmission of Mr. Buckingham by his successor. We concur in the general tenor of these remarks: but we entirely dissent from the assertion, that Mr. Buckingham was the cause of the destruction of that liberty of discussion which he so ably

and so zealously advocated. He may have provoked in some measure the acceleration of his own *predetermined* banishment, by availing himself too freely of that degree of liberty which was actually admitted of by the existing laws for the Press, after the accession of a Governor notoriously hostile to it; but the known views of Mr. Adam, with respect to that Press, furnish sufficient ground for the opinion, that he would never have suffered it to continue free while he possessed the power to enslave it; and even with respect to Mr. Buckingham's transmission, we cannot believe that any conduct of his, however guarded, would have saved him from this visitation, and the ruin it has brought down on him: for there is every reason to believe that it was a measure as we have said *predetermined*; indeed, the celebrated hole-and-corner pamphlet, in defence of the Governor-General's conduct,* contains an indirect admission of the fact, in the argument that Mr. Buckingham was not transmitted for ridiculing the appointment of a divine to an office more befitting a stationer's shopman, but for his manifold offences in support of the cause of freedom during the Noble Marquis's administration. We think it right, in justice to Mr. Buckingham, to set this matter in its true light, that a mere repetition of the interested misrepresentations of his enemies may not, by the sanction acquired from its appearance in an Independent Journal, be relied on as a fair statement of the causes which led to the annihilation of the freedom of the Press and with it of his own fortunes and prospects.

In farther illustration of this subject, we have much pleasure in giving an extract, quoted in a Cape of Good Hope Paper, from the 'Bengal Hurkaru,' written, we believe, by Theodore Dickens, Esq., a Barrister of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, who for some-time conducted the latter publication in a manner highly creditable to his talents, firmness, and independence of character; and we deeply regret to learn, that his professional duties and other causes have so soon withdrawn him from his honourable post of a defender of that dearest and proudest right of Englishmen, the liberty of opinion, whether in word, in writing, or through the medium of the Press—to which last and most powerful instrument for conveying human thought he promised to be a bright ornament.

'We inserted yesterday the Memorial of the inhabitants of the Cape to his Majesty in Council, praying that the blessings of a Free Press—"the birth-right of Englishmen"—may be extended to them. As friends of the universal freedom of the Press, we heartily wish that success may attend this appeal; but we must say, that we should have admired it more if it had not, in praying that the Press might be released from the shackles that bind it there, aided in clinching those which fetter it here. We cannot perceive the necessity that existed for any allusion to the state of the Press in India, and we feel well assured that the selfishness evinced in so eagerly admitting that there are circumstances in this country which justify the Government in depriving Englishmen "in this remote quarter" of the "birth-right" which the inhabitants of the Cape so eagerly claim for themselves, will not be at all likely to strengthen their case, or to extend the interest felt in it. The Memorial contends at the same time, that there is no analogy between the circumstances of this country and the colony in which they have the happiness to reside,—there was then the less need to advert to it; and, indeed, it seems not a little extraordinary, that when they were adverting to a slave population, they should not have chosen to refer to the West Indies, between which colonies of the Crown, and their own, we should suppose, at least, there is some analogy, and where the Press is free, rather than to the East Indies where it is restricted.

* The Pamphlet written by Mr. John Adam in defence of his own measures.

Surely the affirmative argument of the analogy and the free Press is more weighty than the negative one of the absence of that analogy, and the restricted Press. It seems to us at least, that it would have been more logical, as well as more *liberal*, to have left India alone, and to have contended that the Press being free in the West Indies, where there are many slaves, there could be no good reason why it should not be free in a colony where there are few, and where recent instances of unexampled oppression and tyranny rendered its controlling influence so essential to the ends of good government. But no, it seems that our good friends at the Cape have deemed it a wise policy to avail themselves of the apathy and indifference known to prevail at home, as to the happiness or interests of the governed in this remote quarter, and, in their *comprehensive liberality*, to sacrifice the rights of millions of subjects in India to secure the free exercise of their own. We cannot certainly but admire the philosophical coolness with which it is conceded that the peculiar circumstances of India justify the British Government in depriving their subjects in that country of their birth-rights, nor the *generosity* with which the petitioners seem to say, it is just and proper that they should be denied the freedom of the Press, and we are content that they should for ever remain deprived of the "blessings" of a free Press, "the birth-right of Englishmen." provided his Majesty in his wisdom should only extend it to the colonists of the Cape—the geographical position of which colony is possibly as much better adapted for the enjoyment of liberty than this ill-fated country. Alas, for India! when those who labour under similar disadvantages and who might be expected to sympathize in her fate, and to advocate her cause, as identified with her own, listening to the dictates of selfish illiberality, join the ranks of her enemies, and make common cause against those who justify our exclusion from the exercise of a natural right on the ground of peculiar circumstances! They are indeed peculiar, for they are such as furnish the strongest arguments in favour of that very freedom which is denied us.'

When we read these solemn and affecting declarations of the value of a free press to India, proceeding from a gentleman of talent and education, the member of a liberal profession, added to the practice of the highest functionary in the state, the Governor-General of all India, who does not prohibit, as already shown, the freest remarks on his personal conduct, we cannot but feel surprise at the obstinate bigotry of a powerful party in England, who, having once allowed themselves to be misled by the Adam faction abroad, so as to join in their senseless clamour about the danger of free discussion in India, persist in denying to our unfortunate subjects the exercise of a right essential to their happiness, as confessed and declared by the most experienced men in that country. The Adam party, it is true, through their organ the 'John Bull,' still maintain, but with a voice gradually waxing feebler, that the press is an improper medium of inquiry into the abuses of public officers or departments; a doctrine which will always be maintained by the interested and corrupt—who profit by abuses—a party which has long been too powerful in India; and it is truly lamentable to think that these unprincipled men should find friends in high places to aid and abet their wickedness, and screen them from detection by the destruction and ruin of all who would expose their acts to the light of day. We have before us at this moment a series of papers officially authenticated respecting the conduct of a civil servant, who has been exercising the high functions of judge or

magistrate for many years past, and, in every district where he has been, has been guilty of acts in receiving bribes, extorting loans, forcing females to his wishes, and ruining innocent men by his oppressions; deeds of so black a character, that if a free press existed, instead of being allowed to continue on the bench, he would have been driven from all honest society. From the united testimony of officers in the army, Indigo planters, and other respectable men with whom we have conversed in various parts, at times and places remote from and unconnected with each other, there is a moral certainty, that if ever an untried and unconvicted felon was guilty, that man has been the author of acts without number worthy of the severest punishment. But, under the present press regulations to screen all public officers from exposure, he has hitherto escaped with impunity; individuals injured being generally afraid to complain against a member of that awfully august body, the "Civil Service," which in India is all but omnipotent. Every one relies on the protection of that *esprit de corps* which will ever lead such a body to support and screen its own members against all complaints. But if a free press existed, it would enable the Government to distinguish the honest and intelligent from the indolent and corrupt, to punish and depress the unworthy, and elevate and reward the meritorious. And if by this means that all-powerful body were purged of a few black sheep such as we have referred to, by their expulsion and disgrace, as a warning to others, the instrument which led to the accomplishment of this object, instead of endangering our empire (as these delinquents and their friends hypocritically pretend) would most effectually strengthen and secure it, by purifying the administration of the government from all baser metal, and establishing confidence and content among the people.

BOMBAY.

The warlike preparations of Raja Runjeet Singh, the powerful prince of the Punjab, are stated, in the 'Bombay Gazette,' to be destined for an expedition towards the west, as is *guessed* from the construction of a bridge across the Indus, his camp at Rotas being to the eastward of that river. So equivocal a circumstance may have been intended to disguise his real intentions till the affairs of Bhurtpoor should take such a turn as might enable this cautious politician to decide on what course he ought to pursue. The fall of that fortress will now have rendered his bridge useful, at least as a pretext to disguise the intention of his late martial preparations, which are undeniable. The 'Gazette' would have us believe that some measures on the part of Persia rendered it necessary for the Raja to take steps for the security of his own interests and the protection of his friendly neighbours on the western frontier. The town of Herat, we are told, a place of considerable wealth and importance, which stands on the high road from Persia to Hindoo-stan, has long been viewed by the Government of that country as

a desirable object for conquest, and, by the 'Bombay Gazette,' it appears success has attended a late attempt under the conduct of a Persian prince who governed part of Khorassan. Such a grasp of territory must of course, it is concluded, occasion no small alarm, and the clashing of counter interests among the petty states have perhaps given rise to "jealousies that may afford Runjeet ample employment for his political and martial abilities, the first of which (says the court scribe) we never suspected to be at so low an ebb as to venture his reputation for the latter in a contest with the English." In the same paper (the 'Bombay Gazette') it is stated, on the authority of a Native correspondent, that an embassy is in progress from the Persian court to the supreme Government of India. The person appointed is said to be the King's brother-in-law, Mahomed Mebdee Khan Mazenderaunee, with a suite of 300 attendants. From the rank and consequence attached to the mission, "it is conjectured to be on matters of great importance."

Although the public intelligence from Bombay has been less copious than usual, for several months past, there have been no want of materials for the private history of that turbulent and agitated settlement. The Governor and Members of Council, though they may not have distinguished themselves by any great public acts worthy of being known to distant quarters, have, nevertheless, been busily engaged in private transactions, which it would be well for their reputations perhaps, as public men, if they had never occurred. We have even *heard* of a challenge to the field from the highest civil servant of the Presidency to the highest legal functionary on the Island, but we apprehend there must be some exaggeration in this, as it would hardly seem possible that a Governor could so far forget himself as thus to manifest his utter disregard of one of the first principles of civilized society, which enjoins respect to the office of chief legislator from all, but more especially from those to whom his authority is their chief support. We are willing to believe that this cannot therefore be true, though "Rumour, with her thousand tongues," has made it already currently credited in the best circles of Indian society here. Be this, however, as it may, we speak on surer grounds when we descend a little in the scale of rank to advert to transactions between personages of less official importance.

It appears, in evidence, and not merely from rumour, that soon after the celebrated horsewhipping adventure which passed between Mr. Browne and Mr. Norton, as described in a former Number of our Work,* and placed on record in a formal affidavit made by the insulted party himself, another rencontre took place between Mr. Graham, an attorney at Bombay, and Mr. Irwin, a

* Vol. IX. p. 362.

barrister. The scene of action was a public billiard room. The parties present, as witnesses, included Mr. Warden, a Member of Council, with whom the horsewhipped barrister was, at the moment of his being assaulted, playing a rubber of billiards. At what hour of the day or night this occurrence took place, whether the time given to this fascinating game was stolen from public duties, from other relaxations, or from sleep, we do not know. But the fact itself is undoubted. What were the circumstances which led to this violent measure of redress we have not heard; but we presume an apology for the supposed wrong, or satisfaction for the imagined injury, must first have been demanded and refused, before recourse was had to the step in question; for unless this order of proceeding was observed, the conduct of the assaulting party would be unmanly and unjustifiable. The Bombay papers; as far at least as we have seen them, contain no reference to the subject, it not being within their province to say aught that can be offensive to their rulers' ears; but private letters speak unreservedly of the transaction; and official statements have even come home to the India House on the subject, which have been seen by more eyes than those of the clerks to whose care they are entrusted.

A singular episode arose out of this transaction, which sets the character of Mr. Warden, especially, in a very remarkable light. The remedy taken by Mr. Irwin the barrister was similar to that followed by his predecessor, Mr. Norton. He had recourse to the laws, for which no man can be blamed, and especially one who lives by them. Mr. Irwin preferred two indictments against Mr. Graham at the sessions—the one for an assault, the other for a libel. The cases were tried; and the amount of punishment awarded was that the offender should pay a fine of 150 rupees—a sum of little more than 10*l.* sterling! This decision must have been received as marking a very strong conviction on the part of those who presided at the sessions, that the aggravation was extreme, for a smaller penalty could hardly have been adjudged; and we should not wonder at its leading to an inference that if a barrister could be whipped, under circumstances which were likely to be deemed justifiable of such a course, for the sum of 10*l.*—a Member of Council might be well drubbed for 20*l.*;—and 100*l.* might even cover the expense of extending the lash to the shoulders of the Governor himself! How much more dignified, however, would it be, to permit the truth to be freely published, in all cases, and of all persons, without liability to punishment as long as truth was not exceeded, because a much deeper stigma would be affixed on the characters of evil doers by such undisguised exposure, than by all the horse-whippings that could be inflicted, more especially as the party in the wrong is as likely to be the first personal aggressor, as he who is in the right; and the mere infliction of blows proves nothing but the anger of him who gives them.

