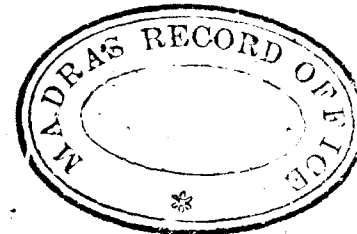


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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXIX.

October 1909.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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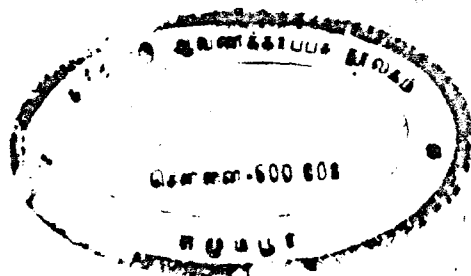
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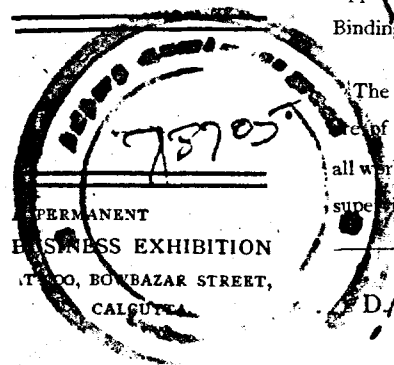
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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 258.—OCTOBER 1909.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

BANKS in India were afforded considerable food for thought by an unfortunate incident which occurred recently at Madras. A small shareholder, who is also a money-lender, laid an information before the magistrate to the effect that the local manager and the cashier had falsified the accounts and were utilising for their own purpose the money of the bank. The amount stated to have been so misapplied by the manager was Rs. 10,000. The magistrate heard the complaint and adopted a course that caused the greatest consternation and surprise. He ordered seizure of the bank balances and the account books, and the police had no other course open to them than to carry out the order. It was once asserted that the law was a hass, and the action of the magistrate has proved this statement not far wrong. If as a result the conclusion reached proves that the magistrate was within his rights in passing the order he did, then the sooner the law is amended to enable its provisions being reasonably applied the better. The case is proceeding.

The alarming outbreak of cholera among the nursing staff of the Presidency General Hospital, at the end of July, caused a melancholy

Cholera Epidemic
at General Hospital.

sensation such as, happily, Calcutta has never had to chronicle before. The sadness of the occurrence can hardly be realised, as apart from the fact that several devoted women lost their lives, there is the irony of fate to be considered. One of the ladies died on the day which was to be her last in the work, and was leaving hospital to be married. Another sad case was that of a young girl from one of the local schools who was a patient under treatment for fever, and it seems inscrutable that the place she sought for restoration to health should have proved the place of her death. Exhaustive enquiry has been made into the cause of the outbreak and the finding only emphasises the fact that great carelessness prevailed, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary it is only reasonable to assume that it is apparently nobody's business to see to the quality of the food supplied to the nurses or to the maintaining in a state of cleanliness of the utensils used for its keep or conveyance. The nurses have hard enough work while on duty to warrant their taking all the rest they can get when free, and it should surely be the whole duty of some one to see that their food is good and the utensils kept in such condition as to render contamination impossible. Every picture has a bright side, and the darkness of this one only brings into prominent relief the heroic work and effort of the surgeons, assistant surgeons and nurses to stamp out the epidemic. They worked with a devotion worthy of unbounded praise.

The Geological Survey of India have sustained a serious loss by the retirement of Sir
Sir Thomas Holland. Thomas Holland, the Director of the Department, and the Government of India are the poorer by his retirement, for he was an officer who was not only thoroughly competent, but a worker of no mean order.

The officers and subordinates of the Geological Survey have lost not only a strong and capable chief, but a true and sympathetic friend who was always ready to further their interests consistent with justice. A movement is on foot to suitably commemorate his services and we feel confident the response to the appeal issuing will be liberal and extensive.

Founder's day at this educational institution is looked forward to as keenly as is generally the
Bishop Cotton School, Simla. case in most schools, and on the last occasion the Viceroy travelled all the way from Viceregal Lodge to preside. In his speech he told the boys that if they did not all become eminently successful in attaining to high positions in this country they need only blame themselves. In fact they were virtually given to understand that almost any post of honour, position and good remuneration was within their grasp. Now all this may have sounded very fine, and the boys probably pictured to themselves what they would some day attain to, but was it fair to them to be told that they could occupy positions which it is apparently the deliberate policy of the Government to keep from them. It is not an infrequent experience of the Anglo-Indian boy, but a daily one, that he cannot get into the superior grades of the service. Why, to go no further than the Public Works Department, how many are there now in the lower grades who stand even a hundred to one chance of succeeding to superior or administrative posts? Take the railway; even in the subordinate grades the chances of a lad born and brought up in the country are decidedly on the wane. One of the subjects which engaged the attention of the Railway Conference, just over, is the extended employment of ex-soldiers. It would have been far more

in keeping with existing conditions if the head of the Government had said, "Now boys, Government does not want you and has no place for you, get out of the country as soon as you can. We are not to blame, it is the fault of your parents. They have no right to have children in India." This would not have sounded nice, but it would not have caused the lads of Bishop Cotton School to build up hopes that will never be gratified as long as the present policy of the Government continues.

This dastardly crime, the act of an Indian Student in London, caused horror throughout the British Empire. The unfortunate victim had served India with a whole-hearted devotion to her uplifting worthy of a better cause. The Government have been confronted with a problem of stupendous dimensions in their desire to stamp out sedition and disloyalty. The object will never be accomplished by the milk-and-water policy of conciliation. There is no use whatever in enacting laws when their application is made so extremely difficult. Disloyalty in India is not fostered so much in the East by the acts of Indians here as by the lamentable ignorance of many members of Parliament led by confrères who have been disappointed in India, but who are now being fed by the Government they are doing their best to overthrow.

Quite one of the most pleasing features of Native States administration is the practical proof afforded of the intention of some of the Chief in relation to sedition in their territories. The Rulers of Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpore and others have stated in no uncertain tones what they consider must be the line of conduct of their subjects, and have

Murder of Sir
William Curzon-
Wyllie.

Sedition in Native
States.

also declared what the penalty of wrongdoing in disloyalty to the British Government means. The punishment incurred will, we have no doubt, act as an efficient deterrent, and the importation of certain papers into the Native States being proscribed will deprive some Indian agitators of powerful machines in the propagation of disloyalty.

On the 10th of September at Poona the office of Commander-in-Chief in India changed hands, Lord Kitchener relinquishing and General Sir O'Moore Creagh assuming this important charge. This gallant soldier is in his sixty-second year, having been born on the 2nd of April 1848. He has just 43 years' service, as his first commission was dated 2nd October 1866 when he joined the 9th Foot, transferring to the Indian Army in February 1870. He has seen extensive service in the field and is one of the small band wearing the coveted bronze cross for valour.

Officials drawn from the various provinces have for some time past been busy at Simla drawing up the details of the new Reform Scheme, and the result of their labours is keenly awaited by an expectant multitude. That the outcome of their deliberations will give even moderate satisfaction to the Extremists it is vain to hope. The whole scheme has been foisted on the country when it is in no way prepared for it, and no right thinking official, if he be candid in his utterances, would say that the scheme is needed.

After numerous attempts to get to the North Pole the world has been informed by both Commander Peary and Dr. Cook that each has succeeded. Each claims that he discovered it,

The Office of Com-
mander-in-Chief.

The Reform Scheme.

The North Pole.

and in the absence of incontestable proof each has the same right to be believed. First we read that one had got there on a certain day, then we heard that the other claimed to have got there before. Dr. Cook had an immense reception on landing in New York, being garlanded and fêted. Peary made no public show, but is reported to be living quietly at his home in Maine, and the latest information is that he will, at the proper time, prove that Dr. Cook never got there at all.

This body has been having quite a lively time during the quarter and its proceedings will stand out as indicating the laxity with which some of its departments are administered. There has been quite a storm in a teapot over encroachment on certain land by the building operations of a particularly astute Calcutta landlord. He put up a building, it is alleged, on land which was not his, and as the plans of the building and site were approved by the responsible officers of the Municipality he declined to demolish the structure when called upon to do so. Legal opinion was taken and the matter was discussed in the Corporation meeting. The outcome of all the talk is that the Municipality has had a particularly neat opinion expressed on their wisdom and mode of business, and the landlord is laughing up his sleeve while his building still stands and the Municipal building regulations will have to be altered. Another matter which has caused serious thought to the Commissioners is the appointment of a Chairman in place of Sir Charles Allen, who is on his way Home. The Deputy Chairman is acting, but as his period of service expires at the end of the current month, considerable anxiety is felt at the possibility of two officers being

The Calcutta Municipality.

appointed to fill the vacancies who have no knowledge of Municipal matters, and yet with this misfortune impending, the Commissioners, without apparently any thought to the interest of the taxpayers, have granted both the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary leave of absence. The former certainly needs a rest to recover from the blow the Government and Mr. Branson, a nominated Commissioner, have given to his ideas of Municipal finance. Some of the Commissioners were for approaching Government with a view to have one of their own body appointed Chairman, but this calamity has happily been averted.

This miserable case, to which we referred in our April number and which had then created a record for length, is now occupying the time of their Lordships the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Garnduff in Appeal. Judging by the speed at which the proceedings are passing it seems as if the Appeal will take as long as the original trial did. A prominent feature of the proceedings is the evident intention of the Judges to uphold the best traditions of British justice in India, and in consequence are giving each statement by counsel the greatest and closest scrutiny.

The Alipore Bomb Case.

The Asiatic Society recently discussed the alarming spread of tuberculosis in India and Sir Thos. Holland, the President, addressed His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of the establishment of a sanatorium for the special treatment of the disease. A weekly journal of standing has suggested that Lord Minto should take the initiative and approach the Princes of India and wealthy natives with the object of raising funds for the accomplishment of the scheme.

Tuberculosis in India.

It is possible that with the popularity he now enjoys with the people of the country any appeal from him would receive hearty response. The necessity for action is amply testified to by Colonel G. F. A. Harris, I.M.S. while Dr. Chatterjee, a well-known practising physician in Calcutta, has given it as his opinion that the disease claims more victims here than in any European city where it is supposed to have a firm footing.

Calcutta at the present time is being sorely stricken with this disease in epidemic form, the northern portion of the town being most severely affected. The peculiar feature of the attack is that it seems to have restricted itself to the better class of the native population and several medical practitioners are among the victims. The medical profession is being considerably exercised to discover an efficacious remedy, and the death-rate is steadily increasing.

An important gathering of Hindu and Mahomedan landholders of Eastern Bengal and Assam was held at Dacca under the Presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Lyon on the 18th of August. The object of the meeting was to discuss some of the more important questions in connection with their future representation on the new Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. Mr. Lyon, in an excellent, though short, address, impressed his hearers with the responsibility they were under and the far-reaching effect of their deliberations. He also took the opportunity of thanking them for the assistance they had rendered Government in the suppression of anarchy and indicated how they could still further benefit the cause of law and order and strengthen the hands of Government.

Art. II.—MORAL AND RELIGIOUS GOOD AND EVIL.

What we want to find is, whence comes moral evil?

ONE simple way of settling the question is by a flat denial of the major premiss. There are people, not a few who, when fairly cornered, deny that Evil, as an absolute, exists at all. Nothing, they say, is either evil or good. It is, no doubt, true in a measure, to insist upon the relativity of our terms, to point out that the conception of evil is only possible by contrast with the conception of good, and *vice versa*. And I have little to say to those who find any solace in this kind of verbal parry. A great and popular school of European philosophy has been founded on it. Hegelism is, perhaps, out of date, but it has largely coloured philosophic thought, and still numbers numerous votaries. As an intellectual gymnastic, I can understand that it attracted and amused curious and restless intellects. The final reconciliation of all contradictories in an underlying identity, satisfies the primary philosophic need. The aim of all philosophy has been Unity, the Absolute, the Reality. And its despair has always been the practical irreconcilables. Thus Hegelism coming in deftly and agilely to demonstrate that there really are no irreconcilables, was sure of a cordial reception. You take a coin; on one side a head, on the other a tail. These may stand for a thousand more important opposites. You may stake considerable sums on the coin falling head or tail uppermost. As in greater matters, you may make great ventures on the superior value of one of two opposites. But are you not deluding yourself? Are these opposites? The coin is the identity, made up of two faces, merely.

complementary, one the same as the other in the middle (but unperceived) region where they meet. If you doubt it, melt the coin and recast it without impressing either side with an image. You have the same quantity of metal, the same surfaces, but no opposites. So, if you could melt down the substance, on which our contradictions—moral, social, religious, ethical, aesthetic—appear to us in the guise of opposites, you would find that the opposition merged in a fundamental identity, and as a philosopher you would be, or ought to be, at peace. Unfortunately, we have no means of doing this, or verifying the basic ground of Hegelism. As mere dialectic, like so much other dialectic, it wins cheap victories over bewildered reason; but it may be doubted whether it has ever yet seriously convinced any one, or answered the ethical, or spiritual demands of our nature. It is perfectly useless to tell us, with a smile of superior wisdom, that Space, for example, unites and divides; that a chasm is the same as a bridge, and so forth. We simply don't and won't believe it. Even in the instance of the coin with a head and a tail, although we admit that the head and the tail are impressed on an identical substance, as long as they remain distinguishable, we take them to be marks of difference, and if we have lost our all upon Head turning up, we should find it poor consolation to reflect that after all Head and Tail are one and the same. For the purpose of deciding our wager, making our life venture satisfactory or unsatisfactory, it is the opposition which matters; the underlying identity, although it may exist potentially, does not matter in the least. Besides, we feel that all this is merely a verbal quibble unworthy of our attention in the hour of our misery and very real consciousness of a loss. Speaking for myself, I own that I never had any

patience with Hegelism; I dislike these cobwebby meshes of fine spun words, in which it is so easy to entangle the intellect. We can, indeed, never escape by the aid of the Pure Reason. Some indignant people call Zeno's puzzle of Achilles and the Tortoise, a sophism, even a fallacy. But it seems to me to body forth rather, an important truth. Being, indeed, a forerunner of the great antimonies, in a humble way. For certain it is, that start the reason off, wholly subject to the conditions of the problem (physically, of course, impossible, but not at all conceptually impossible), and Achilles never will overtake that miserable insect. We have to relieve our overburdened and highly exasperated minds, either by the old *solvitur ambulando* method (which, by the way, was not given as an answer to this unanswerable conundrum, but to the sudden illuminating affirmation, by another ancient Ruminant, Motion does not exist) or, we must all own that we get our time in drops or slabs, and that we cannot consent to divide it into infinity. And this result, though it has nothing directly to do with my present subject, except as helping a little to clarify thought generally, and the extraordinary subtleties in which we may soon be involved, is interesting; because it shows that, however firmly we may be convinced that Time and Space are only modes of our thinking, we incorrigibly objectify them, and after all, may be right in doing so. Space, at any rate, makes plausible claims on some of the most competent and refined of modern philosophers, to concrete existence. It is easier and more natural to cut Space up into slabs, than it is to do the same with Time. But whether Space like granite can be separated off into blocks, whether, in fact, it can be at once a bridge and a chasm (you see here how for dialectical purposes,

philosophers most immorally confuse its objectivity with its subjectivity) one thing is certain that in dealing with the profounder problems, especially as we approach ultimates, the rudimentary Why's with which a two year old child will reduce the greatest Scientist to pulpy despair, we must be on the look-out for intellectual limitations. To go no further than such an apparently common everyday experience as the contrast between motion and rest, it would, I fear, baffle the keenest intellect that has yet been given to man, to tell us exactly when and where the contrast come into being, in other words, when Motion ceased and Rest began.

This has been a digression. I warn you I shall digress when and where I please. In pursuing such an elusive subject as Evil, it is pretty certain that there will be distractions by the way. These may appear wholly irrelevant, but on maturer reflection, the mere fact that they have suggested themselves, and forcibly enough to draw our attention, shows that they ought at least to help us on our main quest, if only by throwing light on the methods of our reason, and upon the comparative inadequacy of our intellectual vision.*

Coming back to the point where a brilliant but hollow dialectic needed a passing examination, this conclusion so far emerges, that whatever value the following discussion may have for those who admit the existence of Evil, it can have none whatever for those who do not. It is easy to demolish all our difficulties, by giving words and names, a sovereign efficacy. But is it quite honest? You do not make that less an Evil, by calling it a Good.

* E.g., bearing in mind the considerations suggested by Achilles and the Tortoise, you may trace their connexion with the possibility of solving the problem of Free Will. It is easy to convince the Intellect that Achilles can never overtake the Tortoise; and that the will cannot be free. But something deeper than the intellect and probably better informed imperiously asserts that the will *is*—within bounds free, and that Achilles will overtake the Tortoise.

The very people who do this, would find the method fail them in more practical regions. Thus it may suffice for them to say Hunger is not an Evil, Starvation even is not an Evil. Call it a Good, or at any rate a NOT-EVIL, and there you are. As a sad fact, were these Nominalists suffering from starvation, they would probably consider you an inhuman brute, if you offered them a chunk of sandstone, and said: My friends, call it Bread, eat and be filled.

And, immensely though I admire the Roman Stoicism, I cannot wholly blind myself to its dependence on this broken reed. But it is not so open to attack, as some who dislike its haughty self-centred confidence—the very antithesis of later religious models—are too hastily disposed to assume. For, after all, the Stoic did not deny the existence and reality of pain, or of many other external temporal ills. The distinction upon which he insisted, with a fine nobility and a clear eye upon the inherent dignity of man, was that nothing, however, disagreeable, was in any sense an Evil, that is subjectively, and tainting the man's soul and moral nature, which befell him from without. In a much narrowed field, the field of literary controversy, a great polemist once said: "No man can be written down except by himself." And that will serve for a concrete and easily understood illustration of the Stoic spirit. No man could be "injured," that is, morally injured or degraded, except by his own voluntary act. "While this is, from an ethical standpoint, as true to-day and in all systems of Ethics and Religions, as it was when Marcus Aurelius meditated, it does not meet the fundamental difficulties with which we shall soon be confronted. It was not really, I think, a case of surmounting obstinate facts, by calling black, white; but there certainly was a tendency to teach that what

most men accepted and admitted to be Evils, objectively, as, for instance, a tile falling on the head of a worthy citizen and father of a family, were not evils at all, but occurrences utterly indifferent. So, perhaps, they are in the sum of human affairs, and most certainly in the scale of moral values, but by no means indifferent to the citizen who is thus cut off in the heyday of his activities, nor to those who were dependent on him, and are left orphaned and destitute. To them at least, such an "accident" is a very real evil. And this, brings us in sight of a preliminary distinction which will have to be drawn and kept in view throughout the whole of the enquiry. I mean the distinction between what we judge to be morally evil acts, and what we may call misfortunes. From the point of view of the sufferers, we should call the Messina earthquake an Evil of great magnitude, but not importing any moral condemnation of the agency. We may prefer to call it a misfortune. But as in Scripture they asked what had the men on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, done to merit that premature extinction, so cataclysmic calamities of this kind set us speculating, often only subconsciously, upon the justice of the affair. On the other hand, when we read of a man murdering a child for the sake of its ornaments, we call the act Evil in the fullest sense, implying a moral condemnation of the agent. And we want to know at once why such men are permitted to come into the world, and upon what principle, consistent with a universal ethical code or Divine Government of the world, their activities are permitted. Further, we want to know what the child had done to deserve this untimely death, what had its parents done to merit this terrible evil? For from their point of view, most ordinary unsophisticated people would admit that the murder

of a beloved child was an evil. Such simple cases will do for the present to mark the distinction between evils wrought by human agency, and misfortunes befalling man in what we call the course of nature. But it is to be noted that as soon as we ask ourselves why this or that thing happened, why this or that man had deserved misfortunes, we begin to form moral judgments, or are on the way to forming them. In the case of human agents, the moral judgments are practically unanimous among common men and women; we all condemn a brutal murder alike. In the case of mere misfortunes—disease, premature death by some convulsion of nature, and so forth—we probably do tend to form moral judgments, if not of condemnation (for we rather shrink from blaming God), then at least of regret. And if we felt that we could achieve any definite informing end, we should all like to have courts of inquest upon the apparently undeserved misfortunes of many of the (apparently) best and noblest characters. But the mere fact that such sentiments are prevalent, virtually universal, is warrant enough for asserting that men do regard certain happenings as essentially Evil, and other happenings as Good. If you feel that Evil imports too much morality, it will serve as well to contrast Bad with Good, and confine ourselves to tracing out the origin of Bad, in the cosmic scheme. For while we may hang the relativity of Good and Evil on a varying and often challenged scale of moral values, there is an absolute opposition between Good and Bad, which transcends it, and has the appearance of being permanent and fundamental. The virtue of to-day may be declared a vice, fifty years hence; we may have to readjust our scale of relative goods and evils, indeed we are always being obliged to do so. But there must, as long as

words have a meaning and man a religious and moral nature, be and irreconcilable opposition (*pace* Hegel) between the Good and the Bad thing. /

Let us now stop hairsplitting over common words. I must choose those which will serve best to make my meaning clear, and I must pause to mark rather obvious ambiguities. But, on the whole, I deprecate purely verbal criticism. We must proceed on the footing that by the unanimous consent of mankind there is Good and Evil, or Good and Bad, whichever you please; and that the contrast between Good and Bad is in all religions and in many ethical systems, referable to a Divine Author of the Universe, or Absolute or First Cause. I do not mean to say that all philosophies and religions impute Evil directly to God; on the contrary, it is precisely because of their instinctive reluctance to do this, that so many of them appear to make logical shipwreck. But they realise Evil as something intrinsically, essentially opposed to the Good, which is God. It is Evil for that reason, and that reason only—in the moral sphere. And thus it is broadly true that Evil is, in all such schemes referable to, and, indeed, implied in God, if only by way of effective and necessary contrast. Because of the existence of God, evil becomes possible; only because of the existence of God is Evil at all realizable. That is another way of putting it. And when come to look at the whole question fairly and squarely, in that light we shall begin to glimpse some at least of the profounder considerations involved in it.

But we need not plunge thus head long into the depths. Let us make a gentler approach.

With the consciousness of Life comes the consciousness of Death. This is the primary contrast;

here it first takes shadowy outline. Life constantly overshadowed by Death. Life the positive, Death the negative; the affirmative of Life is thwarted by the negation of Death. And with the consciousness of life is intimately correlated the instinct that Life is a good thing, and Death a bad thing. The Will to live is the great general affirmation. In its earliest conscious manifestations, it is purely instinctive, taken on the human side. Whence it comes we will not now pause to enquire. But no one doubts the reality, waiving the moral value, of the sentiment. Hence by a wide analogy, we get Life, positive; Good; Death, negative, Bad. Life is an integration, Death a disintegration; so the good makes for integration, is always (by way of individual centrifugalism higher individual differentiation) ultimately centripetal. The protest of Life against Death, may possibly be sought in the reluctance of the unified cell to be broken up and dispersed, an instinctive holding on to unification.* This is the first stage. With the development of Life, consciousness becomes more complex, and we get the next, and, indeed, the last general contrast outside the moral sphere, the contrast between pleasure and pain. Instinctively again, Life sides with pleasure, and rebels against pain. Pleasure is good, and pain is bad;—the Good of pleasure always shadowed by the Evil of pain. Here for purposes of wide general classification, extrinsic to the Moral Sense, and its peculiar sphere of activity and judging, we might stop. For under the head of Life and pleasure on the one hand, and Death and pain on the other, we have two universal categories within one or the other of which all “accidental” good and evil, must inevitably fall.

* I owe this idea to Mr. K. Knight, I.C.S.

But super-imposed on this merely external view of the chances of good and bad fortune, we soon have the ethical category, which, regarding man as a free self-determined moral agent, draws the last and sharpest contrast, between right doing and wrong doing. The former is affirmed by all normal "consciences" as good, the latter as bad. We have, willed right doing = Moral Good; willed wrong doing = "Sin" or Evil. This genetic explanation, which I think, you will all admit to be roughly accurate, may help us in understanding the interplay of the various factors of the problem we have to solve, as best we can, taken as a whole.*

We see that two-thirds of our estimate of Good and Evil has no reference to any subjective morality at all. It is tested by consequences, pleasurable or painful, life-serving or death-promoting; and it is referable to primitive instincts, which probably are the motors of the Universe. It is all pretty easy going so far, and but for the intrusion of morbidly sophisticated perversions of elementary natural facts, all traceable to the reactive energy of the moral conscience first awakened in its own medium, and then trying back to find a harmony, in which its moral judgments can be satisfied and vindicated in the processes of Nature, trying back, in a word, for the Hegelian reconciliation of contradictions in identity, good and bad fortune would probably be accepted as inevitable accidents, in a spirit of resigned, but on the whole, contented fatalism. It is only when we insist upon reconciling these chances with the verdicts of our own "innate" sense of justice, that the trouble really begins. If man were a mere animal, following his natural instincts, as other animals do, there would be no

* *cf.*, Sir Oliver Lodge, *Life and Matter*.

problem of Good and Evil, and you would have been spared this discourse. No one supposes that the common wild animal falling a prey to its devourer experiences any sense of moral injury, any other sense than that of pain, and the instinctive rebellion against this violent curtailment of its right to live. The protest of the animal goes no further than a physical protest against pain, and possibly an undefined protest against Death. But a man, condemned to die, especially if he thinks that he is unjustly condemned to die, arraigns the entire Universe. He protests not only against the pain, and the negation of Death, but consciously against the "injustice" of the world. He is a moral as well as a physical victim. His wits, thus sharpened, he at once wants to know the Why and the Wherefore of Evil, not only his own particular, personal evil fate, but of all evil fates, and how they are to be reconciled with an Absolute Good. Thus we are at last envisaged with the core of the problem. It is no longer easy going; we have left the pleasant sunlit paths of nature, with all its chances and contrasts, and are plunged in a dark mazy labyrinth, from which we must escape somehow, if we are to save our souls.

Let us walk warily. If here and there I now seem to speak dogmatically, you will find, I think, that the statements are not seriously disputed by competent opinion of whatever shade.

In the analysis of Good and Evil, practically and morally, it may be as well to begin by disentangling the matter from specially Theological explanations. These while presenting the greatest difficulties, may be reserved, until we have threaded our maze, as far as we can, in the light of unsectarian Ethics. * And we may start from the assertion which you may afterwards examine for

yourselves and pronounce proved, or not proved, "that there is no such thing possible as an ethical philosophy, dogmatically made up beforehand."*

Remember in this connection, what Green said in the beginning of his *Prolegomena*. Rules were made for man, not Man for Rules. If you bear that steadily in mind, and take it for true, you will see that Ethics, as distinguished from Revealed and imperative Religion, is an organic growth, changing with the changing conditions of societies. And, while Ethics, properly restricted, hardly suggests any answer to the ultimate questions, it does help us to understand the manner in which standards of right and wrong have been set up, and how the words Good and Evil have acquired their varied and sometimes rather perplexing connotations. In philosophizing on Ethics proper, there are three questions which must be kept apart. The subject is not very hard; it is only when we reach the end of it, or what appears to be the end, when Ethics merges in Religion that the problem of Good and Evil takes on a sombre colour, and shrouds its mystery behind many veils. The first question for the moral philosopher is psychological. Whence our Moral Sense? The second is Metaphysical. What the real meaning of Good and Evil, and Obligation? The third is, as Professor James calls it, Casuistic: What is the Standard?

The purely psychological question lies between the Intuitionists, and the Evolutionists. The former postulate a unique faculty, Conscience, which tells us what is right and what is wrong, what, in any given situation, we OUGHT to do. The latter hold that all our moral judgments have gradually resulted from the

* Prof. James.

teaching of the environment. Each in his own way and to his own satisfaction settles the question. But this is only one question of three. If we fall back on conscience, as intuited, we still need to know whence it comes, and we shall soon find ourselves in the domain of Theology. If, on the other hand, we adopt the Evolutionist opinion, we shall find a score of perplexing exceptions in everyday experience. A sense for abstract justice, which many people undoubtedly possess, is "as eccentric a variation from the Natural history point of view, as a passion for music or the higher philosophical consistencies." You will probably all agree, if you care to go in for an exhaustive psychological analysis, that our moral sensibility as a whole, consists of a great number of brain-born feelings, which it is impossible to account for, solely on the Evolutionist hypothesis. Whether you prefer to hold to the belief that the Moral Sense has been evolved like our physical structure, or whether you prefer to believe that it owes its peculiar qualities to some other influence than the pressure of the environment and the garnered results of past experience, will not much matter, in what is to follow.

The Ethical problem resolves itself really into the true meaning, and significance of three words, Good, Ill, and Ought. For Ill you may substitute Bad or Evil.

Such words can plainly have no meaning or relevance apart from sentient life. Depopulate the world, remove all sentient life from the face of this planet, and there can be no Good or Ill, or Ought. The movements of lifeless matter can never be good or bad, either in themselves or their consequences.

A rock falls, and smashes a hundred pebbles. Neither in the fall of the rock, nor in the consequent

re-distribution of non-sentient matter, can we find anything of which to say, this is Good, that is Bad. If you can imagine an absolutely material world existing from eternity, containing only physical and chemical facts, without a God, or even an interested spectator, could you conceive that any one of its states was good or bad, or better or worse than any other? Surely not. But as soon as you introduce one sentient being, you feel that it is not only possible but quite probable, that some states would appear "better" than other states to him, and so that there would be at once the germs of an Ethic. In such a "moral solitude," to quote James again, as soon as the single sentient Being thought a thing good or bad, the act of thinking it to be so, would make it so. Betterness or Worseness are not physical relations at all; they are moral relations, and therefore in a purely physical world, there could be no use for such terms. The point seems obvious, but it is worth bringing out, because it impresses this great truth on the mind, that there is no Good or Evil or Ought, in physical being at all (we speak now from the Ethical philosopher's point of approach), nothing of the kind possible outside a thinking subject. Things *are* not good or bad; only *become* so in their relation to sentient being. A flash of lightning is not a good thing or a bad thing in itself. If it kills a man, it may be a very bad thing for him or for those who loved, or were dependent on, him. A storm that sinks a navy, an earthquake that swallows a city, these are *per se* absolutely indifferent; were there no sentient life to be related to them, such natural phenomena, resulting in generation of force, or redistribution of inert matter, could not by any stretch of the imagination be conceived to have a quality of goodness or badness. We

should feel it absurd to say, that the Earth ought not to have quaked, the sea ought not to have raged. But when we are in imminent danger of being swallowed by the Earth, or engulfed in the sea, we feel, quite irrationally, no doubt, that it is very hard on US, and we want to know what we have done to be thus singled out as the victims of a Malignant Nature. It follows that until we have converted the earth from a mere mechanism into a "moral solitude" by the introduction of one Sentient Being, there is no possibility of any Ethic. And when we have our one godlike spectator making good and evil, by his thought, that This is Good—for me; That is Evil—for me, we shall still see that one of our terms remains meaningless. In such a state, there can be no obligation. "For outside the thoughts of his own subjectivity there is nothing moral in the world." It is only when we introduce another sentient being that we obtain the possibility of obligation; the one may be under an obligation to the other, the one "ought" to do something or refrain from doing something for the sake of the other. But while we have twice as much ethical quality in the world, now that there are two thinkers, we see that we are as far as ever away from any criterion of moral truth. It is hopeless to distinguish between the morality of the one and the other, though they may be in conflict. We have come out of the moral solitude, into a moral Dualism; as each thinks things or states better or worse for him, so they are, although the other may hold a directly contrary opinion. Multiply our two by a million, and we have a moral pluralism for a moral dualism. Still, if we keep our eye on the starting point, we shall see that we have logically as little reason as ever to believe in

the absolute truth of any single moral judgment. The most that could be said for the most popular, was that a majority held it. Possibly if every living being, at one and the same time pronounced the same moral judgment, we might say that it represented the actual truth of the moral sentiment of the world on that point. But we should be obliged to confess that, this was not because of any abstract standard outside ourselves, but merely because of the consensus of our opinion. And it may very well be doubted whether in the history of mankind anything like this unanimity of moral judgment has obtained on even the most elementary moral question. Unfortunately a moral pluralism of the kind we have indicated—resembling, we must own, the world in which we find ourselves—is precisely what the philosopher cannot and will not put up with. Of the numerous ideals set up in a complex civilisation, there are some, he thinks, which are truer than others, some to which others OUGHT to yield. But this superiority cannot reside in things themselves, or in any supposed abstract order of Nature antecedent to the Thinkers. It must reside, if anywhere, in some consciousness. That consciousness must make the one ideal right by feeling it to be right. But to what consciousness, James asks pertinently, can this prerogative belong of obliging others to conform to its thought of right and wrong?

The theological answer would, of course, be God's Will, or it might be said that the *a priori* constitution of the Universe required certain conduct, and on. A little reflection will reveal the inadequacy of such ascriptions.

Given human beings forming moral judgments, saying this is good, this is bad; this is better, that is worse; in other words, making moral claims on each other, we have every essential of an ethical world. And

we add nothing by postulating a God, or a pre-arranged Order of the Universe. For unless God or the Universe makes special claims on us, to which we find a ready response in our hearts, to be at once translated into action, we should find that these great abstractions were practically impotent in the ethical sphere. What we ought to do, seems in the last analysis, to satisfy every claim directly made upon us, unless some other claim runs counter to it and prevails. There can be no obligation to do anything unless some one asks us to do it,—unless, in other words, some claim is put forward. I do not say that such a claim may not be made on us by ourselves. Our moral nature may demand conduct of a certain kind; the common phrase, "We owe it to ourselves" embodies this sentiment. But always there must be a claim made somewhere by some one. And in ordinary social morality, the claims come from our fellow creatures, and when we say that we owe this or that to ourselves, we are merely reflecting the claims of many like ourselves which, though not directly formulated, are not the less urgent, if we are to keep our own place and dignity in the moral scale.

Good, Ill, Ought, do not, therefore, mean any absolute external natures independent of personal support; they have no existence in being apart from living minds. This abstract of the first two questions of Ethics, is a summary of Professor James' statement. Professor James is always suggestive and forcible. But holding him, as I do, in high admiration, I feel some doubt here. Given a world of human beings, with claims upon each other, and I admit that you have all the essential conditions and requisites of an Ethical Republic. It is not necessary to go outside, provided we are satisfied with Ethics of a certain kind. But while a system, thus founded,

might have all the appearance of being ethical, it would still, I think, be lacking in those qualities which make Ethics, commonly understood, valuable or even respectable. And more than this, it leaves the fundamental notion of Ethics wholly unaccounted for. Thus, in the graduated scheme, we have first a Moral Solitude, in which Professor James admits that there could be no obligation, no "ought." In such a state we might have judgments of Good and Ill, and the judgments would make things good or Ill. But, although some such classification seems to be an integral part of Ethics, it does not by itself suffice. I question whether, in fact, such a solitude could be, in any true sense, moral. The Good and Ill, of such a Moral Solitude would not be a moral good or ill at all, but a sensuous judgment, containing nothing more than a verdict of the Thinker, that this State is agreeable (which is different from Good), and this State is disagreeable. It is only with the word "Ought" that we sense morality, or Ethics, at all. In answering the metaphysical question of Ethics, James seems to me to adopt wholly the Evolutionist explanation, which he has repudiated in answering the psychological question; and in answering the casuistic question, on which a word or two in a moment, while leaning strongly towards the Evolutionary hypothesis, he is forced by his psychological conviction to a compromise, which is rather emotional than logical, and again unsatisfactory. If we look a little closer into his account of the genesis of Morals, we shall, I think, conclude that he was tempted partly by the novelty of an idea, partly by its simplicity and adaptability to the surface facts of ethical conduct, into ignoring the larger difficulty which he felt as long as he was on his own ground, the psychological. Reducing all practical ethics to claim and counterclaim,

is, as far as I can see, in no way distinguishable from the Evolutionary struggle for existence. But James sees a value in it, because he attributes to the making of the claim, its moral correlative, the obligation to satisfy it. But that is the rock on which we split. Why should anyone be under a moral obligation to satisfy the mere claim, however fantastic, of another? Compellable perhaps by *vis major*, on the principle, if you do not satisfy me, I won't satisfy you and, in the long run, I am the stronger. But that is in no sense a moral sanction, as we ordinarily understand morals. Tested psychologically, do we really feel that we "ought" to satisfy every claim that any other human being could put forward, provided that doing so would not disappoint some other claim? And on the ampler stage of actuality, is no distinction to be drawn between the quality of claims? This brings me to the casuistic question. What is the Standard?

Professor James having cleared the way by his analysis, and established to his own satisfaction that the moral "ought" is bred of claims made upon the moral agent, finds no difficulty in deducing a general ethical standard.

Satisfy as many claims as you can, while disappointing as few. That is his Golden Rule. The first and obvious objection to which he does not seem to pay any attention, is the qualitative. His scheme of Ethics is essentially a quantitative scheme; it deals with the bulk, with masses. But are we only to count heads? A thousand men may make a sordid claim, ten men may make a lofty claim. It is truly ethical in a discerning agent, to satisfy the thousand and disappoint the ten, thus lowering the social ethical level? Above all, would any moral agent, who realized all that was implied in the

decision, feel that he "ought" to do so? Every one familiar with the history of ethical speculation knows with what assiduity philosophers have sought for the Golden Rule. Modern cynicism, voiced by cheap and shallow wit, has declared that the Golden Rule is to have no Golden Rule. And unthinking sycophancy has applauded the oracle. It is just one of those pretentious epigrams which appeal to many because they believe that it holds a deep truth, which they ought to, but do not, understand. So that what we must call for want of a better name, journalist philosophers have popularized Shaw's contribution to Ethics, as something in the way of a new revelation, instead of what it is, a piece of tinsel silliness.

It is not material now to enquire minutely into this casuistic question. It is too true that most of our golden rules, on trial, admit of so many exceptions, that we fall away from practice, discouraged and doubting. But that is no reason why we should abandon our search or put up contentedly with ethical chaos, or silver or lead or mud rules instead of golden.

The dilemma is between moral scepticism, and the too ready introduction of wayward personal preferences. The business of the moral philosopher, as James points out, is to sort and sift the heterogeneous heap of "goods" in order to find, if possible, one property common to all of them, the essence of good. And when a philosopher has found what he believes to be this essence, he phrases it to be the Golden Rule. Thus, the Mean between the Extremes; what the moral intuition recognizes and accepts, as the reason recognizes and accepts a mathematical truth; Immediate happiness of the moral agent; deferred happiness of the greatest number; to harm no one; to be in accordance with

reason or Universal law (in tune with the Infinite); to obey the Will of God; to promote the survival of the human race on this Earth; to do unto others as you would they should do unto you; so to act, that you might will each of your acts to be law universal; and James' own golden rule, to satisfy the greatest, and disappoint the least, number of claims. The last is merely a restatement, in a popular form, of the Christian Rule of Altruism. And it may very well be doubted whether, if we must have a Rule of Thumb, any improvement can be or has yet been made upon, do unto others as you would they should do unto you. Love your neighbour as yourself, is open to rather obvious verbal criticism, though its moral content is probably meant to be the same. But whatever our rule may be, however we may dispose of the Casuistic question, we are still face to face with the first difficulty, Why ought we to act morally? If only to avoid "evil," *i. e.*, unpleasantness, there is clearly no moral content in such an "ought." If to go to the other extreme, to court every temporal misery in obedience to the Will of God, why again "ought" we to obey the Will of God? Here James' idea of the "claim" comes in. Unless there is not only a God, or as Clough puts it, "something very like Him," and unless we feel that He is making claims on us, to which our moral nature listens and responds, I cannot see that the conception of an Abstract God, personification of all Moral Goodness, affords the sanction we seek. For that is the point. We want to account for, and, if possible, understand the sanction of that little word "ought." It certainly connotes a sanction somewhere, for it is imperative. Not absolutely imperative, for that would upset morals as completely as Determinism. It is not a case of you *must*.

do right ; but you *ought* to do right, and the implication is that if you do right, your moral nature will receive its appropriate sanction, and be confirmed and encouraged. This is a practical question, not a merely abstract question. If it were the latter, James holds, though I do not agree with him, that no moral philosopher would find any difficulty in describing the best imaginable moral universe, as that in which every demand was satisfied as soon as made. It appears to me that that would be a moral chaos, for Evil demands as well as good demands would have to be satisfied without the slightest moral distinction. And this brings out of the background where it has so long been lurking our special trouble : What part has Evil to play in the Moral Universe? Why should we satisfy the bad, as well as the Good? Why should there BE any bad?

The problem could hardly arise, if we adopted the completely material explanation. Good and bad, originating in our own judgment, not moral judgments at all, in the beginning, and finally being referable to the need of reconciling our own, with the claims of all other sentient human beings ; no such thing as Moral Evil, even in the Ethical, much less in the Theological sense, can be accounted for, or, as far as I can see, even be admitted to exist. But, if we depart from that hypothesis, and allow a special quality to the Moral Sense, the conscience, if we lean in psychology to the Intuitional hypothesis, then undoubtedly we have the problem definitely threatening. For if we have an intuitive knowledge or perception of what is Good, abstractedly Good, and Evil, abstractedly Evil, independent of experience, and not seeking a sanction in merely experiential "consequences," we must ascribe it some origin. And that Origin seems as necessarily to

be a something to which Good and Evil are real antinomies, not merely contrasts, which sanctions Good and condemns Evil. Restricted to our own life experience, Good and Evil might very well be disposed of on the Hegelian plan, as substantially identical ; if we could only get at the underlying identity. But our Moral Sense and constitution refuses to admit that the difference is merely phenomenal, refuses to admit that everything is utterly indifferent, and that Evil is not really Evil, any more than Good is really Good.

We have not yet succeeded in tracing life ; we do not know what it is, whence it comes or whither it is bound. Neither, in the opinion of the most competent psychologists, have we traced the moral sense, our capacity, raised a degree, for knowing God. Renouncing Evolutionary moral and religious genetics, we are in the same uncertainty about spiritual as about physical life. But as it is certain that life differs essentially from not-life, so it may be thought certain that, however generated, once the spiritual Nature has come, its attitude towards good and evil differs from the merely inductive attitude. The latter might reasonably say, nothing is intrinsically good or evil ; some things prove harmful to us, we avoid them ; some things prove profitable to us we seek them. In this simple and natural process, you have a complete explanation. But the living spirit of man, right or wrong, turns away disgusted ; it has in this scheme no sanction, no morality, nothing to keep it alive ; yet it feels the need of living and developing quite as strongly as the physical animal does. It is in its affirmations and realizations of something quite outside, and above merely physical experience ; in its own moral categorical imperatives, Thou Shalt, Thou Shalt Not, that it justifies

itself, and gathers energy and stature. And it is in the formidable THOU SHALT NOT, that it finds the root of the cosmic puzzle of Evil.

Its response to its moral imperatives seems to it to imply some remote identity, at least, with the source of these imperatives. If they are formulated *a priori*, somehow, somewhere, in the High Heavens, in the vast beyond, Man could not know or understand unless he, too, had a foothold there. But as he feels that he does, to some extent, understand the THOU SHALT, so too, an origin must be given to what is implied in the THOU SHALT NOT. If the good comes from above and beyond, whence the Evil? If we know Good and Evil by some filament of Divinity connecting us with the Eternal Good, why is that facility in us, made aware of, tempted, often subjugated by the Evil? Just thinking that Good and Evil are actual antinomies existing apart from human judgments founded on purely physical experience, we must first allow that Evil may be as immortal as Good; and next we can easily imagine the moral revolt of the Satanist, who resolving to be the perfect immoralist, inverts the Categorical imperatives, and inscribes on his banner, "Evil, be Thou my Good." Turning to James' completion of human Ethics, and conceding for the sake of argument that his measure of moral value, his answer to the Casuistic question, is valid and sufficient, we find ourselves wondering. What is the incentive to moral activity? Our Professor has constructed a natty simple model, an admirable Ethical anatomy. But how is it going to work? It is pretty, and it attracts us by its intelligibility; but it seems to want something, something on the whole rather essential. It wants a soul. It is not yet, even an automaton; and supposing it were,

with an automatic clockwork attachment, our sense would rebel against accepting a mere mechanism as the model of perfected Ethics. This difficulty presents itself to James. No observer of human processes can very well miss the need of an adequate stimulus; the psychologist of Religion realizes that, while in certain states, we have ample energies, we have no sufficient directive motor, while in other states, we have the strongest inducements, but no energy. Now in Morals and Religion, before either can be truly effective, we want both the energies and the directive stimulus. In a materialist Ethic, where the only motive is the need (though why any one should really feel this need is nowhere apparent) of satisfying other peoples' claims, we might have superabundant ethical energies, but they would not be called forth. The typical moral paragon of such a society would be the quietist, who avoided all avoidable ills. But James sees quite clearly that this will not do. As a fact of every day experience, we have the strenuous Moralist, the Fanatical idealist, the Religious enthusiast. And these actual energies have to be accounted for, have to be referred to something different from the nice calculus of majority and minority claims. So James is obliged to posit a God. Possibly an illusory God, but a God who suffices to excite the strenuous, as opposed to the apathetic mood. Here we see how inevitably he turns back to his psychology, and, in spite of all the admirable reasoning by which, in disposing of the metaphysical and casuistic questions he has abolished any imaginary root of ethics in external being, needs something of the kind to vitalize the dry bones of his human ethics. The instructiveness of this is that it points this conclusion. While we can quite easily satisfy our reasons, with a

human ethic based on mutually interacting hypotheses, my needs must be satisfied by you, your needs must be satisfied by me, all needs must be satisfied by everybody as far as possible—a simple human ethic subsisting purely in human consciousness independent of any external inspiration or support, such a system could not explain some at least of the fundamental facts; while tested practically, it would prove utterly barren; it could yield no normal ore. Hence the conclusion is forced upon us that the energetic spiritual and moral activities of man have another origin, and another fund upon which to draw for permanence and development.

Perhaps some of you are noticing that I am slowly knitting up a ravelled skein. I hope you will not think I am doing it disingenuously. No one is more keenly aware of the distinctions to be observed between Ethics proper, and Religion. Yet I have just spoken of the ethical and spiritual activities, in conjunction. And I have referred them both to some other source than that beyond which the strict materialist refuses to track them. It is not necessary to pause upon the relative priority of the Ethical and the Religious sense. Historically, we may concede precedence to the Ethical, though while it remains wholly dissociated from any religious or quasi-religious sanction, it might be thought to be rather a matter of social, than ethical conduct. Very soon, however, Ethics and Religion overlap and interpenetrate each other. And the course of the partnership is almost invariably such as to give the Religious, the spiritual element preponderating authority. It is only when rules of Ethical conduct obtain a Religious sanction (which analysis tends to show they always truly have, implicitly) that they acquire their highest quality and fullest efficacy. In like manner, but less vigorously,

Ethical Rules, re-act upon Religious ideals. But the tendency is, or it appears to me to be so, to a gradual fusion of the cooler Ethical, in the warmer Religious or spiritual sense. So that for our immediate purpose, the search after the beginnings and value of Evil in the Religious (including the Ethical) world, we may now step forward boldly, dis-encumbered of the rationalistic and materialist claims upon the merely Ethical development of Man, with such implication as those claims have, against there being any objective reality in either Good or Evil, or any Ethical need to discriminate between them, except reference to their consequences, present or future, upon our temporal well-being, comfort, happiness, or, speaking more broadly, upon our purely sensuous natures.

Assuming for the rest of our discussion that certain States, Conduct, Happenings are by the common consent of normal Ethical and Religious man, thought to be Good or Evil; assuming that our classification rests upon something, partially, at least, instinctive within us, and therefore, for want of a better ascription to be referred to an external Divinity, we must inevitably soon ask ourselves, Why, if men by Divine light know what is Good, do they choose Evil? Why, if Good is of the Essence of Divinity, and if this world is the work of a Divine Creator or Governor, does He permit it to be so infected as daily experience shows us that it is, with Evil? Ought not the handiwork of the Good to be all Good? Ought not the Good in us, to turn naturally and always to the Good, which it knows? As the needle to the pole, faithfully, truly, unavertably, the Divine in us, which we associate with our Will, should, we feel, point ever to the good act, and away from the bad act. But so far from this being the case, the

balance is pretty even ; and our trouble is to reconcile our basic theory with every day facts ; in other words, to account for the possibility of Evil.

We get this difficulty, in clearest outline, and in its simplest form, by approaching it from that Theological standpoint, which postulates a Personal, Anthropomorphic God, directly supervising the occurrences of the entire Universe, as thoughtful of the fall of a single sparrow, as of the annihilation of a whole Empire. Omnipotent, Omniscient and All-Loving, are the three attributes of this Theological God. Starting from that conception, and judging, as we must judge, by our own interpretations of Omnipotence, and All-Lovingness, we are at once confronted with seeming contradictions. We reason with ourselves thus. Our Father in Heaven bears towards all of us, love of the same kind but exceeding in degree the love of a natural father for his children. He is all powerful. If He chose, He could make all His children perfectly good and perfectly happy. Does He ? Far, indeed, from that. Thousands and thousands of them are doomed from birth to misery, and millions are allowed to fall into sin. Why ? How is this reconcilable with an Omnipotent loving kindness ? Here our human reason fails us, and we must, if we are honest, admit that no reconciliation is possible. Either God is not Omnipotent, or he is not All-Loving, or, and it is in this that most devout people take refuge, His ways of showing love are not our ways, nor is His justice our justice, or anything in the least like it, which is tantamount, if again we would be honest with ourselves, to abandoning this conception of a God altogether. For a God whose justice is, according to our innate sense of justice, the cruellest and most callous injustice, whose love manifests itself in what we

should deem acts of hate and malignity, cannot satisfy any of our ideals of divine perfection. It is a commonplace of this kind of criticism, that we must conclude, either that God does not love us in the way we love each other, that our notions of justice are altogether different from, and higher than His, or that He is not Omnipotent. We are obliged to evade these difficulties, if we would retain our faith in such a God, by attributing all that we think we see so clearly and understand so well, to the imperfections and limitations of our vision and understanding. If we only saw the whole, and knew the whole, we say, we should find that there was no injustice, and no evil ; that everything which happened, happened for our good, that everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. But, if we are born in a state of hopeless poverty, in a criminal environment, born to disease and sin, we certainly do not acquiesce in the justice or love of a Father, who thinks it well to stamp so large a proportion of His children with want and misery and wickedness in the hour of their birth. We say, we would never treat our children so ; and yet the Divine love is supposed to transcend ours, and to be accompanied by plenary power to produce its natural effects. The outcome of this attitude of evasion is a sort of resigned fatalism. It expresses itself grimly enough in dogmatic creeds. Whom He loveth, He chasteneth. Implying that it is only by a system of refined disciplinary cruelty that He can shape His children to His will. But again we want to know why ? If He is Omnipotent, it would be just as easy to lead them all by pleasant paths to final perfection ; to use the rod less vigorously, and abolish altogether the torture chambers of the soul. If the hearts of men are incorrigibly naughty, again we want to know

why? *Ex hypothesi*, being illumined, however faintly, by a ray which is from God, they should be His holy temples, and abiding places on earth. So far from being incorrigibly naughty, they ought to be essentially good and the one certain and sure resting-place of whatever is good in the Universe. So that it should not be necessary to be always lacerating and racking, even that poor servant the body, in order to purify the Soul, the Soul which, *ex hypothesi*, is essentially and incorruptibly pure, in virtue of its Divine origin. These considerations which must occur to the shallowest and most superficial thinker, as soon as he begins to take Western Theology to pieces, will suffice to bring concretely before us the kind of problem we are trying to solve. Underlying all this monkish metaphysic, is no doubt the idea, old as the world, of the dualism of man, Soul and Body, Mind and Matter, with its implication of implacable hostility and antagonism.

Like an ill-assorted human pair, the Soul pulls one way, the Body the other. Mind or Spirit or Soul (the three terms have, of course, quite distinct meanings) has made a wretched match with body or Matter. The Soul makes for Good, the Body for Evil. But the Soul being temporarily involved in the Body, cannot escape its attractions, so that we have the perennial war of the flesh upon the spirit. Now all this is very well. But where does the Omnipotent God come in? Why does He not throw His decisive power into the scale of the spirit and at any rate make that wholly triumphant and victorious in its own proper domain? Conceded that the body being matter, is radically impure, and must produce its impurities,—cancers, plague, leprosy, every form of disease, which we account an Evil; still when it comes to conduct, when we are in the regal presence-chamber of the Will, why should not *that* be always and entirely good? Yet

too often we find that men deliberately choose what the unsophisticated Spirit must judge to be evil, nor are these the men, who, as far as our earthly vision reaches, pay the wages of Sin. It is all very well again to fulminate against the "wicked" whom we observe to be flourishing as the green bay tree, that the wages of Sin is Death. That is nothing. Death awaits us all, and if, as no doubt it does, the denunciation means not physical, but spiritual Death, we are primarily concerned with life, the life we have to live HERE, the life we know, of the accidents and embellishments of which we feel able to judge, and secondarily and very remotely concerned with the fate of the Spirit, when it has taken flight into the beyond. Moreover, why should the Spirit be punished with death, because the Body has taken the bit between its teeth, and not only aimed at, but obtained a full riotous, even wicked, if you please, but, on the whole, physically satisfactory fill of the good things of life? For I must keep on pinning this argument down to its main proposition, that the Spirit is of God, and God is essentially good. In the case of the wicked who flourish, we must suppose that the Spirit is either wholly wanting, in which case, we are face to face with a strange and startling distinction between Man and Man, or that it is not a consenting partner in that particular business of life, and cannot therefore be called to the final account or implicated in the sentence of Death. So that it again works out to purely physical death, which so far from being the wages of Sin, ought to be the reward of spiritual perfection. We will not pursue this exceedingly simple reasoning further; we must, I think, all agree that it flows inevitably from a too Anthropomorphic conception of First Causes, and owes a great deal of its cogency to insisting too strongly upon the exactness of analogies,

which probably are not analogies at all, and certainly nothing like exact analogies. Take up another, completer, and subtler metaphysical explanation; I fear that we shall find that it, too, lands us in hopeless contradiction. The Ancient Wisdom, with its hypothesis of reincarnation and Karma, does offer us a perfectly logical account of all that we, as mere human beings, judging upon the evidence before us, must believe to be unmerited Evil. We will waive the question whether this hypothesis is TRUE or not; because like every scientific hypothesis, I treat it as for the present provisional, and I test it by the ordinary scientific rule. Does it explain more facts and explain them better than any rival hypothesis? I think that it does, and I am therefore perfectly justified in adopting it as a provisional working hypothesis, if I choose. It is not, however, with that, which is after all by way of deduction from the main hypothesis, that I am concerned. For before we can whole-heartedly subscribe to the law of Karma, we need, as rational metaphysicians, to be satisfied of its logical connection with its origin. Now when you push this scheme to its commencement, I take it that it comes to this, God involved Himself in matter, for the sole object of evolving out of matter again. Idle to put the usual Why here; for, of course, all sane thinkers recognize that ultimates must be ultimates, that sooner or later we must run our heads against the wall; that, though we may raise here and there a veil, we shall reach the portal, and there was a veil through which I might not see.

Granting, then, that this is the right cosmic explanation; that the world was the Divine breath, involving itself in matter, seeking in this way "realization;" conceding again, that the Divine would obtain some

satisfactory realization from æons of close association with matter, from which, *ex hypothesi*, its sole object is to finally and completely free itself, we may take up our problem of Good and Evil on the Karmic and Reincarnation hypothesis. Unfortunately, it remains as insoluble as ever. If we allow, to satisfy our innate sense of justice, that no man suffers unmerited Evil; in other words, that although in the life we are observing, he seems to do so, he has really deserved exactly what he gets by his moral conduct in previous lives, our first satisfaction is soon disturbed. It is plain that no punishment could be deserved except by a moral agent, who has deliberately sinned. No punishment could, consistently with OUR sense of justice, be merited or inflicted upon a rock which was rolled off a watershed on to a passer-by below. And, as I understand the teaching of the Ancient Wisdom, it emphasizes this, without apparently much thought, or a clear perception of the *impasse* it is leading up to. It is only the sins of intention which are reckoned in Karma. But the sins of intention must be committed by that moral sense (unless we separate the intellect completely from the Soul, and then form an immoral partnership between the Reason and the Will) which is a "spark of the Divine." But a spark of the Divine could not do wilful wrong any more than the Divine as a whole could be conceived capable of doing so. For what is our measure of right and wrong in this region? Only that God is Good, and that what is against HIS nature, is Evil. Therefore, of course, if God Himself does what we call wrong; does it only through the agency of the tiny spark of Himself which is in us, it cannot BE wrong, and we cannot have merited punishment or evil for doing it. If the Karmic law is interpreted with its origin, it yields this

result, precisely the same result for that matter, as that of the Omnipotent All Loving God, that no man, in so far as he was a bit of Divinity, could ever deserve misfortune; that his Karma would go on improving and each succeeding state be more beatific than the former. The measure of progress might be affected, but by one thing only, the magnitude of the Divine spark in the individual. In proportion as that be greater or less (and presumably it develops and increases by accretion in the periods of rest between incarnations) there would be a richer or poorer Karma. Now this consideration, which I have never seen handled in any Theosophic work goes to the root of the whole matter, and leaves us as miserably unsatisfied as ever in face of the facts of everyday life. Moreover, if you distinguish happiness qualitatively, and declare that much which we judge good fortune, is really bad fortune—which, I think, you must do to accommodate the theory of Soul growth, in a world like this,—you get right away from all our own standards of judgment, into the nebulous and incomprehensible. That, however, is a secondary consideration, and operates rather in the field of practice than theory. What I now insist upon is, that there ought to be no moral evil at all in the world, if its origin is the breath of God, and its entire sentient activities but the working and emanation of His Pure Spirit.

It is in your own religion, you Parsis, that the problem is faced most boldly, on the whole, most logically. Recognizing the hard facts of life, but in spite of them resolved to believe in a controlling God, Zoroastrianism dualised Him. He was the source of Good and Evil. Both equally resided in, and emanated from Him. A mystery, a profound mystery, but after

all only one of the Ultimates to which all Theological speculations must come. And it has this great advantage that it does not shirk the facts. It is a little Hegelian I must own. For if we retain our ingrained notion of God as essential goodness; it is only by merging contradictories, namely, essential badness and essential goodness, in a fundamental identity, the One God, that we reach the Zoroastrian Deity. If we want to get more light on this inscrutable problem, we may turn to a law of the Universe, polarity. And we shall, perhaps, derive some, a very little, assistance from the reflection that this universal law invariably presents us with a positive and negative. We may then proceed to identify the positive of God with Good, and the negative of God with Evil, thus obtaining a faint glimmer of a possible though difficult explanation. But I own I mistrust the analogy which some seem to me inclined to push too far. For we must remember that the positive attracts the negative, and *vice versa*, so that we should be in this ambiguous position that the best in us attracted the worst and the worst the best. From such a dilemma, I see no satisfactory escape. On one horn or the other we must be impaled. But, admitting that Good and Evil, as we use and understand the words, are integral parts of the Divine Author and Governor, we are at least out of the wood in which as soon as we postulate All Goodness, All Power, All Lovingness, etc., we must for ever wander. The principles of Good and Evil may lie in ultimate Divinity, but our finite intelligences may be utterly unable to grasp the underlying purpose.

Admitting that the energies of the Cosmic God, if such there be, have a sweep and compass of space and time, too vast for our limited powers, it is conceivable

that, as both principles of Good and Evil originate in His being, so in the completion of His work and the accomplishment of His final purpose, the true relativity and complementary character of these principles, will be revealed in a Unity, Perfect and Good.

All that I can say, speaking for myself, is that the "how" is and must remain, incomprehensible. Descending from those lofty transcendental regions, to the common atmosphere, we have to face the world as it is, and decide for ourselves upon its Good and its Evil. Omitting external accidents and external blessings—for the rain, like the avalanche, falleth on the just and the unjust alike—we must, as moral and spiritual beings, wrestle out the riddle of conduct. It is plain, I think, that in the last analysis of every good moralist we come to this that the only really good thing, morally good thing in the world is a Good Will. And it follows that those who adopt the determinist view of the universe, root out that last and only good thing which it contains. For if the Will is not free, then there can be no moral value in a good or in a bad Will. I have no time to go into that deep and vexed question; but I must insist, in spite of the disclaimers of what I call soft or sentimental Determinists, that Determinism is stark fatalism, and does away with all possibility of Morals. Not necessarily of Religion, for it is only a statement of a common and quite popular form of religion—Predestination. Morally, however, it presents this dilemma, Pessimism of the worst kind; for hundreds of things happen daily in the world which shock our moral senses. If these are the only things that could have happened, if they are the best things that could have happened, then there really is something rotten in the state of Denmark, and it is high time that we were quit

of the world or might remould it nearer to our heart's desire. Alternative horn of the dilemma, Subjectivism. True, what happens is extremely horrid, but it happens to educate our finer moral sense. The thrill of horror it sends through us is its moral justification. Some brutal murder is committed. The subjective sensualist, feels all his skin goose fleshy, and he says, that sensation warrants the murder; to produce that in me, that murder was ordained. Now it is clear that this sentiment carried but a little way becomes horribly immoral and is infinitely worse than a resentful pessimism. Both are bad enough. For evil or no evil, I cannot bring myself to doubt that this lovely world is, on the whole, and for its final purpose, extremely good. * Floating in pure ether, a glittering ball, half turned to the sun, half bathed in the starry night with myriad eyes and ears, and senses complete in radiant beauty, is she not very like a great Angel, under whose wings we little things with our measures of personal good and personal evil swing through space, a part of her glorious Intelligence and Being?

In thus subordinating our personalities and sufferings and claims to a larger whole, by thus identifying ourselves with the Universe, we may rhapsodically and emotionally shirk the problem. And these moods of exaltation, no doubt, help us to forget its ugliness much better, than moods of fatalistic resignation. But all the same, when we come down to earth again, we find the thorny thing waiting for us. And no Theology, or Metaphysic or Ethic, has yet proved adequate to solve it rationally, logically, and yet in obedience to our spiritual demands, spiritually. It seems to me that you can only harmonize the facts of life with all

* Fechner's "Earth Soul" by James.

our own spiritual needs by denying the one or the other. Or you may give it up and take refuge in a confession of impotence. No attempts to explain undeserved personal suffering, disease, inequalities, and the like upon theories of "sacrifice," the sacrifice of the individual to the state, or of the member to the family, and so on, seem to me to be more than academic. No one attaches any moral value to unwilling sacrifices. You may say that hanging a criminal is sacrificing him to the State. So it is, but you will find it rather hard to convince him that he ought to rejoice in this painful moral as well as physical elevation. While scientific explanations of unmerited evil, in the shape of disease, upon a theory of Heredity, may be perfectly true, they are obviously and utterly immoral. Least of all can any right thinking man derive consolation from theories of vicarious suffering, or consent to be indemnified for his own sins by the agonies of the sinless. Placing a good Will at the top of all morally good things, we allow by implication that Will may be a bad thing, and a bad Will, the worst of all moral things. But how the Will, which must, according to all Theologies, and Metaphysics, really belong to the most permanent and, therefore, the most Divine part of us, can be both good and bad, is inexplicable upon any other ground than that, as Zoroastrianism teaches, the Good and Evil are alike principles in the One God. This much will doubtless set many of you questing for yourselves in this dark and perilous region. I wish I had more definite conclusions to offer. But I told you I only meant to suggest and afterwards expect much help and further light from your own intelligent researches.

F. C. O. BEAMAN.

Art. III.—HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.—I.

II.—BOMBAY.

THE earliest trace of the existence of the Printing Press in Bombay is to be found in the following letter, dated the 9th January 1670, addressed by the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay to the Court of Directors in London :—

"Bhimjee Parrack (Parekh) makes his humble request to you that you would please to send out an able printer to Bombay, for that he hath a curiosity and earnest inclination to have some of the Brahmini writings in print, and for the said Printer's encouragement he is willing to allow him £50 sterling a year for three years, and also to be at the charges of tools and instrument necessary for him. And in case that will not be sufficient, he humbly refers it to your prudence to agree with the said Printer according as you shall see good, and promises to allow what you shall consider. 'Tis not improbable that this curiosity of his may tend to a common good and by the industry of some searching spirits produce discoveries out of those or other ancient manuscripts of these parts which may be useful or at least grateful to Posterity."

This letter of request for the Printer who was to save "the Brahmini writings" from oblivion, reaching London after many months, was warmly welcomed by the Directors who replied on the 3rd April 1674 that they had "engaged Mr. Henry Hills, a Printer for the Island of Bombay, at a salary of £50 per annum and had despatched him in one of their ships with a printing press, type and considerable quantity of paper. The"

whole cost of the business was, they added, to be charged to Bhimjee. But whereas the Bania's sole object was the publication and conservation of the ancient scriptures of the East, the Directors, who were deeply imbued with the religious sentiments of Puritan England, desired to make use of the press to "propagate our religion whereby souls may be gained as well as estates."

On Mr. Henry Hills' arrival, Bhimjee suffered some disappointment, for the type which the former brought with him was, like himself, purely Western; and apparently, though a skilled printer, he was far from being a type-founder. It was not until eight years later that the Directors realised that the religious love of the Gentoos or Gentiles might possess an antiquarian if not a spiritual value, and decided to send out a type-founder "to cut the Banian letters."

In the early records of the Bombay Government and of the Government of India, I have not been able to trace the subsequent development of the printing press brought out by Mr. Henry Hills. Specimens of printing as done by this press are also not traceable. It is also not known whether the type-founder to cut the "Banian" letters did arrive in Bombay and produce the types as desired by Bhimjee.

From 1690 to 1778 the Records are silent about the development of the printing press in Bombay. In the latter year, Rustomji Kersaspji, a Parsee, with the assistance of a European, started an English press in Bombay. In 1780 he published an English calendar for the year from his own press. Not a single copy of this first calendar can be obtained now; it cannot be even seen in the Record Room of the Bombay Government Secretariat. Nor can any trace be found of this

Parsee and his descendants. In 1855, 75 years after a copy of this calendar was seen by Dr. George Buist, then Editor of the *Bombay Times*,* who described it as containing 34 foolscap pages of superior quality. The price of each copy of the calendar was Rs. 2

In 1789 the *Bombay Herald* appeared as the first English weekly newspaper of Bombay. It is not known who founded it nor who conducted it. In the next year, 1790, Luke Ashburner†, an Alderman of the Mayor's Court of Bombay, began to publish another English weekly, the *Bombay Courier*. With the object of publishing advertisements in Guzerati, he employed a Parsee named Mobed Jijibhai Behramji Chhapgar, who with his own hands fabricated the first fount of types in the Guzerati character, and it was with these types that Ashburner printed his advertisements in Guzerati. In the file of the *Bombay Courier* of 1797 several advertisements could be seen printed in these types.

In 1791 the *Bombay Gazette* was started. It is not known how it originated or who was its first proprietor or editor. In June 1791 the editor promised to pay attention to every order of Government respecting publications in his paper. On the 28th September some severe comments were made in it on the state of the police, which were considered to reflect unjustly on Mr. Anderson, the Deputy of Police. The Government, in consequence, expressed its disapprobation of the objectionable paragraphs, and desired the editor

* Vide the *Bombay Times*, 4th December 1855.