But the episode to which we meant particularly to allude was this: On the trial for the assault, as well as for the libel, Mr.

Warden, the Member of Council, was called as a witness, he having been present at the time of Mr. Irwin receiving the castigation for which he sought redress, and having also circulated at the Presidency a written paper in his (Mr. Warden's) own hand writing, in which paper, purporting to be a defence of Mr. Irwin, were contained aspersions on the character of Mr. Graham: thus exhibiting a Member of Council doing secretly and surreptitiously, in private written papers, what this same Member would have been the first to punish in another if he had had the superior honesty and courage to do it openly through the press. Mr. Warden, then, in his capacity of witness, while in the box under examination as to the facts of the case, handed up a sealed letter from himself to the Judge on the bench! Here was an example to be set to the spectators in a Court of Justice! We can well enter into the reader's astonishment at this transaction, without a parallel, as far as we remember, in the annals of judicial proceedings. The Judge, however, who seems to have known his duty better than the witness, returned the letter to him unopened. One would have thought that if Mr. Warden had had a particle of sense or sensibility, such a dignified reproof as this would have stung him to the quick. But will the reader believe it possible? this act, which any man in any station of life would be justified in doing, without fairly exposing himself to be called on as the committer of an offence, (for surely all men must be at liberty to open and read what is sent to them or not,) but which was especially proper in a Judge, who would have degraded himself from his high station and subjected his character to the most injurious suspicions, if he had received from a witness under examination (and the higher the rank of such witness the more corrupt the act) a sealed letter while administering justice on the bench: this conduct on the part of the Judge, which ought to have excited universal admiration, was construed by Mr. Warden into a personal insult, and made the ground of a proceeding to seek the satisfaction of a gentleman at the Judge's hands!

The Chief Justice it appears was detained by his duties at the Court for some time after this event; and on his reaching home, he is said to have found a note from Colonel Stannus, dated from the "Government house," of which Colonel Stannus was an inmate and a member, requesting a private interview with the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, in terms that left little doubt as to the object of the meeting required. The interview was readily granted: and it appeared from Colonel Stannus's confession, that he came, as the friend of Mr. Warden, to demand from Sir Edward West an explanation of the insult which Mr. Warden considered to have been offered to him by the return, unopened, of the letter which he had handed up to the Judge in Court. The answer of the Chief Justice to this strange demand (which was made in the Judge's room at the Court house, where the interview took place, and in presence of the Master in Equity, an officer of the Court, was, an order to one of the persons in attendance to show Colonel Stannus out of the room! Of this individual we know nothing, and have heard

only that which is creditable to his reputation as an officer and a gentleman. But we really think his want of discretion in consenting to be the bearer of such a message from a Member of Council to a Judge, for an act done in his judicial capacity, and in open Court, must, long ere this, have been a subject of as deep regret to himself as it cannot fail to be to all those who feel an interest in his character. After this, it seems Mr. Warden wrote a violent letter to the Master in Equity, Mr. Fenwick, avowing that the object of his sending Colonel Stannus to Sir Edward West, was to demand an apology, or if he did not apologize, to evince his sense of the injury in some appropriate manner: some versions of the story say the punishment intended to be inflicted on Sir Edward West was, that he should not be again invited to *dine* with Mr. Warden—a severe sentence, truly!

This affair was deemed of so much public importance that Mr. Warden immediately prepared a circumstantial narrative of the whole transaction, which he laid before the Bombay Government (of which he is the chief member, next to the Governor himself) for the purpose of its being officially transmitted to the authorities in England, including the Court of Directors and Board of Control; and the Chief Justice, it is said, was apprised of this by the Government of Bombay, in an official letter, with a view to give him an opportunity of accompanying the same despatch with *his* statement also, that the authorities at home might decide, from the two statements, which was in the right!

This is the manner in which the heads of office are respectively engaged at Bombay. They transport an unhappy Editor half over the globe for daring to allude to subjects on which a very honest difference of opinion may be maintained; while, at the same time, they waste the labour for which they are so handsomely paid, and which ought to be zealously devoted to the public service, in first endeavouring to obstruct the due course of justice, and then, by challenges, recriminations, threats, and misrepresentations, impeding the whole course of public business, and splitting the society into hostile factions, utterly regardless of the great public interests committed to their charge.

We hear that Mr. Elphinstone is likely to resign the Government of Bombay in January next, to return to England, when he will, no doubt, be succeeded by Mr. S. Lushington. It would be well if Mr. Warden were to follow his example. They would be each of them personages of much less importance here than in their own island; but that they must expect to become, let them remove where they may; and even if they remain much longer where they are, we doubt whether respect for their public characters is likely to increase with increasing years. We remember a period in the history of both, when they were universally popular and deservedly esteemed; and we doubt not they would give a large portion of their wealth to purchase, if possible, a restitution of the consideration they enjoyed in days that are gone for ever.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE
EASTERN WORLD.

DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.

AMONG the rumours which have become current in Indian circles during the past month, the following is one of general interest and is believed to rest on authentic grounds: namely, that Sir John Malcolm, whose skill as an accomplished courtier is not inferior to his diplomacy, and his power of giving to questions in which he may be engaged the hue and complexion most desirable for them to wear, has succeeded in obtaining from the proper, or perhaps we should say, the influential authorities, a decision or construction deeply affecting the distribution of the prize-property taken in the Deccan, by which Colonels engaged in that campaign are transformed into Brigadiers, Brigadiers are made Major-Generals, and Political Agents are put on the General Staff of the army. This is no doubt a very desirable arrangement for some parties: and these at least cannot but feel admiration and gratitude for the talent which has accomplished so magical a change. Sir John Malcolm is said, by this arrangement, to become himself entitled to share with divisions with whom he had no military connection, and some of whom were acting under the authority of Mr. Elphinstone. Perhaps some of our readers may be able to say whether in the former Mahratta war, the Governor-General's agent was allowed to share, when he was not actually present; for this appears to have been the case with Sir John, who held that appointment, but was not actually at many of the scenes of capture. Political agents to the Governor-General are as frequently Civil as Military Servants of the Company; and the original object of permitting them to share in prize-property at all appears to have been on the ground of affording them compensation for the personal risk they had incurred by being present at sieges or actions, where none but military men were ordinarily expected to be. But in the case of no such personal risk being incurred, the share of a political agent could not be justified: and we have no doubt that had a civilian occupied the appointment filled by Sir John Malcolm in the campaign of the Deccan, and been, like himself, absent from the scene of capture, his claim to share with every division of the army, as one of the General Staff, would be unanimously rejected as unprecedented and unfair. Sir John Malcolm's *military* duties were confined to the third division of the army alone, and with this alone, according to all the received principles and usages of the service, ought he to share.

The conversion of Brigadiers into Major-Generals is not merely

absurd in itself, but contrary to the avowed intention of Lord Hastings, the Commander-in-Chief in India, who states in one of the papers published in the collection on that subject, that it was not his intention to employ any General Officers in the Deccan, an expression that never could have been used by him had he conceived these Brigadiers to be raised to the rank of Major-Generals. The King's Regulations (page 5) say, that "Officers serving on the staff in the capacity of Brigadier-Generals are to take rank and precedence from their commissions as Colonels in the army, and not from the date of their appointments as Brigadier-Generals;" a distinction which of itself is sufficient to show that they ought not to receive a larger proportion of prize money than Colonels, with whom they rank, and to whom, by Indian usage, a specific number of shares are allotted. Again, in the King's Regulations, (page 24,) the honours directed to be shown to a Brigadier-General will be seen to be very different from those paid to a Major-General, so that there is no ground of precedent or analogy for transforming them (unless, indeed, by the wand of influence, which will accomplish anything) into the same.

It may be anticipated, however, from these arrangements, that Sir John Malcolm will now become a strenuous advocate for a rigid adherence to a distribution among the actual captors. Perhaps, also, he may be able to prove that the Peishwa's deposits were actually in Poonah, when that place was taken; that the money reserved by the Silladar ought to be given to the regular troops; and that Nagpoor was taken under circumstances which ought to make all the public and private property in it good prize to the captors. We think, indeed, that the army could not do better for their own interests than to appoint Sir John Malcolm their general agent, and leave the whole unrestrained management of the concern to his talents; unless, indeed, they might think it necessary to stipulate, as one condition, that no plan of distribution should be devised by which the share of a Brigadier-General and a Political Agent conjointly should exceed that of the Commander of all the Forces; because that might not seem quite reasonable to the Commander-in-Chief himself, and be liable to misconception by those subject to his command, by which the harmony of the whole body might run the risk at least of being endangered.

THE REVEREND DR. BRYCE.

THE character of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, Presbyterian Clergyman, 'John Bull' Proprietor, and *late* Clerk of Stationery in Calcutta, is now still farther developing itself in his injurious treatment of his colleague, the Rev. W. Brown, who was sent by the Scotch Church some years past to assume the office of junior minister in Calcutta. His hankering after office, his love of places and pensions, are by no means the worst qualities of the reverend senior chaplain, though these are sufficiently incompatible with his sacred

and solemn duties. But this preacher of the gospel of peace has unfortunately nourished for many years a spirit of discord which has obtained him in India the title of the Public Pest—alias the Reverend Promoter of Discord—as for many years he has seldom been free from newspaper controversy of the most acrimonious description. And if there occurred the suppression of a newspaper, the banishment of an editor for libel, a prosecution for a duel or breach of the peace—it is ten to one but the Reverend Doctor was at the bottom of it. In the intervals between these public battles or polemical exhibitions he has been occupying his time (to keep his hand in use) in skirmishes with his colleague, who, unable to bear any longer with the insufferable conduct of this common scourge to the community, has been driven to appeal to the protection of his brethren in Scotland, as appears by the following paragraph from the 'Edinburgh Evening Courant':

PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

Church in India.—'At the ordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh yesterday, a sealed packet, addressed to the Reverend Presbytery, was laid on the table by Dr. Gordon, the Moderator, which being opened by the clerk, was found to contain a letter from the Rev. James Brown, junior minister of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, accompanied by a petition and complaint by that gentleman against Dr. Bryce, the senior minister, and the Kirk Session of that congregation.

'Mr. Brown complained, that upon his arrival at Calcutta, he found himself treated by his reverend senior in a manner which he felt incompatible with the dignity of his situation as a pastor of the church; that he had represented this to Dr. Bryce, and claimed an equality with him, which was denied; that he had claimed his right to be received as a member of the Kirk Session, which was also refused; that upon the occasion of his celebrating a marriage ceremony, he had met with an extraordinary interruption, and upon his complaining to the Kirk Session, and applying to them for information on what grounds they denied to him his ecclesiastical privileges as a pastor of the Scots congregation of Calcutta, he had been met with abuse on their part; they denying his right to the title of junior minister, and only designating him as assistant to his reverend senior. Mr. Brown prayed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to institute an inquiry into these, and a variety of other circumstances detailed in his petition, relative to the conduct of Dr. Bryce and the Kirk Session: and that the reverend Presbytery would instruct the Kirk Session to give him the information required, and to cease to annoy him, by refusing to him his ecclesiastical privileges as a member of the Session.

'After some conversation among the members, and a reference to an act of Assembly, which places the Scots Church in India under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the petition of Mr. Brown, with its accompanying documents, was ordered to lie on the table till next meeting of Presbytery.'