† In the list of Aldermen published in Douglas's *Bombay and Western India* this name appears as William Ashburner. Captain John Clunes, 12th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry in his *Itinerary and Directory for Western India* published in 1826, p. 12, says that Luke Ashburner had an estate at Bhandoop about 5 miles distant from Sankee, where sugarcane was chiefly cultivated, and there was an extensive arrack distillery.

in future to send the proofsheets of his paper to the Secretary, for the inspection of the Government. In October the editor requested that his paper (like the *Madras Courier*) might be officially and exclusively authorised by Government, promising that no insertion should appear therein unauthorised by the Secretary to Government to whom proofs were to be sent previously to publication. This request was complied with, and the *Bombay Gazette* was denominated the "Government Paper."

In 1791 the *Bombay Herald* having inserted a passage, intimating that Lieutenant Emmitt, then at Poona, was prosecuting his surveys, it was thought that the promulgation of this information might be attended with inconvenient consequences; the editor was sent for and directed in future to send the proofsheets of his paper to the Secretary for the inspection of Government, according to the rule observed by the editors of the two other papers, the *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette*.

In 1792 the *Bombay Herald* was amalgamated with the *Bombay Gazette*, and in September of this year the proprietor of the latter paper having represented the heavy expenses he had incurred in order to render the paper subservient to the purposes of Government, solicited its exclusive patronage. The request was complied with, and a declaration was published that, the insertion in the *Bombay Gazette* of the Board's orders and resolutions was to be considered a sufficient notification thereof to any servant of the Company.

I have stated elsewhere* that owing to several excesses in the Calcutta Press, Lord Wellesley laid down

* *Vide the Calcutta Review*, July 1907.

in 1799* for the first time, certain restrictions, on its liberty.

The immediate cause which led to the establishment of Censorship by Lord Wellesley was the illegal imprisonment of a Mr. Allan Maclean under the following circumstances. Mr. D'Aguilar and Mr. A. Maclean were partners in an indigo work near Gazipore. These gentlemen quarrelled about their concerns, and a fray took place in which Mr. Maclean struck Mr. D'Aguilar on the nose. Mr. Maclean then offered satisfaction, but Mr. D'Aguilar rode off to a Magistrate, and swore the peace against him. The Magistrate, though no Justice of the Peace, and without even hearing what Mr. Maclean had to say, and refusing to admit him to bail, committed him to prison. The Magistrate then wrote to the Appeal Judges at Benares, who had no right to interfere, for instructions how to act. Mr. Treves, one of these Judges, signed a letter, ordering the Magistrate to send Mr. Maclean in confinement to Calcutta. Mr. Neave, another of the Appeal Judges, was absent and disapproved the measure. The Magistrate then sent Mr. Maclean down the river in a baggage boat, without any proper covering, and under the guard of a sergeant, corporal and twelve sepoy. In this boat exposed to the burning sun by day and unhealthy dews by night, the prisoner remained for upwards of a month. Meanwhile Mr. Maclean having communicated to his namesake, Dr. Charles Maclean of Calcutta, and a paragraph having appeared in the *India Gazette*, the Doctor wrote to the Editor as follows:—"Sir,—I request you will contradict the account which

* It is on record that the Earl of Mornington writing from Fort St. George, privately to Sir Alured Clarke, Commander-in-Chief, whom he left in Calcutta as his Deputy in 1799, said:—"I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors; in the meantime if you cannot tranquillise this or other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to Europe."

through some very gross information, was inserted in the last *India Gazette* and *Hircarrah*, announcing the death of Mr. A. Maclean said to be shot in a duel at Benares. I this day received a letter from that gentleman mentioning indeed some circumstances which if his antagonist had not possessed an uncommon degree of prudence, might have led to that catastrophe; but I am happy to add that the only disagreeable effects of the *rencontre* have arisen from the interference of the Magistrate of Gazipore, whose conduct upon this occasion I will take a due opportunity of appreciating.—I am etc., C. MACLEAN, Calcutta, April 28, 1798."

This letter produced the release of Mr. Maclean at Monghyr, the banishment of Dr. Charles Maclean and the first establishment of a Censorship in Asia. This letter, too, was stamped a libel. After the publication of this libel, Dr. Maclean was called upon by the Government to make an apology; he in a mild but becoming tone, refused to do so and was sent home a prisoner. By this manly conduct, Dr. Maclean sacrificed an income of £700 per annum, and about £2,000 which he had expended on a printing press. In this outcast and ruined state, the Doctor solicited a passage for himself and his wife, upon which the Governor-General ordered them to be provided for as charter party passengers; that is, this gentleman and lady were to be accommodated with the *pariahs* of the East, and the scum of English jails, and to be fed on ship provision till they reached England *

* On Lord Wellesley's return to England, Dr. Maclean published his case and no man throughout ever behaved with greater prudence and firmness. Dr. Maclean afterwards became well known to the public, by his researches in Turkey respecting the causes and treatment of the plague, and in Spain concerning the yellow fever; with a view to promote the abolition of quarantine, on sanitary establishments. *Vide* Leicester Stanhope's *Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India* (1823), pp. 7-9.

Sir John Malcolm in a minute on the Indian Press (for its full text see later on), dated the 12th April 1823, says:—

"The office of censor was, I believe, first instituted by Lord Wellesley in consequence of an article appearing in the *Mirror* (*Asiatic Mirror*) newspaper which took comparative view of the European and Native population with some speculations on the subject, that were not deemed less dangerous from there being no evil design on the part of the writer"

These regulations were extended to Bombay and Madras in 1800. The Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, Francis Warden, of Warden Street, Bombay, became the Censor of the Bombay Press, and no information was allowed to be published in the Bombay newspapers before it was approved of by him. Special care was taken by him in allowing the publication of news about the navy and movements of ships to safeguard the interests of the East India Company.

Francis Warden held the Censorship of the Bombay Press for about fifteen years, and was an officer of liberal views. He was anxious to see the shackles of the Bombay Press removed and often allowed articles of independent views to appear unchecked. As an instance of this, we may mention the following incident. One Saturday after having done his work as Censor, he went to Salsette. In his absence from Bombay, an article was published in a Bombay newspaper giving full details of a debate in the Parliament at home. As soon as the Government of Bombay became aware of this, they called Warden back from Salsette and asked for an explanation. He was also reprimanded by Lord Wellesley for having allowed the Bombay Press to publish information

about the second appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India, as likely to interfere with his arrangements for the administration of the State.

In July 1802 the proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette* was censured for inserting an advertisement of an intended publication of the trial of a Mr. Bellasis for murder, and was directed to make a public apology for the same in his next issue. The proprietor expressed his regret for the insertion of the advertisement, which, he said, had been sent to the office by one of the advocates employed in the cause with the alleged concurrence of the parties concerned, and an apology was afterwards published in the *Bombay Gazette* in obedience to the orders of Government. The advocate strongly objected to the insertion of the apology in which it was stated "that the work advertised was compiled under the influence of individual prejudice." The editor, in reply, stated that the Government insisted on the insertion of the apology, as it originally stood, and that, therefore, he must insert it.

In December 1804 Mr Hallet, the Editor of the *Bombay Courier*, proposed to Government to resign the management of his paper to Messrs. William Erskine* and Edward Nash, and the proposition was accepted. The new editors had almost immediate occasion to

* Son of David Erskine : born November 8, 1773 ; educated at the Royal High School and Edinburgh University : was a lawyer's apprentice 1792-9 : went to India in 1803-4 with his father-in-law, Sir James Mackintosh : at Bombay he became clerk of the Small Cause Court, a stipendiary Magistrate, Secretary and Vice-President to the Bombay Literary Society founded by Sir James Mackintosh. To the journal of this Society he contributed numerous articles on the Parsis, their language, religion and literature and on the Buddhists, etc. ; became Master in Equity in the Recorder's Court in 1820 : was a member of Mountstuart Elphinstone's Committee for framing the Bombay Code of Regulations : he left India in 1823 having been dismissed from his legal offices on a charge of defalcations by Sir Edward West, Recorder of Bombay : in 1826 published his translation of Babar's Autobiographical memoirs from Persian with a full commentary : was provost of St. Andrew's, 1836-9 : died at Edinburgh, May 20, 1852 : wrote also *History of India under Babar and Humayun*, edited by his son, 1854.

apologise for the publication of an article which had not received the previous sanction of Government. And again in January 1805 they apologised for a similar transgression.

In July 1807 the editors of the Bombay papers, like their Calcutta contemporaries, were directed, in obedience to the instructions of the Supreme Government—that is the Governor-General in Council—not to publish articles of naval intelligence, except such as should be sanctioned by Government. In 1810 Mr. Fearon, having signified to the Chief Secretary that the *Bombay Gazette* had been transferred to him by Mr. Macklin, it was notified to Mr. Macklin that he should not have made the transfer without the assent of Government. On the 29th December 1811 Government ordered the Editor of the *Bombay Courier* to be informed that an advertisement in that paper of a sale of certain premises on a Sunday was considered extremely objectionable ; they, therefore, directed him in future to refuse admission to *advertisements of sales* intended to take place on Sundays. In the same year the Gaekwar of Baroda complained to the Government of Bombay of a defamatory article which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*. The Government asked the editor to apologise, and he did so. About this time the *Bombay Gazette* extracted from a London paper some articles about the Duke of York. The Commander-in-Chief* objected to this and reported the matter to the Bombay Government. Next day another apology was extracted from the editor.

In 1812 the first Guzerati Printing Press was set up in Bombay by a Parsee named Mobed Fardoonji

* Major-General the Hon. John Abercromby.

Murzban* and was called the Samachar Press. In 1814 the first Guzerati calendar (*Punchang*)† was printed and published from this press by Murzban, from *Dewali* of the year, with the assistance of one Ramshanker, a

* Mobed Fardunji Murzban was a son of Murzban, the founder of the family now in Bombay of that name. His father, Kaus, was surnamed "Munajjam" for his accomplishment in astrology and *ramal*, and was the head of the ecclesiastical class, *Pauthak*, of the Mobeds of Surat. He was descended directly from Nereosaugh Dhaval's ancestor, Shapur Shehriar, the mobed who brought from Persia the first Parsi refugees to India. Fardunji's mother was daughter of the famous Mirza Kaus Khusru Baig, the chief High Priest (*Dastur*) of the oldest fire-temple (*Atashbeheram*) of Udwada in Guzerat. He was one of the trinity of co-temporaneous Kauses and received his title of Mirza Khusru Baig from the Emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb) in whose Court at Delhi he was a Jagirdar and keeper of the Seal.

Fardunji was born in 1787 in Kaupith in a lane called Kamnagar in Surat. He was taught Persian by a well-known teacher, Fazel-Ulma-Moiti Jahiruddin bin Nasirulla, Sanskrit by a pandit, and medicine by a *tabib* (doctor) of Broach, Goolam Mohiuddin. To prosecute further studies, he came to Bombay in 1805 and resided for a time with the celebrated Mulla Firoze, a friend of his father. In 1808 he settled at Bombay as a book-binder, and with the patronage of Jonathan Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, and the Nawab of Mazagaon, eked out a decent living, within a short while he left book-binding and became a contractor to the native regiments for the supply of their paper head gear. Next he took to private postal service for carrying letters in different parts of Bombay. About 1811 his attention was directed to printing business by his friend Jijibhai Behramji Chhapgar who was Parsi printer in the *Bombay Courier* Press. In 1812 he set up the Samachar Press, cut Guzerati types with his own hand, and cast letters with the help of the female members of his household. In 1815 he printed for the first time a Guzerati translation of the *Dabestan* and sold a copy for Rs. 15. In the same year he printed from types ordered out from England, the *Khorach-Avesta*, of which a Guzerati translation by Dastur Fardunji Sorabji Meherji Rana of Naosari, was published by him on the new year's day of 1818. In 1819 the *Bundahishu* was printed in Guzerati; in 1822 Murray's *English Grammar* was translated and published in Gujarati, and in 1826 Fardunji printed a brochure on Vaccination in Guzerati at the expense of Government.

On the 13th August 1832—ten years after the *Mumtaina Samachar* was started—Fardunji relinquished his paper to Temulji Rastomji Mirza and his press and other concerns to his creditors Sethes Kharsedji Meherjibhai and Hormasji Meherji as he was involved in a big commercial failure. On the 11th October of this year he left Bombay and retired to Damaun where, in the following year, he set up a printing press. He also practised there as a medical man, and in 1842, when cholera broke out, he did some good service to the Portuguese Government. In 1841 he compiled a "Preserver of Health" (*The Sharir-shanti*) of which 25 copies were subscribed by the Governor of Bombay at Rs. 7 a copy.

Fardunji married early in life Kuvarbai, daughter of Kharshedji Sorabji, a Surat cloth merchant and niece to a *Hakim*-in-waiting to the Nawab of Surat. By her he got three sons, Kavasji, Behramji and Mehervanji, whom he trained in printing and employed in the *Daftar Ashkara* Press which he opened in Bombay in 1841. Kavasji is the grandfather of Mr. M. M. Murzban now an advocate of Bombay; Behramji is the father of Mr. J. B. Murzban, now Editor and Proprietor of the *Jan-e-Jamshed* Press and daily newspaper, and Mehervanji is the present proprietor of the *Daftar Ashkara* Press and the *Rost Gofar* weekly newspaper.

I am indebted for the above facts to Mr. M. M. Murzban, Bar, at-Law.

† This calendar has continued in an unbroken line up to now. Its present circulation is about 30,000 copies per annum; its price per copy now is annas 2.

renowned Joshi (astrologer). The price of a copy of this first calendar was Rs. 2.

After the death of the Governor, Jonathan Duncan, of Bombay on the 11th August 1811 Warden practically freed the Bombay Press from censorship. He informed the editors that in commenting on Government actions and in their writings they should be guided by past experience and the Press Regulations. That the Bombay editors did not, in any way, abuse the trust placed in them is apparent from the absence of any record of differences in the Government archives of this period.

In 1818 Lord Hastings abolished the Censorship in Bengal and laid down some Regulations* for the guidance of the Calcutta editors. In December 1819 these Regulations were introduced in Bombay, and in the Minute proposing this measure, Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, recommended "that the warning regarding the measures to be adopted in case the Regulations are infringed, should be so strong and explicit, as to justify prompt and severe examples, if those Regulations should be disregarded." In 1820 lithography was introduced in Bombay.

On the 30th December 1821 Mr. Adolphus Pope, editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, died at Poona. He was sometime Sheriff of Bombay, and most probably the honour was conferred upon him for his consistent

* The Court of Directors vehemently protested against the promulgation by Lord Hastings of these regulations which practically set the Indian Press free from all restrictions, and sent out an angry despatch (for its text see the *Calcutta Review*, July 1907) in which they directed their Indian Governor-General in Council to revert, on the receipt of this despatch, to the practice which had prevailed for nearly 20 years previous to 1818. When this despatch reached the Board of Control in 1820, its then President, Mr. George Canning, disagreeing with the view taken by the Court of Directors refused to give his sanction to its issue to the Governor-General of India. For this act of refusal, Mr. Canning received the thanks of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company on the vote of Mr. Randle Jackson in the India House in 1821.

support of Government actions. He was succeeded by Mr. C. J. Fair as editor. In 1822 the Bombay Government started their own press and withdrew from the *Bombay Courier* Press all their job works, making the latter a loser by Rs. 20,000. About this time the Indian Press was much hampered by heavy inland postage. A notice published in England states that the Post Office in India would not deliver a newspaper at any distance under half a rupee or 1s. 3d.

In June 1822 the following order of the Commander-in-Chief in India (Lord Hastings who was also Governor-General) prohibiting military officers from sending anonymous communications to the newspapers was enforced in Bombay.

HEAD-QUARTERS,

• Calcutta, 8th June 1822.

The following general orders were published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 13th June 1822 :—

"The Commander-in-Chief has observed, with great dissatisfaction, a practice indulged by officers or by persons assuming that character, of addressing anonymous complaints to the public, through the newspapers, respecting imagined professional grievances. It is visible the reader cannot assure himself that any particular case so stated is not fallaciously represented, through the inexperience, the misrepresentation or the perverse views of the writer; consequently, the appeal is essentially devoid of any possible utility. But it is obvious that in this procedure the legitimate sources of redress are neglected, so that the purpose must be to give a general impression of inattention, oppressiveness or injustice in those with whom the superintendence of such concerns is lodged. The extreme mischief and improbity of these endeavours have probably not

been perceived by the writers whom the Commander-in-Chief is willing to regard as having yielded only to a momentary inconsiderateness. The habit however, of an officer's thus casting off his first and requisite dependence on his military superiors must not be permitted. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, in the strictest manner, prohibits officers from sending to the newspapers any such anonymous representations as are above described. Should a letter of that nature henceforth be traced to any officer (and means will be taken to make the discovery almost inevitable), the Commander-in-Chief will immediately submit to the Governor-General in Council, the necessity of suspending the individual from duty and pay while a solicitation is made to the Honourable Court for his entire removal from the service."

On the 1st July of this year appeared the first Vernacular paper of Bombay, the *Moombaina* (Bombay) *Samachar* as a weekly under the editorial management of Mobed Fardoonji Murzban, to whom we have referred already. Before starting the paper the editor asked for Government help, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, generously agreed to subscribe for 50 copies at the annual subscription of Rs. 24 a copy. The condition of the Bombay Press is thus described in 1822 by J. H. Stocqueler from his personal experience :—"There were but two papers extant at the time, and very comical things they were—the *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette*—composed almost entirely of selections from English papers and occasional law reports. The pen of the editor seldom found nobler occupation than the record of a ball and supper, or a laudatory notice of an amateur performance."

In January 1823, the occasion of the appointment of a successor to Lord Hastings as Governor-General of India was seized upon by the Court of Directors to renew their protest against Lord Hastings' abolition of the Censorship of the Indian Press. Their Chairman, William Wigram, and Deputy Chairman, William Anstell, therefore, addressed a long and elaborate letter of 23 printed folio pages, dated the 17th January 1823, to the President of the Board of Control, the Right Hon'ble Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, stating that :—

“The attention of the Court of Directors having for sometime past been most seriously turned to the state of Public Press in India, they are desirous of putting the Board in possession of the best information upon the subject which they have been able to collect from the East India Company's records, accompanied with such consideration as the facts have suggested the Court. The change which is about to take place in the Supreme Government of India by the appointment of a new Governor-General, has appeared to present a fit opportunity for deliberation and discussion on a question, delicate and difficult it must be confessed, but the delicacy and difficulty of which ought not in the opinion of the Court to prevent its being boldly met and freely discussed.”

In this letter the Court of Directors reviewed at length the penal and precautionary measures, which the local Governments in India deemed, with the sanction of the authorities at home, expedient to resort to in regard to the editors of newspapers and other periodical works from the year 1791 downwards. In concluding the above letter the Court of Directors suggested the suppression of the freedom of the Press in India.

The Board of Control on the receipt of the above letter appointed a Committee consisting of Lord Liverpool, Mr. George Canning, a former President of the Board of Control, Mr. William Wigram, Chairman, Mr. William Anstell, Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, and Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, their solicitor, to take it into consideration. This Committee after deliberation drew up a minute in which they declared that they did not think it necessary to apply to Parliament for any new powers to restrain the Indian Press. On receipt of this minute by the Court of Directors, their Secret Committee recorded that the Court of Directors concurred in thinking that Lord Amherst, who was just going out as the Governor-General, in succession to Lord Hastings, should have all the support which the Government at home could give him to restrain the liberty of the Press in India.

In August 1823 Lord Amherst arrived in India, and in the next month, deported Mr. Sandford Arnot, Assistant Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. Next he suppressed the *Calcutta Journal* in October of the same year.*

On the 12th April 1823 Sir John Malcolm wrote the following minute on the Press in India :—

Memorandum by Sir John Malcolm written on the perusal of the Despatch† in the Secret Department from Fort St. George, dated the 12th April 1822.

What has lately occurred will compel the Government in England to decide the extent to which the

* For details please refer to my third article of the History of the Press in Bengal, *Calcutta Review*, January 1908.

† In this Despatch Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, made a special pleading for curtailing the Liberty of the Indian Press. His minute will be reproduced in the History of the Press in Madras.

liberty of the Press can be admitted in India. The question is full of embarrassment, but that will be increased by any delay in meeting it. A free Press throughout the civilized world is a powerful engine for good or evil. Where the knowledge of the people, their institutions and form of government are such as to admit its freedom, the good preponderates. Where the reverse is the case, the evil. It is safe to admit the Press to call in question the acts of government, and to comment upon the conduct of its officers, where there is an independent public to whom its observations and strictures are addressed, and by whom it is salutary for the general welfare they should be understood and felt, in order that their opinion should check misrule, and that the fear of offending or outraging it should temper with moderation and justice every act of those trusted with the administration of state affairs. Is there such a public as has been described in India? The English part of the population is perhaps as respectable a community as any in the universe; but they are not a body of men that an Englishman would designate as a public. The great majority are Civil and Military servants, of whom a very considerable proportion hold their offices at the pleasure of the local Government under which they serve; and the other parts of this community composed of merchants, free traders, missionaries, editors of newspapers, shop-keepers and artisans, have purchased the privilege of residing in India by voluntarily subjecting themselves to regulations and restrictions, one of which authorises the local Government under whose protection they reside to send them to England by an arbitrary act of power without even the form of trial! Need more be said to establish the dissimilarity between this community and a British

public? But do not let it be concluded, that though not possessed of all the rights which usage and law have given to the latter, that the English population of India are without privileges. They enjoy the full protection of the law of their native country which secures to them every privilege of an Englishman, except such as the interest of the Indian Empire would make it dangerous for them to possess. But the want of these privileges is rarely felt; for such is the happy effect of our free constitution, that a portion of it attends and guards Englishmen in whatever soil and in whatever situation they are placed. Its beneficial influence tempers the action of the most absolute power with which an English Government over foreign countries can be vested, for it has for its support the sympathy of all who are born Britons; and in the respectable and large community now formed by the English in India, this feeling has gained, and will continue to gain a strength that must rank it among the most powerful of those checks which we could desire to have upon a Government which circumstances require should be strong, and in some cases, almost despotic.

There can be no doubt that in substance there exists in our Empire in India as much of liberty as is compatible with our remaining Sovereigns of that country; but if from a desire to assimilate the principles of the national Government of England with the un-national Government which extraordinary events have given us in India, individuals are to be deemed vested with the same rights they would enjoy in England, to comment upon the acts of the local administration, to censure the officers it employs, to publish complaints and grievances, to discuss questions of internal and external

policy, and to expose as objects of ridicule and disgust the usages and religion of our native subjects, though they will not succeed in forming that English public with which their pages and columns will be filled, they will succeed in spreading insubordination, contention and disaffection, if not rebellion. If strong and positive restrictions are not rigorously enforced, neither the grave admonitions of those in authority, nor occasional recurrence to the law, will stop men in a career where their profit will be so commensurate to the boldness of their attacks as always to indemnify them for the slight hazards they incur from Judges bound by the letter of the law, or juries consisting of men not in the public service, and who will look with no hostile feeling at those who rail at men in office.

The evils I have described as likely to result in the European part of the community from the admission of a free Press, are slight to what would be produced and at no distant date, on the natives of India, and it is a consideration for their good, even more than our own, which demands immediate attention to this subject. It is impossible England should desire to withhold from her subjects in India the benefits of knowledge; but in the manner in which this blessing is imparted, depend her glory and their happiness; on this point, therefore, it is our duty to exercise our best judgment: and who, that has studied the past history of the natives of India and their present character and condition, will recommend us to commence their improvement by the agency of a free Press. That may perhaps be one of the last boons which is given to a people whom, with a policy unknown to former ages, we have gradually matured into a state of society in which they are fit to receive it, and the gift will then be ennobled, from the conviction

that the existence of that spirit of national feeling and independence which it is calculated to spread and maintain is irreconcilable with the continuance of submission to a foreign yoke, however enlarged the views and just the principles upon which that is established; but enough of general reasoning, let us look nearer the subject.

The newspapers in India are not of very old date; soon after they were first permitted, some at Calcutta became very licentious; the cause of this was probably to be referred to the violent collision between the Supreme Government and His Majesty's Courts of Justice, consequent to the latter being vested by the Act of 1773 with extended jurisdiction over the Company's territories. To understand the degree to which this collision went, it is but necessary to state one of many instances that might be adduced. A judge* speaking in a case before him of one of the delegated bodies who under the Supreme Government was employed for the administration of a large province, said from the bench: "The Chief and Council of Dacca is an ideal body! A man might as well say he was commanded by the king of fairies, as by the Provincial Council of Dacca, because the law knows no such body."

When such language was held by Judges, we cannot be surprised that editors of newspapers and others were bold in their attacks on those in authority. This state of affairs soon remedied itself; the jurisdiction of the courts of law was limited, and the local Government strengthened. The consequence was, the suppression of that liberty which the Press had attained. I recollect perusing a long petition to Lord Wellesley

* Judge LeMaistre in A. D. 1781. *Vide* Mill, Vol. IV, page 275. [This note by Sir John Malcolm is incorrect, for Justice S. C. LeMaistre died in November 1777 at Calcutta.]

from a Mr. Hickey (who had edited a very violent and abusive paper) in which he stated, with many popular arguments in favour of his case, the ruin this salutary change had brought upon him as an individual. I am not possessed of documents to exhibit the degree of connection the Press had at the period to which I allude, with the hostility to Government of some of the Judges of His Majesty's Court of Law, but I am assured this point merits the most serious attention, for it is in that delicate, though essential, part of the frame of the distant administration of India which often brings into collision the feelings and opinions, if not the acts, of the local Government and His Majesty's Court of Law where this evil has its deepest root and where the remedy is most difficult. It is from the protection the Press enjoys from the opinions and actions of not only the Judges, but all attached to His Majesty's Courts, and from the interests and feelings of that class of Europeans who dwell at the Presidencies under English law, that it has lately and will hereafter derive confidence in its attacks upon the local administration, or the usages and religion of the natives of India. There is no preventing this effect as long as the law is appealed to; and the victories which editors obtain over Government and its officers, will daily strengthen a cause which has gained within a short period much ground both in India and England. In the former country the great majority are but little acquainted with the true character of those ties by which we hold our Eastern Empire. The general sentiments of all connected with the Courts of English law have been noticed; many* are discontented with their condition and prospects; others continue at the Presidencies with

* Members of the European part of the community.

unchanged English ideas and feelings, and these cherish a hatred which they flatter themselves is constitutional, to all that in their opinion approximates to Oriental Government. A great number (and this class increases rapidly) are so ardent for the propagation of education and religion, that they welcome (with an attention perhaps too exclusive) every aid that they think will accelerate the easy attainment of their objects, and among these we cannot deny that they deem a free Press one of the most essential. Thus professional feeling, ignorance, disaffection, prejudice and enthusiasm swell the number of the advocates of a free Press in India, and the classes in which these passions actuate are those that maintain the fullest and most constant communication with England, in which country we may assert that from the most loyal to the most factious, from the enlightened to the ignorant, they will meet with concurrence in sentiment from all, except those few who have studied the history of India aright; who know that its good government requires a mixture of some principles that are happily uncongenial to England, and who being convinced that not only the interests of their country, but those of humanity, of knowledge, and of true religion, depend on their firm resistance to popular opinion, have the courage to brave the obloquy of dissent, and to defend, at all hazards of misrepresentation and attack, that ground which, as far as I can judge, we must maintain on this and other points similar in their spirit of innovation and unseasonable excitement, if we mean to maintain our Empire in India; but this brings me to the most important part of the question—the effects which a Press under no restraints, except those of English law, is likely to have now or hereafter upon eighty millions of our Asiatic subjects. It will, however,

be useful before I discuss this question, as it relates to the natives of India, to say a very few words on its probable effect on that class, the descendants of Europeans and native women, termed half-caste. The greatest proportion of this numerous and increasing class are so far educated as to read and write English and understand accounts. They fill almost exclusively the situation of clerks in public offices; they hold the same situation in merchants' counting houses and shops; they are also artisans and printers, and several have shown talents in English composition. Some have adopted scientific pursuits, and a few who possess property are in business on their own account.

Many have been employed in the army of Indian princes, from whence they have passed into the English service, where they have been appointed officers of irregular corps; of late this class has been allowed to possess land, and some of them have estates. Though numbers of the half-caste have attained high respectability, and some in the army considerable distinction,* they are as a community in a depressed state, and it is impossible they can acquire knowledge without imbibing with it discontent at their condition in society. The improvement and amelioration of the state of this class are subjects that imperiously demand the early attention of Government, but a free Press is neither the best nor the safest measure for effecting this object. It is, however, one to which they have been sedulously taught to look, and many of them are well qualified, from their education and acquaintance with the native languages, to be active instruments in disseminating any

* Colonel James Skinner, who served in Lord Lake's campaign, and has lately commanded 3,000 horse, is one of the distinguished of this class. There cannot be a more honourable man as an officer, who, as far as his opportunities have admitted, has acquired a more solid reputation.

doctrines it may inculcate. It has been asserted that should the despotism (as it is termed) of Government restore the office of Censor, persons of this class may and will publish without being liable to the same severe visitation of authority as Englishmen; but assuredly the Government of England is competent, if its interests in India are endangered, to enact a law that will reach what is deemed offence, be what it will the caste or description of the individuals by whom it is committed. The relation of the natives of India to the English is that of a conquered people to their conquerors. Since we obtained sovereignty in India we have greatly ameliorated the condition of our subjects, and every rational means has been employed to promote their happiness, and to secure to them the benefits of tranquillity. We may, and no doubt have often erred, but never was a Government actuated with more just and more liberal views, nor one more anxious to exercise its sovereign functions in a spirit of mildness, toleration and justice. Let us continue this gradual course of example and improvement, and when our rule ceases, as cease it must, as the natural consequence of our success in the gradual diffusion of knowledge, we shall as a nation have the proud boast that we have preferred the civilization to the subjection of India. When our power is gone, our name will be revered, for we shall leave a moral monument more noble and more imperishable than the hand of man ever raised from inanimate materials. But this far prospect must be destroyed if we unwisely anticipate the period when the blessings we intend may be safely imparted. We shall by doing so not only hasten our own destruction, but replunge India into a greater state of anarchy and misery than that in which we found it. Of all the means that could be devised to accelerate this deplorable crisis,

I will venture to say there is none so efficient as the admission of a Press, restrained only by laws adapted for a free and independent country, into one, where, before freedom and independence can be understood, the whole mind of the people must be changed, and where before they can be worthy of these blessings, they must have thrown off the yoke of foreigners. But to understand the ground of these opinions we must examine the character of our native subjects.

The two great divisions of our Asiatic subjects are Mahomedans and Hindoos. The former, who are the least numerous, have been the greatest sufferers from our establishment in India, but their means of subverting our power are comparatively slight to those possessed by the Hindoos. It is long since the Mahomedans of India have ceased to be actuated by that enthusiastic spirit of religion which at one period gave them strength and union. A great proportion of them, particularly the lower orders who dwell in the central parts of India, pay little attention even to the forms of their faith, and in fact have a strong tendency to revert to the usages and superstitions of the Hindoos. I have marked this disposition to increase considerably in the Deccan and other parts of India within the last twenty years, and have referred it to that common jealousy and dread which great numbers of both classes entertain of the English Government. The Mahomedans of India, generally speaking, are ignorant and dissipated. They have at present little of union amongst themselves, or of respect from others, but their idleness and bad habits, combined with their courage, render them dangerous, for they are prone to change, and have strong passions, with an unrestrained appetite for sensual pleasures, for the gratification of which they will incur any hazards. Such a race

have hitherto been and will continue to be apt instruments for the purposes of the designing and disaffected.

The Hindoo population of India comprises all classes, from the most intelligent to the most ignorant, from the most courageous to the most timid; but though divided by their separation into tribes and castes, as well as by their various dispositions, pursuits and qualities, there are some general feelings that unite them, and of these the more instructed part of the community understand how to take full advantage whenever it suits their purpose. The Brahmins and other civil classes have for ages been the nominal servants, but real masters of the turbulent and bold, but ignorant and superstitious military tribes of their countrymen. Their knowledge how to wield this dangerous power has been rendered complete by frequent exercise; and when we consider what they have lost by the introduction and extension of our dominion, it would be folly to expect exemption from their efforts to subvert it. Their success will depend on the means we place within their power, and it may be asserted that until the agitation into which the rapid revolutions of the last thirty years have thrown the minds of the natives of India is calmed; until prejudices are subdued, and that knowledge, which is to enlighten ignorance and ultimately conquer superstition, has been gradually diffused through channels that do not by the alarm* they create counteract their object, we could give to the Brahmins and others of the instructed classes of India no weapon which they would know so well how to use against us as a free Press.

*Instead of those new schools which well intentioned individuals have been so anxious to spread over India, it would be better, I conceive, to seek the gradual improvement of the inhabitants of that country through attention and encouragement to the town and village schools which have been established for centuries. This remark particularly applies to those countries where our power has been recently introduced.

Their efforts would be chiefly directed to the corruption of our native soldiery, who are neither insensible to their own consequence, nor unobservant of the depressed scale on which they serve. This is a most serious part of the subject and one that demands, besides, the necessary cautions to prevent their fidelity being corrupted, the adoption of every measure that is calculated to confirm and strengthen the attachment of our native army,* a contest with any part of which must commence with a destruction of links essential to our existence. If we opposed English soldiers to revolted Indian troops, it could only in its best result give success for a short period. For from the moment we once began to count numbers, and to rely upon our physical strength, the charm by which we hold our Eastern empire would be broken, and we should have to struggle on through returning difficulties and dangers to an inglorious termination of our power.

The means hitherto employed by our artful enemies to produce disaffection in our subjects and native troops, and their partial success, give earnest of what would attend a policy that admitted the dissemination in the native languages of all such tracts and papers as might be expected to flow from a free Press. But I shall state some facts that have fallen within my own observation which will show on what I ground my opinions on this part of the question.

Though the English in India have hitherto paid little attention to the subject, I am from experience convinced that few attempts have been made against

* In 1815 I gave a paper on the native army to Lord Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Control. All that I have since seen confirms me in the policy of what I stated in that paper, to the justice of every part of which the Duke of Wellington at the period it was written gave an unqualified assent.

our power without previous efforts to excite general discontent and sedition by the circulation of inflammatory papers. In A. D. 1800 a manuscript proclamation was transmitted to almost every village in the south of India, a copy of which came by accident into my possession; we were at this period at war with the Southern Polygars, and the chief object of the writer was to raise a spirit throughout the country that should operate as an aid to their cause. After calling upon all classes of Hindoos and Mahomedans to unite against the low wretches of Europeans who had usurped the sovereignty of the country, the proclamation proceeds: "Therefore you Brahmins, Khsterees, Byce and Mus-sulmen, and all you who wear whiskers, whether you are cultivators or soldiers; and you subadars, jemadars, havildars, naigs and sepoys now in the service of these low wretches, and all you capable of bearing arms, begin to display your heroism by destroying these low wretches, and continue to do so until they are all extirpated." The concluding paragraph may be taken as a specimen of the spirit in which such productions are usually written. "Whoever" the writer* observes, "reads this or hears its contents, let him make it as public as possible, by writing it and sending it to his friends, who in like manner are enjoined to circulate it among their friends. Every one who shall not write and circulate it as before directed, let him be as one guilty of having killed a cow on the banks of the Ganges, and let him suffer all the various punishments of hell. Whoever takes this off the wall, let him be considered guilty of the five great crimes. Let every one read and take a copy of this proclamation."

* The signature of this paper is the Hindoo name Manadaparida, the implacable enemy of the European low wretches.

Between the period of 1800 and that of the Vellore Mutiny, A. D. 1806, several papers* were circulated of a nature hostile to the British Government, and that massacre was preceded by efforts to inflame the minds of the native troops. Subsequent to its occurrence an address from Subadar Seedie Hussein and others to the Nizam of the Deccan had the following strong expressions. "The British Government are trying to oblige us to relinquish our own faith and to embrace their religion, and to impose upon us an European dress. We will not depart from our own religion, and we look to the Nizam as a Mahomedan prince for support and protection after we have extirpated our present employers."

About the same period a Hindustani letter † (many copies of which were circulated) was received by Colonel Agnew, Adjutant-General of the Army, purporting to be from the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the army, which stated at considerable length their grievances, among the principal of which was the inadequate rewards bestowed on the natives compared with those granted to the European officers. "Success and Conquest," observes the writer, "which brings increase of rank and pay to the English officers, is attended only with increase of labour and privation to the natives." After dwelling on the comparative allowances of the different classes, and adducing facts to prove the state of depression in which every rank of the natives is kept, he exclaims, "Almighty God has created all mankind, whether white or black men. The same

* One of these that came into my possession was particularly addressed to Mahomedans, whom it tried to excite by an exaggerated account of a connexion between a Mahomedan female of noble family and the English Resident at Hyderabad.

† This letter was believed to be written by a Subadar of Cavalry.

desires that are possessed by white men, whether to eat, to drink, or to enjoy the pleasures of life equally prevail in the hearts of black men; and if the European gentlemen shall consume three parts of the Company's revenues, it is well; let them assign a fourth part at least to the natives, in order that they too may be happy. The gentlemen of the Company's Government continually proclaim that they consult the happiness of the natives in everything, and administer impartial justice among them. These declarations are perpetually repeated to us, but no native is satisfied on investigation with the justness of the Company's Government. It is possible that Almighty God in a short time will redress those grievances, and all the sepoys entertain hopes that the Company will certainly take the point into consideration."

The agitation which these events had caused in the Madras army were unhappily revived in a short time by the discontents of the European officers, to subdue whom measures were resorted to not a little calculated to raise the feelings of their own importance in the minds of the native officers. The employment, however, which followed the inroads of the Pindarries and the Mahratta war appears to have restored all classes to a happy temper; nor is there ground to conclude that any bad spirit has since arisen amongst the native troops, though the late despatches from Madras show that there are not wanting designing persons who endeavour, through the same means so often before used, to corrupt their fidelity and destroy their attachment to the British Government.

In Bengal the last ten years have not passed without alarm. The meeting of the corps of that establishment at Java would not merit notice, were it not to remark the recurring resolution come to by those

concerned in it to murder the European officers ; and it is also to be observed, that the serious insurrection at Bareilly, though it originated in opposition to a measure of Civil Government, immediately assumed the same sanguinary character and took the popular colour of religious feeling.

The natives of India, except perhaps a few at each of the Presidencies, can form no just estimate either of the character or intentions of the British Government. Deprived of power and independence by its success, princes and chiefs view its progress as the certain annihilation of their very name; while the lower orders, who benefit by its protection and justice, are perplexed and agitated by innovations and changes in its system of internal rule, and fear of its encroachment on their cherished prejudices and feelings. A too eager desire to do good produces evil. The following extract of a private letter to Captain J. Stewart (dated 12th April 1819,) Acting Resident with Scindiah, will show the view I took at that date of this subject, as far as it affected Central India :—

“ Our present condition, though one of apparent repose, is far from being free from danger. The larger work has been done. India is subdued. The very minds of its inhabitants are for the moment conquered ; but neither its former history nor our experience warrants our expectation that these feelings will be permanent. We have never during the whole period of our rule gained a province by our arms, in which we have not found a reaction after the inhabitants were recovered from the stun of the first blow. Can we expect this last and greatest of our strides will be exempt from this evil—that the elements we have scattered, but not destroyed, will perish of

themselves? They may ; but such a result is against all history and all experience, and is therefore not to be anticipated. Though I foresee danger, I by no means intend to state that we may not prevent, or that we shall not conquer it. But this I will aver, that the Government of India during the next four or five years will require more care, more knowledge and more firmness than it has ever done since we possessed the country. With the means we possess, the work of force is comparatively easy, our habits and the liberality of the principles of our Government give grace to conquest, and men are for the moment satisfied to be at the feet of a generous and humane conqueror. Tired and disgusted with their own anarchy, the loss of power even is not regretted. Halcyon days are anticipated, and they prostrate themselves in hopes of elevation. All these impressions, made by the combined effects of power, humanity and fortune, are improved to the utmost by the character of the first administration established over them. The agents employed by Government are generally men who have acquired a name in the very scene they have to act. They are instructed to conciliate, and unfettered by rules, their measures are shaped to soothe the passions, and assimilate with the habits and prejudices of those whom they have to attach to the interests of the British Government. But there are many causes which operate to make this period of short duration. The change from it to that of a colder course of policy in our political agents, and the introduction of our laws and regulations in countries immediately dependent upon us, is that of danger. It is the hour in which men awake from a dream. Disgust and discontent succeed to terror and admiration. The princes,

chiefs, and other principal persons who have been supported by the character of our first intercourse, see nothing but a system that dooms them to certain decline. They have like weak and falling men, deluded themselves with better hopes, but delusion is rendered more insufferable from being of our own creation. I shall not at present dwell upon the means necessary to prevent or remedy these evils in territories subject to our own sway, but proceed to the question as it affects our political relations in general, and particularly those with D. R. Scindia. I am alike an enemy to that minute and vexatious interference with Native States that contradicts the purpose for which we maintain them in existence, and lessens the power where it does not altogether destroy the utility of an instrument of Government, which the obligations of faith, or the dictates of policy compel us to use, as I am to that system, which, satisfied with a dependent state fulfilling the general conditions of its alliance, gives a blind support to the authority that rules over it, however ruinous its measures to the prosperity of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants. In the present state of our power, if policy requires that we should govern a considerable part of India through its native princes and chiefs, it is our duty to employ all our influence and all our power to strengthen instead of weaken these royal instruments of rule. No speculation of comparative improvement or better administration should lead us aside from this path. The general good that is effected by our remaining in it must overbalance any local benefits that could be derived from quitting. If forced by circumstances to depart from this policy, it is better to assume the direct sovereignty of the country at once, than to leave to the mock and degraded

instruments of our power any means of avenging themselves upon a state which renders them the debased tools of its Government. Those who are the supporters of a system that leaves a state whom our overshadowing friendship has shut out from the sunshine of that splendour which once gave lustre almost to its vices, to die by its own hand, to perish unaided by us amid that putrefaction which has been produced by an internal administration consequent to our alliance, can have no rational argument, but that the speediest death of such states is the best, because it brings them soonest to the point at which we can, on grounds that will be admitted as legitimate both in India and England, assume direct sway, and give them the benefits of our direct Government. But as for me, I am convinced this is the master evil against which we are to guard. Territory is coming too fast upon us. We cannot prevent accessions, and the period may arrive when the whole peninsula is under our immediate rule. But every consideration requires this period to be delayed; and every effort should be made to regulate a march in which we must proceed. No additional province can now be desirable, but as it furnishes us with positive means of supporting that general tranquillity which is alike essential for the prosperity of our provinces and the preservation of those whom it is our policy to maintain as rulers."

With the sentiments expressed in the above letter, it became the constant object of my solicitude to guard against every act that could keep up an agitation or alarm in the minds of those under my charge; but this was no easy task, for every word, letter or action of an individual who bore the name of an Englishman, or even of a native in the public service, was considered as from

Government. Limited knowledge and rooted habits make the natives of India slow to comprehend the true motives of a power, the action of which depends more on established system than persons. I question if this knowledge is common in the provinces that we have possessed for near a century. In countries, which have come recently under our rule or control, it is impossible to impress any general belief in such an order of things. But the mention of a few facts will aid to illustrate what I have said on this subject.

In the end of 1818 (one year after our authority had been completely established over Malwa), a Mahomedan newswriter, presuming on the ignorance of the natives of the usages and principles of the British Government, had the audacity to establish at the city of Oujein a Court of Adawlut or Justice, at which he levied small fines and inflicted punishments.* When expelled by my desire from that city, he, from the mere fact of having been once in the employ of an English officer of rank, succeeded in obtaining (before he was apprehended) presents from several chiefs. This is one of many instances, for such was the terror of the British name that all my efforts, during between four and five years, were hardly sufficient to place it beyond the power of the lowest servant of an English officer imposing on the alarmed and ignorant part of the community to any extent by the use of the name of his master; covers of English letters, with the direction and seal attached to them, were shown as orders for money and sums obtained. In short, men were daily threatened, by the wicked and designing, with every species of injustice and

violence, in the name of a Government that was labouring incessantly for their benefit.

In January 1821 some anonymous letters* were addressed to me of rather an extraordinary description. The writer warned me of the public mind which, however unperceived, was in action against us; he referred me to the history of India to discover if that was a country whose inhabitants it was safe to repress to the dust, as appeared our intention to do. In conclusion he advised that we should, if we desired permanence to our power, associate the princes and chiefs of the natives in our Empire. The above is the substance of these letters. Two similar in purport were sent to Tanteer Jogue, (Tatia Joga) the minister of Holkar, whom they reproached with base subservience to our designs. Copies of these productions were no doubt, circulated by the author, who proclaimed himself of no mean rank, and offered, on certain terms, to make himself known. I, however, treated him and his letters with neglect, as I did many papers of the same description. Among the latter were several prophecies that foretold the coming of a Hindu deliverer, and our downfall; some of these I found (when on my way to Bombay in August 1821) had been industriously circulated in the Deccan and particularly at our military cantonments. These facts are sufficient to show that our secret enemies are not idle, and that they are adepts in the art of misrepresentation. Let us now look to the prominent feelings of that population, whom it has been or may become their object to excite to action.

* On one occasion he was proved to have given 20 lashes, for which he tried to justify himself on the ground of the offence. The man, he said, was one of a party who had circulated a report of my being assassinated, in order to throw the country into confusion.

* Translations of these letters were sent to the Secret Department, Governor-General in Council. They were remarkably well written. I have never, indeed, read a more able popular attack on the progress of the English to the great power they have attained in India.

In my printed report of Malwa I have stated a remarkable instance at Oujein, in the forcible conversion of a Jain temple to their own place of worship by the Brahmins who, supported by the religious feeling of the country, created on this occasion with open and avowed contempt the authority of their Prince, Dowlet Rao Scindia, whom, on every other point, they consider as endowed with despotic powers over their lives and fortunes. But two recent instances will exhibit more striking examples of the action of superstition on the minds of the intelligent as well as the ignorant, and the rude part of the inhabitants (including all the military clerks) of Central India.

In 1820 a manifestation in the person of a holy Brahmin of the god of wisdom, Gunesh, was proclaimed. He came from Guzerat by the route of Mundisore to Milye. His disciples were very numerous and included the Renter of Milye, * and all the principal Brahmins, as well as thousands of lower orders of that quarter. His words were deemed to be prophecies; he was feasted, courted, and indeed almost deified. This man came to Indoor, where some circumstance led to suspicion of the truth of his pretensions; a strict investigation was directed by the minister Tanteer Jogue, and the god Gunesh proved to be a well-known Mahomedan Faquir, named Shaikh Kadaru, who had long had his *tukea* or place of rest at Poonah. Though many thousands of Brahmins had lost their caste † by associating and eating with this man, he was not put to death: he had indeed made terms before he confessed ‡ the fraud, and was only

* The writer's name is Gunpat, now a man of considerable ability.

† These persons were obliged to undergo severe ordeals and to expend much money to regain their places in their tribes.

‡ The Minister of Holkar told me that the hold this man had upon the minds of numbers was so strong that nothing but his public confession would have convinced them of his being an impostor.

sentenced to imprisonment. I had a long conversation with him after his confession and found him very shrewd and intelligent. I was assured by competent judges, that his knowledge of the Hindu religion quite qualified him for the bold part he undertook; and I can only add that during his short career of imposture he possessed the devoted veneration of a great portion of the Hindu population of Malwa.

The small principality of Pertaubghur Deobh is tributary to the English, but governed by its own chief, Sawnet Singh, * a man of excellent character. He is satisfied with his condition and if he was not so, he possesses no means that could have led to his cherishing plans of ambition. I therefore, when I heard, at the period of my leaving Central India in June 1821, of the strange proceedings at his petty capital, could refer them to no political cause, though some of their acts were of a character that might have excited suspicion of other motives than those of wild and deplorable fanaticism. The daughter of a blanket weaver suddenly imagined herself to be inspired, and to have become, from the celestial spirit entering into her, a manifestation of the Hindu goddess Matta. She proclaimed her new condition, a naked sword was brandished with one hand, and a looking glass supposed to reflect approaching events was held in the other while she danced in the streets. She was soon joined by some persons (both male and female) who proclaimed similar inspiration, though by other divinities. Each had a sword and a mirror, and adopted the same frantic manner as Matta. A rabble of several hundreds soon assembled round them, and their orders

* Sawnet Singh, though a Rajput, has laboured, from feelings of horror at the usage, to prevent infanticide, and for three generations there has been no instance of a widow burning herself in his family.

(which went in several cases to the murder of women accused of being witches) were implicitly obeyed. The local Government instead of repressing them took alarm, and the Rajah (a very sensible man on other subjects) appears to have endeavoured through one of his ministers to have offered bribes to propitiate the good will of the supposed Matta. The minister in his evidence given to my assistant, Captain Macdonald, says that though the tenets of his sect* forbade him in believing in the power of evil spirits to hurt him, he was alarmed for his prince. The same minister admits that he saw swords waving in the mirror, and that the inspired talk of destroying the Feringhees (Europeans); but they had said no more at Pertaubghur than they did everywhere else, and that he had warned them against such expressions.

The whole detail of the proceedings at Pertaubghur, as well as an account of the further progress of the fanatical spirit, will be found in a despatch, dated the 18th August, from Mr. G. Wellesley, Resident at Indore, to Mr. Swinton, Secretary in the Political Department. Mr. Wellesley after stating that this mania of persons believing or affecting to believe themselves inspired, was spreading over other parts of Malwa, though happily without those atrocities which attended its first appearance at Pertaubghur and neighbouring places, sensibly remarks that, as long as the safety of the public peace were not endangered, it was best to allow the popular superstition to run its course. "There appeared (he concludes) reason at first to apprehend some connection of the matter with political schemes, but although in several instances symptoms may have appeared indicative

* Hansraj, the minister alluded to, is of the Jain sect.

of such designs, these on mature information may be accounted like the cruelties perpetrated at Pertaubghur, etc., and more as accidental than premeditated occurrences; at the same time it ought not to be overlooked how easily a superstition so blind, so contagious and so popular, might be used as a powerful engine of political schemes by designing men.

Many of the facts I have stated and the reasoning grounded upon them may be supposed only to apply to Central India, but as far as my experience enables me to judge, the application is general over all India, with the exception of a very small part of the population who are resident at or near the presidencies. There are shades of difference no doubt arising from the better knowledge which the natives of provinces, long in our possession, have of the principles of our Government, but the superstition and fanaticism among many of the classes of population are everywhere nearly the same. We are (as I have observed elsewhere)* so separated from the natives of India that we have no correct knowledge of what is daily passing in society that dwell around us. The habits and minds of our native subjects will be long before they undergo any great change, and until they do, every effort against us (whatever be the scale on which it is made) will have the same character. Signs of discontent and symptoms of danger may appear, but we shall be compelled by our condition to seem as if we saw them not, lest our suspicions widen the circle of our enemies and weaken the confidence of our friends. In most cases, therefore, we may expect the action will precede our preparation, and the experience of the past may lead us to pronounce

* Vide instruction to my assistants, etc., in Malwa.

that whether plots against our power take the shape of mutiny in our troops, or revolt in our subjects, the commencement will be an attempt to massacre all officers, civil or military, within their reach. The comparative smallness in our numbers suggests this expedient as the first step in guilt. The timid agree to it from fear of looking upon offended superiors, and the bold recommend the measure as pledging men to a continuation in crime by placing them beyond the hope of forgiveness.

To guard against the evils and dangers I have described we have no means but thorough measures of preventive policy, and amongst these I must ever consider a watchful restraint of the Press as a principal. If that is allowed to utter publications tending to disunite the European part of the community, to lower the respect in which Government and its officers are held, to offend and weaken the native princes and chiefs by lessening their estimation with their subjects, to alarm and irritate all classes by attacks on their usages and religion, it will be an instrument competent to the destruction of our power; and it may do all I have stated without any serious transgressions against the law of England, as indeed without the slightest evil intention of many of those who worked the mischief. Their limited knowledge combined with their zeal and ignorance, may blind them to the dangers they promote, and others who have deeper designs will court their respectable names in a cause that must be popular from its supposed association with the propagation of useful knowledge and true religion.

I can, on the ground of the facts and arguments I have stated, have no hesitation in giving my decided opinion that the local Government should be vested with the full power either of re-establishing the office

of Censor* or taking such means as they deem best for the prevention of the evils that have proceeded or may proceed from the abuse of the indulgences recently granted to the Press. No classes of men and no publication, periodical† or otherwise, whether in the English or native languages, should be exempt from supervision and control. The local Government will, in the exercise of the power given them, act under strict responsibility to those by whom they are employed, and to their country. There can be little fear, in times like the present, of their going one step further than what necessity requires. If they do they must answer to their superiors; but I contend that if the point is conceded (as I conclude it must be) that not only our present prosperity and future fame, but our very existence, depends upon the manner in which knowledge is imparted to the natives of India, the authorities on the spot, under the check mentioned, are the only safe hands to whom we can entrust the adoption of the means best suited to the fulfilment of this great and noble object. This has long been my opinion, and late events, with extended opportunities of looking near the frame of the society and Government of India, have confirmed me in the correctness, and I am further satisfied that a minute examination of facts will induce many who may have formed on general grounds a contrary judgment to alter their sentiments upon this important question

* The office of the Censor was, I believe, first instituted by Lord Wellesley, in consequence of an article appearing in the *Mirror* newspaper which took a comparative view of the European and the native population, with some speculations on the subject, that were not deemed less dangerous from there being no evil design on the part of the writer.

† Though Mr. Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, is considered as the prominent person who has abused this liberty (newly granted) of the Press in India, it would be absurd to think his removal from the scene would remove the evil if the latitude under which he has acted remained. Such a niche in society is always filled, whatever be the hazard, when that is counterbalanced by popularity and profit.

In 1824 Mr. C. J. Fair, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, was deported from Bombay under the following circumstances. In July 1824, when the Supreme Court was hearing a long law suit, a young civil servant, Shaw by name, ordered a native usher to bring him pens and paper. The official replied that he had been stationed where he was by the Judge's orders, and could not leave, but that a sepoy would bring what was required. Thereupon Shaw struck the usher a heavy blow on the temple. A writ for Contempt of Court was issued against Shaw, and Mr. George Norton, the Advocate-General, was asked by the Judge to conduct the prosecution. Mr. Norton replied that he was not bound to prosecute offenders against the Supreme Court, unless ordered to do so by the Governor of Bombay, and that he had accepted a retainer for Mr. Shaw. The trial proceeded; Shaw was found guilty, dealt with leniently by the Judges and fined one rupee.

Throughout the trial the *Bombay Gazette* made comments on the proceedings, to which Sir Edward West, the Chief Justice, called the attention of the Governor, who undertook to reprimand the editor. The latter part of the trial was presided over by Sir Charles Chambers, who wrote to Elphinstone complaining that he had been misquoted and misrepresented in the *Bombay Gazette*. Elphinstone upon receipt of the letter demanded from Mr. C. J. Fair, the Editor, an immediate and public acknowledgment of the misstatements and an ample apology to Sir Charles Chambers. Mr. Fair offered to insert an apology in the *Bombay Gazette*, together with a report of that part of the trial which had been omitted. The Governor replied that the apology was not sufficiently explicit, and that Mr. Fair consequently had forfeited

his claim to the protection of the Government, that his license to reside in the East Indies would be withdrawn, and that he must leave at once, or give security in 30,000 rupees to leave within three months. Mr. Fair replied that it was impossible for him to give such security. He was then handed over to the Magistrate of Police, hurried on board the Company's ship *London*, and within a month of receiving the first letter from Bombay Castle, shipped for England by a long sea route.*

The following correspondence on this subject between the Governor and Mr. C. J. Fair, makes the whole thing clear:—

[In explanation of the circumstances that have led to my compulsory removal from this country, and which, in the absence of authentic information on the subject, are so liable to be both misunderstood and misrepresented, I have thought it expedient to strike off a few copies of the correspondence that has passed between the several officers of Government and myself on the occasion, for distribution amongst my private friends, which I now submit to their perusal without observation or comment.]

BOMBAY: }
6th September 1824.

C. J. FAIR.

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—I have the pleasure of sending you the notes of my charge to the grand jury. I fear you will be able to collect but little from them, but if I can find time I will sketch out an outline of my charge this morning, and send it to you. I am most

* When Mr. Fair was shipped off in the *London* Mr. Elphinstone took special care to alleviate the inconveniences of the long journey as much as possible. Instead of suffering Mr. Fair as a charter party passenger he ordered him to be provided with a cabin and made an arrangement also for his mess at the Cuddy table. If Mr. Fair suffered annoyance afterwards in his cabin or mess arrangements, it was owing to the notorious selfishness and want of consideration of his commander, who, because to the former a small cabin, was allotted near the fore-castle, while the other cabins were all occupied by the officers of a King's Regiment on the voyage from Bombay to Bengal, refused to give him better quarters afterwards although the exorbitant sum of £60 per month was allowed for the accommodation he offered to his passenger. The passage of Mr. Fair cost the Hon'ble Company nearly £600.

anxious that all the proceedings of the Court should be published.

I am, Sir,
Yours very truly,
EDWARD WEST.

Tuesday, 15th July 1823.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To the Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—The Hon'ble the Governor in Council having been informed by the Hon'ble the Judges of the Supreme Court that the publication contained in your newspaper of Wednesday, the 28th ultimo, which professes to be a report of what had passed in Court is in fact a gross misrepresentation of the proceedings, I am directed to recall your attention to the letter from this department of the 27th March last, and to express the surprise of the Governor in Council at the little regard which you appear to have paid to the warning which it conveyed.

The Governor in Council does not think it necessary to adopt any further measures on this occasion; but he directs me to apprise you, that in the event of his again receiving information of any publication in your paper tending to lower the dignity of the Supreme Court, either by misrepresenting its proceedings, or by reflecting on its conduct, he will consider you to have forfeited all claim to the protection of the Government, and will be obliged to direct the immediate recall of your license to remain in India.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. FARISH,
Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE: }
9th August 1824. }

TO JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,
Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 9th instant, acquainting me, as Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, that the hon'ble the Governor in Council, having been informed by the hon'ble the Judges of the Supreme Court, that the publication contained in my newspaper of Wednesday, the 28th ultimo, which professes to be a report of what had passed in Court, is in fact a gross misrepresentation of the proceedings, you are directed to recall my attention to the letter from the

General Department of the 27th March last, and to express the surprise of the Governor in Council, at the little regard which I appear to have paid to the warning which it conveyed. In the second paragraph I am informed that the Governor in Council does not think it necessary to adopt any further measures on this occasion, but that he directs you to apprise me that, in the event of his again receiving information of any publication in my paper tending to lower the dignity of the Supreme Court, either by misrepresenting its proceedings, or by reflecting on its conduct, he will consider me to have forfeited all claim to the protection of the Government, and will be obliged to direct the immediate recall of my license to remain in India.

It is necessarily a matter of deep concern to me, to find that a complaint of so serious a nature as that contained in your letter, now before me, should have been made to Government against the paper under my management, by any person whatever, and more particularly by the hon'ble the Judges of the Supreme Court: for I am at a loss to put any other interpretation on the words in which the present accusation has been conveyed (gross misrepresentation) than that of a wilful perversion of truth for some improper purpose; and my regret on this occasion is materially increased by the belief that the hon'ble the Governor in Council must have adopted the impression of my having been guilty of the offence, with which I have been charged, before he could have instructed you to convey to me the reproof and admonition contained in your letter now under reply. I feel it, therefore, my duty not only distinctly to disclaim all intentional misrepresentation in the *Gazette* of the 28th ultimo, but also respectfully to express my belief that the proceedings of the Supreme Court, noticed in that paper, are as faithfully reported as they could possibly be by any one, except a skilful shorthand writer, and that they are, in all essential points, substantially correct.

As the report in question has reference to proceedings on two separate matters discussed on different days, and as the complaint, as it at present stands, does not specify in which particular instance I am alleged to have offended, I am entirely at a loss how to meet the accusation preferred against me, except by the general declaration that I have deemed it incumbent on me to make in the preceding paragraph of this address, and the further assurance of its having been my constant endeavour, since I first attempted to report such matters of interest as arose in the King's Court of Judicature, to obtain the most correct information in my power on all occasions; but I have, no doubt, I shall be able to produce the most satisfactory testimony from several gentlemen, who were in Court on each

occasion, in corroboration of the statements in both cases, if the hon'ble the Governor in Council should think further explanation necessary, and will do me the favour to make me acquainted with the points on which it will be desirable for me to exculpate myself with the Hon'ble Board.

In the meantime, I trust I shall be excused for stating, that even if it were possible for me to forget the duty I owe to Government and the public as the conductor of a newspaper in this country, personal interest would of itself be a powerful incentive to accuracy, in all matters that appear in the columns of the *Gazette*; and that I feel satisfied in knowing, that, although I have been accused of a departure from that course in the instance before Government, my views and wishes, in respect to the reporting of cases that occur in the Supreme Court of this Presidency, are entirely in unison with those of the hon'ble the Chief Justice, who has expressed himself in a note to me of the 15th July 1823, of which I take leave to enclose a copy, as most anxious that all proceedings of the Court should be published here. But as I can hardly hope even with the most scrupulous attention to my editorial duties, to convey the sentiments of the Bench or the arguments of counsel, to the public, in the very words in which they are delivered by the parties, and as any deviation from perfect accuracy may, as in the present case, be considered a misrepresentation and subject me to the heavy penalty announced in the second paragraph of your letter, I feel that I have no alternative but to abstain from publishing any of the proceedings in the Supreme Court from this date, however injurious such a measure may prove to the interests committed to my care, and however much at variance with the wishes of the Court itself.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

"GAZETTE" OFFICE, }
12th August 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—The Governor in Council has observed with surprise the publication in the last number of the *Gazette* of a report calculated to lower the character of the hon'ble the Supreme Court. In addition to the disrespectful insinuations apparent on a mere perusal of that article, he is informed by the Court that

it contains many misrepresentations of the proceedings, by the omission of some passages, and the insertion of others, tending altogether to give a very false impression of the spirit in which those proceedings were conducted.

2. If this article was prepared subsequently to the receipt by you of my letter of the 9th instant, the publication of it must be considered as an open defiance of the Government and will leave the Governor in Council no choice, but immediately to enforce the penalty announced in that letter, by cancelling your license to remain in India. Considering, however, the period at which the letter in question was despatched, the Governor in Council is disposed to believe that you may have received it so late as to render your proceeding with the publication an act of inadvertency rather than of contumacy. But even in the most indulgent view, the Governor in Council cannot consider your conduct in the publication of the report in question as otherwise than highly censurable, after the repeated warnings which you have before received; and although he is not disposed to proceed at once to the full extent which the case might justify, he can only exercise this forbearance on condition of an immediate and public acknowledgment of the mis-statements mentioned in the beginning of this letter, and an ample apology for having given them publicity.

3. The acknowledgment and apology must be full and explicit and must be transmitted to the Secretary's office within three days, to the end that if adopted it may appear in the next *Gazette*.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
13th August 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and trusting that the letter I have already transmitted to you, under the date the 12th instant, will have satisfied the Honourable the Governor in Council on most of the points adverted to in your communication of the 13th instant, in which I find I have had the misfortune to incur the displeasure and censure of the hon'ble the Governor in

Council. I have only to add that the same observations which I have submitted on the first publication of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, which appeared in the *Gazette* of the 28th ultimo, are equally and strictly applicable to the report of the proceedings published in the *Gazette* of Wednesday last, 11th instant.

Under these circumstances, I should have refrained from any further intrusion on the time and attention of Government, but for the call made upon me in your present letter for "an immediate and public acknowledgment of the 'mis-statements' therein noticed (*viz.*, the proceedings of the Supreme Court contained in my last paper), and an ample apology for having given them publicity."

In reply to this call, I beg leave with the utmost respect to state that I am prepared to substantiate, by the evidence of a number of respectable and creditable persons, who were present on that occasion, that my report of the proceedings of the 11th August was as fair and correct as it possibly could be, where every word spoken was not taken down, and that far from that report giving an unfavourable (which I infer to be the meaning you attach to false, in your last letter) impression of the spirit in which the proceedings were conducted, the statement was decidedly favourable to the general character of the Court; and should I fail to establish these points in evidence to the satisfaction of the hon'ble Board, there is no apology, however humble, which I am not prepared to make and publish in the paper under my charge.

As, however, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council may not deem it necessary or expedient to enter on such an inquiry at the present time, I trust that he will be satisfied with the expression of my sincere regret at having published anything that has given rise to complaint from the Supreme Court, and cause for the displeasure of the Honourable the Governor in Council, and of my determination, as already in part intimated in my former letter, to avoid the possibility of a recurrence of the like in future, by abstaining altogether from publishing any account of the proceedings in the Supreme Court of this Presidency.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

"BOMBAY GAZETTE" OFFICE, }
16th August 1824. }

C. J. FAIR.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th of August, in reply to mine of the 9th, conveying the decision of the hon'ble the Governor in Council regarding the publication contained in the *Gazette* of the 28th ultimo.

2nd.—The Governor in Council directs me to inform you that he considers the statement of the Court as conclusive on the subject of its own proceedings, and cannot admit the production of any testimony on a point which he regards as fully established.

3rd.—That admitting you to have been free from the intention of misrepresenting the Court, you cannot be excused, after the warning you had received, for having presented, even through want of care, a distorted view of its proceedings.

4th.—The Governor in Council does not consider measures taken to prevent erroneous statements, as at all inconsistent with the publication of full and fair reports of the proceedings of the Supreme Court. But he is of opinion, that the suspension of those reports proposed in your last paragraph is necessary at the present moment, and should continue until the question now before the Government is set at rest.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
16th August 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 16th instant, in reply to mine of the 13th, calling upon you to make an immediate and public acknowledgment of the mis-statements in your report of proceedings in Court, and an ample apology for having published them.

2. You will have been informed by my letter of the 16th instant, that the Governor in Council considers the declaration

of the Supreme Court as final on the subject of its own proceedings, and can allow no statement supported by that authority to be called in question; the Governor in Council regards the fact of the mis-statement as fully established, and he thinks it indispensable that it should be publicly corrected. The discontinuance of the reports, although it might prevent the recurrence of the evil complained of, would have no effect in removing the impression already diffused. I am, therefore, directed to repeat, that unless a full and satisfactory apology be made for the publication, the Governor in Council will be under the necessity of directing you to quit India without delay.

3. Although the general nature of the mis-statements complained of, has already been communicated to you, yet to have no ground for pleading ignorance of the particular passages misrepresented, the Governor in Council has directed the following to be communicated.

It never was asserted, as is reported in the *Gazette*, that "there was no doubt that it was the daily practice for the Attorney-General at the direction of the Court, to file informations for these kinds of offences."

The statement of Mr. Shaw's case, which was brought forward in illustration of the opinion given from the bench, that a contempt, such as the Court ought to notice, might be committed within the precincts, although out of its immediate view, is represented in the *Gazette* as if it were solely introduced for the purpose of censuring Mr. Shaw, and the whole of the reasoning founded on it is omitted.