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

Despatches have been received at the Colonial Office, dated 18th June, from Mr. Warrington, British Consul at Tripoli. These despatches, we are delighted to state, announce the arrival of our intrepid countryman, Major Laing, at the great centre of African internal commerce, the long-sought city of Timbuctoo. The date of his arrival is not stated, but from the time he left Twat, it was probable it took place about the beginning of February. The next

caravan which arrives at Tripoli from Timbuctoo will bring us farther accounts from our enterprising traveller regarding his future movements. If he proceeded down the river Niger as expeditiously as he could, we may soon expect to hear of his arrival in England. The reports of the dispersion of the caravan with which he was travelling, after it had left Twat, and which had reached this country through a respectable channel, are thus, we rejoice to say, falsified. Inured to the African climate, and arriving at Timbuctoo early in the dry season, we consider every danger to Major Laing as over. The navigable current of the Niger will rapidly bear him, we think, to the Atlantic, through countries and powers deeply impressed with the majesty and fame of Great Britain. Two British travellers are at present in the heart of Northern Africa, to which they have advanced from opposite points. Thus, desirable and important objects are accomplished, when these are left to men of judgment and knowledge; and much as we differ from Mr. Barrow about the course and termination of the Niger, still it is but justice to state, that it is to him and the alacrity with which his views are seconded by the Colonial Office, that the country is indebted for these expeditions, and whatever important geographical discoveries may be made in them. Had these matters continued to be left in the hands of the African institution, they would have drivelled for a century about Sierra Leone, and never have ascertained even the source of the Niger, though that settlement, now settled near forty years, is as near the source of that river as York is to London! No later advices have been received from Clapperton than those which announced his arrival at Sockatoo; but by the arrival of the *Despatch* man-of-war from the coast of Africa (the Bight of Benin) some previous despatches from that traveller have been received, which are of considerable importance, as disclosing his route and progress to Sockatoo; On the 7th of March he was at Katangah, the capital of Yarba or Yarriba, a country bordering on Nyffe; from whence he was preparing to set out for Kiama, and from thence to Wanwa and Youri (distant four days' journey from Wanwa); thus passing the place where our unfortunate countryman, Park, was lost. Katangah is stated to be thirty miles east of the Niger. Important information he must, of course, have obtained there; but still more important information he of course obtained, and has, no doubt, generally transmitted to this country, in his advance to Katangah, and in farther advance northwards; because in that route, and in the latter space, he must have crossed the Niger, and passed Nyffe, at that point where some will have it that the Niger turns east to the Nile of Egypt, and others that it empties itself into an inland lake. There I have received positive information whether the mighty Nile eastward, or continues its course, as we believe it does, so through that line of country yet unexplored, through which mighty rivers, which enter the sea in the Delta of Benin,

to the ocean. These points, we have no doubt, are in a great measure determined by the advices received from Clapperton; and probably the next 'Quarterly Review' may favour us with a peep behind the curtain, which we wait with undiminished confidence to perceive drawn up.—*Glasgow Courier.*

CASE OF CURSETJEE MONACKJEE, THE PARSEE MERCHANT
OF BOMBAY.

OUR readers will remember the several previous occasions on which we have introduced this subject to their notice; and be happy, we doubt not, at learning that justice, though extremely tardy and somewhat incomplete, is about to be rendered to the injured individual, whose life has been embittered by the struggles into which the rejection of his claims had plunged him. In a judgment pronounced on his case in the Supreme Court of Bombay, the award was made in his favour; and against this decision, an appeal to the Privy Council was instituted by the Bombay Government through the East India Company, which we hear is to be, if it has not already been, withdrawn. We must do the Directors the justice to say, that if this be true, it is a step as wise as it is humane on their parts; for, with the almost uniform opinions of all their own law-officers in favour of the full claims of the plaintiff, as well as the strong facts of the case, we can hardly suppose, had the Appeal been proceeded in, but that the Privy Council would have decided against the Company; and even, perhaps, have granted the Parsee merchant the five years' interest on his claims, which he consents to waive by accepting the last judicial decision, and praying them to withdraw their appeal. Their assenting to this prayer of the plaintiff must therefore be an act doubly agreeable to their own reflections, since, by persisting in prosecuting it, the individual might have had the remnant of his life made miserable, without any possible gain to the Directors, or benefit to the public service; whereas, by permitting the judicial decision of the Supreme Court at Bombay to take effect, their own dignity is maintained, the laws upheld, and even the injured party satisfied with the measure of his redress.

From some omission in the copyist, the document, which we subjoin, is without a date; but circumstances lead us to infer, that it must have been written in the early part of the present year; and we trust that, long before its close, the individual will be put in possession of his property, and have the close of his life rendered happy, by that most godlike of all attributes, Justice, which, whenever or wherever displayed or administered, commands involuntarily the respect even of enemies, and the willing homage of mankind.

LETTER OF CURSETJEE MONACKJEE, MERCHANT OF BOMBAY, TO THE
DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company.

HONOURABLE SIRS,—The question so long pending between your Honourable Court and myself, relative to my claim for the supply of rice by the garrison-storekeeper to the military department, in 1803, having been brought to an issue in the late Court of the Recorder, in April 1823, and decided in my favour, I had hoped, although the Bombay Government had given notice of an intention to appeal to the King in Council against that decision, that as the time (six months) limited by Act of Parliament for the reception of regu

Jar petitions of appeal had been suffered to expire for five months, the decree of the Court would have remained undisturbed. I was, however, too sanguine in my calculations. The Appeal to his Majesty in Council was transmitted to England by the *Upton Castle* and *Florentia* in December and April last, and it now becomes an imperious duty that I owe to my family, as well as to my creditors, to solicit your honourable Court to arrest the farther progress of the Appeal.

2. To influence your determination in this particular, I consider it necessary to exhibit to your honourable Court (in the clearest light) the justice of my cause, and the equity of the decision passed by the Court of Law.

3. With this view, I proceed to lay before your honourable Court an abstract of the whole of the circumstances connected with my contract, from the earliest period up to the date of the decision of the Recorder's Court; and as this is a case of great importance to my pecuniary interests, requiring proper elucidation, and deserving your serious attention, I hope and trust the detail will not be considered unnecessarily prolix.

4. On Saturday the 27th November, 1802, an advertisement appeared in the 'Bombay Courier,' inviting proposals to contract for the supply of rice, dholl, ghee, &c., &c., for the military department, for one year, to commence from the 1st January 1803. The manner in which the supplies were to be made, was particularly specified in this advertisement, and it was moreover said, that in the event of the *urgency of the public service* requiring supplies of provisions to an extent beyond the means of the contractor to furnish, he *should have the preference of supplying so much of the indent as he could without failure comply with.*" I accordingly offered, on the 15th December 1802, to enter into a contract for the supply of rice, dholl, and ghee, pursuant to the said advertisement, for the military department at Bombay. The Governor in Council accepted my tender, and communicated the same through Mr. Secretary Grant, on the 25th December of the same year, who referred me to the Honourable Company's solicitor. On the 31st December, the contract was prepared, duly ratified, and mutually exchanged.

5. Very shortly after the conclusion of my agreement with Government, Sir Arthur Wellesley, then commanding an army approaching hostilely the capital of the Mahratta empire, sent an indent on the Bombay Government for rice, spirits, biscuit, military-stores, &c., for the use of the troops under him. At this period, too, I found Major Moor, then garrison storekeeper, making purchases of rice in the market, of such an extent as led me to suppose that it was required for the public service, and should therefore have been furnished by me as the then contractor for that article.

6. I accordingly waited on the said garrison storekeeper, and requested he would indent on me for all the rice required for the service. In reply to this, Major Moor said, that the purpose for which he was procuring rice, *was unconnected* with my contract; but that if I was disposed to sell him that article at the *market rates*, he would purchase it from me as from any other merchant. Believing upon this that Major Moor might have wanted the rice for a purpose not military, I, without hesitation, furnished him with 38,000 bags of the rice, being part of the quantity required, charging only the market-price, which was then two rupees per bag lower than the rate I was to receive as contractor; and preferring a bill for the same to Major Moor, and not to the Honourable Company.*

* N. B.—I would here beg to ask, whether the same caution would have been used in avoiding a compliance with the contract had the market-price of rice been two rupees higher than the contractor's charge? I humbly apprehend that the plea of secret service would scarcely have been urged under such circumstances. For example, in the months of April and August 1803, (during the existence of the contract now in question,) I furnished supplies for 1500 men, although the prices of ghee and dholl were exceedingly dear, far beyond the contract. No attempt was then made to deprive me of my right to supply.

7. Some months after, when I found that the rice was sent to Poona, and consequently for and consumed by the Honourable Company's Bombay and Madras troops, I waited on Major Moor, and stated, that as it appeared the rice had been procured for public purposes, and was supplied to the military department, which ought to have been left to me as the contractor, who was bound to supply all the rice required, I should prefer a claim to what would have been my profit, viz. the sum between my contract price and the price paid by him for the rice. On referring to my contract, (which he had not previously seen,) Major Moor told me that he had merely obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that I should apply to Government for the difference in the aforesaid rice. Previous to which, however, I took the opinion of my law-adviser, who declared that the transaction was a *bona fide* infringement of the letter and spirit of my contract; the 8th paragraph of which sets forth, that so long as I acted up to my engagement, the said United Company, and the *garrison storekeeper* in their service, should *apply to me*, as contractor, for all the rice, ghee, and dholl, which they might want, or have need to be furnished or provided with, or to be made up or supplied to the military department.

8. Mortified at this, and seeing also that my case stood singly, inasmuch as the contractors for biscuit, spirits, military and civil stores, supplied these articles for the very same service, to the extent of several lacs of rupees, and those contractors reaped benefit therefrom, whilst I, the rice-contractor, was deprived of every advantage,* I addressed the honourable the Governor in Council, on the 16th July 1804, representing the circumstances, and requesting that the difference between the contract price and that paid by the Honourable Company for the *whole* of the 74,000 bags of rice supplied to the troops by Major Moor, be made good to me, because I should have gained that profit had the *spirit* of my contract been adhered to on the part of Government.

9. The above address from me was referred to Major Moor, the garrison storekeeper, who acknowledged in his reply, dated the 27th July 1804, that I had applied to him to supply the rice in question, but stated he did not (from motives of policy) communicate the purpose for which it was wanted; he also stated, he had informed me that the purchase in question was not connected with my contract, and that whatever I had advanced in my said letter to Government was correct.†

10. My letter (with Major Moor's report) was then referred to the Military Board, and most of the members were of opinion that I was entitled to the difference upon the whole of the rice procured and supplied by the garrison storekeeper during my contract; but the Commander-in-Chief contended, that the rice purchased by Major Moor was for General Wellesley's army, and therefore had nothing to do with my contract.‡ The members of Council dissented from his Excellency's opinion, but as his Excellency had a voice in Council, and was, moreover, supported by the Governor, my petition was consequently rejected by Government.

11. I then addressed a second letter, dated 4th October 1804, to Government, stating, I was informed that the majority of the Military Board was in my

* N. B.—It is here worthy of notice, that the contracts for biscuits, spirits, &c., all contained a clause providing for the urgency of the service, and were resorted to accordingly, because Government could not obtain those articles at a cheaper rate, as was done in the rice-contractor's case. Such part of the biscuit however as was beyond the means of the contractor to furnish, Major Moor purchased elsewhere, and the same line of conduct should have been observed towards me. All the arrack was supplied by the contractor.

† The facts stated in this paragraph are corroborated by Major Moor in his letter to the Editor of the 'Oriental Herald,' for Nov. 1804, vol. iii. p. 408.

‡ His Excellency seemed to forget that the rice had likewise been consumed by Bombay troops.

favour, and therefore requested a reconsideration of my case, which letter, with other proceedings, was referred to Mr. Thriepland, then Company's counsel. Mr. Thriepland was of opinion that my claim, on account of the rice consumed by the Bombay troops, was well-founded, but that I did not appear to have a claim to difference on account of that supplied by Major Moor to the army of *General Wellestey*, because such a supply *could never have been contemplated* at the time the contract was entered into.