The repeated declarations of the Court that there was no intention to treat Mr. Shaw with harshness are omitted, and the whole of the latter part of the proceedings, in which he was shown particular indulgence, is suppressed. The result of these omissions, together with other passages imperfectly reported, is to produce a false impression as to the temper and feelings of the Court, and this effect is still more directly attempted by an allusion to the personal demeanour of the Judge on the bench. Such an allusion, which in all circumstances would have been disrespectful, and which was entirely unnecessary in reporting the case before the Court, could only have been introduced for the purpose of lowering the character of the Court, and is considered by the Governor in Council to be peculiarly reprehensible.

4. The precise mis-statements which have attracted notice having now been pointed out, the Governor in Council hopes that you will be ready to make every reparation in your

power for them, and will relieve Government from the disagreeable necessity of proceeding further against you.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
19th August 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—No reply having, up to the present moment, reached me to the letter I was directed to address you on the 19th instant, I have now to express to you the expectation of the hon'ble the Governor in Council, that the apology therein required will be handed up in sufficient time to allow of its being submitted for the consideration of Government, and if approved, returned, to be published in the *Gazette* of Wednesday, 25th instant.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, 3 P.M., }
21st August 1824. }

TO JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 16th, 19th and 21st instant, the last indicative of surprise at the non-receipt of a reply to the one of the 19th, and communicating to me the expectation of the hon'ble the Governor in Council, that the apology, which has been required of me, will be handed up in sufficient time to allow of its being submitted for the consideration of Government and, if approved, returned to be published in the *Gazette* of Wednesday, the 25th instant.

I beg that you will have the goodness to assure the hon'ble Board, that my silence is not to be attributed to a disregard of the call you had been instructed to make on me, or to any disrespect to Government, and I cannot but indulge the hope that the hon'ble Board will give me credit for the sincerity of

this declaration when it recollects that your letter of the 19th instant had not been more than eight and forty hours in my possession when that of the 21st was delivered to me ; and that I had in the interim to deliberate and determine on a matter deeply affecting my prospects in life, and on which it was of the utmost importance to my future welfare that I should come to a right decision.

I can safely and with perfect truth assert, that I entered on the consideration of this, to me, momentous question, with an earnest and anxious desire to meet the wishes of Government, to the utmost of my power ; and I trust that the hon'ble the Governor in Council will in reference to the difficult situation in which I have been placed by his recent commands, excuse the detail which I find it necessary to enter into at this time, in explanation of the causes which prevent my compliance with his wishes to their full extent.

The hon'ble the Governor in Council, having been pleased to intimate to me in the second paragraph of your letter of the 16th, that he considers the statement of the Supreme Court to be conclusive on the subject of its own proceedings, and that he cannot admit the production of any testimony on a point which he considers as fully established, and to repeat this intimation in your letter of the 19th, with the further declaration that he can allow no statement supported by the authority of that Court to be called in question, it is in vain for me to offer anything to the notice of Government, in explanation of the alleged mis-statement in my paper of the 11th instant ; or, indeed, to advert in any manner whatever to the proceedings therein detailed. But I must in justice to myself, take leave respectfully to state, that on undertaking to publish the proceedings of the Court—a task of no ordinary difficulty in this country—I was influenced by a desire to render my paper interesting and useful to the public, and a belief that so long as I felt in my own conscience, that my reports were substantially correct, and that I could offer satisfactory proof of their being so, I could not incur the censure of Government, or render myself liable to punishment by any legal tribunal. I now learn for the first time that I have been mistaken in these suppositions, and that the declaration of the Supreme Court is considered conclusive by the hon'ble the Governor in Council, in all matters connected with its own proceedings ; thereby precluding any hope of exculpation or justification on the part of those who may, like myself, have the misfortune to experience its displeasure.

Had I been aware at an earlier period that such was the opinion of Government, I certainly never would have exposed myself to the risk, which, it appears, I have unconsciously

incurred for some time past, and I confidently appeal to the justice and liberality of the hon'ble Board, in support of my hope, that it will not give retrospective operation to a decision which it was not in my power to have anticipated, and for which, consequently, I have been altogether unprepared.

It is far from my desire to seem to offer resistance to the authority of Government on any occasion : my habits and inclinations forbid such a course ;—and in the present instance it is more particularly my interest to conform to its wishes, but feeling that my situation at this moment is one of peculiar difficulty, and conscientiously believing that my report of the proceedings of the 6th instant does not deserve the character which the Court has attributed to it, and confirmed in this opinion by the testimony of many of the most respectable persons in the settlement who were present as well as myself on that occasion, I really feel myself at a loss how to draft an apology which I could hope to be satisfactory to the hon'ble Board.

But if the hon'ble the Governor in Council will do me the favour to allow of one being transmitted to me, in such terms, as he may think adapted to the circumstances of the case, saving my conscience, it shall have the most attentive consideration on my part, and shall be published without delay, if it prove, as I trust it will do, of such a nature as I can give to the world consistently with my character as a gentleman and a man of veracity.

In the meantime, as I have ascertained that some conversation took place in the Court between the Bench and Bar subsequently to Mr. Irwin's moving that Mr. Shaw's recognizances might be estreated, and that Mr. Shaw's being allowed to answer may, perhaps, be the indulgence to which allusion is made in your letter of the 19th instant, I do myself the honour to enclose a statement of that conversation, taken down at the moment, and I shall be happy to give it a place in my next paper, with an expression of regret for its omission in that of the 11th instant, if its insertion in Wednesday's paper meets the approbation of the hon'ble Board.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

"BOMBAY GAZETTE" OFFICE, }
23rd August 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd instant.

2nd.—The Governor in Council cannot perceive, in the substance of this letter, any trace of the moderation which is conspicuous in the language.

3rd.—The expectation that you would be allowed to dispute the authority of the Court on a point of fact relating to its own proceedings, and to refute its statement by the counter statements of some gentlemen among the bystanders, appears to the Governor in Council so unreasonable and so inconsistent with the dignity of a Court of Justice, that he cannot believe you to have seriously entertained it; he, therefore, regards the declaration, that you would never have undertaken to furnish reports, if you had not expected to be allowed that mode of justification, as rather a fresh mark of disrespect to the Court, than a ground for overlooking that formerly complained of.

4th.—The Governor in Council cannot discover in your replying to his desire that you would send a draft of an apology for his consideration, by requesting that he would propose one for yours, any sign of that anxiety to meet the wishes of Government which is professed in another part of your letter. The Governor in Council observes that you have in this letter acknowledged a considerable omission, that on another point your accuracy in taking down the proceedings is opposed to the direct assertion of the speaker who was a Judge on the Bench, and that the publication of your opinion as to the feelings of the Judge, even if it had been correct, was obviously neither requisite nor respectful. He is, therefore, at a loss to conceive on what ground you can refuse to acknowledge that your report was inaccurate, and to express your regret that it was calculated to produce an impression unfavourable to the spirit and temper of the Court, and an appearance of disrespect on your part to that Tribunal.

5th.—The Governor in Council expects that whatever apology you make may be so explicit as effectually to remove the impression above alluded to, and he directs me to inform you, that unless such an apology is immediately transmitted

to me, he will proceed, without further notice, to remove you from this country.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
24th August 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I am honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, in reply to mine of the 23rd instant, and having been so unfortunate as to add to the displeasure of Government, in every endeavour I have hitherto made to explain the difficulty of my situation, and remove the disapprobation of the hon'ble Board, I shall abstain from doing more on this occasion than enclosing an apology to the effect you require, in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of your letter, now under reply: and which I am ready to publish either in an appendix to my paper of this date, or an extra *Gazette*, if the hon'ble Board should so desire it. I regret extremely that it was not in my power to transmit this document so immediately as appeared to be expected by your present communication, and can only assure you, as I have done in a former instance, that the delay has not risen from disrespect to the hon'ble the Governor in Council, or disregard of his commands.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

"BOMBAY GAZETTE" OFFICE, }
25th August 1824. }

C. J. FAIR.

DRAFT APOLOGY.

In publishing a continuation of the Report of the Proceedings of the hon'ble the Supreme Court of Judicature on the 6th instant, which have been already noticed in the *Gazette* of the 11th instant, the editor begs to state, for the information of his readers, that the conversation, which this continuation details, took place after he supposed the proceedings to be closed, in so low a tone of voice as to escape his notice at the time, and that it was not brought to his knowledge till a very recent period. The editor avails himself also of this opportunity

to add that he has been informed from high authority that his report was in other respects inaccurate, and calculated not only to produce an impression unfavourable to the spirit and temper of the Court, but an appearance of disrespect on his part to the Tribunal; he feels it, therefore, incumbent, upon him publicly to disclaim any such intention and to express his deep regret that an impression of the nature he has mentioned should have been created by the statement published in this paper of the 11th, which it was his duty and his desire to make as correct as possible.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—I am directed by the hon'ble the Governor in Council to inform you that your letter of the 25th instant and its enclosure has been laid before him in Council, and I have received his directions to inform you that the apology offered by you is entirely unsatisfactory.

2nd.—I am directed by the hon'ble the Governor in Council to represent to you that the inaccuracies and disrespect complained of are stated in the enclosure of your letter, as information received from a high authority; but that every admission of the truth of the information is avoided with marked care, and that the only effect of the apology, if published with the sanction of Government, would be to confirm the impression produced by the former publication, and to establish the right of editors to reflect on the personal conduct of Judges, without exposing themselves to the imputation of disrespect to the Court.

I have it, therefore, in command from the hon'ble the Governor in Council, to declare and notify to you, that you have in the judgment of the Governor of this Presidency, forfeited your claim to the countenance and protection of the Government of the Presidency of Bombay; and I am, by the same authority, directed to declare and notify to you, that, by order of the said Government of Bombay, of the date of this day, the permission to remain in India, which was communicated to you in Mr. Secretary Henderson's letter of the 9th of January 1823, is withdrawn; and also that by the same order any certificate or license heretofore obtained by you, or which may already have been granted you, or under which you may have, before the date of such order, claimed to reside and be in the East Indies, is declared to be void from the 30th of this present month of August, which order I do accordingly hereby declare

and notify to you; and I have it also in command from the hon'ble the Governor in Council to declare and notify to you, that from and after the said 30th of this month, you will, if residing and being in India, be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without license or authority for that purpose, and that you will be proceeded against according to law.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
28th August 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR—I was honoured last evening with your letter of that date (28th instant) advising me, in reply to mine of the 25th, that the hon'ble the Governor in Council has been pleased to declare my license to reside in the East Indies to be void from to-morrow, the 30th of this present month of August, and that from and after the said day, I shall, if residing and being in India, be deemed and taken to be a person residing and being in the East Indies without license or authority for that purpose, and that I shall be proceeded against according to law.

To this decision of Government I have, of course, no alternative but to submit myself without reserve; but it is of so much importance to me to know whether I am expected to embark for England by the first opportunity that offers, or if a reasonable period be allowed me to settle my affairs in this country, that I trust I shall stand excused for requesting that you will have the goodness to obtain for me the necessary information on these points, in order that I may not, by a longer residence in India than the hon'ble Board may think expedient, seem to infringe the orders you have been directed to transmit to me on this occasion.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FAIR.

BOMBAY, }
9th August, 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—Having this day received the commands of the hon'ble the Governor in Council of Bombay to afford me legal assistance in carrying into effect their resolution of yesterday, to send you to the United Kingdom on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, except on condition of your giving sufficient security before the 31st instant, that you will embark and proceed to Great Britain on or before the 30th of November next, I beg leave to know, with as little delay as practicable, whether you are willing to sign and execute a security bond with a condition of the tenor aforesaid and whether you are willing to give securities (and who they are) to meet the proposition of remaining till the 30th of November

2nd.—Under a full consideration of the circumstances of the case, I do not think I can propose a lower penalty than twenty thousand rupees for yourself, and ten thousand rupees for two good and sufficient securities (who must be inhabitants of Bombay) that you will in the event of your acceding to the offer of Government, quit India on or before the 30th of next November.

3rd.—It has already been officially notified to you by Mr Secretary Farish's letter of yesterday's date, that in the event of your refusing to give the security now required, you will be sent on board the hon'ble Company's ship the *London*, Captain Sotheby; I, therefore, need not again urge the necessity of an immediate answer to this letter:

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. A. MORGAN,

*Company's Solicitor.*BOMBAY, }
29th August 1824. }

P.S.—I am further directed to inform you that the condition of the security bond is to be, that you are to leave India whenever required by Government so to do, on or before the 30th of November next.

W. A. MORGAN.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.,

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose you a copy of a letter from Mr. Secretary Farish to my address, and to request your immediate answer as to the subject-matter therein contained.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

BOMBAY OFFICE OF POLICE, }
30th August 1824. }

J. R. SNOW.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO J. R. SNOW, ESQ.,

Senior Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—I am directed by the hon'ble the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying extract from the proceedings of Government, dated the 28th instant, in conformity with which Mr. C. J. Fair, the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* is to be sent to the United Kingdom, on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London* (Captain Sotheby commanding), which ship will sail on or about the 3rd of September next, under the provisions of the Act LIII Geo. 3, c. 255, s. 104, should he reside and be in the East Indies after the 30th of the present month (August).

2nd.—I convey the commands of the hon'ble the Governor in Council that you give effect to the resolution of Government now communicated to you acting in all respects according to the advice of the hon'ble Company's law officer.

3rd.—You will, however, let Mr. Fair know that he will be permitted to remain at Bombay for the space of three months, from the 31st of this month, *viz.*, until the 30th day of November next ensuing, if he chooses to give security that he will embark and proceed to the United Kingdom at the end of that time, and the hon'ble Company's Solicitor has been directed to have bonds ready for signature, with such penalty as he may deem sufficient, to be executed by Mr. Fair, if he should prefer that course.

4th.—Notwithstanding your having given this intimation to Mr. Fair and his having assented to that course, the measures for sending him on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, are not to be suspended by you, and you will be pleased to inform him, that unless the Company's Solicitor

reports that he (Mr. Fair) has executed such a bond as the hon'ble Company's Solicitor considers in all respects binding and sufficient for the purpose, he, Mr. Fair, is still to be sent to the United Kingdom by the *London*.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.), J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

(True Copy.) J. R. SNOW,

Senior Magistrate of Police.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
28th August 1824. }

W. A. MORGAN, ESQ.,

Hon'ble Company's Solicitor.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt, under yesterday's date, of your letter of the 29th, advising me of the instructions you had received from the hon'ble the Governor in Council, respecting the carrying into effect of their resolutions of the 28th for my transmission after the 30th instant to the United Kingdom, and proposing to me certain conditions, on complying with which this resolution will be suspended for a time, and permission given me to remain in India until the 30th November next, subject, however, according to the postscript of your letter, to the contingency of being obliged to *quit this country on or before* that period, if required to do so by Government.

For the fulfilment of this engagement you require security in the penalty of twenty thousand rupees for myself, and ten thousand rupees for two good and sufficient securities, who must be inhabitants of Bombay. It is now my duty to state that the security you have thought it right to require of me is of such a nature and amount, that I feel it not only impossible to comply with it in my own person, but equally so in respect to the few friends I have at this place, and that I must in consequence prepare myself for the only other alternative left me, that of embarking to the United Kingdom in any ship in which the Government may be authorised to order me to proceed to that quarter.

As it has always been far from my desire to seem to offer any opposition or evasion to the orders of Government, I trust that it will not require me to hold myself in readiness for embarkation, without giving me twelve hours' notice, and that

in the meantime, my word of honour to appear after such notice has been served upon me, will be received as sufficient security for my appearance.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

J. R. SNOW, ESQ.,

Senior Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—I have been honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, handing me a copy of one from Mr. Secretary Farish to your address of the 28th of the month, and I take the earliest opportunity of advising you that I have been obliged to inform the hon'ble Company's Solicitor that it is quite out of my power to furnish security to the extent and of the nature he requires, and that I am consequently prepared to embark in any ship to the United Kingdom, on which the Government may be authorised to order me to proceed to that quarter.

As the execution of this latter part of the hon'ble Board's commands appears to rest with you, it may be advisable for me to state, that I hope you will consider my word of honour to attend you for the embarkation at any time you may direct, after my receiving twelve hours' notice of your wishes, as a sufficient security for my appearance when required.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

BOMBAY, }
31st August 1824. }

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—I am duly honoured with your communication of yesterday's date, and rest perfectly satisfied with the assurances you have given me.

I have.....servant,

J. R. SNOW,

BOMBAY OFFICE OF POLICE, }
1st September 1824. }

Senior Magistrate of Police.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

To C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, I am directed to inform you that the Senior Magistrate of Police has received orders to send you to England on board the hon'ble

Company's ship *London*, which will sail on or about the 3rd instant, but that if, before the sailing of that ship, you give full and sufficient security to embark, whenever you are required to do so, you will not be ordered to leave India for three months, or until the 30th November next, unless you give new ground of offence in the interim.

I have.....servant,

J. FARISH,

Secretary to Government.

BOMBAY CASTLE, }
30th August 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I had yesterday the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ultimo in reply to mine of the 29th, informing me of the directions which had been issued to the Senior Magistrate of Police, for my embarkation on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, but that if, before the sailing of that ship, I give full and sufficient security to embark, whenever I am required to do so, I shall not be ordered to leave India for three months, or until the 30th November next, unless I give new ground of offence in the meantime. The hon'ble the Governor in Council will, doubtless, have been informed, that I had, previously to the receipt of the letter now under acknowledgment, been called on, in one from the hon'ble Company's Solicitor of the 29th ultimo to enter into securities, which I found it impossible to comply with, and that I had in consequence expressed my readiness to surrender myself to the Senior Magistrate of Police whenever required.

I have since been made acquainted with the orders that have been issued for my transmission to the United Kingdom on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, as a charter party passenger, and having failed in my endeavours to obtain a cabin and accommodation at the commander's table at my own expense, I find myself reduced to the necessity of proceeding on a long, circuitous and uncertain voyage, limited to ship's provisions and accommodation only, and subject, of course, to all the privations of a common soldier or sailor for a period of ten or twelve months at the least, contrary, I apprehend, to the real intention of the Legislature, unless the hon'ble Board will so far modify the terms of security formerly required of me, as to accept my personal bond, binding myself to proceed to England in such other ship as the Government may consider itself authorised to send me.

I take the liberty to repeat, what I have already stated to the hon'ble Company's Solicitor, that I have never intended either to oppose or evade the orders of Government on this occasion, and I trust, therefore, that the proposal which the circumstances I have mentioned have rendered it necessary for me to make at this time, will be deemed satisfactory to the hon'ble Board.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

BOMBAY, }
2nd September 1824. }

CAPTAIN J. B. SOTHEY,

Commanding the Hon'ble Company's ship London.

SIR,—Understanding that orders have been issued to the Senior Magistrate of Police, Mr. Snow, and yourself for my reception on board the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, as a charter party passenger to the United Kingdom, and concluding that I shall in consequence be limited to ship allowance and accommodation, I shall esteem myself obliged by your informing me, if you can make arrangements for receiving me at your table, and accommodating me with a cabin during the period I may be retained on board the ship under your command, for which I am ready to make such remuneration as you may think just and proper.

I am, Sir,

Your.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

BOMBAY, }
1st September 1824, 5 P.M. }

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, I beg to state to you, I cannot conveniently offer you a cabin, and the accommodation at my table which you request.

I am, Sir,

Your.....servant,

J. B. SOTHEY.

2nd September 1824.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—May I request the favour of you to attend at my office to-morrow (Saturday) at 11 o'clock, to embark in the hon'ble Company's ship *London*, agreeable to your promise. Should your coming to my office not be perfectly

agreeable, I shall be most happy to meet you at any other place you may wish.

I have.....servant,

J. R. SNOW,

BOMBAY POLICE OFFICE, } *Senior Magistrate of Police.*
3rd September. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—Under the circumstances represented by you, I am directed to inform you that Captain Sotheby has been directed to accommodate you on the footing of a subaltern officer, and to allow you a cabin 7 x 6 by 6 x 6 abaft the main-mast, and to be admitted at the captain's table.

I have.....servant,

J. FARISH,

BOMBAY CASTLE, } *Secretary to Government.*
3rd September 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

Editor of the "Bombay Gazette."

SIR,—Captain Sotheby having represented the absolute impossibility of allotting you a cabin until the troops on board the *London* are disembarked at Calcutta, that part of the arrangement, communicated to you in my letter of yesterday's date, will not have effect until that period, and in the meantime you will have accommodation in the steerage.

I have.. ..servant,

J. FARISH,

BOMBAY CASTLE, } *Secretary to Government.*
4th September 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—I was honoured last evening with your letter of yesterday's date, advising me, that Captain Sotheby had been directed to accommodate me with a cabin, on the footing of a subaltern officer, and to be admitted to the captain's table, and I am this moment in receipt of your further letter of this date, informing me that Captain Sotheby having represented the absolute impossibility of allowing me a cabin until

the troops on board the *London* are disembarked at Calcutta, that part of the arrangement will not have effect until that period, and that I shall in the meantime have accommodation in the steerage.

Situated as I am at this moment, I must, of course, comply with any directions that Government may think fit to issue respecting me, but I must at the same time take leave respectfully to observe, that I cannot but feel that the alteration just made known to me will materially diminish the comforts I had hoped to experience under your letter of yesterday, and that it is in itself a measure for which I was but little prepared at this late period.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

BOMBAY, }
4th September 1824. }

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

TO C. J. FAIR, ESQ.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and to inform you that arrangements have been made, in consequence of which, Captain Sotheby has been ordered to allow you a cabin.

I have.....servant,

J. FARISH,

BOMBAY CASTLE, } *Secretary to Government.*
5th September 1824. }

J. R. SNOW, ESQ.,

Senior Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—I request that you will do me the favour to cause the accompanying letter to be sent to Mr. Secretary Farish, on your return to the shore. Permit me at the same time to request your acceptance of my thanks for the considerate manner in which you have executed the unpleasant duty with which you have been charged in respect to my person.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR.

H. C. SHIP, *London*, }
6th September 1824. }

JAMES FARISH, ESQ.,

Secretary to Government.

SIR,—Following the orders of Government, and the warrants of the hon'ble the Governor of the 1st instant, to the

Senior Magistrate of Police and Commander of the H. C. ship *London*, I am now a prisoner on board that ship, and although I have considered it desirable on every account, not to offer any sort of resistance to the authority of Government, or to raise any question of law at this place, which might disturb the peace of society, I should be wanting in justice to myself if I were not thus to avow my belief, that the whole of the proceedings against me on this unfortunate occasion, are illegal, and more particularly my transmission to the United Kingdom in a ship not bound direct to that quarter.

I desire, therefore, to enter my protest against those proceedings before I leave this harbour, lest silence should be construed into an acquiescence in their propriety and operate to my prejudice hereafter, in the endeavours which it will be my duty to make, to obtain redress from the proper authorities in England for the injuries which I consider myself to have suffered, and to be still suffering from the act in question.

I have.....servant,

C. J. FAIR,

H. C. S. London.

BOMBAY HARBOUR, }
6th September 1824. }

In one of his letters Mountstuart Elphinstone confesses : "The truth is he (Fair) was before (the Shaw trial) under orders from the Court of Directors to be sent home unless a license arrived for him by a certain day which had elapsed." Thus the complaint of the Supreme Court Judges against Mr. Fair was only the final cause of his banishment by the Governor of Bombay.

On account of the continued misrepresentations of the Supreme Court's proceedings by the *Bombay Gazette*, a report of which was sent to the Court of Directors in the beginning of 1824, the latter in September of this year suggested to the Governor of Bombay to pass a regulation, on the lines of the one passed by Mr. John Adam in Bengal on the 5th April 1823, to prevent the mischief arising from the printing and publishing of Newspapers and Periodicals and other books and papers by

persons unknown, and to afford to the public and those who might be aggrieved by anonymous libellers, the means of discovering the proprietors, editors and printers of newspapers and other publications. Accordingly a Regulation was passed by the Governor of Bombay in Council on the 2nd March 1825 and registered in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay on the 11th May 1825.

In May 1825 James Silk Buckingham preferred an appeal before the Right Hon'ble the Privy Council of His Majesty against Adam's Rule, Ordinance and Regulation. Most probably this appeal led the Court of Directors to issue the following order, dated the 6th July 1825, in which a public servant in the East India Company's service was prohibited from becoming the Conductor or Editor of a Newspaper :—

"Paragraph 26—As connected with the subject of the Press, we take this opportunity of expressing our decided conviction that it is highly inexpedient to permit any public functionary in the Company's service to become the Conductor or Editor of a Newspaper. Were there no other reasons against it, the exclusive claims of the Company on their time and exertion are such as to preclude a divided application of them to other pursuits."

Soon after the following incident occurred at Bombay which provoked the Court of Directors to order peremptorily that in future no Company's servant shall be proprietor of a newspaper. From a manuscript memorandum by Sir Edward West, it appears that in June 1825 during a sitting of the Supreme Court, Mr. Francis Warden, then a Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, had handed to the Judges and others, a printed letter signed by himself, insinuating that

the Judges had furnished the *Oriental Herald** edited by James Silk Buckingham, with a statement that he had unfairly used his power as a newspaper proprietor. In this letter Mr. Warden acknowledged his proprietorship of the *Bombay Gazette*, but denied any bias against the Supreme Court. Sir Edward West, after pointing out the impropriety of the letter, the groundlessness of the insinuation, and the continued misrepresentation appearing in Mr. Warden's paper, goes on to say:—"Mr. Warden, as proprietor, is answerable both civilly and criminally for the contents of the paper, but by the charter he is exempt from all criminal responsibility in the Courts of India, and this fact alone shows the extreme impropriety that a Member in Council should be Proprietor of a Paper as Mr. Warden was of the *Bombay Gazette*, and as it appears by the affidavit filed under the new Regulations in the Secretary's office, he still is of the *Bombay Courier*." Provoked by this reply, both Mountstuart Elphinstone and Francis Warden jointly complained to the Court of Directors of the conduct of the Chief Justice in February 1826. Sir Edward West, as a reply to this complaint, forwarded to the President of the Board of Control, the Right Hon'ble Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, a Report on the "Interference of the Bombay Government with His Majesty's Court and Judges." In this Report, of which a copy has been preserved, Sir Edward West says:—"I should have also taken into consideration the general tenour of Mr. Warden's conduct and the nature of the cases and his evidence; and in particular whether it would have been right to have admitted to the Bench a gentleman who had committed public Contempts of Court both by

* Started in England by J. S. Buckingham in 1824 and continued till 1829.

the misrepresentations of the Court's Proceedings in the *Bombay Gazette* newspaper, of which Mr. Warden was, and was universally known to be, Proprietor, and also by the handing to me, whilst sitting on the bench, a printed Paper, signed by himself, in which he charged, in a manner too clear to be misunderstood, that I was the Author of the insinuations in the *Oriental Herald* calculated to undermine his official Reputation, and the calumnious attack upon his character."

Mountstuart Elphinstone denied officially that there was any connection between the Bombay Government and the Bombay newspapers, and asserted* that such a belief was a "private doctrine" of Sir Edward West. This denial, no doubt, made easier the unexpected answer from the Court of Directors ordering† that in future no Company's servant shall be proprietor of a newspaper. But this command was only partially obeyed by the Bombay Government. Mr. Francis Warden transferred his shares in the *Bombay Gazette* to a former clerk of his, but retained a share in the *Bombay Courier*.

In June 1826 the Government of Bombay presented to the Supreme Court for their sanction a proposed law prohibiting the publication of any newspaper, except by persons holding a license, revocable at will by the Governor. This was framed on the lines of the one passed by Mr. John Adam in Bengal on the 14th March 1823, and registered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the 4th April of the same year. The proposed Bombay Regulation was carefully considered by the Supreme Court. Sir Edward West decided that there was nothing in the state of Bombay society to justify

* Vide letter in *Life of Elphinstone*.

† For the orders see the *Calcutta Review* January 1908.

such a restriction on the liberty of the subject, and gave his opinion against the Regulation. Sir Ralph Rice, a Puisne Judge, thought the Regulation inconsistent with British law, but would defer to the Governor in Council. Sir Charles Chambers, the third Judge, supported the opinion of the Chief Justice and believed that to introduce such a rule at a "time of perfect tranquillity, would be imposing new shackles to restrain no evil, and by leading to by-paths of favour and influence, to create, perhaps, a greater evil than it could obviate." The Court then gave a judgment against the proposed Regulation to the relief of all honest journalism and to the indignation of the Bombay Government. The following are the full texts of the judgments delivered by the Judges of the Bombay Supreme Court :—

JUDGMENT OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE, SIR EDWARD WEST.

Before I consider the proposed regulation, I shall state what I conceive to be the duty of the Court on these occasions when regulations are passed by the Local Government, and by them transmitted to the Court for registration under the statute.

By the 13th Geo. III., c. 63, sec. 36, it is enacted, "that it shall and may be lawful for the Governor-General and Council of the said United Company's settlement at Fort William, in Bengal, from time to time, to make and issue such rules, ordinances, and regulations for the good order and civil government of the said United Company's settlement at Fort William aforesaid and other factories and places subordinate, or to be subordinate thereto, as shall be deemed just and reasonable (such rules, ordinances, and regulations not being repugnant to the laws of the realm), and to set, impose, inflict, and levy reasonable fines and forfeitures for the breach or non-observance of such rules, ordinances, and regulations; but, nevertheless, the same, or any of them, shall not be valid, or of any force or effect, until the same shall be duly registered and published in the said Supreme Court of Judicature which shall be, by the said new charter, established with the consent and approbation of the said Court, which registry shall not be

made until the expiration of twenty days after the same shall be openly published, and a copy thereof affixed, in some conspicuous part of the Court-house, or place where the said Supreme Court shall be held; and from and immediately after such registry as aforesaid, the same shall be good and valid in law."

This provision is extended to the settlement of Bombay by the 47th Geo. III., sess. 2, c. 68, sec. 1.

It is to be observed, that this provision requires, in the first place, that such regulations are not to be repugnant to the laws of the realm; and second, that they shall not be valid or of any force or effect, until the same shall be duly registered and published in the Supreme Court, with the consent and approbation of the said Court.

Upon this provision various constructions have been put.

First, it has been stated, on the authority of a late learned Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras, who presided in the Recorder's Court here for a short period, Sir George Cooper, "that the Court, except in cases where some gross and glaring infringement of the liberty of the subject is apparent on the face of the rule, have nothing to do with the legality of it, but that the Government is to decide on the fitness, justice, and reasonableness of it, and that it is for them to see and take care that it is not repugnant to the laws of the realm." This supposed judgment of the learned Judge was published in the Government papers of the 12th April 1823 and is as follows :—

"The power of framing rules, ordinances, and regulations, is placed in the Governor-General, and Governors in Council, respectively, at each Presidency. They, the Governors aforesaid, are to decide on the fitness, justice, and reasonableness of the same, and it is for them to see and take care that such rules, ordinances, and regulations, are not repugnant to the laws of the realm. That the ~~the~~ consent and approbation, referred to publication and registry only, and were used because it would be too much to suppose that anything could be hung up and registered in that Court without its permission. That such publication and registry did not give them any additional weight in point of law, for if the Government made regulations which were repugnant to the laws of the realm it was perfectly competent to that Court to decide against their legality in any issue there depending; in fact that the publication and registry in the Court of Recorder was nothing more than a declaration of the Court's knowledge of their existence, but did not prevent its affording relief when called upon to do so afterwards, should the circumstances of the case seem to warrant an interference. That the Court had, no doubt, the

power of refusing to publish and register, but that it would only do so when some gross and glaring infringement of the liberty of the subject, arbitrary imprisonment for instance, or something immoral, was apparent on the face of the rule sent for registry."

In the first place, were such the true construction of the clause, what is the meaning of the term approbation? In the next place, the learned Judge is made to say, "that such publication and registry did not give the regulations any additional weight in point of law; for if the Government made regulations which were repugnant to the laws of the realm, it was perfectly competent to the Court to decide against their legality in any issue there depending." But what says the statute itself? "that the same shall not be valid, or of any force or effect until they shall be registered; and that from and immediately after that registry as aforesaid, the same shall be good and valid in law." Besides, could anything be more mischievous than that regulations should be passed and registered which the officers of the Government and others are to enforce, and which, were an action to be brought against them for such enforcement, might be declared to be illegal, and consequently no justification to them? It is clear that the proper construction of the act is that the Court is to take care, in the first instance, before the rules are registered, that they are not repugnant to the laws of the realm, and that, as soon as registered, they shall be good and valid in law, unless disallowed by His Majesty, as provided by the act. Second, it may be, and indeed has been, said, that under this provision of the legislature, the Court has only a judicial, but not a legislative, power, that it is to consider the legality, but not the expediency, of regulations proposed by the Government.

In the first place, however, such construction is opposed to the words of the statute, "that the regulations shall not be valid till they shall be duly registered with the consent and approbation of the Court;" the word "approbation" is unrestricted and unqualified, and I do not understand how we can restrict and qualify the term by construing it to mean approbation merely in point of law. Had the legislature intended this, how easy would it have been to have said such regulations not to be registered by the Court in case they shall consider them to be repugnant to the laws of the realm. In the next place, in all the proceedings upon the appeal of Mr. Buckingham to the King in Council against the regulation passed at Calcutta, it is taken for granted that the Court are bound to consider, and did actually consider, its expediency. Thus, a part of the second reason advanced by the Court of

Directors of the East India Company in support of, the regulation is as follows: "That the restrictions imposed by the rule, ordinance, and regulation, which is the subject of appeal, were called for by the state of affairs in the settlements of Bengal, and were adapted to the exigency of the case; and that they were not injurious to His Majesty's subjects in the said settlement, is to be inferred from the concurrent judgment of the Supreme Government of the East India Company, and 'of the Supreme Court of His Majesty.'" The Court of Directors, therefore, assume that the Supreme Court did exercise their judgment upon the expediency and necessity of the regulation, and did consider that it was called for by the state of affairs and the exigency of the case. Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet also, in his argument as counsel for the Court of Directors, takes it for granted that the Court did exercise such judgment.

"It is," says he, "for your Lordships' wisdom to determine whether in this case your Lordships do or do not agree in thinking that necessary and expedient which the Local Government has found to be necessary, *which the Court established by His Majesty for protecting the rights of his subjects, and which is not the Court of the East India Company, has thought expedient, and has adopted and registered in these regulations.*"

Nor did the counsel on the opposite side, who impugned the regulation, ever contend that the Court had no right to exercise a judgment as to its expediency; to them, insisting as they did that the preamble to the regulation which recited the existing evils had not been proved, it would have been a strong argument that the Supreme Court had exercised no judgment upon that point. They, however, did not touch upon such argument, and evidently because it was untenable.

In many cases, too, it is impossible to separate the question of legality from that of expediency. In many cases, expediency may make that not repugnant to the laws of the realm, which, without such expediency, would clearly be too repugnant; I would instance the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Would anyone contend that such suspension would not be most unconstitutional, and in that sense of the term, most repugnant to the laws of the realm, if passed under circumstances which did not render it expedient, and rather necessary? Would, on the other hand, anyone contend that it were repugnant to law, in case of such expediency or necessity? The same observations may be made with respect to the many Acts of Parliament which the Legislature has pronounced to be rendered necessary by the disturbed state of Ireland. All of them would be unconstitutional, and, in that

sense, repugnant to the laws of the realm, unless rendered necessary by the state of the country.

Indeed, it may be said, that every law, every restriction of the liberty, or the will of an individual, is repugnant to law, unless it be called for by necessity or expediency; but there is this distinction, that many laws are evidently expedient upon the face of them, and from the known principles and propensities of human nature, and require no specific proof that they are so; others may not appear to be expedient upon the face of them, and from the known principles and propensities of human nature, but may be shown to be so by evidence of particular facts and circumstances.

It is clear, therefore, that the Court have a right or rather, are bound, to consider the expediency of the proposed regulations; that the Court has, by the statute, legislative, and not simply judicial functions to perform, and that even if it were not so, if the Court were bound to exercise a power simply judicial, in many cases the legality depends so entirely upon the expediency, that the Court could not divest itself of the duty of considering it.

I shall now proceed to consider the regulation in question.

It must be premised, however, that the Press at this presidency, is at present placed on precisely the same footing as in England. In March 1825, a regulation was passed by the Governor and Council (upon a suggestion from the Court, made the preceding September, of its necessity, on account of the continued misrepresentations of the Court's proceedings by one of the newspapers), which was merely a copy of the acts 37 and 38, Geo. III., and the object of which was to afford to the public, and those who might be aggrieved by anonymous libellers, the means of discovering the proprietors, editors and printers of newspapers and other publications. The purport of the present regulation, which is the same as that passed at Calcutta, is to prohibit the publication of any newspaper, or other periodical work, by any person not licensed by the Governor and Council, and to make such license revocable at the pleasure of the Governor and Council. It is quite clear, on the mere enunciation, that this regulation imposes a restriction upon the liberty of the subject which nothing but circumstances and the state of society can justify. The British Legislature has gone to a great extent at different times, both in England and Ireland, in prohibiting what is lawful in itself, lest it should be used for unlawful purposes, but never without its appearing to the satisfaction of the Legislature that it was rendered necessary by the state of the country.

It is on this ground of expediency and necessity, on account of the abuses (as stated) of the Press at Calcutta, from the state of affairs there, and from the exigency of the case, that the Calcutta regulation is maintained by its very preamble; by three of the four reasons of the Court of Directors, upon the appeal; and by the whole of the argument of counsel upon the hearing of it.

Thus, the preamble to the Calcutta regulation is—"Whereas matters tending to bring the Government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers, and other papers published in Calcutta; for the prevention whereof, it is deemed expedient to regulate by law, the printing and publication within the settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, of newspapers and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets, and other printed books and papers, in any language or character, published periodically, containing or purporting to contain, public news, and intelligence or strictures on the acts, measures, and proceedings of Government, or any political events or transactions whatsoever."

The reasons of the East India Company embrace the same facts and the consequent expediency and necessity of the regulation.

The first reason commences—

"Because the said rule, ordinance, and regulation was made by competent authority, and was rendered necessary by the abuses to which the unrestrained liberty of printing had given rise in Calcutta, the preamble of the said rule, ordinance and regulation, states, that matters tending to bring the Government of Bengal, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, had recently, before the making thereof, been printed and circulated in newspapers, and other papers published in Calcutta."

Again, in the second reason—

"That the restrictions imposed by the rule, ordinance, and regulation, which is the subject of appeal, were called for by the state of affairs in the settlement of Bengal, and were adapted to the exigency of the case."

Again in the fourth reason—

"The reasonableness of ordinances must depend upon the circumstances and situation of the country to which they are applied."

I need not go through the addresses of counsel to show that the whole of their arguments in favour of this regulation

are founded upon the fact, as stated in the preamble, of their expediency and necessity from the local circumstances and the exigency of the state of affairs at Calcutta, and I respectfully presume that His Majesty in Council approved of the regulation for the same reasons, no others having been urged, and, in particular, upon the ground that the preamble of the regulation reciting such exigency, was not traversable or questionable.

But what is the preamble to the regulation which is now proposed to be registered in the Supreme Court at Bombay? Is there any recital of matters "tending to bring the Government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt," having been printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Bombay? Nothing of the kind,—the preamble merely recites that a certain regulation had been passed in Calcutta for the prevention of the publication of such matters. Is it the fact that such matters have been published in the Bombay papers? Can a single passage, or a single word, 'tending to bring the Government of Bombay into hatred and contempt;' can a single stricture, or comment or word, respecting any of the measures of Government, be pointed out in any Bombay paper?

How then, without such necessity as is stated in the preamble to the Calcutta regulation, can it be expected that even were the Supreme Court to consent to register it, and an appeal preferred, it would be confirmed by His Majesty in Council?—where would be the reasons of the Courts of Directors in favour of it?—where would be the arguments of Counsel in support of it?

Suppose an Act of Parliament passed to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland, on account of treasonable practices in that country; in such case, evidence of such practices would be laid before Committees of the two Houses of Parliament before the Act was passed, and the Act would also recite them, as the Calcutta regulation recites the evils which it has intended to remedy. But would the fact of such Act having been passed for Ireland, justify a motion to extend it also to England, without any evidence of any such treasonable practices, nay, when it was well known that there were no such, or any circumstances to call for it, and with a mere recital of the *Habeas Corpus* Act having been suspended in Ireland, as the present proposed regulation merely recites that the same regulation had been passed in Calcutta?

I am of opinion that this proposed regulation should not be registered.

JUDGMENT OF JUSTICE SIR RALPH RICE.

I have read the case of the Press of India before the King in Council; but still I think the clause as to the change in the proposed rule, is repugnant to the law of England,—and that policy did not, and does not, require it. It is argued, I think, too much as if the natives had been at all affected by the licentiousness of the Press; the mischief in Calcutta was wholly, I think, confined to the English, and would, I am persuaded, have remedied itself.

Considering, as I do, that the liberties of England are part of the law of the land, and that they depend on the freedom of the Press, I cannot conceive how a licence, which is to stop its mouth and stifle its voice, can be consistent with, and not repugnant to, the law of England.

Though I entertain this opinion, I shall not object to the registry, because as regards the repugnancy, I defer to the appellate authority, as I should on any point of law which they had decided contrary to my judgment; and with regard to the policy and the expediency, I do not think the Legislature intended to leave them so much to the consideration of the Court as to the Government; which ought to be the better judge of such subjects, and which must now be presumed to have formed a proper judgment. It is not desirable that the Judicial should ever be mixed with the Executive or combined with the Legislative; and Parliament having legislated so much for British India, it is a pity, I think, that a question of such vital importance with analogy to England, should not have emanated in, and had the sanction of, Parliament.

I feel further justified in acquiescing in the registry (now that I have stated publicly my opinion) because the decision of the Council must be known to Parliament, and if Parliament should object, it was easy to propose a bill to limit and more accurately define the local authority, and when one considers of whom the Privy Council consists, and who were the advocates for Mr. Buckingham—men all eminent in Parliament as well as the profession—one cannot avoid feeling, that ulterior measures would have been adopted in England, if the opinion which I unhappily entertain, as to the repugnancy and necessity of this rule had been current and general.

JUDGMENT OF JUSTICE SIR CHARLES CHAMBERS.

In order to explain clearly the grounds of my opinion on the present occasion, I think it necessary to advert in a cursory way to the circumstances under which this regulation is

presented to us. In consequence of the recent decision of the Privy Council against Mr. Buckingham's appeal, it has, I believe, been recommended by the Court of Directors to the local Governments of Bombay and Madras, to propose that the Bengal regulation regarding the Press should *totidem verbis* be registered, and become a part of the local law of each of these presidencies; and the Government of Bombay so far acquiesce in the views of the Court of Directors as to propose it for our registration, according to their recommendation. It appears to have been thought that the decision in that particular case is tantamount to a legislative declaration, that the same or similar regulations are so consonant with the general policy of the Indian Government, that they need but to be proposed in order to be adopted. If, indeed, that decision bore in any way directly upon the general question of the expediency of such regulations, there is no man in the situation of a Judge who would not feel great deference for such authority. But, unless it could be shown that such a decision bound us with the force of an Act of Parliament, even then, I conceive, a Judge would, on the present occasion, feel it to be his duty to consider *de novo* the general principles, and exercise most conscientiously the discretion the Legislature had vested in him. But when grounds may readily be suggested for that decision wide of the principle upon which we are called upon prospectively to consider the expediency of the present regulation, I am at a loss to imagine what necessary and immediate connection there is between the decision of the Privy Council and the proposal of it for our adoption. The decision of the Privy Council, stripped as it is of all the grounds upon which it was formed, presents to my mind merely a confirmation retrospectively of a solemn act of the Supreme Government in Bengal in conjunction with the Supreme Court, upon a subject-matter expressly within their authority, under circumstances which, if true, might justify that act, and of the truth of which circumstances they alone were the competent judges. What bearing or what material influence can such a decision have on our minds, who are called upon at another place, under totally different circumstances, to consider, prospectively, the expediency of introducing the same regulation, not as a remedy for any existing or imminent evil, but as a general and permanent act of legislation? The preamble, it may be said, was not proved, nor required to be proved, to be true before the Council, but that I conceive could no more be done than the Court of King's Bench could require the proof of any special finding of a Jury on a special case brought before them; and it does not, therefore, follow that the preamble is mere

waste paper, and unnecessary to form a groundwork for such restrictive regulations.

All such regulations being confessedly restrictive of natural liberty, to a much greater extent than it has ever been thought necessary to carry matters in our own country, (I mean in the best time, or in the way of permanent enactment), whatever distinctions may be made by the terms *contra legem* and *preter legem*, to common understandings they are as much opposed to the ordinary notions of English law as light is to darkness; and necessity alone, and that of a very obvious and permanent kind, can justify, in my judgment, their registration. In all such cases of imperfect definition of legal rights, it is impossible not to see that the situation of the different places may require different legislative enactments, and what may be necessary at one place, may be perfectly superfluous at another. In the same way, even in the same place, it may be premature to introduce strong measures at one time, which, at a riper period of society, may be deemed highly beneficial. There is no subject, indeed, the consideration of which is acknowledged to require a sounder discretion with reference to local circumstances, or in which local circumstances have so direct an operation, in determining the legality or illegality of particular measures. In every separate jurisdiction, therefore, it must be matter purely of discretion, how far and when it is expedient to introduce restrictive regulations of this nature.

Without, therefore, considering very minutely the particular tendency of the regulation proposed, although I have no hesitation in saying, that if registered, its general tendency would, in my opinion, be most prejudicial to the independence and good spirit of the community, with respect to the necessity of introducing any such regulation at all at the present moment, I conceive there cannot be two opinions. In a time of perfect tranquillity—with a small community of Europeans, and a Native population submissive even to servility—the only effect would be imposing new shackles to restrain no evil and, by leading to by-paths of favour and influence to create, perhaps, a greater practical evil than any it can ever obviate. Indeed, nothing can exhibit in a stranger light the difference of circumstances in which this presidency is placed, than the total omission of the preamble of the Bengal regulation in that now presented to the Court for registration; a preamble, the conviction of the truth of which would alone induce me to countenance any such measure. Nothing more is necessary to show how perfectly inapplicable the state of things here is to such restricted measures than the perusal of that preamble; not the word of which has, or is likely to have, I trust for a long

period of time, any force as applied to this presidency. The disposition and character of the people are not the greatest difference of circumstances to be attended to: the weighty and important difference between the situation of the two places consists in the enactment at this presidency of an intermediate set of regulations, in conformity with the well-known Act of the 37th Geo. III, which were registered in the course of the last year, by which, in my humble judgment, every rational object of Government is attained, consistently with perfect liberty, both social and political. When it shall be shown by experience, that this Court, administering a law which has been found completely effectual in England to restrain licentiousness, and during a period of thirty years, has operated on society with the most beneficial effect, and has found no revilers even amongst those whom it has brought to justice, shall be found not sufficient to ensure peace and order in society, and stability to the Government, it will be then time enough to listen to suggestions which I consider so objectionable in principle as this regulation.

It seems to have been, argued that the only question for the Judges to consider is, whether the regulations proposed are, or are not repugnant to the existing mode of governing British India! It is true that in this mode of arguing, scarcely any regulations would be inconsistent with law, which fell short of unlimited and arbitrary power. But upon the principle which I have before stated, namely, that legality or illegality as applied to such a subject, depends entirely upon the apparent necessity of the case, I conceive that the full legislative discretion which the Parliament of Great Britain exercises in all cases affecting the liberty of the subject, is intended to be delegated to the Judges of this Court, in conjunction with the Government, in registering and making local regulations, restrictive of the usual and ordinary rights of individuals. In the exercise of such a discretion, I am of opinion, that ten thousand deviations from the law of England, in particular cases, would form no argument for adding one more to the catalogue, nor would the circumstance of so many previous anomalies make a fresh one consistent with it.

Another argument which has been used, had some influence with me. The effect of the actual state of things has been forcibly represented with regard to British subjects residing in India with or without license; the principles of government of the British and Native population without the limits of the seat of Government are also stated; and then it is asked, whether the small portion of the Native population residing

in Calcutta, or the other presidencies, were intended to be governed in a different manner? To which I answer, that by the establishment of the Supreme Courts at the presidencies, I conceive that it was the intention of the Legislature that both British and Native inhabitants, within the ordinary limits of the presidencies and the jurisdiction of these courts, should enjoy the full benefit of English law, and consequently should be governed in a different manner from those in the provinces. It may be said that the power of sending British Subjects home extends to those residing in the presidencies as well as to others; but it must be remarked, that this power, as it has been exercised over the Press, has probably never been in the contemplation of the Legislature at all. It is a consequence of the discretionary power vested in the Government for general purposes, and the particular acts of the Government regarding the Press, have been confirmed by the courts of law, because it would be difficult for any mind to form a distinction between this and other cases in which individuals became obnoxious to the Government. But whether this, or any other Government, under existing circumstances, would deem it expedient to frame any regulation relating to British Subjects, restrictive of the Press (nakedly considered), is another question, and which is deserving very serious consideration. Both in Bengal and elsewhere, it has been thrown out, that nothing short of the present proposed regulation would be effectual to restrain even British Subjects from writing inflammatory publications, because, if the editor and proprietors were all Asiatics, and *could be* indemnified from the consequences of prosecution, British Subjects might under their names write and publish things offensive to the ruling power. Whenever the period shall come when such a state of things is possible, and when all legal modes of repressing the evil shall have been tried, and tried in vain, it will be time enough to attach some weight to any argument which may be derived from such a source. Till that time arrives, I am of opinion that the proposed regulation is not expedient, and I decline giving my voice in favour of its being registered.

Judgment of the Court—Regulation disallowed.

S. C. SANIAL.

[To be continued.]

Art. IV.—THE DUTCH IN MALABAR

being a Translation of two manuscripts in the record-rooms of the Madras Government.

By A. GALLETTI, I.C.S., THE REV. A. J. VAN DER BURG, SS.J. AND THE REV. P. GROOT, SS. J.,
with an Introduction and Commentary

BY A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

IN the year 1795 the Dutch factories and possessions in the Madras Presidency fell into the hands of the East India Company. They comprised three groups, those of the Coromandel Coast, headquarters Pulicat, those of the Madura Coast (as it was called), headquarters Tuticorin, and those of the Malabar Coast, headquarters Cochin. The records of the first two groups existed in the case of Pulicat, complete; in the case of Tuticorin, incomplete, in the year 1818,¹ but have since disappeared or been removed from India; at any rate they are not to be found in the archives of the Madras Government or the district record offices. The records of Cochin, the headquarter station of the third group, fell into the hands of the English when they took Cochin in 1795 A.D. were retained for many years at Cochin, were then transferred to the headquarters of the Malabar Collectorate, Calicut, and finally transferred to Madras in the year 1891.²

¹ De Nederlandsche Factorijen in Voor-Indie in den Aanvang der 19^e Eeuw by P. H. Van der Kemp (Nijhoff, the Hague).

² Order of the Madras Government, No. 202, Political, dated 17th April 1891.

These records consist of some 1,400 large volumes bound in leather or paper and packets of loose papers. In a list¹ in Dutch, which is not dated but must have been drawn up in 1795, there are 1,648 entries. The Government of Madras, who were not aware of the existence of this list, caused a printed list to be drawn up in English by a Dutchman resident at Madras on the transfer of the records to that station. This list, in the compilation of which five years were occupied, arranges the records in chronological order and calendars a few of the most important of them. The Dutch list of 1795, which arranges the records under their proper headings, such as "Resolutions," "Letters from Batavia," "Translations of letters from Native Princes," will also be of use to students who wish to obtain copies of particular documents. Two hundred or more of the volumes or packets which are entered in the list of 1795 are no longer to be found, while a few omissions or probable mistakes have been noticed in that list. Otherwise the records now in the Madras record-room are those listed at Cochin in 1795.

Many of the older records were already missing in 1795. For instance there were then, as now, only a few volumes of letters from Batavia dating back beyond 1757. Time has injured or further injured some of the oldest volumes, a few of which are now entirely illegible; but practically we have the contents of the record room of a Dutch Chief Factory much in the same condition as they were in at the end of the eighteenth century while the administration was being carried on.

The history of the Dutch East India Company, which flourished for two centuries and bequeathed a

¹ MS. No. 1629, published as selection Number 6 in this series.

magnificent empire to the nation, is of the greatest interest, but has been much obscured by the loss of the great bulk of the Company's records.¹ The publication of the Batavia Diary for many of the years of the seventeenth century and the volumes of selections of De Jonge and others from what remains in Holland of the Company's archives have thrown much light on the transactions of the Supreme Government at Batavia and the history of the Archipelago. But the history of the various out-factories, especially those on the continent of India, and a full account of out-factory administration, have yet to be written. The Cochin records preserved at Madras are a mine of wealth, as yet unexplored, to the student of the history of the Dutch East India Company at its out-factories, and, in a smaller degree, to the historian of India. From them it will be possible, after much preliminary work of perusal, selection and comparison, to draw a fairly complete picture of the administration and finances and historical development of the Dutch Commandery of Malabar, and the historian of India will find in them further material for the history of the West Coast before the rise of the British power.

In view of the considerable interest of these records the Madras Government have issued orders that the more important of them should be copied and published, and a few volumes of selections have already appeared in the original language. This work contains translations in English of the first two volumes of the selections, in which were published Memoirs or Accounts of their Administration written by two Dutch Chiefs of the Malabar Settlements in the years 1743 and 1781, respectively.

¹ Klerk de Beus, *Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Administrativen, Rechtlichen und Finanziellen Entwicklung der Nederlandisch Ostindischen Compagnie*, Introduction, p. 11.

II.

It was one of the salutary rules of the Dutch Company that every Chief of a Settlement should ordinarily, before retiring from his appointment, prepare a memorandum on the administration for the guidance of his successor, who in view of the great extent of the Company's field of enterprise, would in many cases have no experience of the country, the people or the history of his new station. Accordingly the successive Commandeurs or Governors of the Malabar Coast generally left such a memorandum on record. In a list of the year 1761¹ I find the following "Memoirs" entered:—

- (1) Memoir of Hendrik Van Rhee, 17th March 1677.
- (2) „ Gelmer Vosburg, 18th October 1687.
- (3) „ Magnus Michelman, 14th January 1701.
- (4) „ Johannes Hertenberg, 24th December 1723.
- (5) „ Jacob De Jong, 30th December 1731.
- (6) „ Adriaan Maten, 12th January 1735.
- (7) „ Julius Valentijn Stein Van Gollennesse, 1743.
- (8) „ Reinicus Siersma, 1748.
- (9) „ Fredrik Cunes, 31st December 1756.

The second, fourth and fifth of these "Memoirs" had already disappeared in 1795.² The third, sixth and

¹ In MS. No. 674.

² MS. No. 1629.

eight have since disappeared and the first is now undecipherable, though the volume is in the Madras record office. The earliest remaining "Memoir" is accordingly the seventh, which is the first of the documents translated in this work.

The following is a list¹ of the "Memoirs" left behind by the Commandeurs who succeeded Cunes:—

- (10) Memoir of Caspar De Jong, 1761.
- (11) „ of Godefridus Weiyerman, 1765.
- (12) „ of Cornelius Breekpot, 28th February 1769,
- (13) „ of Adriaan Moens, 18th April 1781.
- (14) „ of Johan Gerard Van Angelbeek, 15th March 1795.

These last five "Memoirs" still exist and have been, or are being, published by the Madras Government in the Dutch language. No. 13 has been selected for translation into English as being by far the most interesting and comprehensive of these works. That place of honour would perhaps have been claimed by the first "Memoir" of all, that of Van Rheede, could it now be read. Stein Van Gollennesse² absolves himself from writing a full account of Malabar because Van Rheede had already done it so admirably, and Van Rheede was one of the ablest of the Dutch Company's officials of his time; his memory is kept fresh to this day by the twelve folio volumes of the *Hortus Malabaricus* or Botany of Malabar.

The translation of all, or even of the valuable part, of the Madras Dutch records, would be a task of immense magnitude. But a sufficiently clear view of

¹ MS. No. 1629.

² P. *infra*.

Dutch enterprise in India may be obtained by readers who do not wish to make a special study of the subject from these "Memoirs," which were intended to be and to some extent are compendia of the history and administration of the West Coast Settlements. As it was necessary to make a *selection* for translation, two documents of the "Memoir" class have been selected.

The history of Batavia and of the Supreme Government of the Company in India is best studied, not from "Memoirs," but from the Diary maintained at Batavia, in which all events of importance and abstracts of important letters were regularly entered. The Batavia Diary for the year 1663, for instance, is a portly volume of 700 pages in which lengthy descriptions, abstracted from despatches received, may be read of the capture of Cochin from the Portuguese and all other important events of the year. And so also persons curious about the history of the English factories on the West Coast would turn for information to the Diaries kept at Tellicherry and Anjengo. But at Cochin the Town Diary does not appear to have been regularly kept. We have volumes only for a few years and those contain little information. Special diaries were maintained for special occasions, for instance for the campaigns of 1717 against the Zamorin and of 1739 against Travancore, and these are of interest. But there is no continuous record of events in the journal form, and the history of the times can best be gathered from the "Memoirs."

The existence of these records has not been altogether unknown. Moens' Memoir is briefly referred to in Major Drury's translation of Canter Visscher's Letters from Malabar (1862) and Dr. Day used translations made for or lent to him of some documents for the

account of the Dutch in Malabar given in his "Land of the Permauls" (1866). But Day knew no Dutch and appears to have been ill served by the persons he employed to collect material for him. At any rate his account is defective and not always accurate. It will be sufficient to observe that even his list of Commandeurs of Cochin is incorrect. Dr. Day's account has been followed in Logan's Malabar Gazetteer and other semi-official publications.

III.

"The Malabar Coast" formed but a small part of the possessions of the Dutch East India Company. The following is a list¹ of the Hoofd-Comptoirs or Chief Factories of the Company in the year 1650.

The Dutch Settlements on the Malabar Coast.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (1) Moluccas. | (17) Malabar. |
| (2) Amboina. | (18) Surat. |
| (3) Banda. | (19) Mocha. |
| (4) Macassar (Celebes). | (20) Persia. |
| (5) Solor. | (21) Bassora. |
| (6) Acheen. | (22) Vingurla (near Goa) |
| (7) Malacca. | (23) Ceylon. |
| (8) West-Coast of Sumatra. | (24) Siam. |
| (9) Jambi (Sumatra). | (25) Taijouan (off the island Formosa). |
| (10) Palembang (Sumatra). | (26) Japan. |
| (11) Cambodia. | (27) Tonquin. |
| (12) Martapura. | (28) Manilla. |
| (13) Quinam. | (29) Coromandel. |
| (14) Arracan. | (30) Pegu. |
| (15) The Island Mauritius. | (31) Bengal. |
| (16) The Island Madagascar. | (32) Batavia. |

¹ From the "Instructions" of 1650 quoted by Klerk de Reus, p. 90.

Most of these places were at that time only commercial residences, not strong places nor territorial possessions held in sovereignty, though in Java the conquest of the kingdom of Jaccatra had already raised the Company to the position of a Sovereign. As might be expected, losses or acquisitions occurred from time to time. No. 25, for instance, Formosa, was lost a few years after, while the absence from the list of that colony with a great future, the Cape of Good Hope, which was not occupied till 1652, will at once be noticed. The list in 1725, 75 years later, reads as follows¹ :—

- (1) Moluccas, under a Governor.
- (2) Amboina and ten other islands, under a Governor.
- (3) Banda and nine other islands, under a Governor.
- (4) Macassar, under a Governor.
- (5) Solor and Timor, under a Chief.
- (6) Malacca with various subordinate factories in the Malay Peninsula and on the East Coast of Sumatra, under a Governor.
- (7) West Coast of Sumatra, under a Chief.
- (8) Jambi, under a Chief.
- (9) Palembang, under a Chief.
- (10) Malabar, under a Commandeur.
- (11) Surat, under a Director.
- (12) Mocha, under a Chief.
- (13) Persia (Gombroon), under a Director.
- (14) Ceylon, under a Governor, with subordinate Commandeurs at Jaffna and Galle.
- (15) Japan (island Desima off Nagasaki), under a Chief.
- (16) Coromandel, under a Governor.

¹ Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien (1726).

- (17) Bengal, under a Director.
- (18) Batavia, under the Governor-General.
- (19) Samarang or North-East Coast of Java, under a Commandeur.
- (20) Bantam (Java), under a Chief.
- (21) Cheribon (Java), under a Chief.
- (22) Cape of Good Hope, under a Governor.

The list of 1725 is shorter than the list of 1650, but the Company had become much more powerful in most of the places mentioned. Whenever a settlement was in charge of a Governor or Commandeur the Dutch maintained forts and an armed force and exercised some sort of sovereign powers. On the other hand the title "Director" (*i.e.*, Director of trade) indicates the purely peaceful and commercial status of a settlement and at Surat, in Persia and in Bengal, which were in charge of Directors, the Company were mere tradesmen, as also at Mocha and in Japan, where the factories were in charge of men of inferior standing. Coromandel was in 1725 a Governorship, that is an important settlement with a strong garrison, and Malabar a Commandery, that is also a fortified settlement, though ranking lower in importance; they were only in name identical with the Coromandel and Malabar of the older list of 1650, and in fact comprised very different possessions. By the Malabar of the older list are meant unfortified factories at Cannanore and Cayenculam¹ and perhaps elsewhere,² while the Malabar of the second list means the strong town of Cochin with territory won from the Portuguese

¹ Letter of the Governor-General's Council of Batavia, dated 22nd November 1651, reproduced in Valentijn V. 2-30.

² *e.g.*, Ponnani; see treaty with Zamorin in Valentijn V. 2-26. The Zamorin granted the Dutch permission to build a factory at Ponnani. In 1645 they obtained pepper at Cannanore, Cayenculam, Calicut, Purakad and Quilon (Batavia Diary for 1645, p. 308).

or Native princes and fortresses at Cannanore, Chetwaye, Cranganore, and Quilon besides factories or residencies at other places. In 1725 the strong fortified town of Negapatam was the headquarter station of the Coromandel Coast; in 1650 it was still in the possession of the Portuguese.

The Malabar of Stein Van Gollennesse (1743 A.D.) land of Moens (1781 A.D.) is the Malabar of the second list and one of a score or more possessions of the Dutch East India Company. It is not easy to estimate the relative importance of the various possessions, but it may be observed that the ordinary establishment of Europeans at the Malabar factories in time of peace may be reckoned at some 500 to 800 out of a total of 15,000 to 20,000 Europeans employed by the Company in the East. Malabar was always put down as a possession that did not pay its way¹ and the accounts kept in the East certainly show a considerable loss during the period of its occupation. No separate accounts were, however, kept for the different settlements of the profit or loss on produce exported to Europe and the Malabar factories, which in the eighteenth century bought one to three million pounds of pepper at 2½ to 4 stivers (pennies) a pound and exported the amount or a portion of it to Europe to be sold at 12 to 20 stivers a pound,² were not credited with the profits which this trade doubtless represented; and similarly

¹ Canter Visscher. Van Imhoff *apud* Dubois, etc.

² Authority: MSS. Nos. 137, 593, 745, 1134, etc. So in 1724 A.D. 2,578,650 lb. of pepper of the invoice value of 352,479 guilders were sent to Holland (MS. No. 137). This works out to 2½ stivers a lb. This pepper was sold in Holland at 14½ stivers a lb.; that is, the price obtained in Holland was more than five times that paid in the East. Pepper reached 20 stivers a lb. in Holland in 1763 (Price list in MS. No. 745). Towards the end of the eighteenth century Raynal reckons that the French could buy pepper in Malabar at 12 sous (6d.) a lb. and sell it in France at 25 to 30 sous (Bk. IV, Ch. XXVIII). The Dutch, being stronger in Malabar than their European competitors, then paid only 4d. a lb. under a special contract with the King of Travancore.

Amboina got no credit for its cloves nor Banda for its nutmegs nor Coromandel for its piece-goods. Subject to this observation the following table,¹ in which the profit and loss on each possession is given for the years 1760-8, may be taken as some sort of basis for a judgment of the relative value and importance of different possessions :

Finances of different possessions, 1760-8.

(In guilders at about 11 to an English sovereign.)

Possession.	Territorial Revenues.	Trade Profits.	Total Revenue.	Charges.
(1) Amboina ...	270,000	262,000	532,000	2,334,000
(2) Banda ...	218,000	307,000	525,000	1,867,000
(3) Ternate ...	157,000	122,000	279,000	1,564,000
(4) Macassar ...	584,000	373,000	957,000	1,848,000
(5) Banjermassing ...	2,000	99,000	101,000	268,000
(6) Timor ...	157,000	113,000	270,000	567,000
(7) Malacca ...	886,000	193,000	1,079,000	1,345,000
(8) Padang (West Coast of Sumatra.)	20,000	770,000	790,000	1,210,000
(9) Carek (Persia) ...	8,000	929,000	937,000	2,786,000
(10) Surat ...	19,000	6,050,000	6,069,000	1,928,000
(11) Malabar ...	938,000	2,455,000	3,393,000	3,471,000
(12) Coromandel ...	511,000	6,407,000	6,918,000	6,111,000
(13) Bengal ...	653,000	2,909,000	3,562,000	7,967,000
(14) Ceylon ...	6,453,200	3,055,000	9,507,000	23,101,000
(15) Cape of Good Hope ...	1,409,000	324,000	1,733,000	4,125,000
(16) Cheribon ...	540,000	124,000	664,000	168,000
(17) Bantam ...	22,000	92,000	114,000	693,000
(18) Samarang (East Coast of Java)	2,315,000	988,000	3,303,000	3,068,000
(19) Batavia ...	9,318,000	22,000,000	31,318,000	31,373,000

It will be clear that judged on a financial basis Malabar was of little importance in comparison with the great possessions of Java (Nos. 16—19) and Ceylon (No. 14); though it is to be observed that the large figure of twenty-three million guilders or over two million sterling under the Ceylon charges is not normal, but includes the cost of a war of the Dutch with the King of Candy, which went on from 1760 to 1766.

¹ From the Memoir of the Director of the Company in Holland C. Van der Oudermeulen quoted by Klerk de Reus, p. 209.

In regard to the home trade during this period Malabar was not a very important possession. The total amount of the profits on the coffee and sugar of Java, tea from China, spices from the Spice Islands, cinnamon from Ceylon, and piece-goods from Surat, Bengal and Coromandel was large in comparison with those on the Malabar staple, pepper, which was also to be obtained from other parts of the Dutch possessions, and a few thousand pounds of Malabar turmeric and cardamoms¹ and a few bales of piece-goods. The Company's sales of Indian products in Holland from 1760—8 averaged a little over 21 million guilders or a little under two millions sterling a year,² towards which the products of Malabar probably did not contribute more than £60,000 to £100,000 sterling.

IV.