12. It was quite impossible to conceive on what grounds Mr. Thriepland could have advanced so preposterous an assertion as that relating to the supply not having been anticipated, when it was *distinctly asserted* in the 4th paragraph of the contract, that in the event of the *urgency of the public service of the said Company's military department* requiring rice beyond my means as contractor to supply, "I should have the opportunity" of furnishing so much of the indent as I could without failure comply with; * now, unless some extraordinary call for rice, &c., was contemplated in preparing the contract, why, I respectfully submit, should such a clause, general and indefinite in its terms, and exclusively providing for the *urgency of the public service*, have been introduced? That such an extraordinary *call* was contemplated is apparent from the fact of the Government of Bombay (as I have since understood) having received intelligence from the Government of Madras, about 1802, of the probability of an irruption of the Mahratta states, and of assistance being required from the Bombay Government in furnishing supplies. The hostile movements of the British and Mahratta powers at this time are also fully stated in the 'Asiatic Annual Register' for 1803, p. 20 to 22, (which lately came into my possession,) and confirm the supposition that the Indian Government fully contemplated a Mahratta war. This, I humbly submit, entirely overrules the objection advanced by Mr. Thriepland relative to no supplies having been contemplated.†

13. It may not be amiss here to point out another instance of the incorrectness of Mr. Thriepland's reasoning, as contained in the extract from his above-mentioned report. He says, a "reference to the preamble of the contract puts the limitation (of supply) beyond the possibility of doubt, for it is there said, the contractor is to supply such rice, &c., as may be wanted for the service of the military department at Bombay, by which is *clearly meant* the troops belonging to Bombay, and them alone." If Mr. Thriepland's clients had been disposed to admit the perfect truth of this assertion, they would have placed themselves in a worse predicament than if they had conceded to me the point I have ever endeavoured to establish; for it is obvious, that if by the words "military department at Bombay," the troops belonging to Bombay are *clearly meant*, I should be justified in preferring a claim to compensation for *every grain* of rice supplied to the *whole of the Bombay troops* by different commissariat officers in every part of the Bombay territories for the whole of the period that my contract existed. In the quibbling of my opponents regarding the technical construction of my contracts, there evidently exists therefore a palpable contradiction, for if they cannot subscribe to the above interpretation of my agreement, there is, of course, nothing left for them but to

* It should, however, be observed, in justice to Mr. Thriepland, that it is likely he was not aware of the operation in the Mahratta states. Had that circumstance been known to him, his opinion would no doubt have been more favourable to my case.

† The Government of Madras judiciously determined not to lose time in awaiting the instructions of the Governor-General, and accordingly, in the beginning of Nov. 1802, assembled an army.

The Government of Bombay likewise prepared for service the disposable force at that Presidency; and yet, in 1804, the Bombay Government stated, to my surprise, that no war was in contemplation when the contract was entered into.

sanction the other construction I have always considered it to bear, viz. that the words "supplies to the military department at Bombay," signify all supplies required to be furnished at Bombay for the military, no matter to what station they may be sent, or for what military uses when once supplied.

14. The report of Mr. Thrieland was forwarded to the Military Board for further consideration, and the Board, agreeing with that gentleman, recommended I should be paid for rice supplied to the Bombay troops, which was calculated at 3472 rupees. This sum was accordingly offered me by Government, on the 22d December 1804, in full of my rice claims, instead of one lac and 48,000 rupees.

15. Of course I declined the above offer, and in a third letter, dated 6th January 1805, desired to know upon what calculation such a trifling sum could have been proposed. This letter was referred to the Military Board, and by them to the garrison-storekeeper, who, in his statement, allows that he had indented on me for all the rice required in 1803. I should have gained more than one lac and ten thousand rupees, deducting in his calculation all contingent charges, such as hammillage, (porterage,) warehouse rent, &c.,* which, if included, would equal the amount of my original claim of 148,000 rupees. But this statement only induced the Military Board to amend their former recommendation, and to propose 12,500 rupees to be paid me, which was accordingly offered to me by Government in full of my rice claims. I declined this second offer because the Military Board had assumed wrong grounds of calculation. I therefore addressed a fourth letter on the 16th February 1807, and requested my claims might be decided by arbitration, but received no answer.

16. The Military Board at the instigation of Government, having, on the 13th February 1809, desired me to bring forward whatever claims I might have on Government, separately and distinctly, I accordingly did so on the 4th October 1809, on account of the rice, as well as for the barracks in Fort George, &c., and thereupon they again revised their former recommendation and suggested that I should be paid 43,500 rupees for the rice supplied to the Bombay troops alone, but Government adhered to their purpose, and again offered me 12,500 rupees in full of all my rice claims. What other inference, I would ask, is to be drawn from this, but that the Government, in again referring my claim to the Military Board, wished to extract from that body an opinion adverse to my interests? If the Government referred the case to the Military Board for the purpose of being governed by its report, why, I would beg to ask, was not their recommendation agreed to?

17. In consequence of the above, I addressed a Memorial to your Honourable Court, dated 18th July 1809, in full confidence that you would have ordered the full amount of my claims to be paid with interest,† but your Honourable Court, on the 14th June 1814, only sanctioned 43,500 rupees as recommended by the Military Board, and for the difference of the principal and interest thereon, a pension of 200 rupees per mensem to be paid to me, if I relinquished all demands against Government, otherwise I might look

* The contractor was not bound for any contingent charges—warehouse rent, &c.

† N. B. Your Honourable Court will bear in mind that, in the 25th paragraph of that Memorial, I adverted to the loss of 80,000 rupees I had sustained by my contract for the supply of marine provisions and stores in the year 1804; although the Marine Board recommended an indemnification in my behalf of 20,000 rupees, yet my petition was wholly unattended to. I need not say that I submitted to that loss without a murmur, though if the former sum had been reimbursed to me, I should now be richer by four lacs of rupees.

for redress in a Court of Law.* These were the terms offered me by Government, on the 15th December 1814, but had your Honourable Court been aware of all the particulars which I now detail, I am confident you would have allowed me my full demand for the whole of the rice supplied by Major Moor, with nine per cent. compound interest.

18. Considering that my claims on Government for the rice contract alone, with interest, amounted to four lacs and a half of rupees at that time, I declined the offer of your Honourable Court, and stated, in a letter dated 15th September 1815, to Government, my willingness to receive the above sum in part of my claims, or, that it might be placed in the Honourable Company's Treasury to run at interest, until I again applied to your Honourable Court; I was answered that unless I passed a general release of all my claims *no money* could be paid me on account.

19. On receiving this information, I immediately communicated the whole proceedings to my friends in England, and authorized them to address a *further memorial* to your Honourable Court, (*so desirous was I of avoiding litigation,*) or to act as in their opinions might seem best. They, however, thought proper to put my papers into the hands of Mr. Thriepland, who was formerly Company's counsel here; that gentleman, in a letter to one of my friends in England, stated, that he *considered I had been unjustly dealt with*, and therefore advised I should proceed in the Recorder's Court at Bombay, where I could prove my case better than my agent could do in England.

20. Conformably to such advice, I proceeded to engage counsel on my case, but, owing to the difficulties and impediments occasioned by the small number of advocates then practising in the late Honourable the Court of Recorder, the indisposition and subsequent departure to sea of my barrister, the late Mr. Woodhouse, also the different changes in the Recordership of the Court, my plaint was not filed until January 1820.† In the answer to this plaint, the counsel to your Honourable Court, in May 1821, offered to pay the sum of 43,500 rupees as desired by your Honourable Court, with additional six per cent. compound interest from the date of your letter, provided I signed a general release for all my claims. This I again declined by advice of my counsel, and the cause was accordingly tried by the Recorder, Sir Anthony Buller, in April 1822, who allowed me for the rice supplied to the Bombay troops only 107,000 rupees, with six per cent. simple interest from 1804 to the year 1823, but with this decree I was by no means satisfied, because my principal claim for the whole of the rice supplied, with nine per cent. compound interest; amounted to upwards of nine lacs of rupees.

21. I then, under *legal advice*, applied to Sir Anthony Buller for a new trial, because I had every right to the full amount of my principal, (148,000 rupees,) with nine per cent. compound interest for the said period; upon showing sufficient grounds for the same, Sir Anthony Buller granted me a new trial, but Sir Edward West having in the mean time arrived from England, Sir Anthony Buller returned to Bengal, or otherwise I have no doubt his Lordship would have altered his decision and allowed my full demand, with nine per cent. compound interest, as he stated in open Court, *that had the aldermen, his colleagues, concurred with him*, he would have allowed more, with what is, and has been customary, viz. nine per cent. compound interest.

22. The present Chief Justice then tried the said cause in the month of April 1823, and, *according to the terms and tenor of my contract*, allowed

* N. B. It should be borne in mind that this pension of 200 rupees was in lieu of interest on several claims.

† This however was considerably within the limitation of statute, and would seem to furnish further grounds for granting me the remaining five years' interest.

me the full amount of my principal upon 74,000 bags of rice supplied by Major Moor to the Military Department during my contract in the year 1803, being one lac and 46,000 rupees with the Company's rate of interest, (which in the aggregate is less than nine per cent., being calculated at the rate the Company paid for their loan,) for fourteen instead of twenty years. His Lordship's motive for striking off five years' interest was, that in his opinion I had neglected to file my plaint from September 1815 until January 1820; my reasons for delaying to do so are fully explained in paragraph 19.

23. Contemplating the probability of the final decision of the King in Council being withheld for several years, during which period, aged as I am, it may please the Almighty to remove me from this world; and being, for that reason, and on account of *my unwillingness to be at variance with your Honourable Court*, extremely anxious to have this long pending, harassing case, *speedily* decided, I do most humbly and earnestly entreat that your Honourable Court will be pleased to revoke the appeal to his Majesty in Council, and order the Bombay Government to pay me the difference of five years' interest struck off by Sir Edward West, thus putting an end to the differences that have unhappily subsisted between your Honourable Court and myself relative to the rice contract. In making this appeal, however, to the liberality and kindness of your Honourable Court for the above reasons, I wish it to be understood, that I am under no apprehension as to the result of the reference to the supreme power in England. Far from anticipating a decision of the King in Council unfavourable to my claim, I am sanguine the Lords of appeal will not only confirm Sir Edward West's judgment, but grant me also the five years' interest struck off by his Lordship.

24. If any doubt should remain on the minds of your Honourable Court as to the equity of my claim to an observance of the letter of my contract, I beg to offer the following observations in the hope of removing such impression:

25. One of the main points of contention on the trial of the cause in the Recorder's Court, was founded on the *supposed privacy* of the rice supply, and it was insisted by the counsel for your Honourable Court, that on this ground the supply did not come within the provisions of my contract, which exclusively referred to public supplies. I shall therefore endeavour to show, that whatever character the legal advisers of your Honourable Court have been pleased to attach to the affair, it was *to all intents and purposes* of a public nature. In the first place, may I not ask, whether the nomination of Major Moor to this duty, in preference to other officers, does not imply that the transaction *was public* and connected with the usual duties of a garrison storekeeper?

26. Although Major Moor, in receiving rice from me in 1803, asserted to me (in consequence of the instructions he had received from the Government) that the supply of it did not come within the scope of my contract, *which led me to infer* that he wanted it for a private purpose not military, (on which ground alone I furnished it,) yet independent of his assertion to Government, he, in his private letter to me of the 8th March 1805, unhesitatingly makes the following avowal, which materially favours my argument that the transaction was public. His letter runs thus: "I readily say that you positively declined my offer of 5,000 rupees, which sum I tendered to you in token of my friendship, and more especially of your fidelity, diligence and zeal in the assistance you rendered me, *and of course to the public, for you and I have never had any but public business to transact together.*"*

27. When Government appointed Major Moor as General Wellesley's agent, did not Government correspond with Major Moor as garrison storekeeper,

* I have no doubt that Major Moor will readily testify to the truth of the statement contained in this paragraph.

and with the Military Board as the *military department* of this Presidency, thereby contradicting the privacy of the transaction ?

28. If the rice had been the property of General Wellesley, I respectfully submit it could not (as was the case) have been supplied to the Bombay troops, without a positive departure from the terms of my contract with Government, which provided that the troops belonging to the Honourable Company were to be furnished by me.

29. If Major Moor had purchased the said rice as an agent for General Wellesley, why, I beg to ask, should Government have allowed him to bring it in his books as garrison storekeeper, send his returns to the Military Board, and include the amount of the rice in his public disbursements as garrison storekeeper ?*

30. If Major Moor had really been an agent for General Wellesley in a *private* way, why did he send his bill for the rice to the military auditor-general (a public staff officer) for examination, and subsequently to the Military Board to be passed, and then receive payment for the rice in *public* money from the *military-paymaster* as the expenses of this Presidency ?