The Dutch first came to the East at the close of the sixteenth century in search of those products which they had been accustomed to procure in the ports of the Iberian peninsula before their revolt against Spain, with which Portugal was then united. It was part of the policy of the Portuguese to keep their charts of the Eastern Seas secret and to permit no information regarding the route to be published. But it was in fact impossible to conceal such knowledge. The Dutchman Linschoten, who proceeded to the East in 1583 in the train of the Archbishop of Goa, published a book³ in

¹ So in 1726 A. D. 25,000lbs. of Malabar turmeric and 12,450lbs. Malabar cardamoms were sent to Holland. The profits were not, as in the case of pepper enormous; in 1726 the increase in value was only 75 per cent. in the case of turmeric and 45 per cent. in the case of cardamoms (MS. No. 137).

² Klerk de Reus, Appendix V. (b).

³ An English translation has appeared in the Hakluyt Series (1884).

1592 and communicated valuable information, while on the 17th April 1592 the bookseller Cornelis Claesz of Amsterdam informed the States-General that he had obtained twenty-five charts of the African, Indian and Chinese seas from the scholar Peter Plancius, who in his turn had procured them from the cosmographer, Bartolomeo de Lasso, who occupied an official position in Spain. Several companies were soon afterwards formed in the Netherlands and several expeditions were sent to the East; the names of the companies, of the commanders of the expeditions, the number of the ships under their command, and the dates of their departure and return are shown in the following table¹ :—

Table of early Dutch voyages to the East.

Serial number.	Company.	Commander.	Number of ships.	Date of departure.	Date of return.
1	Company Van Verre (of distant parts) Amsterdam ...	Houtman ...	4	2-4-1595	14-4-1597
2	Old Company, Amsterdam ...	S. C. Van Neck ...	8	1-5-98	July 1599 to Sept. 1600
3	Moucheron's Company, Veere ...	Houtman ...	2	15-3-98	29-7-1600
4	Company of Middleburg ...	G. Leroy and L. Bikker ...	3	1598	1600
5	Do. ...	J. Mahu and S. de Cordes ...	5	1598	1601
6	Do. ...	O. de Noort ...	4	1598	1601
7	Old Company, Amsterdam ...	S. Van der Hagen ...	3	1599	1601
8	New Brabant Company, Amsterdam ...	P. Both ...	4	1599	1601
9	Old Company, Amsterdam ...	J. Wilkens ...	4	1599	1601
10	Do. ...	Van Neck ...	6	1600	1602-4
11	New Brabant Company, Amsterdam ...	G. Seneschal ...	2	1600	1601
12	Company of Middleburg ...	C. Bastiaanz ...	4	1601	1602-3
13	United Company, Amsterdam ...	J. Van Heemskerck ...	8	1601	1602-4
14	Do. ...	W. Harmensz ...	5	1601	1603
15	Moucheron's Company, Veere ...	J. Van Spilbergh ...	3	1601	1604
			65		

¹ Roland Bonaparte, *Les premiers voyages des Néerlandais dans l'Insulinde* (1884). The Resolution of the States-General and other documents proving these facts are printed in the 1st volume of de Jonge's collection. Plancius got 300 guilders for his trouble and the bookseller the exclusive right of printing the maps.

These expeditions¹ visited the Archipelago, not the Indian mainland. On the 20th of March 1602 the various Companies were united under the name of De Algemene Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie or General Chartered East Indian Company and were granted a monopoly by the States-General. The United Company's existence continued for nearly two centuries. Though the earlier expeditions did not visit the Indian mainland, factors were despatched by native ships to Guzerat as early as the year 1602 from a factory which the Middleburg Company's expedition of 1601 (No. 12) had founded at Acheen in Sumatra. In a letter,² dated 28th April 1602, these factors announced their arrival at Surat after a voyage of 2 months and 6 days, of which 5 days were spent in the Maldives, and reported that business could be done with the Maldives, with Guzerat, and with Malabar, merchants from which last region had informed them that there were many places in their country where there were no Portuguese, and the Dutch might build a fort. These factors later proceeded from Surat to Calicut but were seized by the Portuguese, taken to Goa, and hanged.³

In 1603 the New United Company sent out a great expedition of 13 ships with close on a million guilders worth on board under Steven van der Hagen. He was specially ordered to visit the West Coast of India, and mention is made in the instructions⁴ furnished to him of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masulipatam on the East Coast. In 1604 the fleet touched at Cannanore, Calicut and Chetwage and Van der

¹ A bibliography of the very interesting journals and voyages of the early Dutch navigators was published by F. Muller, Amsterdam, in 1867; and many important documents regarding these expeditions are printed in De Jonge, Vols. I-III.

² Printed at p. 495, Vol. II, De Jonge.

³ De Jonge III. 32.

⁴ Printed at p. 150, Vol. III, De Jonge.

Hagen concluded a treaty of alliance,¹ dated 11th November 1604, with the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese. The Dutch were to be allowed to build a fort at Calicut. The first Dutch factories in India seem, however, if the short-lived factory founded at Surat in 1602 be excepted, to have been at Masulipatam and Petapuli (now Nizampatam, Tenali Taluk, Guntur District), where factors had been left by the yacht "Delft," which van der Hagen had detached from his fleet, in 1605 and 1606 respectively.² One of the factors was sent to the court of the King of Golconda and obtained a Firman,³ dated August 1606, permitting the Dutch to build a house of their own at Masulipatam. In 1607 there was again a Dutch factor at Surat, but he was as unfortunate as his predecessors; he was seized and conveyed to Berhampore and committed suicide.⁴ In 1608 or 1609 a factory was founded at "Tegnapatnam." (Dévanápatnam, near the present European Club, Cuddalore) on the East Coast with the permission of the "King" (properly Naick under Vijanagar) of Jinji⁵ but it was soon removed to a house "made of blue freestone 105 feet long by 74 broad" in the native fort at Tirupapuliur, "two Dutch miles (= 8 English miles) inland," i.e., near what is now Cuddalore New Town.⁶ In 1610 a further Firman⁷ was obtained from the "King" of Jinji and the factory at Pulicat was founded. In 1615 a fort called the "Castle of Gueldres" was built at Pulicat,⁸ which

¹ Printed at p. 204, Vol. III, De Jonge.

² De Jonge III, 40-1.

³ Printed at p. 213, De Jonge, III.

⁴ De Jonge, III. 35.

⁵ De Jonge, III. 77. The Firman, dated 30th November 1608, is printed at p. 282.

⁶ Documents at pp. 339-345, De Jonge, III.

⁷ Documents at pp. 339 and 348, De Jonge, Vol. III.

⁸ Valentijn V. I.

became the Company's head-quarters on the Coromandel Coast, with numerous further subordinate factories in the Northern Circars, Hyderabad, Orissa, Bengal, Pegu, Arracan. For instance, for a few years before the kingdom of Golconda fell before Aurungzebe, there was a factory at Golconda and another at Nagulawamsa, half-way between Masulipatam and Golconda, there were factories and bleaching-grounds for many years at Palcole in the Kistna, Draksharáma in the Godavari and Bimlipatam in the Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency and the factory at Hugli had several sub-factories in the interior of the great province of Bengal. Meanwhile the factory at Surat had been re-established with sub-factories at Broach, Ahmedabad, Agra, and other places and the Dutch agents from the West Coast penetrated as far as Lucknow and Benares in search of commodities.¹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese still occupied Ceylon and the southern part of the Indian peninsula was still encircled by their strong places, St Thomé near Madras, Negapatam, Manar, Quilon, Cochin, Cranganore, Cannanore, Mangalore, Basrur, Honawar and Goa.

V

The Dutch could legitimately pursue a policy of aggression because Spain, with which Portugal was then united, was from time to time at war with them. Their first determined efforts, however, were not directed against the Portuguese strongholds on the *terra firma*, of India. They harried the Portuguese on the seas,

¹ Firman from the Great Mogul at p. 299 *seq.* Batavia Diary, Volume for 1663.

and endeavoured to drive them out of the Archipelago, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. Colombo and Singapore are now two of the great ports in the world; Ceylon and Malacca were even then keys to the trade of the East. Spain received warnings from the Portuguese Viceroy and urgent requests for ships and men and money¹, but such fleets as Spain could fit out were for the most part wanted in South American waters. The Dutch had obtained a footing in Ceylon in 1610,² and took Malacca on the 14th of January 1641. Portugal had successfully rebelled against Spain in December 1640 and concluded a Treaty³ with the States-General on the 12th of June 1641, under which there was to be an armistice in India for ten years; but disputes occurred regarding its application and the Dutch continued to strengthen their position in Ceylon till 1644. At the end of 1652⁴ they renewed the attack on the Portuguese forts in the island. The Portuguese were a weak and poor nation with many interests to defend. The new king was chiefly concerned with maintaining himself against his neighbour of Spain. He had other wars to wage in Brazil and in Africa. In the East the Portuguese had many more strongholds than they could adequately garrison, and the Dutch were not the only enemy. In 1652 their forts in Canara, which they had not sufficient means to keep in repair, had been attacked by the Chief of Bednore. In 1654 the king of Bijapur marched against Goa. Though they made a determined resistance in Ceylon from 1652 to 1656, their forces were inadequate. They had only 500 Europeans in Colombo at the beginning of its siege by the Dutch,

¹ Danvers, the Portuguese in India (1894), II. 266.

² Treaty on pp. 350-2 De Jonge, Vol. III.

³ Abstract of the Treaty is given by Danvers, II. 274.

⁴ Report of His Worship the Governor A. van der Meyden, dated 20th September 1660, *apud* Valentijn V-1 (1), 143.

nor was it well fortified.¹ Colombo fell on the 12th of May 1656. On the 16th of December Major van der Laen, the chief military officer who had been engaged in the siege, arrived at Batavia with despatches from the Governor of Ceylon², but no further measures were taken till on the 1st of July 1657 there arrived the Right Worshipful Rijklof van Goens, Extraordinary Member of the Council of India, in command of the ships from home.³ He had commanded in Ceylon before and had been home on leave. In a council held a few days later⁴ it was decided to appoint van Goens Admiral of the fleet and High Commissioner over the Governments of Coromandel, Ceylon and Malacca, the Directories of Surat and Bengal and the factory of Vingorla in order to complete the destruction of Portuguese power in Ceylon and on the coasts of India.

Of the many able servants of the Dutch Company Rijklof van Goens was one of the most distinguished. He arrived at Batavia with his father, who was in the military service, first of the States-General and then of the Company, in 1629, at the age of ten. Two years later, his parents having died, he was sent to the Coromandel Coast and was taken care of and trained by Arent Gardenijs, Governor of the Coast. He passed through the usual posts of assistant, under-merchant and merchant. Between 1648 and 1654 he was frequently selected for duty as envoy to native princes. In 1649 he was a Judge of the High Court at Batavia. In 1653 he was appointed to command an expedition to Ceylon and the West Coast of India, and in 1654 took or destroyed many Portuguese ships. He became an extraordinary

¹ Danvers from Portuguese sources.

² Batavia Diary, Volume for 1656-7, p. 43.

³ Batavia Diary, Volume for 1656-7, p. 203.

⁴ Diary, p. 213.

member of the Supreme Council in the same year, and now on return from two years' leave at home, he was selected for the command of the very important expedition which was finally to displace the Portuguese from their old position of arbiters of the commerce of the East. He had served the Company in a variety of capacities for 26 years and was then 38 years of age.¹ Twenty years later he was appointed Governor-General, and Valentijn² describes him as at that time: "Slender of form, moderately stout, very handsome and rather tall, stately, fresh and still youthful, with long, grey hair curling handsomely, as indeed he was in all parts a well-made Heer."

Major van der Laen accompanied him, but was under his orders.³ "Major" seems to have been at that time the highest grade in the Company's military service, but it was the practice to place a distinguished member of the politico-commercial service in supreme command of important expeditions.

The fleet sailed from Batavia on the 6th of September 1657.⁴ By the 10th of January 1658, 9 ships, 2 sloops, and 8 large dhonies to carry ammunition, etc., with some 1,500 men had been collected at Colombo.⁵ On the 1st of February the fleet proceeded to Tuticorin, which it took, on the 20th to the island of Manar, where the Fort with 181 men was captured on the 22nd. On the 1st of March van Goens crossed over and marched to Jaffna. He took the fort of "Cais" on a small island not far from Jaffna on the 27th of April⁶ and laid siege

¹ The dates are from notes made by van Goens himself, apparently for family use, and published in a pamphlet by P. A. Leupe (to be obtained from Nijhoff, the Hague).

² Valentijn IV, I, 309.

³ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 255.

⁴ Diary, p. 257.

⁵ Van der Meyden's Report of 1660 *apud* Valentijn.

⁶ Van der Meyden read with Baldaeus, who was present.

to the castle of Jaffna. No help came from Goa, which was blockaded by a Dutch fleet, and the castle fell on the 22nd June after more than 1,600 of the persons within had died or been killed. Negapatam was captured on the 1st of August. Van Goens then sailed to Pulicat, the Dutch head-quarters, on the Coromandel Coast and returned *via* Jaffna and Manar to Colombo, where he arrived on the 3rd of November. Finding everything in good order, he started again for Malabar, took the Portuguese stronghold of Quilon on the 29th of December¹ and proceeded to Cannanore, where he received orders to send back 500 men to Batavia and undertake nothing more for the time being.² He then returned to Ceylon, leaving a considerable garrison at Quilon which was, however, soon invested by "3,000 Portuguese and some thousand Nairs" according to van der Meyden, Governor of Ceylon, who proceeded to Quilon and withdrew the garrison on the 14th of April, 1659. On the 27th of June the Batavia Council resolved that "another considerable fleet" should be equipped to attack the Portuguese on the coast of India and keep the bar of Goa closed to prevent the Portuguese sending reinforcements to Ceylon or appeals to Europe;³ and on the 25th of January, 1660, van Goens and the fleet again sailed for Malabar.⁴ The Batavia Diary for 1660 is missing, but it appears from an entry under the 26th of January, 1661, that van Goens gave up the idea of an attempt on Quilon and Cochin for that year and considered an attempt on S. Thomé. However at the beginning of 1661 six ships and 1,200 men were assembled in Ceylon and despatched under the Governor

¹ Batavia Diary Volume for 1659, p. 43.

² Van der Meyden; Batavia Diary, 1659, p. 55.

³ Batavia Diary, 1659, p. 1-28.

Van der Meyden.

van der Meyden, to join five more ships and a sloop which were already cruising off Malabar. On the 10th of February he was at Ayacotta, the northern "hook" of the strip of land called by the Dutch the Island of Vypeen, which stretches from the Cochin to the Cranganore passage from the sea to the backwater. The spot is one of great historic interest. Cranganore (Kudangalur) said to have been formerly Muziricodu¹, has been confidently identified with the Muziris of the ancients, "the greatest emporium of India" according to Pliny the Elder² which stood "on a river two miles from its mouth" according to the Periplus Maris Erythræi, the river being known as the Pseudostomos or False Mouth, a correct translation of Alimukam, as the Mouth of the Periyar is still called.³ The Greek or other traders of the Roman Province of Egypt were probably as familiar as the Portuguese with the low land or islands fringed with cocoanut trees to the water's edge of the river and lagoons about Cranganore. These lagoons were the first settlement of the Portuguese when they re-discovered India and established themselves almost simultaneously at Cochin near one passage into the backwater and near Cranganore at Palliport, where the well-preserved remains of their small three-storied octagonal castle built in 1507 A. D. are still to be seen. At Ayacotta, near Palliport, van der Meyden met the heir of the Zamorin of Calicut and the King of Cranganore and later on the Zamorin in person and it was agreed to attack the Portuguese forts of Palliport and Cranganore, to

¹ So identified, e.g., in Jewish translation of early charter given on p. below and in V. Kanakasabhai Pillai's "Tamils eighteen Hundred years Ago," Madras, 1904, p. 66, where the very ancient Tamil Poet Erukkadur Tayankannanar is quoted in support of the identification.

² Natural History, VI. 25.

³ Malabar Gazetteer, p. 31.

Gaspar Correa 1, p. 737.

divide the loot if the attack should be successful, the Dutch to keep Christian captives, all Portuguese priests to be expelled, the forts to be pulled down, expenses to be shared, the land revenue and other taxes to be shared, the Dutch to administer justice, the Dutch to have all pepper at a fixed price except one-third which the native chiefs or their merchants should keep for their own trade.

Palliport lay about fifteen miles from Cochin along the backwater and commanded the estuary of the Periyar river on its left bank while the fort of Cranganore commanded it on the right bank. On the 15th of February, 1661, his Worship van der Meyden landed his troops and had a skirmish, in which he lost a few men, with a Nair force. On the 16th he marched along the shore towards "the great fortress" of Palliport; clearly not the little octagonal castle of 1507, but probably a block of buildings serving also as a seminary of which the construction was begun shortly after 1600 A.D.¹ The Portuguese had only 100 to 150 Europeans and 200 Nairs there. The Dutch brought up two twelve-pounders and a mortar and constructed an entrenchment south of the fort for security against forces coming from Cochin. Meanwhile the Portuguese fled by the backwater before the Dutch sloops had advanced far enough to be able to stop them. Three hundred to 500 Portuguese with 4,000 to 5,000 Nairs had set out by land and backwater from Cochin, but were too late. The Dutch were in possession of the fort.

¹ P. Iarriici Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum, 1615, II (2) 225-I follow van der Meyden's own account abstracted in Batavia Diary 1661, p. 99 seq., and the expression "great fortress" occurs there. Letters to Holland of 1725-6 and an inscription still preserved show that the date of the Leper Asylum built or adapted on the spot (walls 4 feet thick) by the Dutch was 1728 A. D. This use preserved the site when the remaining sites on Vypeen were sold to Travancore in 1789 and the Leper Asylum still exists, is maintained by the British Government, and forms a little enclave in Native State Territory.

A few days later van der Meyden handed over Palliport to the Zamorin and returned to Colombo. Palliport and Cranganore forts were the keys to Cochin, but the Portuguese had been strengthening Cochin and Cranganore, and it was thought too late to do anything more that season. The fleet set off on the 5th of March and arrived at Colombo on the 26th leaving some ships at Cayenculam to protect the Company's factory there. Letters were despatched to Batavia on the 5th of April. Van der Meyden was of opinion that it was not advisable to make any attempt on Cochin which was very strongly garrisoned. Van Goens thought it was necessary, in order to consolidate the recent conquests and secure the pepper and wild cinnamon of Malabar, to take both Cochin and Quilon. He added: "In every case, even if our Nation should make peace with the Crown of Portugal, the design on Cochin must be kept in mind."¹ Meanwhile he first proposed to make an attempt on S. Thomé,² and the Governors of Coromandel and Ceylon were both of opinion that the opportunity should be seized to wrest that stronghold from the Portuguese before peace should be made. Van der Meyden thought it should then become the headquarters of the Coromandel Coast, while Governor Pit of Coromandel was in favour of keeping the headquarters at Pulicat. These designs came to nothing. S. Thomé was taken under his special protection in 1661 by the King of Golconda, who forbade the Dutch to attack it,³ seized by the French in 1672,⁴ taken by the Dutch with some assistance from the King of Golconda after a year's siege on the 6th of September

¹ Batavia Diary, 1661, pp. 117-8.

² Batavia Diary, 1661, p. 121.

³ Batavia Diary, 1661, pp. 323-4, 343-5, 402-3, 407.

⁴ Batavia Diary, 1672, p. 325.

1674.¹ The Dutch then suggested to the King of Golconda that the fort and town should be destroyed, and with some difficulty got him to agree to this, and in October 1675 some thousands of natives were engaged in the demolition under his orders.² There was however, a Portuguese colony there in 1749, when it was occupied by the English Company in spite of Portuguese protests, for the reasons explained in the following remarks of the Company's local agents³: "St. Thomé appears to us a place of very great consequence, its contiguousness to Madras, should it be in other hands, would greatly prejudice us, as it would affect our sea and land customs, investment and private trade, and be an asylum for our military, who would frequently desert. What pretensions the Portuguese can have to it we cannot perceive; it has been under the Moors for many years; they have not had any government, levied customs, nor hoisted colours there, but such as the ecclesiastics made use of to decorate their festivals."

Momentous consequences might possibly have ensued if the Dutch, then so powerful in the East, had in 1661 carried out their design and made S. Thomé, two miles from Madras, the headquarters of their important Governorship of the Coromandel Coast. When they took Cochin two years later they found an English factory at Purakad in the neighbourhood. They informed the English factors that they must leave. The English declined to move, but the native princes were afraid of the Dutch, and the Prince of Purakad offered "to cut off all the trade" of the English factors

¹ Batavia Diary, 1674, p. 300 *sequitur*, where the articles of capitulation will be found.

² Batavia Diary, 1675, pp. 106, 297.

³ Letter of Governor and Council of Fort St. David, dated 6th August 1751.

or "if that did not satisfy" the Dutch, "to have them all killed straight away."¹ They were in fact not allowed to trade and finally in 1665, war having broken out in Europe between England and Holland, the English factory was seized by the Dutch and the one remaining factor deported.² In the same year the Dutch Governor of Coromandel announced his readiness to attack Madras and was making enquiries about its defences.³

The actual course of events was as follows: The reply,⁴ despatched on the 3rd of June, 1661, of the Batavia Government to van Goens' communication was to the effect that "the design on S. Thomé should be taken in hand and the place kept after being captured, the seat of Government being removed thither from Pulicat, or in case of difference of opinion, Their Right Worshipfuls' further orders to be awaited." However on the 10th of August they received advice from home that peace was likely to be made with Portugal very shortly. Next day they held an extraordinary meeting of Council at which it was resolved that it was too late to send a force to seize Macao in China, of which they had had designs, and that all forces, including ships of war coming from Holland, should be concentrated at Ceylon.⁵ On the 14th instructions were sent to van Goens to try and seize all the Portuguese settlements on the West Coast from Cape Comorin northwards, "Quilon, Cochin, Cannanore and then Goa and Diu and whatever other places the Portuguese may still possess there." Their Right Worshipfuls said nothing more about the design on S. Thomé and were

perhaps of opinion that there was no time for it. Meanwhile the Governor of Coromandel had received a letter from the King of Golconda in which he said S. Thomé should be left alone "as it belonged to himself and no one else," and both the Governor and van Goens were of opinion it would be better to give up the design because Golconda's favour was worth preserving. It was thought to be "beyond doubt that the king had taken upon himself the protection of the Portuguese for fear that the Company's power should grow too great in his land." "His Majesty's standard was set up in the town, but the keys were still kept by the Portuguese."⁶ Attempts were made to move the King of Golconda from his purpose and van Goens proceeded to Pulicat. There on the 1st of September 1661 he received the orders from Batavia for the campaign on the West Coast, and on the 3rd he set sail for Ceylon.⁷ He collected troops from the garrisons on the way and arrived at Colombo on the 3rd of October. A fleet of 24 ships was collected.⁸ On the 20th of November it touched at Tuticorin and took in provisions. Further on a number of flat boats, to be used for disembarking, were requisitioned, and four vessels were detached to lie before Quilon, where they arrived on the 1st of December. On the 5th the whole fleet was before Quilon and on the 7th the troops, to the number of some 4,000, including 27 companies of European soldiers, disembarked. In an encounter with a Nair force next day they lost 13 men killed and about 30 wounded, while "the ways and fields were

¹ Batavia Diary, 1665, p. 145 and 1663, p. 573.

² (a) Batavia Diary, 1665, pp. 360, 410.

(b) Forrest's selections from Bombay Records, Home series I, p. 27.

³ Batavia Diary, 1665, p. 331.

⁴ Batavia Diary, 1661, p. 168.

⁵ Diary, 1661, pp. 253-255.

⁶ Diary, 1661, p. 257.

¹ Diary 1661, pp. 323-4.

² Diary 1661, p. 400.

³ From this point I chiefly follow Schouten, Surgeon in the Company's service, who accompanied the expedition, the Diary for 1667 being missing. Baldaeus was a chaplain on the fleet. His account has been compared, as also those of Father Giuseppe di Santa Maria, who was in the neighbourhood, and of Nieuhof and van Goens, junior, also both present.

sown with dead Malabarais.¹ The Portuguese abandoned the town, and the Dutch entered it. They found the principal streets and buildings except the churches, fallen into ruins, overgrown everywhere and for inhabitants toads, snakes and centipedes.² There were seven fine churches built of brick, large and well-adorned. Van Goens then, after busying himself for some days with putting Quilon in better condition for defence, sailed for Cranganore leaving three ships before Cochin. He arrived in the roadstead outside the Cranganore estuary on the 1st of January 1662, landed on the 2nd, approached the Portuguese town early on the morning of the 3rd while the church bells were ringing for mass and finding the fortifications strong, undertook a regular siege. The commissariat was at first defective and Surgeon Schouten,³ author of the well-known book of travels, who was present, says he never suffered so much hunger in all his journeys. The Zamorin sent a body of Nairs to the assistance of his allies. They served in the trenches with a fairly good grace in the heat of the tropical day when the Portuguese fire slackened, but would not enter them at night. Their musketry was very poor; they did not even aim. After a fortnight's siege the Dutch determined to storm the place on Sunday, the 15th of January 1662. The Portuguese, especially the Commandant Urbano Fialho Ferreira, fought courageously according to Schouten. Finally, however, the Commandant fell pierced with wounds, and the garrison then retired to the great church of the Jesuits and there surrendered.

¹ Schouten edition of 1740. I, 193.

² Schouten I, 194. Nieuhof however, who became Resident at Quilon shortly after, expresses admiration for the Portuguese buildings, public and private. (Nieuhof II. 121.) Of the Europeans who have come East the Portuguese alone have been builders.

³ Schouten I, 204.

The assault had cost the Portuguese about 120 Europeans besides a large number of Nairs, slaves and others. The Dutch lost about 70 men dead, among them several good officers.¹ The "castle" of Cranganore, the remains of which may still be seen, was a strong fort commanding the entrance to the Periyar river and the backwaters on three sides, but the Portuguese had also to defend an extensive town. Cochin troops assisted the Portuguese who put down the loss of the place to the "treachery" of the Cochin hereditary general, Paliat Achan.²

At Cranganore the Dutch found "a noble college of the Jesuits with a fine library attached to it, a Franciscan church and a stately cathedral adorned with the tombs of the archbishops of the place." There were in all seven churches, but the place, like Quilon, showed traces of Portuguese decadence.³ Nothing now remains of these buildings or the Portuguese town. The stones have been used to guard the cocoanut plantations along the backwaters from erosion.

Van Goens next marched towards Cochin along the island of Vypeen,⁴ and built a fort near a large church on the island from which Cochin could be bombarded. There he left 400 men and embarked again to attack the town from the other side. The claimant to the throne of Cochin whom the Dutch favoured came on board. He was a handsome young man, covered with jewels, and understood Portuguese very well. Van Goens landed

¹ Baldaeus says the Dutch lost 3 Captains, 1 Lieutenant and 78 men, the Portuguese 200 Christians. Rijklof van Goens the Younger, in notes for family use published by P. A. Leupe, says the Portuguese casualties were about 150 dead and 300 prisoners. Van Goens the Younger was present (Schouten).

² Giuseppe di S. Maria, *Seconda Spedizione*, p. 97.

³ Baldaeus I, chapter 18, Schouten I, 104, 265.

⁴ The strip of land along the coast between Cochin and Cranganore. Following the Dutch I apply the name to the whole strip or island.

some miles south of Cochin and marched along the shore northwards till he reached a great church (Church of St. Iago) in a clump of cocoanut trees in the open country three or four miles from the town. There he rested the night. Next day, after passing close under the walls of the Portuguese town, he marched on to the native town and stormed the palace of the reigning Queen, who favoured the Portuguese. In this affray Hendrik van Rheede, afterwards Governor of Cochin and compiler of the famous *Hortus Malabaricus*, distinguished himself. On the 1st Sunday in February (the 5th) an assault was made on the town, but failed, the leader of the storming party losing his life and van Goens receiving a ball on the gold buckle of his hat. Trenches were then dug and the siege continued for three weeks, during which not a day passed without attacks or sorties. Meanwhile the besieged received supplies from without; this is mentioned by Schouten¹, and Father Giuseppe di S. Maria gives a long account of the adventures of a reinforcement from Goa which landed at Purakad.² In that intricate system of backwaters it was found impossible to guard all approaches.

The Dutch forces before the town were reduced to 1,400 men, the number of their sick increased every day, and they were short of many necessities. In these circumstances van Goens thought it best to give up the siege. He embarked on the night of the 2nd of March, 1662, leaving garrisons in the new fort on the island of Vypeen and at Cranganore, as also at Quilon.

Van Goens spent the monsoon ill at Batavia³, and when the fleet started from Batavia as usual in September he had not recovered sufficiently to take the

¹ Schouten I, 222.

² Seconda Speditione, p. 104.

³ Schouten II, 2; Valentijn V (2), 33.

command, which was entrusted provisionally to His Worship Jacob Hustaert, formerly Governor of Amboina.

Cochin lies on a spit of land bounded on the east and north-east by an extensive backwater, on the north by a channel through which the backwater communicates with the sea between the spit and the island of Vypeen, on the west by the sea. Portuguese Cochin occupied a segment, being about one-third of a circle, of which the central part of the arc faced Vypeen, while the sector was a wall running nearly north-east and south-west dividing it from Native Cochin. On the south the sector did not continue quite till it met the arc on the sea, but the incomplete arc and sector were joined by a wall, facing the land, about a quarter of a mile long.¹ The incomplete sector was about a mile long. The Portuguese had thus a mile and a quarter of land front in a direct line and about the same of water front to defend, or following the walls and bastions, considerably more. The Portuguese had taken advantage of the respite to remove all houses and cocoanut trees round about the fort.² A ditch had been dug along the island wall and the bastions there had been strengthened by outworks of palisades. The town was well furnished with victuals and the backwater had lain open for the arrival of supplies from Goa, the entrance to it from the sea being commanded by the Portuguese guns.

Between the 2nd and 14th of November 1662, Hustaert set up batteries which played on a bastion on the shore and on the bastion San Lazaro at

¹ From the plan in Bladaeus, taking a Rhine-land "roede" as equal to about 4 yards. The circumference is given as 7,000 paces in the Batavia Diary for 1663, p. 569. Erosion and accretion seem, judging from the old plans, to have slightly changed the direction of the shore, and the position of Vypeen relatively to Cochin.

² Batavia Diary, Volume for 1663, pp. 118-125, contains a narrative of this second siege from the despatches of van Goens and Hustaert. This I follow. The less complete account of Father Giuseppe di S. Maria, written from the Portuguese point of view, has been compared and bears it out.

the corner of the quarter of a mile of land wall facing south. He also had a detachment at the opposite end of the town by the backwater on the north-east. On the 14th van Goens arrived from Ceylon with a body of "lascorins" or Native Ceylon troops, and on the 24th some "Canarin" (or Konkani) troops arrived from the important Dutch settlement of Vingorla. These native troops were found useless for digging trenches before the continuous musket fire of the enemy, but were employed in preparing palisades and fascines, bringing up cannon and other work. Meanwhile the fortifications were being approached, beginning from the south-west by the sea and from the north-east by the backwater not without considerable loss of European troops, by means of trenches. The work of digging trenches in the part between, that is opposite the mile of wall facing South-east was particularly difficult as the land was marshy and full of the stumps of the trees which the Portuguese had cut down. Then in the last half of December it rained incessantly and the trenches were ruined in places and filled up with water in others.

To stop the arrival of supplies by the backwater, especially from Purakád, the little fort Castello six miles south of Cochin in the backwater was occupied and a few vessels were passed into the backwater through the narrow entrance between Vypeen and the fortifications on a dark night, the native allies of the Portuguese were attacked, and islands and points on the lagoon behind Cochin occupied.

Meanwhile the works were repaired in spite of the rain; three batteries played on the fortifications from the

¹ Father Giuseppe di S. Maria who visited Vingorla in 1660, describes it as "a celebrated factory of the Dutch with buildings very beautiful in the form of a fortress." *Seconda spedizione*, p. 79.

sea-shore, where Hustaert was quartered, four on San Lazaro, where van Goens lay, and three more at Calvetty on the north east by the backwater, where the arc and the southern sector met and Cochin tapered into a point; 28 guns in all were employed.

The Portuguese expected the final assault to be made at Calvetty and constructed a new bastion there of earth and palisades. The Dutch had meanwhile advanced to the church of Nossa Senhora de Gratia within pistol-shot of it, but were cut off from it by a channel. This they filled up with gunny-bags full of earth. Beyond it was an old half ruined pepper warehouse, which the Portuguese then occupied. The Dutch attacked it from the sea in their ships on the 31st of December 1662. Eight of the 29 Portuguese in it were killed or captured and it was then taken with two small pieces of cannon and a falconet, which were at once turned on the enemy. The battery at Nossa Senhora de Gratia continued to play on the wall and made breaches in it by the side of the bastion, cutting it off. On the 3rd of January 1663 it was resolved to storm the town at Calvetty and San Lazaro, the assault at San Lazaro to be dropped if that at Calvetty succeeded. The assault on Calvetty took place on the 6th at midday at low water with four companies of soldiers. They were preceded by sailors with fire-pots and hand-grenades, half of whom were to climb the bastion and the other half to enter the breach on the side of the bastion. Nine guns were loosed off and under cover of the fire one company advanced to the bastion and another to the breach, and the enemy were driven from the bastion. Reinforcements were sent by both sides and an obstinate fight ensued. The Dutch were much assisted by their battery at the church, which shot little stone shots through the breach, where the ground

was soon covered with dead Portuguese. Victory rested with the Dutch who took 13 cannon and turned them on their former masters. 200 Portuguese were killed on the spot, as was ascertained later, including Don Bernardo, son-in-law of the Portuguese Governor, Ignatio Sermento. The Dutch leader of the assault, Major Dupon, was wounded in two places; a Dutch captain and two lieutenants died of their wounds, and the Dutch lost 30 men killed on the spot and 90 wounded, of whom 20 afterwards died.