31. If the amount for that rice had been paid for General Wellesley's army alone, there was no occasion for its being debited in the military paymaster's cash-book, as an advance to the garrison storekeeper for the military charges, and subsequently brought under that head by the accountant-general, for the expenditure of this Presidency. To be sure, part of the rice was, *in the first instance*, debited, by *mistake*, to the Madras Government, but in the year 1805 the same was *again credited* to that Government, and debited to this Presidency, which furnishes fresh evidence that the supply was charged to the military department of this Presidency.

32. It is notorious that all the persons engaged in weighing and measuring the rice, &c., were public servants ; also, that the warehouse rent, cooly and boat hire, were paid from the commissariat department or garrison storekeeper's of this Presidency, which is another proof that the transaction was public.

33. Supposing the supply of rice to have been really a separate concern, for what reason were the military, marine, and civil stores drawn from the public departments, and supplied for the same service as that on which the rice was wanted, and brought to the accounts of this Presidency in the department of garrison storekeeper, and the amount thereof charged to this Presidency, together with the rice.

34. If Government were applied to by General Wellesley to obtain rice for his army, and that such had been considered a separate concern, why then some person, independent of the Company's servants, should, I presume, have been appointed to execute such business ; or if a Company's servant was empowered to make that supply, it would have been proper to keep a *distinct account* of the same ; but Government or the Military Board were *aware of the transaction* as relating to the Honourable Company's *public service*, and therefore allowed Major Moor to continue entering the same in his accounts as garrison storekeeper.

35. If General Wellesley called on the Government to supply him with provisions and stores, it was because this was the nearest place to his army ; and it is the known practice of the Government of one Presidency to apply to the Government of another, when they see that supplies can be sooner procured from such other ; therefore, whatever rice General Wellesley required from Bombay was for the troops of the Honourable Company, and not

* N. B. There is no better evidence that Major Moor himself considered General Wellesley's supplies to be of a public character, than the circumstance of his reporting all his arrangements about provisions to Government ; and asking Government to appoint some person to assist him at Panwell, in receiving and delivering stores, because it would be " publicly beneficial."

for his private account ; and it must have been far from his wish to deprive the contractor of his just dues, and, as my contract with the Honourable Company was then existing in Bombay, I had a right, in virtue of the fourth article of it, to supply the rice in question.

36. If General Wellesley wanted rice for his own use, he would possibly have applied to some merchant, and not to Government ; but as it was for the public service, therefore he applied naturally to Governor Duncan. When I demanded the difference upon the whole of the rice purchased and charged to the military department of this Presidency by Major Moor, it was the wish of the Bombay Government to debit the rice to the Madras Presidency, but General Wellesley, who was referred to on the subject, was of opinion that as all the Presidencies belonged to the Honourable Company, *it was immaterial to which of them the charge for the articles supplied to him from Bombay should be debited, as they were all the same; for although the great extent of the Honourable Company's territories has rendered it necessary for them to establish three separate Presidencies, yet their interests are mutual in effect.* In proof that the Government recognise this indiscriminate mode of supply when the exigencies of the service demand it, it is only necessary to refer to the fact of considerable quantities of rice and grain having been sent to Madras and Bengal during the year 1824 ; the failure of the rains and the call of the Burmese war producing a great scarcity in these articles. This rice and grain was supplied by the Bombay commissariat. If the contract system had been in force, the contractor would have been the person to have referred to, and any departure from such a course must, of necessity, have furnished a parallel breach of contract to that which forms the subject of this memorial.

37. It may not be irrelevant here to state that in consequence of the notion of Government that the rice supplied to General Well'sley's army had nothing to do with my contract, their advocate-general, Mr. Norton, was desired to move for a new trial, stating as a reason, that the supply to General Wellesley's army was a separate concern, on which point I am happy to say that the Honourable the Supreme Court clearly exhibited to the advocate-general, that by the tenor of the fourth and eighth articles of the contract, *whenever the Government of Bombay required rice in the military department or upon any emergency, to be made up or to be provided for the use of the Honourable Company, it should have been supplied by the contractor, no matter for what purpose, or for what army, or for what Presidency, as long as the rice was supplied from the military department at Bombay, because no particular army was mentioned in the contract.* This, I hope, will fully satisfy your Honourable Court, that the question as to the right of supply is placed at rest, and that any further efforts to alter it would only tend to distress me by delay, without in the end benefiting the interests of your Honourable Court.

38. Having now stated all I conceive to be necessary to establish a conviction in the minds of your Honourable Court that my claims are just and well founded, it only remains for me to entreat an acquiescence in the respectful solicitation I have preferred in the twenty-third paragraph of this address. The whole of the circumstances above detailed may be simply resolved into this, viz. that my contract was violated by the supply of rice having been separately vested in Major Moor on the plea of its being a separate transaction, of the public and official character of which transaction there cannot remain, I should hope, the slightest doubt on the minds of your Honourable Court.

39. There is but one other point, after establishing (as I hope I have satisfactorily done) my right to the supply; to which I am desirous of drawing your Honourable Court's particular attention, and that is, the *equity of my claim to interest from 1815 to 1820.* I am so fully impressed with a sense of the rigid and upright justice of Sir Edward West, that I can only suppose he refused to grant me interest for that period, from an idea that I had unacces-

barily neglected to institute my suit at Law. His Lordship has stated, that if a plaintiff be guilty of "laches or negligence in enforcing a demand, he will in no case be entitled to interest on such demand." To this declaration I readily subscribe, but I hope that I have by *no means left myself open to its operations.*

40. With this view, I beg again to refer your Honourable Court to the 19th and 20th paragraphs of this address. It is there set forth, that *immediately* on learning from Government the result of their reference to your Honourable Court, I communicated with my friends in England, in the earnest hope that another appeal to you direct might render that disagreeable expedient (a recourse to law) quite unnecessary. That my friends in England suggested another course is surely no proof of wilful negligence on my part. I may have used *unnecessary forbearance* in sending first to England, which, however, should rather entitle me to greater consideration from your Honourable Court than form a plea for depriving me of my lawful dues. When I became acquainted with the wishes of my English friends, (as expressed in the extract of their letter) did I hesitate longer to bring forward my plaint? No, Honourable Sirs, the delay was occasioned, as I have before said, by my counsel's illness, his other numerous avocations, and the *frequent changes* in the Recordship of the Court.

41. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that I was guilty of "laches or negligence" in not filing my plaint from 1815 to 1820, is it not sufficient to substantiate my claim to interest that your Honourable Court had the entire use of my principal and *interest* for that time? On every principle of common justice, I conceive (with all humble deference to the judgment of Sir Edward West) that when money is withheld from one individual by another, that other is bound to pay a regular and reasonable rate of interest for the sum so withheld; because, if that money had been paid to the individual, he could either have obtained an advantageous rate of interest elsewhere, or might so have employed his funds as to derive a greater profit than would arise from mere accumulation of interest. I merely cite these as general principles in favour of the payment of the interest, my own case being *much harder* than any I have supposed, inasmuch as had the money been in my possession, I could have satisfied many pressing creditors, to whom I have been obliged to pay a *ruinous compound interest of nine per cent.*, besides premium called mandany, &c., &c.* But, indeed, had I owed no money whatever, I could have vested my money in Respondentia Bonds or the Remittable Loan, yielding about forty per cent., so that I trust your Honourable Court will unhesitatingly admit that *I have been a very great sufferer.* I apprehend nothing more need now be advanced to show that *I did not unnecessarily* procrastinate the prosecution of my rice suit, and that even if *I did*, I ought to be paid the five years' interest on *principles of equity* alone.

42. I am too firmly possessed with a sense of your Honourable Court's justice and liberality to expect any other answer to the present detail of my case, than compliance with my request for the remaining five years' interest, and the total withdrawal of your appeal to the King in Council. Indeed, when I reflect that I was in a manner compelled by your Honourable Court to seek redress in a court of law, it is impossible to imagine you would now wish to deprive me of the benefit of the decision. Your Honourable Court must be too sensible of the great extent of your own power to suppose that any of your subjects, far less one so humble as myself, would pretend to arraign your decisions, or to resort to legal proceedings, unless his case were one of peculiar hardship, such as is mine; and I do not scruple to express my conviction, that had I been able to lay before your Honourable Court as complete an exposition of my rice transaction as I have here been able to detail, your Honourable Court, acting with your usual spirit of liberality, would

* This fact has been proved by many respectable gentlemen of the Presidency.

have come to such a determination with respect to my claim as would have left me nothing to wish for, but, on the contrary, would have inspired me with boundless gratitude, and an unremitting zeal in your service.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference, Honourable Sirs, your most obedient and very humble servant,

(Signed)

CURSETJEE MONACKJEE.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR MR. BUCKINGHAM.

The following Contributions to this Subscription have been received since the last Advertisement in July :

Lord Kinnaird.	£20 0	West Briton Newspaper.	5 0
A. Balmanno.	10 0	A Friend	10 0
Hon. Jas. Abercrombie, M. P.	20 0	S. E. G. (through Mr. Valpy,)	3 0
Col. Worsley, Isle of Wight.	5 0	A Remittance from Two	
C. Ross	2 0	Friends.	100 0
R. Slade, Vauxhall.	3 0	A Friend (through Mr. John	
Wigham	1 0	Forbes)	5 0
Dr. Barham, Penzance.	5 0	Jumazulabad	10 0
Anonymous	1 0	R. L. Chance	10 10
F. W. W. Pendarves, M. P., Corn-	10 0	Josiah Strutt.	5 0
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Subscriptions continue to be received by Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, Mansion House Place; Messrs. Ransom and Co., Pall Mall East; and by the Committee, at the Thatched House Tavern, St James's, London,—to whom all written Communications are requested to be addressed.

LEICESTER STANHOPE,
Secretary,

August 25, 1826.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Jan. 26.—Mr. S. T. Cuthbert, Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Ramghur; Mr. Charles Smith, Fourth Judge of Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit of Division of Dacca; Mr. D. C. Smyth, Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly; Mr. James Harington, ditto ditto of Bhagulpore; Mr. B. Tayler, ditto ditto of Backergunge; Mr. W. Lowther, Judge of Juanpore; Mr. D. Dale, Judge and Magistrate of Moorshedabad; Mr. A. Grote, First Register of Mooradabad, and Magistrate of southern division of that district; Mr. W. P. Okeden, Second Register of Mooradabad.—Feb. 2.—Mr. H. M. Pigou, Judge of Jessore; Mr. H. H. Thomas, Judge and Magistrate of city of Benares; Mr. W. J. Turquand, Judge of Chittagong; Mr. F. Millett, Magistrate of Chittagong; Mr. W. Blackburne, ditto of Rajeshahye; Mr. J. Campbell, ditto of Jessore; Mr. W. N. Garrett, Register of Rajeshahye, and joint Magistrate stationed at Bagoorah.—9. Mr. W. A. Pringle, Judge and Magistrate of Zillah of Sarun; Mr. G. P. Thompson, ditto ditto of Tipperah; Mr. A. C. Floyer, Magistrate and Collector of Jungle Mehals; Mr. W. T. Robertson, Magistrate of Zillah of Juanpore; Mr. F. Currie, Register of Zillah Court of Juanpore, and joint Magistrate stationed at Azecmghur; the Rev. T. Robertson, Minister of St. James's Church; the Rev. W. Fraser, District Chaplain at Futtighur.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Feb. 9.—Capt. Mackinlay, 63d N. I., to be Dep.-Assist. Adj.-Gen. on this Estab. v. Worsley, prom.—10. Capt. Timbrell, regt. of Artill., to officiate as Superintendent and Director of Foundry of Fort William.—17. Capt. E. Lawrence, 22d N. I., to be Superintendent of Family Money, and Paymaster of Pensions in Kingdom of Oude, v. Fitton, proceeded to Europe.

PROMOTIONS.

Infantry.—Maj. F. Sackville to be Lieut.-Col., from 11th Feb. 1826, in suc. to Leith, retired from Service.

55th N. I.—Capt. R. T. Seyer to be Maj.; Brev.-Capt. and Lieut. W. P. Welland to be Capt. of a Comp., and Ens. J. Ewart to be Lieut., from 11th Feb. 1826, in suc. to Sackville, prom.

Cadets admitted.—Mr. J. Farmer to Cav., and prom. to Cornet; Mr. H. Wintle to Artillery, and prom. to Sec. Lieut.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Assist.-Surg. W. Cameron to officiate as Sen. Assist. to Presidency Gen. Hospital, and in medical charge of prisoners in Gaol, v. Grant nominated to act as Assist. Assay Master to Mint; Assist.-Surg. W. W. Hewett to be 1st Assist. Gar. Surg. of Fort William, v. Innes app. to be Residency Surg. at Malacca; Assist.-Surg. H. M. Tweddale to be 2d Assist. Gar. Surg., v. Hewett.

MADRAS.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 23.—Mr. J. W. Russell, Principal Collector of Cud-dapah; Mr. E. Smalley, ditto of Nellore; Mr. W. Mason, Sub-Collector of Bellary; Mr. A. D. Campbell, Member of Board of Superintendence for Colleges; Mr. F. W. Robertson, Principal Collector of Bellary.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head-Quarters, Jan. 18, 1826.—Capt. J. Watson, 14th N. I., to relieve Lieut. F. B. White, 16th N. I., in charge of sick and wounded in Chintadri-pettah hospital. Lieut. J. Shepherd, 24th N. I., appointed to 1st Bat. Pioneers, v. Gomperts proceeding to Europe.—19. Capt. T. W. Wigan, 36th N. I., to join his regt. proceeding on foreign service. Lieut. C. A. Moore to join his regt. encamped on Glacis, and to be struck off return of Inf. Recruit dépôt.—20. Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser removed from 33d to 25th N. I., and Lieut. Col. J. Wahab (late prom.) posted to 33d N. I.—31. Capt. R. Gray removed from 2d Nat. Vet. Bat. to Carnatic Europ. Vet. Bat. at Vizagapatam. Feb. 9. Lieut. W. H. Budd, 31st or T. L. I., removed to 1st Bat. Pioneers, and will accompany his regiment to Ava, after which he will join the Pioneers. Lieut. J. Yaldwin, 21st N. I. appointed to 2d Bat. Pioneers, v. Budd rem. to 1st. Bat.

Fort St. George, Jan. 24.—20th N. I. Sen. Lieut. F. Plowden to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. T. Wakeman to be Lieut., v. James dec.; 18th Jan. Lieut. Col. A. Fair, 16th N. I., to command Centre Division of Army until further orders.—3. Capt. T. P. Ball, 37th N. I., to be Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen. to light field div. of Hyderabad Subsid. Force, v. Gibblings permitted to return to Europe. Capt. H. G. Jourdan, 10th N. I., to be Acting Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen. to ditto, during absence of Capt. Ball as Acting Assist. Quart. Mast. Gen. to Nagpore Subsid. Force. Capt. R. Hunter, 4th N. I., to be Paymast. at Masulipatam, v. James dec. Capt. N. L. Austin, 18th N. I. to be Secretary to Clothing Board, v. Hunter. Sub. Assist. Com. Gen. Lieut. A. Douglas to be Dep. Assist. Com. Gen., v. Greene, dec. Temp. Assist. Com. Gen. Capt. R. W. Sheriff to be Assist. Com. Gen., v. Campbell returned to Europe. Sub Assist. Com. Gen. Lieut. A. Clarke to be Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. v. Sheriff. Temp. Sub Assists. Com. Gen. Lieut. J. E. Butcher and Lieut. J. Johnstone be Sub Assists. Com. Gen. to complete establishment. Sen. Maj. J. Bell, 9th N. I.,

to be Lieut. Col. v. Ford dec. ; dated 2d Jan. 1826. Lieut. W. N. Burns, 7th N. I., to be Brev. Capt. from 7th Feb.—7. Lieut. R. Thorpe, 27th N. I. to act as superintendent of main road in Northern div. during absence of Maj. Bowler. Lieut. W. E. A. Elliott, 29th N. I. re-appointed Adj. to that corps, v. Symes. 14. Lieut. Gen. W. Kinsey, of Inf., placed on Sen. list from 23d May 1825, v. Trout dec. Sen. Lieut. Col. J. Brodie, of Inf., to be Lieut. Col. Com., v. M^r Dowell killed in action ; date 17th Nov. 1825. Lieut. Col. A. Grant, of Inf., to retain situation of Assist. Com. Gen. until further orders. Capt. C. M. Bird, 31st N. I. to be Paymast. at Trichinopoly, v. Elderton prom. Lieut. W. M^rQueen, 50th N. I. to be Fort Adj. at Seringapatam, v. Hutchinson prom. Lieut. W. Elsey, 43d N. I. to be Fort Adj. at Cannanore, v. Millingen permitted to return to Europe.

Cornet and Ensigns appointed to do duty.—Cornet H. F. Lord, to 3d L. C. ; Ensigns T. Stackpole, T. W. Jones, J. Nixon, and W. T. Furlonge, to 33d N. I. ; J. S. Matthews, G. G. M^rDonnell, and B. T. Girard, to 25th N. I.

ARTILLERY

2d Lieuts. of Artillery to be 1st Lieuts.—J. C. M^rNair, G. Briggs and J. Maitland, from 17th Dec. 1824 ; M. Watts, from 9th June 1825, v. Palmer dec. ; A. E. Baillie, from 10th June, v. Best dec. ; A. J. Begbie, from 2d Aug., v. Warre dec. ; H. Newman, from 31st Aug., v. Lambe dec. ; F. J. Brown, from 12th Nov. v. Wilkinson dec.

PROMOTIONS.

2d Light Cav.—Sen. Lieut. J. Smith to be 'Capt., and Sen. Corn. S. F. M^rKenzie to be Lieut., v. Allan invalided ; date 21st Dec. 1825.

4th Light Cav.—Lieut. D. Macleod to resume App. of Quart. Mast., Interp., and Paymast., v. Sinclair. Lieut. W. Sinclair to resume App. of Adj., v. Anderson.

3d Light Infan.—Sen. Ens. G. W. Moore to be Lieut. v. Adams, killed in action ; date 8th Jan. 1826.

31st L. I.—Sen. Capt. J. Perry to be Maj., Sen. Lieut. G. F. Hutchinson to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. J. B. Key to be Lieut., in suc. to Bowler, prom. ; date 8th Jan. 1826.

8th Native Infantry.—Sen. Ens. T. D. Rippon to be Lieut. v. Carruthers, inv. ; date 4th Jan. 1826.

18th N. I.—Lieut. R. W. Sparrow to be Adj., v. Vivian, prom.

22d N. I.—Lieut. T. P. Hay to be Adj. v. Bird, permitted to return to Europe.

18th N. I.—Sen. Capt. D. Ross to be Maj., Sen. Lieut. R. J. H. Vivian to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. E. Cowie to be Lieut. in suc. to Grant, prom. ; date 17th Nov. 1825.

33d N. I.—Sen. Ens. R. Lambert to be Lieut. in suc. to Wahab, prom. ; date 3d Jan. 1826.

39th N. I.—Sen. Lieut. P. Thomson to be Capt., and Sen. Ens. C. Stafford to be Lieut. in suc. to Walpole, prom. ; date 3d Jan. 1825 ; Lieut. C. Stafford to be Quart.-Mast., Interp., and Paymast., v. Thomson, prom.

43d N. I.—Sen. Maj. H. J. Bowler, 31st L. I. to be Lieut.-Col. v. Coary, killed in action ; date 8th Jan. 1826 ; Lieut. W. B. Coxe to be Quart. Mast., Interp., and Paymast., v. Macleod, prom.

1st Europ. Regt.—Lieut. F. B. Doveton to be Adj. v. Franklyn, prom.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Jan. 25.—Lieut.-Col. Com. H. F. Smith removed from 39th to 42d N. I., and Lieut.-Col. Com. J. Prendergast from latter to former.—Capt. J. Kitchen removed from 1st to 4th bat.-artil., and Capt. D. H. Mackenzie from latter to former.

Cornets and Ensigns posted.—Cornets W. S. Ommanney, to 2d L. C. G. Dunsmore, 8th do. Henry Welch, 4th do. J. W. Strettell, 5th do. and S. W. J. Molony, 6th do.—Ensigns James Coles, 10th N. I. W. C. Onslow, 44th do. D. B. Humphrys, 23d Rt. or W. L. I. J. St. Vincent M. Camerou, 1st Eur. regt. H. Green, 18th N. I. T. Sharp, 43d do. H. Colbeck, 16th

do. C. Newsam, 20th do. W. S. Mitchell, 22d do. J. Burrige, 14th do. A. B. Gibbings, 10th do. A. E. Nisbett, 11th do. L. O'Brien, 40th do. R. Bullock, 44th do. C. J. Farran, 35th do. C. A. Cosby, 25th do. W. Strickland, 6th do. G. A. Harrison, 41st do. J. T. Philpot, 23d Rt. or W. L. I. M. Ross Taynton, 1st Eur. regt. E. Wardroper, 37th N. I. E. N. Freeman, 42d do. T. Maclean, 39th do.

Officers posted to Rifle Corps.—Capt. W. T. Slade, 46th N. I. Lieut. R. Watts, 48th do. Lieut. C. Church, 4th do. Lieut. A. Shirreffs, 21st do. Lieut. R. H. Symes, 29th do. Ens. R. Shirreff, 2d do. Ens. T. J. Fisher, 4th do.

Cadets admitted.—Mr. S. W. J. Molony, for cavalry, and prom. to cornet.—Mr. G. W. Y. Simpson, for Artillery, and prom. to 2d-lieut.—Messrs. E. T. Morgan, J. Nixon, W. T. Furlonge, J. S. Matthews, G. G. M'Donell, and B. T. Giraud, for Infantry and prom. to Ensigns.—Messrs. J. Taylor, W. Ward, and B. M'Murdo, for Artillery, and prom. to 2d-lieuts.—Messrs. H. C. Barrow, S. Marshall, S. Talman, J. H. Kennedy, W. K. Babington, C. S. Babington, W. H. Welch, A. Wallace, and C. T. Hill, for Infantry, and prom. to Ensigns.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Jan. 19.—Assist.-Surg. Tracey to place himself under orders of Superintendent-Surg. at Rangoon.—Sen. Assist.-Surg. J. Richmond to be Surg., v. Rogers, res.; date 2d Jan. 1826.—Superintend. Surg. Stirling appointed to centre division.—Act. Superintend. Surg. Trotter to be Superintend.-Surg. to complete establishment, in suc. to Horsman returned to Europe, and posted to northern division.—Surg. S. Dyer appointed Act. Superintend. Surg., and posted to ceded districts during absence of Superintend. Surg. Wyse.—Assist. Surg. R. Wight, to officiate as naturalist and botanist from date of embarkation of Assist.-Surg. Shuter for Europe.

FURLONGS.

To Europe.—*Jan. 24.* Capt. C. Laurens, 1st L. C., for health.—Lieut. W. Gompertz, 44th N. I., for health.—26. Capt. R. Backhouse, 8th N. I., for health.—Lieut. J. F. Bird, 22d N. I., for health.—31. Lieut. C. R. Fliat, 4th L. C., for health.—Feb. 3. Capt. R. Gibbings, 34th N. I., for health.—7. Assist.-Surg. J. Hazlewood, for health.—14. Lieut. H. Millingen, 6th N. I., for health.

BOMBAY.

ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENT.

Dec. 21, 1825.—The Rev. Thomas Lavie, A.B., Chaplain in Cutch.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 13, 1826.—Capt. W. Miller to resume his duties as Director of Depot of Instruction at Matoongha, from 9th Jan. 1826.—14. Capt. J. W. Aitchison, Dep.-Adj.-Gen. of Army, to have official rank of Major, from 29th Dec. 1825; Capt. W. D. Robertson to resume his duties as Superintendent of Bazars in Poonah Div. of Army.—23. Capt. C. B. James, 3d N. I., to be Military Paymast. at Presidency, in suc. to Lieut.-Col. Kinnersey, app. Acting-Paymaster; Maj. Russell, of Artil., to have control of Arsenals within Surat Div. of Army, and with Guicowar Subsid. Force; and Maj. Hardy, of ditto, to have control of those within Poonah Div. of Army, as a temp. arrangement, without prejudice to respective commands of those officers; Lieut.-Col. E. Bellasis, of Eng., to be Acting-Commissary Gen. during absence of Lieut.-Col. Com. Baker, on furlough.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 13, 1826.—Sen. Assist.-Surg. J. M'Morris to be Surg., v. Craw app. Superintend. Surg., 25th Nov. 1825; Surg. V. C. Kamball, attached to Europ. Gen. Hosp. at Presidency, to be Superin. Surg., v. Morgan prom. to situation of 3d Member of Medical Board; Surg. F. Trash to per-

form medical duties of Europ. Gen. Hosp. at Presidency, v. Kembal, prom., 11th Jan. 1826; Sen. Assist.-Surg. Jos. Glen to be Surg., v. Gibson, dec., 12th Jan.—19. Assist.-Surg. G. H. Davis to have charge of Lunatic Asylum until arrival of Mr. Howison; Acting Assist.-Surg. Morrison transferred from H. C.'s cruiser Amherst to H. C.'s cruiser Elphinstone.—26. Assist.-Surg. Taylor to be Vaccinator in Deccan, v. M'Morin, prom., and Assist.-Surg. Michie to be ditto in Guzerat, v. Glen, prom.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Dec. 28, 1825. Maj. F. Farquharson, 22d N. I., for health.—Jan. 24, 1826. Maj. T. Morgan, 7th N. I., on private affairs.

To Sea.—Jan. 26. Ens. G. Johnson, 18th N. I., for twelve months, for health.

To the Cape of Good Hope.—Jan. 26. Lieut. G. Hammond, 30th N. I., for twelve months, for health.—30. Lieut. Col. Com. Baker, Commissary-Gen., for health (eventually to Europe).

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

COURTS-MARTIAL.

A General Court-Martial was held at Bhuftpoor, on the 19th of January last, on Ensign Charles Johnstone, of the 46th Regt. of Foot, for "having given to James Irvine, Esq., commander of the ship *Lady Campbell*, a draft upon Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co., Agents, Madras, for 843 rupees, in payment of a balance due for his passage-money from England to India, he knowing at the time that he had no funds in the hands of Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co., that he had no authority to draw upon them, and had no reason to expect that they would honour the said draft;" such conduct being "unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman;" and for "conducting himself in a manner subversive of good order and harmony whilst on board the ship *Lady Campbell*." The Court fully and honourably acquitted the prisoner of all the charges.

A General Court-Martial was also held at Bhurtpoor, on the 30th of January last, on Lieut. Francis Bernard, of the 38th Regt. of Foot, for "disputing and censuring the orders of Captain Greene, commanding officer of the detachment on board the ship *Bussorah Merchant*, at sea, thereby setting an example of insubordination to several young officers on board;" and for "calling Capt. Greene 'an ass and a coward,' and using other intemperate and improper language, thereby attempting to lessen him in the estimation of the officers of the detachment, and exhibiting a most dangerous example of insubordination, in aspersing the character of his commanding officer; such conduct being subversive of discipline, and in direct disobedience of detachment orders of the 10th Oct. 1825."—The Court having found the prisoner guilty, sentenced him to be severely reprimanded, placed at the bottom of the list of Lieutenants in his regiment, and to be deprived of two years' army rank.

(From the London Gazettes.)

11th Lt. *Dragoons*.—Cornet T. H. Pearson to be Lieut. by purchase, v. Barwell prom.; dated 1st August 1826.

12th Lt. *Dragoons*.—E. C. Hodge, Gent., to be Cornet, without purch. v. Smith, deceased.

16th Lt. *Dragoons*.—Lieut.-Col. R. Arnold, from half-pay to be Lieut. Col. v. J. H. Belli, who exchanges, receiving the difference; J. W. Torre, Gent. to be Cornet, by purch. v. Blood, promoted.

1st Foot.—J. G. Wilson, Gent., to be Ens. by purch., v. Carr, dec.; dated 1st Aug. 1726.—Ens. C. Ford to be Lieut. by purch. v. Carter, prom.

2d *Ditto*.—Assist.-Surg. R. Ivory to be Surgeon v. T. Anderson, who retires on half-pay; dated 26th July. Lieut. W. Scott from half-pay 60th Foot to be Lieut. v. Shiel, who exchanges.

11th Ditto.—Lieut. A. Bolton from the 8d Dragoon Guards, to be Capt. without purch. v. Willshire; Second Lieut. J. P. Walsh, from half-pay 90th Foot, to be Ens. v. C. A. Cooke, who exch.; dated 1st Aug.

14th Ditto.—Lieut. J. Higginbotham, from half-pay 69d Foot, to be Lieut. v. Evans, whose app. has not taken place; Ens. W. L. O'Halloran to be Lieut., without purch. v. Lynch, prom.; J. Watson, Gent., to be Ens. v. O'Halloran; dated 26th July.

20th Ditto.—J. Chambre, Gent. to be Ens. by purch. v. Scott, prom. in the 35th Foot.

44th Ditto.—Ens. R. B. M'Crea to be Lieut. v. Donaldson, dec.; dated 6th Dec. 1825. Ens. G. Dalway to be Lieut. by purch. v. Williams, prom.; dated 18th July, 1826.

46th Ditto.—W. J. Yonge, Gent., to be Ens. by purch. v. Crompton, app. to the 65th Foot.

48th Ditto.—Ens. E. G. H. H. Gibbs to be Lieut. by purch. v. M'Cleverty, whose promotion has not taken place; R. C. Hamilton, gent., to be Ens. without purch. v. Gibbs.

54th Ditto.—Major J. Moore, from half-pay 15th Foot, to be Major, v. Lumley, prom. in the Royal African Corps; dated 20th July.

67th Ditto.—Ens. N. M. Doyle to be Lieut., v. Bayle, killed in action; dated 8d Dec., 1825. Lieut. F. Stanford from half-pay 34th Foot to be Lieut., v. L'Etang, who exch.; dated 20th July. Ens. R. Loveday to be Lieut. without purch., v. Masterton, prom.; C. Dunbar, Gent. to be Ens. by purch., v. Loveday.

80th Ditto.—Lieut. J. Barrett, from half-pay 12th Foot, to be Lieut., v. Gorse, app. to 92d Foot.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—Jan. 18. The lady of Colin Lindsay, Esq., of a son.—Feb. 11. In Fort William, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Swiney, of a daughter.—12. At How-rach, the lady of H. H. Griffiths, Esq., of a son and heir; at Garden Reach, the lady of G. Ballard, Esq., of a son.—19. At Chowringhee, the lady of J. Lowe, Esq., of a son; the wife of Mr. John Moffet, of the Secret and Political Department, of a son.—22. The lady of J. F. M. Reid, Esq., C. S., of a son.

Marriages.—Feb. 4. At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. J. Gadding to Miss S. A. Damoy.—6. At St. John's Cathedral, William, only son of W. Lloyd, Esq., Croomshill, Greenwich, to Margaret, only daughter of the late T. Scott, Esq.; Mr. M. Crow to Miss R. M. Cornelius, eldest daughter of Mr. H. Cornelius, Marine Board Office.—13. At the Cathedral, Lieut. W. M. Brownrigg, H. M.'s 13th Infantry to Miss Whitfield, daughter of the late Lieut. Whitfield, H. C.'s service.—15. At Moorshedabad, Lieut. Fairhead, 28th N. I., to Maria Frances, eldest daughter of C. Corfield, Esq., formerly surgeon of H. M.'s 17th regt.—20. At the Cathedral, Capt. E. Oakes, of the ship 'Isabella Robertson,' to Elizabeth, only daughter of D. Colvin, Esq., formerly of Calcutta.

Deaths.—Feb. 6. Mr. John De Fernando, aged 89.—17. Lieut. James Frid, Royal Navy.—19. Lieut. C. Smith, 27th N. I.

MADRAS.

Births.—Feb. 2. The lady of Lieut. W. Bremner, 47th regt., of a daughter.—19. At Black Town, Mrs. E. Martin, of a daughter.—17. At the Presidency Cantonment, the lady of Lieut. G. C. Whitlock, 36th N. I., of a son.—22. At Brodie Castle, the lady of the Venerable E. Vaughan, Archdeacon, of a son.—27. The lady of Capt. Whannell, Assist.-Mil.-Aud.-Gen., of a daughter.

Marriages.—Feb. 4. At the Vepery church, Mr. T. Oliver to Lucy Ann, daughter of the late Mr. W. Hitchins.—At St. George's church, J. A. Hudson, Esq., of the Civil Service, to Susan Eleanor, eldest daughter of the late John Wallace, Esq., Member of the Board of Revenue at Madras.

13. At St. George's church, Mr. John Law, architect and sculptor, to Miss C. S. Paterson.

BOMBAY.

Deaths.—Jan. 8. Mary, wife to Capt. G. Harrower, 46.—26. In the Fort, Mr. Goring, organist of St. Thomas's Church.—Feb. 1. Lieut.-Col. Baker, Commissary General, 47; Mr. D. R. Leighler, 29; Ens. F. Arnaud, 22d N. I., 20; John, infant son of Lieut. and Adj. G. W. Blachley.

CEYLON.

Marriages.—Jan. 14. At Colombo, Mr. J. G. Ebert to Emelia Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. C. Jansen.—26. At Jaffna, Mr. W. H. Baicods to Miss Juliana de Veisser.—Feb. 1. R. Russell, Esq., Assist. Staff Surg., to Sarah, daughter of the late Capt. Gray.—13. At Colombo, G. Hutchinson, Esq., H. M.'s 16th regt., Aid-de-Camp, to Lieut.-Gen. Commanding the Forces, to Clara Georgiana, fifth daughter of H. Williams, Esq.; Mr. L. W. Van Bouren to Miss A. J. Stephen.

Death.—Feb. 16. At the house of her father, V. W. Vanderstraaten, Esq., Register of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Miss Petronella Wilhelmina Vanderstraaten, his eldest daughter, 27.

OUT STATIONS.

Births.—Jan. 28. At Patna, the lady of Dr. Thomson, of a son.—29. At Chandernagore, Madame Latour, wife of Mons. J. P. Latour, indigo-planter, of a son; Madame Blouet, wife of Mons. J. Blouet, indigo-planter, of a daughter.—Feb. 3. At Vizianagram, the lady of Major Marrett, commanding 11th N. I., of a son.—4. At Soorg, in Berbhoom, the lady of W. N. Garret, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter.—7. At Meerut, the lady of Capt. Tarrington, Artillery, of a son; at Nauthpoor, the lady of Capt. G. W. Mosely, Government Timber Agent, of a daughter; at Bellary, the lady of Lieut.-Col. W. C. Oliver, commanding 14th N. I., of a son; at Masulipatam, the lady of Capt. J. Matthews, 27th regt., of a son.—14. At Vellore, the lady of W. K. Hay, Esq., Gar. Assist.-Surg., of a daughter.

Marriages.—Jan. 26. At Secunderabad, Capt. G. Lee, of the 8th N. I., youngest son of the late T. H. Lee, Esq., of Ebford House, near Exeter, Devonshire, to Eliza Mary, daughter of H. Palmer, Esq., of Hyderabad.—23. At Arcot, A. N. Magrath, Esq., Medical Service, to Caroline Maria, second daughter of the Rev. R. Smyth, A. M., chaplain.

Deaths.—Dec. 22. On his way to Prome, W. F. Reeks, Esq., Assist.-Surg., 38th N. I.—24. At Rangoon, on board H. M.'s ship *Ariackne*, Lieut. J. M. Coffin, R. N., second son of Capt. F. H. Coffin, of Devonshire.—Jan. 11. Whilst gallantly leading the centre column of attack at the storming of the stockade at Seetoung, J. C. Stedman, Esq. commanding 34th regt., or C. L. I., aged 29.—14. At the entrance of Talak River, on board the *Edward Stretzell*, Capt. E. Hall, Bengal Artillery; in the district of Tirhoot, Mr. J. N. Rabot, indigo-planter, aged 24.—17. In Assam, Capt. J. H. Waldron, 46th N. I.—19. At Prome, Mr. G. Godfrey, clerk of the Pay-Office in Ava, aged 25; at Goa, Major Antonio Pereira, aged about 77.—20. Near Chatterpoor, the lady of Dr. G. T. Urquhart.—27. In camp at Bhurtpoor, of his wounds received in the storm on the 18th, Lieut. H. Candy, 1st Bengal Europ. regt.; at Monghyr, John M. Petty, eldest son of J. P. Ward, C. S., aged 5 years.—30. At Bas-sador in the Persian Gulf, Assist.-Surg. Wm. Troup, surg. of H. C.'s ship of war *Ephestione*.—Feb. 2. In camp at Bhoj, Lieut. C. Torin, 2d L. C., aged 23.—3. At Royapettah, Mrs. F. Harkness, relict of the late Mr. J. Harkness.—12. In camp near Colapore, A. Gibson, Esq., M. D., surg. 1st gren. regt.—14. In

Brigadier Shaw's camp, near Patanagoh, Capt. H. Dowden, 38th N. I.; at Trichinopoly, Mr. Conductor J. Saunders, aged 62.—14. At Surat, the infant son of Maj. C. S. Whitehill, 10th N. I.—17. At Peramboor, Catherine, wife of Mr. Summers.—19. At St. Thome, Mrs. Ledsham, aged 60.—Lately, at Chinsurah, Anne Catherine, youngest daughter of Lieut. Stewart.

EUROPE.

Births.—July 27. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Clements, of a son.—Aug. 13. The lady of Maj. Turner, Artillery, of a son.—Aug. 18. The lady of R. S. Cahill, Esq., of a daughter, at Larkhall Lane, Clapham.

Marriages.—July 27. In London, Richard B. Hannah, Esq., of the Hon. East India House Establishment, to Ann, third daughter of the late T. Elam, Esq. of Sunbury.—Aug. 3. At Clifton, Capt. Hamilton Maxwell, of the Hon. East India Company's Service, to Isabella, youngest daughter of the late Capt. A. Banbury, 69d regt.—16. At Dublin, Capt. W. Childers, 42d foot, to Mary Elizabeth, relict of Robert Hume, Esq., 41st regt.—Lately, at Worthing, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Richard Church, K. G. C., to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart., Derbyshire; in Buttevant church, Ireland, W. H. Sherlock, Esq., 60th regt., 'o Averina, second daughter of the late R. Sherlock, Esq., of Woodville; at Yeovil, Major Milles, 14th Light Dragoons, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late W. Hasbin, Esq.

Deaths.—July 26. At Shorestone, Northumberland, H. G. Grey, Esq., Dep.-Assist. Commissary-General to the Forces.—27. At Dollar, Scotland, Major James Robertson, late of the 70th Foot.—Aug. 9. At Edinburgh, Adrian, fourth son of Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Hope, G.C.H.—11. At Ayr, Lieut.-Col. Robert Cameron, late of the Hon. East India Company's Service.—Lately, at Paris, the Hon. Basil Cochrane, lately returned from the East Indies, where he resided for 40 years; at Shooter's Hill, Kent, Elizabeth, relict of General Thomas Blomfield, aged 81.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.—FEB. 15, 1826.

Government Securities, &c.

	Buy Rs. As.	Sell Rs. As.
Remittable Loan, Six per Cent.	Premium 27 8	26 8
Five per Cent. Loan	Discount. 1 0	1 12
New Five per Cent. Loan	Ditto. 0 8	1 0

EXCHANGE.

On London, Six Months' Sight, per Sicca rupee 2s. ½d. to 2s. 1d.
 On Bombay, Thirty Days' Sight, 98 Sicca rupees, per 100 Bombay rupees.
 On Madras, do., 92 a 96 Sicca rupees, per 100 Madras rupees.
 Bank Shares—Premium 5,250 to 5,300.

MADRAS.—FEB. 8, 1826.

Government Securities, &c., as last quoted, viz.:

Six per Cent. Paper, 22 per Cent. Premium. }	} Market very dull.
Old Five do. do. 1 do. Discount. }	
New do. do. do. Par. }	

EXCHANGE.

On England, at Three Months' Sight, 1 10
 Ditto, at Six Months' Sight, 1 10½
 On Bengal, 106 Madras rupees, per 100 Sicca rupees.
 On Bombay, 99 Bombay rupees, per 100 Madras rupees.

BOMBAY.—FEBRUARY 23, 1826.

EXCHANGE.

On London, Six Months' Sight 1s. 10d. to 1s. 11d.
 On Calcutta, Ninety Days' Sight, 103 Bombay rupees, per 100 Sicca rupees.
 On Madras, Thirty Days' Sight, 97 ditto, per 100 Madras do.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1896.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
Aug. 1	Bordeaux ..	Laurie ..	Charens ..	Bengal ..	March
Aug. 2	Weymouth..	Roxburgh Castle	Denny ..	China ..	Jan. 16
Aug. 4	Plymouth ..	Sir Edw. Paget	Geary ..	Bengal ..	Feb. 14
Aug. 7	Off I. of Wight	Wellington ..	Evans ..	Madras ..	Mar. 16
Aug. 12	Downs ..	Hussarcn ..	Gibson ..	Cape ..	May 13
Aug. 12	Off Dover ..	Florida ..	Delano ..	Batavia ..	April 15
Aug. 12	Off Scilly ..	C. of Harcourt	Delafons ..	China ..	Jan. 16
Aug. 12	Off Scilly ..	Patience ..	Kind ..	Mauritius	April 13
Aug. 14	Downs ..	Portsea ..	Lamb ..	Bengal ..	Feb.
Aug. 16	Off Dover ..	Susannah ..	Lamb ..	Batavia ..	Mar. 27
Aug. 22	Off Salcomb	Lang ..	Lusk ..	N.S. Wales	Mar. 8
Aug. 23	Downs ..	Elizabeth ..	Snowden ..	Cape ..	Dec. 27
Aug. 23	Portsmouth	Lady Campbell	Murphy ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 1
Aug. 26	Portsmouth	Southworth ..	Embleton ..	Mauritius	April

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1896.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Feb. 23	Bengal ..	Elphinstone ..	M'Lean ..	London
Mar. 1	Columbo ..	Hibberts ..	Theaker ..	London
May 18	Cape ..	Britannia ..	Lamb ..	London
May 19	Cape ..	Morning Star ..	Buckham ..	London
July 1	Madeira ..	Corsair ..	Petrie ..	London
July 2	Madeira ..	John ..	Dawson ..	London
July 9	Madeira ..	Malcolm ..	Eyles ..	London
July 22	Madeira ..	Laburnum ..	Tate ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1896.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
July 27	Shields ..	Sir F. Burton	Martin ..	Bengal
July 27	Deal ..	Britannia ..	Bourchier ..	Bombay
July 30	Deal ..	Britannia ..	Walker ..	Bombay
Aug. 2	Off I. of Wight	Cornelia Sarah	Jouy ..	Batavia
Aug. 6	Leith ..	Louisa ..	Mackie ..	Bengal
Aug. 9	Deal ..	Sophia ..	Barclay ..	Bengal
Aug. 10	Liverpool ..	Perseverance	Brown ..	Bengal
Aug. 12	Deal ..	Spring ..	Hayne ..	Bombay
Aug. 16	Deal ..	Rosetta ..	Pyke ..	Bengal
Aug. 16	Deal ..	Susannah ..	Clappison ..	Mauritius
Aug. 18	Deal ..	Margaret ..	Phillips ..	Batavia
Aug. 18	Deal ..	Royal George	Reynolds ..	Bengal
Aug. 19	Off I. of Wight	Victory ..	Farquharson	Bengal
Aug. 21	Off Holyhead	Columbia ..	Kirkwood	Bengal
Aug. 21	Deal ..	Fort William	Neish ..	Bengal
Aug. 24	Deal ..	Magnet ..	Todd ..	New South Wales

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
1886.					
Feb. 20	3 S. 95 E.	Falcon, Steam P. Moore	.. London	.. Calcutta	
Mar. 24	9 30 N. 88 34 E.	Stewart Forbes Chapman	.. N.S. Wales.	.. Bengal	
June 13	2 18 N. 23 32	Calista	.. Roberts	.. London	.. Cape
June 14	7 30 N. 22 56 W.	Dorothy	.. Garnock	.. Liverpool	Bombay
June 15	7 N. 23 W.	Boyne	.. Millar	.. London	.. Bombay
June 16	8 11 29 40	Rose	.. Marquis	.. London	.. Bengal
June 23	38 40 12 37	Royal George Ellerby	.. London	.. Bombay	
July 4	44 N. 19 45 W.	James Sibbald Forbes	.. London	.. Madras, &c.	
July 11	30 N. 12 W.	Moffat	.. Brown	.. London	.. China
July 19	27 40	Leander	.. Richmond	Mauritius	London
July 23	50 8	Ganges	.. Mitford	.. Liverpool	Calcutta
	30 N. 36 W.	Wellington Madras	.. London
Aug. 4	43 31	Lang	.. Lusk	.. N.S. Wales.	.. London

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Catharine*, Porter, from Bombay:—Capt. Taylor, Bombay Esrop. Regt.; Lieut. Cook, 8th Bombay N. I.; R. Finlay, Esq.; Capt. R. Horwood, late of the country ship *Mitford*.—Left at the Cape: Mrs. Capt. Lyons; Capt. Lyons; Lieut. Johnson, 22d Bombay N. I.

By the *Portsea*, Lamb, Bengal:—Mr. and Mrs. Tulloch, and three children; Dr. Gardiner; Mr. Schank and child; Capt. Peach, Bengal Infantry; Lieut. Beattie, do.

By the *Sir Edward Paget*, from Bengal:—Capt. Johnson, H. M. 44th Regt.; Capt. Holroyd, Bengal N. I.; Capt. Rivell, Bengal N. Cavalry; Ens. Rice, Bengal N. I.; J. Barker, Esq., M. D., Bengal Estab.; J. R. Hutchinson, Esq., Bengal C. S.; J. Chalke, Esq., Bengal C. S.; J. Harman, Esq., Bengal C. S.; Messrs. Harman, jun., and J. Chalke, jun.; Mesdames Holroyd, Hutchinson, Chalke, and Harman; Misses Chalke, Tuycross, Dickie, M. Chalke, H. Chalke, Harman, M. Harman, Napier, and Jeffries; two Misses Hutchinson; two Misses Wilkinson; Masters Denham and Bean; Masters Holroyd, Brown, and Hutchinson; Col. Penny; Capt. Cunningham; Mrs. and Miss Cunningham; two Masters Cunningham.

By the *Wellington*, Evans, from Madras:—Lady Munro, lady of his Excellency Governor Munro; Master Campbell Munro; Capt. Mitchell, R. N., late of H. M. ship *Staney*; J. S. Sullivan, Esq., late resident of Tinnevely; C. R. Cotton, Esq.; J. Blackburn, Esq., H. C. Civil Service; Major Chauvel, H. C. Retired Service; Mrs. Chauvel; J. Cox, Esq., Assistant Surgeon.

NOTICE.

The writer of an article in a former Number of the 'Oriental Herald,' on the Serampore Missionaries, alluded to in a recently published Pamphlet, purporting to be a Reply to the Allegations made in that article, requests us to state, that in consequence of the late period of the month at which the pamphlet in question came into his possession, it was found impossible to do justice to the questions in dispute in time for the present Number: but that a paper on the subject will be prepared for insertion in our next, till the appearance of which, those who feel any interest in this controversy are requested to suspend their judgment.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER our sheets were closed for the Press, the following intelligence was communicated, for which we can only find room in a single page of our present Number. We hope to be able to give fuller details in our next.

An overland packet is said to have arrived from Calcutta, bringing Bengal news to the 7th of April, and Bombay news to April 25. The letters announce the termination of the Burmese war. A treaty of peace is said to have been ratified on the 24th of February, within a few miles of the Burmese Capital. A crore of rupees (one million sterling) is promised to be paid by the Burmese, and 25 lacs (or 250,000*l.*) have already been paid in part, with which Sir Archibald Campbell had arrived at Calcutta. The British army was moving down the river to Rangoon; and great cessions of territory were to be made to the East India Company.

The learned and esteemed Dr. Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, is reported to have met his death, on the 3d of April, by apoplexy, at Trichinopoly, while bathing.

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