The enemy was now in a hopeless position and next day (the 7th of January 1663) Ignatio Sermento capitulated. The terms were:—

“(1) The town of Cochin shall be surrendered with
“all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands, with
“the documents and papers relating thereto and what-
“ever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal,
“all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch
“General or his Worship's representatives.

“(2) All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals,
“movable and immovable property, slaves and what-
“ever else there may be, shall be handed over as above.

“(3) All free persons who have borne arms shall
“swear not to serve against the Netherlands in India
“for two years.

“(4) All the soldiers and others belonging to the
“army shall march out with flying colours, drums beating,
“fuses alight, bullets in their mouths and two guns to
“a convenient place outside the town and lay down
“their arms beneath the standard of the general.

“(5) All true-born unmarried Portuguese shall be
“conveyed to Europe.

“(6) All married Portuguese and Mestics [assimi-
“lated half-castes] shall proceed to Goa and may take

“their bed and bedding and such other articles as the
“general and his council may permit.

“(7) All free topasses [semi-assimilated half-castes
and Indians] and Canarins [Konkanies] shall remain at
the disposal and discretion of the general.

“(8) The clergy may take with them their images
and church ornaments except those of gold and silver.

“(9) All free persons and all persons belonging to
the church now wandering in the country shall, if they
be subjects of the King of Portugal, be comprehended
in this treaty.”

On the 8th of January 1663, the soldiers and citizens came out and laid down their arms. The total number was 1,100, of whom less than 300 were soldiers. At the beginning of the siege there had been 700 soldiers in the town.

Seventy-three guns were found, but not much loot, the inhabitants having removed their property in time.

The siege had cost the Dutch 360 men, 300 more lay in hospital. 500 more were unfit for duty. On the enemy's side 900 had been killed, wounded or captured, among them 200 priests or students who had taken up arms in defence of the town,¹ the second in Portuguese India. “making with those who had marched out 2,320 men, being more than our numbers before the town, which were, according to Heer van Goens account, with 100 men afterwards received from Coromandel, 2,600 men, of whom 180 lay at Cranganore and Pallipport, 120 at Quilon, 200 on Vypeen, 25 at Castello 6 miles from the camp, 70 to 80 at the King's pagoda a mile from the camp, besides the garrison on Priests'

¹ Batavia Diary, confirmed by Father Giuseppe di S. Maria, whose comment is: “Those reverend ecclesiastics made themselves soldiers in a civil war with shedding of blood, with irreverence towards Sacred Places and with the scandal of all that populace” (Seconda Spedizione, p. 124).

Island, which often consisted of one, two and three companies, and other places, so that we could not employ more than 2,000 men before the town.¹

Van Goens added in his Report that the Portuguese commandant, Ignatio Sermento, had been found a very puffed-up and truculent customer, but at the same time had borne himself remarkably well in his King's cause; for which reason he was treated generously and all his slaves and domestics, 59 in number, were restored to him.

So ended a siege creditable to both sides.

The last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar Coast, Cannanore, capitulated to Hustaert on the 13th of February. The fort was very strong and it seems to have been considered at Goa that the Commandant should have held out. He was executed on his arrival there.²

VI.

The married Portuguese and mestics (or assimilated half-castes) removed to Goa from Cochin under the terms of the capitulation, with their women and children, numbered 4,000.³ There remained in the Portuguese town 8,000 to 10,000 topasses (or semi-assimilated half-castes and Indians), and Native Christians.⁴ The public buildings and houses were massive and high. The Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans and Austin Friars had fine monasteries or colleges with churches. There were besides a great cathedral and other churches.⁵ The

¹ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 125.

² Panvers II, 329, Dubois.

³ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 125.

⁴ Diary, p. 127.

⁵ Baldaeus, Canter Visscher, Valentijn, Schouten and the Portuguese writers, of also Foster's English Factories in India, volume for 1624-9, p. 261. "The town of Cochin is about as great as Goa and fairly built with stone; wherein are many Churches and Castles."

town was not only a commercial factory, but a Portuguese colony and a centre of Portuguese civilisation. From it Portuguese influence spread all along the coast to the south. In the stretch between Quilon and Cape Comorin the Dutch found 39 villages in each of which there was a Portuguese church. Between Cape Comorin and Tuticorin numerous villages were occupied by Christians of the Parava fishing-caste, converts of St. Francis Xavier. There were according to reports of 1663 not less than 12,000 Native Christian fishermen (Mukkuvas) on the Malabar Coast and 20,000 (Paravas) on the Tuticorin Coast.¹ According to a Report of van Goens, dated 24th of September 1675, and inserted by Valentijn in his Part V, Division I, the Company had in the seven large and seven small harbours on the Tuticorin Coast, which it took over from the Portuguese, 70,000 families of Parava Christians under its protection. When the Dutch took the island of Manar in 1658 they found seven Portuguese churches there² and there were a cathedral and six churches in the little town of Cranganore.³ Quilon had "seven fair brick churches, great and well-adorned" when the Dutch took it in 1661.⁴ The Portuguese topasses continued to serve the new European masters, Dutch, English and French. Portuguese half-castes were employed as commercial residents, interpreters, soldiers, schoolmasters, and Portuguese remained the *lingua franca* of the coast and was the language in which the Worshipful the Chief of Tellicherry corresponded with the Honourable the "Commodore" of Cochin and the French at Mahè.⁵ The

¹ Batavia Diary, 1663, pp. 577-8.

² Valentijn V (1), II, pp. 237.

³ Baldaeus, Ceylon, ch. 44.

⁴ Baldaeus, Malabar and Coromandel, ch. XVIII; Schouten I, 265.

⁵ Schouten I, 194; of Baldaeus, I, ch. XXI.

⁶ Tellicherry Diaries, passim. Also Hamilton edition of 1739, Preface, p. 49.

Dutch and English directors, in their zeal for the conversion of papists to the reformed religion, had to instruct their chaplains to learn Portuguese or "enquire after some able Minister that can preach in the Portuguese tongue; and also a Domine as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our prayers in Portuguese."¹ The backwaters and lagoons about Cochin are still strewn with ruins that bear witness to the extent of Portuguese enterprise and skill in building. Base Portuguese is still spoken at Cochin and most of the old houses at Cochin are Portuguese, not Dutch, or at any rate in the Portuguese, not the Dutch, style.

The considerable success of the Portuguese system of assimilation and colonisation, which may still be observed in the Goan territories, was not overlooked by the Dutch. Marriage with native women and Religion supplied the Portuguese deficiency of men. Their mixed colonies of Europeans, mestics and topasses were useful for defence and saved the great cost of bringing garrisons out from home. On the other hand in order to give the colonists the means of living, it would be necessary to throw a great part of the trade open to them, as the Portuguese had done. It was of no use sending out from home poor colonists, who would only be a burden to the Company and bring the nation into contempt. It would be necessary to encourage marriages with native women, but the offspring of such unions was not satisfactory. Colonists might find employment as sugar planters in Java, but it would not be easy for them to compete with the Chinese. Portuguese experience had shown that their colonists were not really of much use in the defence of their strong places.

¹ General letter, dated 18th February 1691; Apud Wheeler I, p. 248.

Such were the considerations generally unfavourable to the proposal to imitate the Portuguese, advanced by the Governor-General and the majority of his Council in 1651 in separate minutes when they were asked their opinion on the subject.¹ One member of the Council, however, Maatsuyker, afterwards Governor-General from 1653 to 1678, thought that "the Portuguese had maintained themselves till that time by no other means than the multitude of their colonists, who serve them instead of soldiers, and without whom they would, as far as we can judge, long since have been overthrown and forgotten."

The colonisation of Cape Colony began in the Company's time and a respectable colony of "burghers" still keeps fresh the memory of the Dutch in Ceylon, but in such a place as Cochin it was not in accordance with the national character to found a half-caste colony in the Portuguese manner and assimilate the Indian; and accordingly Cochin under the Dutch ceased to be a colony and became a mere fortified factory. It was decided on the 24th of July, 1663, after some consideration² that Cochin was to be retained, but a large part of the Portuguese town was to be pulled down and the perimeter of the fortifications was to be so reduced that the place could be held by a small garrison. Similar orders had been issued about Malacca,³ which had been taken from the Portuguese twenty years before, and were afterwards passed about Colombo⁴ and Negapatam⁵ taken in 1658. The Dutch at once set to work to destroy the houses and public buildings at the eastern and western

¹ De Jonge VI, p. VI *et seq.* Van Rhee'de's Considerations on Ceylon *apud* Valentijn may be compared.

² Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 359.

³ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 710.

⁴ Schouten I, 184.

⁵ Batavia Diary, 1672, p. 325.

extremities of Portuguese Cochin and to pull down what remained of the walls at the tapering point of Calvetty on the east, which they had stormed, and on the west.

Batavia first proposed a small four-cornered fort on the river. Van Goens objected that the cost of destroying a large number of churches and houses and of cutting a ditch on three land sides through their massive foundation would be very great, and such a fort could easily be approached. He preferred a larger fort with five bastions which should be flanked by the sea and the backwater and border on the land side along the morasses that had made the approach of the Dutch so difficult.¹ This plan was adopted with some slight modifications and a wall about one and a half miles in length was built with a bastion on the sea-front (Gelderland), five on the land side (Holland, Zeeland, Frisland, Utrecht, Groningen) and some projecting works. These fortifications which can be traced on the ground to some extent to this day² seem to have been little altered in the century of the Dutch occupation from the time that Baldaeus wrote his book on Malabar and Ceylon (1672) to the time that Stavorinus visited Governor Moens (1777) or Moens wrote his Memoir (1781).³ Canter Visscher (1717-23) and Stavorinus (1777) observe that they could hardly resist a European enemy. They seem to have been practically complete in 1675

¹ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 569.

² The position of bastion Holland is fixed by references in the records (*e.g.*, MS. No. 358) to the cemetery being under it. The little Dutch cemetery thickly crowded with eighteenth century tomb stones still exists and the lighthouse stands on the old bastion. The Bishop's house stands on what was bastion Zeeland, the Vicar's house near the new Roman Catholic Cathedral on Utrecht, Pierce Leslie and Company's offices on Groningen and a hotel on Gelderland.

³ MS. No. 15; Plan in Baldaeus, Wilcocke's Stavorinus III., 230; Moens' Memoir, App. IV; Canter Visscher, letter III; secret resolutions of 1781-2 (MS. No. 1175).

when van Goens reported¹ that they had cost 875,190 guilders (about £80,000) as against the 450,000 which should have sufficed. Proposals to fortify Purakad and Cayenkulam were rejected, but the fortifications at Quilon and Cranganore were restored, and other small forts were afterwards built.

The authorities at Batavia grudged the money spent on fortifications, and orders were received from time to time to cease to keep up or demolish this or that fort. But circumstances made the men on the spot unwilling to obey these orders, and they seem to have remained dead letters. To take an instance, Commander Breekpot received orders in 1766 to demolish the forts of Chetway, Cranganore and Quilon. He went so far as to get an estimate drawn up of the cost of demolishing Chetway, but wrote² that he did not consider it advisable to carry out the orders in view of the threatening attitude of Hyder Ali of Mysore and the King of Travancore, and for various other reasons.

Fortifications were in fact necessary so long as India possessed no settled government. However much the Dutch might wish to avoid trouble with the native rulers, they were from time to time dragged into the quarrels of princes of Malabar with one another or with foreign conquerors. Nor was it otherwise with the less considerable English settlements at Tellicherry and Anjengo in the neighbourhood. Their greatest expenses were under the heads "Garrison" and "Fortifications," the factors of Anjengo with some 120 men were massacred in April 1721 at Attungal and the factory in which some forty subordinates, etc., remained was besieged

¹ Apud Valentijn V. (I) 2239. They were ready for purposes of defence in 1665 (Diary for that year, p. 144) but the Commandeur van Rhee de was always chopping and changing.

² Madras, MS. No. 855.

for the next six months ; while the factors of Tellicherry were constantly engaged in petty operations of war against the French at Mahé or native chiefs, maintained a garrison of 337 men as early as 1726, and were besieged by Mysore troops from July 1780 to January 1782, and had been blockaded before by petty chiefs.¹ In 1689 the Court of Directors of the English Company ordered the station "at Retorah, in the Queen of Attenger's country *to be fortified* in the strongest manner."² A few years later it was reported³ to the English Directors that the Rajah of Tellicherry had offered to allow the English to take possession of that place *and fortify it*, explaining that "otherwise he could no longer furnish them a proportion of pepper, from being unable to defend his country." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a factory in India was not safe without fortifications and a neighbouring petty prince or even a prince such as the King of Golconda or the Great Mogul himself could not guarantee its safety, however anxious he might be in his own interest that new traders should settle in his dominions. The King of Cochin could not have protected the Dutch against the Zamorin of Calicut if they had not been in a position to defend themselves, and the Zamorin himself, though perhaps the most powerful of the Malabar princes, could not prevent the Angria pirates attacking ships in the roads of Calicut in January 1743, while other pirates had landed at Cannanore in the night in 1742 and burnt several houses⁴ and on the 27th November 1746 Tulasi Angria with a fleet of eight grabs and 40 or 50 galeevats, landed his men at Mangalore, "which place they plundered and in

¹ From the MS. Diaries of Tellicherry and Anjengo, series for Tellicherry beginning 1726, for Anjengo 1744.

² Bruce's Annals III., 76.

³ Bruce II., 165.

⁴ E.g., in January 1742, Tellicherry Diary, 1742-3, p. 101.

about 26 hours re-embarked."¹ The Dutch company's "lodge" at Sadras on the East Coast was attacked on the 12th of March 1676 in the evening by about 100 bandits habited in a strange Moorish fashion, who slew, wounded or drove away the Company's native peons and after the few Company's servants had fled broke open the dwellings, chests, and money-boxes and went off with 6,276 pagodas (about £3,000) in cash and not much less in goods.² In 1663, on the approach of the great Marhatta bandit Sivaji, the native inhabitants of Vingorla, where the Dutch had a factory, deserted it in fear,³ and in the same year Sivaji plundered Surat while the Great Mogul's Governor cowered in the castle and the English factors were in fear of their lives. Instances could be multiplied, but the point hardly requires elaborating, and it is not surprising to find in Bruce that in 1703-4 "both (English Presidents) agreed in giving it as their opinion to the Court of Managers that grants of trade by the Mogul Government were temporary expedients only, that force alone, or *a fortification with a strong garrison*, was the only means by which the observation of the conditions in these grants could be made effectual."

(To be continued.)

¹ Tellicherry Diary, 1741-2, p. 114. (3) ; Anjengo Diary, 1746.

² Batavia Diary, volume for 1676, p. 277.

³ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 543.

**Art. V.—THE LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,
1839-1841.***

(Continued from page 353.)

37.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G.C.B., etc., etc., etc.

BOMBAY, 5th December 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—We have taken up a fast sailing vessel to carry to Suez the melancholy accounts of the death of our respected Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, which occurred on the 30th of November. He was attacked on shore here with dysentery, which in a few days terminated his valuable life. His loss is to be very much regretted, particularly at the present crisis in China, where the acts of the Chinese amount to actual war.

Khelat¹ has been taken by assault by a detachment of the force of General Wiltshire,² and Mehrab Khan and most of his Sirdars killed on the occasion. This gallant exploit was in the style of Ghizni,³ our loss, however, was greater in proportion, 32 killed and about 100 wounded—one Lieutenant of the Queen's in the former and four officers in the latter.

I arrived here early this morning greatly satisfied with the effects of my sojourn in the Deccan. Chintamun Row of Sangly⁴ came 100 miles to see me, and others from the Southern Mahratta Country were coming, could I have prolonged my

* The letter copy book in which these letters are entered was purchased by Mr. Firminger at a book sale by auction at Calcutta. The letters are copied neatly by a clerk, but one or two seem to be in Sir James' own hand.

¹ *Khelat*. On Nov. 13, 1839, Mehrab Khan, the Baluch Khan of Kelat, attacked a force under Major-General Wiltshire, which, on its way back from Kabul, had been despatched to chastise him. See Cardew, *Services of the Bengal Native Army*, p. 171.

² *Genl. Wiltshire (sic)*. Thomas Wiltshire was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives 1789 as the date of his birth, but he was Lieutenant in 1795 and Captain in 1804. He served in the Portugal and Walcheren and in the Peninsular War. In 1814 he served in South Africa and added the country between the Fish River and Keiskama to the Cape Colony. C.B. 1838; K. C. B., 1839; Baronet 1840; G. C. B. 1861. Died May 31, 1862. If 1789 was the year of his birth (see Buckland, *Dict. Ind. Biog.*) he must have been scarcely eight when he joined his regiment in 1798!

³ *Ghizni*. Ghazni had been taken by storm on 23rd July 1839.

⁴ *Sangly*. One of the Southern Mahratta *Jaghirs* in Bombay territory. Chintaman Row was in 1846 presented with a sword by the H. E. I. Co. in token of their appreciation of his loyalty especially at the time of Kolapur rebellion.

stay a little longer. I have strong hopes of being able to settle our disputes with Sevagee amicably—it is said that he wants to see me, but my absence from the Presidency for the next few months would be inconvenient. I conclude that the Home Government will take strong measures with the Celestial Empire. Russia is reported to have prepared an expedition for the conquest of Khiva, and that it amounts to 50,000 men, but this may be an exaggeration.

The establishment of her power on the Oxus would be awkward, being so navigable for steamers. We have enough to think of on this side of India, of one kind or another, but I trust you will not find us wanting when needed. The Governor-General is on his way to Agra and said to be going to Calcutta, but I have some doubts about it, from the state of the Punjab, where Kurruck Sing has been made a mere puppet by Nehal Sing, and there is every prospect of anarchy. We shall be forced to interfere, and it would have been better to have done so when Runjeet died; difficulties would have been less then than in the present state of the Raj.

Every appearance of peace with the Burmese, and India generally, is quiet. The Ex-Rajah of Sattara, on his road to Benares. There will be some discoveries at Kurnool I guess. Kind regards to Bayley.

Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Tell Mill with my friendly remembrances that Sir H. Fane is much better, but that he has been very seriously ill. I should be glad for his sake to see him fairly out of this country. He has taken his passage in the *Malabar*, which sails on New Year's day. He has been most friendly to me in all his intercourse, public and private.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

38.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.,
etc., etc., etc.,

BOMBAY, 5th December 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—This special packet by a reputed fast sailing vessel to Suez will convey to you the melancholy intelligence of the death of our much respected Admiral Sir

Frederick Maitland, which took place on the 30th of last month on board the *Wellesley* off the mouth of this Harbour. He was attacked while on shore with dysentery, and after a few days his medical attendants predicted a fatal termination. The loss of Sir Frederick Maitland, at any time to be deplored, is particularly unfortunate at this crisis when the services of such a man are so much wanted. I conclude you will send out an Admiral forthwith. He had better come overland, and we can forward him to his flagship by one of our cruisers, in the event of no man-of-war being in this Port. You will have heard of the state of affairs in China, which amounts to actual war by the Chinese. I think it right with reference to this subject to enclose copy of a letter I received two days ago from Lord Auckland with copy of my reply.

I also send you an extract from a letter I have lately had from Sir Alexander Burnes,¹ which is particularly interesting as regards the measures which appear to be taken by Russia to establish herself at Khiva and along the line of the Oxus. He promises me the advantage of his frequent correspondence, the contents of which I will duly advise you should they be of any importance.

On my arrival here early this morning I found an extra publication of the *Bombay Times*, giving an account of the fall of Khelat by assault and the death on the occasion of Mehrab Khan and many of the Sirdars. The particulars of this gallant exploit are given in the extra which I now forward. Lord Auckland is moving down to Agra, and public rumour states that he is in progress to Calcutta.

My visit to the Deccan, I am happy to think, has been attended with the best effects throughout that province. I am in hopes that the Guicowar is coming to his senses, and if I can but settle our disputes with him amicably and arrange matters in Guzerat generally, as satisfactorily as in the Deccan, I shall consider myself in good luck.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

¹ Sir Alexander Burnes. For Burnes' views see Kaye's: *Lives of Indian Officers*, Vol. II.

39.—W. H. MACNAUGHTON, ESQ., etc., etc., etc.

BOMBAY, 10th December 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—It has afforded me no ordinary degree of satisfaction to have received encouragement to establish a correspondence with you. I have long desired to make your personal acquaintance, and until I may have the pleasure of meeting you we shall, I trust, become somewhat known to each other by the free interchange of our sentiments on subjects naturally interesting to both of us in the present important crisis of public affairs. I have now to acknowledge with many thanks your letters dated the 10th and 16th of last month. I agree entirely with you that the perfidy of Yap Mahomed, thus early betrayed, is a fortunate circumstance. It will enable us to complete the barrier which we are attempting to raise up against a Russian or Persian invasion of India. It is fortunate that we have already done so much, and we have no alternative but to advance and take Herat, pension Kam Ran and annex his territories to those of Shah Sujah, unless we are prepared to see all Cabool under the influence and ultimately perhaps in the possession of our good friends the Russians. We cannot view the enormous expense of a second campaign to secure the advantages of the first. But no time should be lost in preparing supplies and funds, and we ought to be immediately apprized to what extent, and in what manner, the Government can aid in this respect or in fact in any other. The Governor-General is alone aware of the extent of our ways and means. If these should indicate the necessity of a loan, I should at once say open it and not delay until the last moment, and the terms should be such as will command success. I think also that no time should be lost in appointing an active and energetic man as resident in Scind. I will endeavour to send to the Indus as many steamers as I can get ready for the navigation of that river. I have always looked upon having steam boats on that river as of great political importance. One has gone to its destination, and I hope to be able, by the time operations are commencing against Herat, to have at least three more.

I enclose you an extract from my private letter to Lord

Auckland of yesterday's date, and now permit me to conclude with the expression of my hope that I may occasionally hear from you, and to assure you of my earnest desire to promote your wishes in any way in my power.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

40.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 30th December 1830.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The importation of horses from Arabia has in the last month been considerable, and it has enabled me to purchase four horses of high caste for the service of Her Majesty. The cost of these horses without subsequent charges is as follows :—

2 Horses	...	Rs. 3,534
1 Horse	...	1,517
1 "	...	1,600
		Rs. 6,651

This is the amount of the cost on purchase. I did contemplate sending them by the Red Sea, but, considering how frequently they would have to be embarked and disembarked before reaching their destination by that route, I thought it the safest course to send them in a good ship by the Cape of Good Hope, under the charge of a careful groom. I have not yet been able to find a person in the capacity whom I could approve of, but it will not be long before I do so, when the horses shall be dispatched.

I shall be anxious to hear what Her Majesty may think of these horses. I am sure I need not tell you how proud I am to execute any commands which I may be honoured with from such a quarter—it is my duty to do so—but I have a satisfaction, beyond that feeling, in rendering on all occasions my humble exertions in the service of such a sovereign. I will furnish you

with a description of the horses when I obtain it—as to their caste, etc.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

41.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 31st December 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—We have been looking for your November Packet, and, provoking enough, it has not yet arrived. Our news letter to the Secret Committee gives all public news, and I endeavour to supply you with every intelligence that can be depended upon from private sources as well as such which comes to us officially.

The religious feud here has somewhat revived, but I hope to allay it. I have within these few days received a Memorial signed by some hundreds of natives, many of them of wealth and high respectability, complaining of the acts of the missionaries, and praying for some legislative protection against minors of their persuasion being converted. This Memorial is worthy of the serious consideration of the authorities at home. It is a delicate question I am aware to handle in England, but the natives are not altogether without complaint. Do not, for God's sake, have men in this country in authority, from the Governor-General downwards, known to have extreme opinions on points of religion. There cannot be a better model than the present Bishop of Madras,¹ who fills his sacred office with sound discretion and is universally respected. You have, of course, heard the report of the advance of the Russians towards Khiva. Lord Auckland does not appear to view it as of the importance I attach to it—I enclose extracts of my correspondence with his Lordship on the subject. At the same time you will observe that he considers it right for the present to have a good force in Scind.

There is much insubordination in the junior rank of the Indian Navy. The Packet Service is very distasteful to the

¹ The present Bishop of Madras. The Rt. Rev. George John Trevor Spencer Cons. 1837; resigned 1849; died 1866.

young midshipmen attached to it, and I did propose that as we have not young officers to send to Mr. Lynch for the steamers in the Euphrates, that the midshipmen in the Packet Vessels should be sent there, and their place supplied by some respectable persons in the capacity of mates from the Mercantile Service. The question will now be referred to the Court of Directors, and I hope they will come to a speedy decision. You will bear in mind that I propose that the Packets should be commanded by a Lieutenant of the Indian Navy and placed on the footing in this and other respects of Her Majesty's Steam Packets in the Mediterranean.

The Governor-General is at Agra by this time, and I question if he goes as originally intended when he left Simla to Calcutta. The state of affairs in the Punjab is very unsettled. Kurruck Sing is a cypher, and the contest for power is between Nehal Sing and Kurruck Sing's Minister. It can hardly end without these parties coming to blows, and each of them have their partizans. There is no telling to what lengths such a state of things may go, and an early interposition in favour of Nehal Sing, the grandson of Runjeet Sing, and who he intended should succeed him, may save much mischief. We hear that the Court of Directors have been sounding their displeasure at the Governor-General's long absence from his Council. I should like to know how it was possible to direct the great operations in which we have been engaged, from Calcutta, 2,000 miles from the seat of war. Nothing is more essential to the peace of the country and to its welfare than that the Governors should occasionally move among the people, and personally know all the functionaries and ascertain on the spot their character and general proceedings.

The antiquated notions¹ about these being with their Council were suited to the times when we held a few factories in the country, but now that we hold a vast empire, those delegated for its Government should not be restrained. By remaining with their Councils, they will leave India, knowing little more of it than when they came.

We hear nothing but favourable accounts of the Burmese.

¹ On this subject see Sir John Strachey: *India and its Administration and Progress*. Chap. II.

Nor does the intelligence from Nepal now look so warlike—no doubt the effects of our success in Affganistan. But our relations in China are as bad as bad can be. Nothing but a sound thrashing will humble Commissioner Lin, and the expected steamer will, I trust, give the authority. The *Wellesley* and The *Lame* are hear quite ready for a start. I think a blockade would be better than a military expedition on any settlement on the coast of China. Supposing that you determine on punishing the Chinese, it would save an enormous charge if you sent out from England to Sincapore salt provisions and coals, which are not to be had in India for less than double the price, which such articles would cost at home, if they are to be had at all, to the extent of our wants. I shall be prepared here to furnish a regiment of Europeans, and I suppose a steamer will also be required from this side.

The Guicowar is very humble, and if he is sincere we shall be able to put everything to rights—at all events we have gained much by having reduced his intolerable arrogance.

It turns out that the Sattara business produced the change. He was afraid of my coming up before he had made his advances for reconciliation, and now perhaps he would have no objection to see me; but I think that until he has done more than profess his readiness to comply with our demands, I had better leave the Resident to proceed. Besides, I could not well leave Bombay pending the China Question.

Sir John Keane is on his way down the Indus. Sir Henry Fane has embarked on board the *Malabar*, which sails tomorrow in a very indifferent state of health. Poor Lady Maitland went in the *Herefordshire* a few days ago.

Believe me,
My Dear Sir John,
Very truly yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

May you have many happy returns of the season, and, if you wish it, a continuance in your present office, at least so long as I may continue in this country.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

42.-SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G.C.B.

BOMBAY, 31st December 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—My last letter to you was despatched by the *Algerine* which carried accounts of the death of our worthy Admiral. Our news letter furnishes you with all the intelligence we have of a public nature, and I endeavour in these communications to omit nothing. I am sorry to say that the native mind here is yet agitated about missionary proceedings. I have just had a Memorial from some hundreds of them, including all the men of wealth and respectability in the Island, which you will find well worthy the serious attention of the Court. My proceedings upon it will proceed by the next steamer, and I hope to be able to allay the disturbed feelings of the natives.

Our Indian Navy in the junior ranks is in a state of great insubordination as far as their employment in the Packet Service is concerned. I wanted to remove the midshipmen to the boats in the Euphrates, having none to send there, and to supply their places, until we heard from the Court, with competent men from the Mercantile Service. I strongly recommend you, as respects the Packet Service, to adopt the system prevailing in Her Majesty's Packets, namely, that of their being commanded by Lieutenants in the Navy and the under Officers being men not in the service. Our Lieutenants in the Indian Navy should command our Packets, but the subordinate duties in such vessels are not fitted for men belonging to the Regular Naval Service. The question will be proposed to you, and, if my suggestion is approved, you might send us men who belonged to the late Maritime Service, many of whom would be glad enough to come, or tell us to get nautical men here. The state of feeling among the midshipmen renders them unfit for the charge of the valuable property of our Packet Vessels. Take as an example Mr. Zouch (who has been suspended until your pleasure is known) and look at the conduct of Mr. Balfour and others of his rank. Mr. Zouch's case will not be completed to go by the present mail.

We are here on the *qui vive* for your instructions about China where there has been a sharp engagement between our

ship of war and their war junks, many of the latter being sunk. I am also not without anxiety as to the movements of Russia towards Khiva and the perfidy of Herat. I have written to Sir John Hobhouse on the subject, though I should tell you that Lord Auckland does not attach the same importance to it that I do.

A portion of our troops are coming down from Scind, a strong brigade being retained at Sukhur, and one at Karachee. General Wiltshire's division in coming down to Sukhur has suffered much from the Nile cholera. Three officers and many men have died, but the last accounts say that the disease (by moving out of the place where it raged) has happily ceased.

The Guicowar professes implicit obedience to our demands and, if such a man is to be depended upon, we shall be able to set matters to rights at Baroda. I am preparing my minute as to what should be done, and it is a long and wearisome job, so long that I fear many of you will not have time to read it.

I suppose by and bye, say next year, I shall have to go to Baroda, for I cannot leave Bombay, now that the China Expedition is said to be in contemplation, and in a few weeks more my health will not stand the climate of Guzerat. Neither can I exist here in the rainy season, independent of Parell being of itself most unhealthy at that season, and Malabar Point not habitable. I am hitherto very well and so are the rest of my family; but I wish you would make us a little more comfortable in the Government House which really, for the want of some things, is not respectable. Sir Robert Grant made an indent more than two years ago—but no notice has been taken of it. With our kind regards to Lady Jenkins and yourself,

Believe me, my dear friend,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Sir Henry Fane embarked in the *Malabar* yesterday and sails to-morrow. His health, I am sorry to say, is very indifferent, quite the wreck of the fine man he was.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

43.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 1st January 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—When the *Zenobia* was about to start with the mail,* the *Hugh Lindsay* was signalled, and I have had no choice but to detain the former, in order to acknowledge the receipt of any important dispatches which the latter might bring. We had fully calculated upon instructions respecting China, but none have reached the Government. What the men-of-war will now do, which are in the harbour I suppose, will now depend on the advices Captain Maitland may have received. The *Zenobia*, however, will be in good time, in spite of this little detention, for the Government steamer at Alexandria.

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th November. I expect there will be clamour at Home by the British India Association and in Parliament respecting the deposition of the Rajah of Sattarah, but my conscience is quite satisfied, and the more it is examined the better for me. Unless we act with vigour in this country, surrounded as we are by ungrateful native Princes, where vigour is required, I would not give much for the peace of India. I think the discoveries at Kurnool ought to open the eyes of the people at Home, even those whose trade it is to find fault with everything.

I am really much concerned to find Baroda matters going so wrong in the Court of Directors. I am in a fair way of setting matters to rights there, but if Sevagee hears, as he frequently does, of proceedings in the Court, and imagines the majority to advocate his cause, I shall be able to do nothing with him, he will be more arrogant than ever, and Guzerat made even worse if possible than it is now. Really you should give a latitude to your Government in this country in political matters personally affecting Native Princes. Besides the course taken by the Court of Directors is in direct opposition to their former orders. They are not consistent: one Court does what another sets aside, and the inconsistency is a vast evil in India. Sevagee in his submission is not actuated by a sincere sense of his misconduct, but, being a coward constitutionally, he has submitted through sheer fear, believing that this Government is not to be trifled

with, but if he knows that one authority in England takes up his cause he will bully again with a vengeance, and it is most likely that somehow or another he will know it.

I will get an abstract of the Sattarah case and send it to you. I do not suppose the Sattarah case will be broached in Parliament early in the session. I am very much pressed with the despatch of public papers, therefore must conclude.

Believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

44.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G.C.B.,

etc., etc., etc.,

BOMBAY, 1st January 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—An hour or 'two before the *Zenobia* was to start for Suez with the mail the *Hugh Lindsay* with the November Packet from England made its appearance off the harbour. Expecting, as I was led to do, important orders about China specially, I have detained the *Zenobia* one day, but she will be quite in time for the Alexandria Packet.

I cannot tell you what relief my mind received from your kind letter of the 11th November. I anticipate that there will be clamour about my Sattarah proceedings, but the more they are dispassionately examined the better satisfied I shall be as to the result; surely Kurnool will open the eyes of the people at Home. There has doubtless been a well organized conspiracy against us, formed by Joudpore, Sattarah and Kurnool with the brother of the Nizam, now in confinement, which, had we met, even with a check in Affganistan, would have come upon us like a thief in the night. The strong measures which have been taken with all their parties has produced almost as good an effect over India as our brilliant successes in Affganistan. I am sure that I shall find in you, and I hope in most, if not all of my former colleagues, able and strenuous supporters when you think I have acted right. My own conscience is quite at ease, and I fear no opponents when I shall have so many friends to do me justice when deserving.

I am indeed concerned at the discussion you have had about Baroda affairs and the result of them. At this particular

time, when I have a prospect of setting all to rights, the agitation of the question is peculiarly unfortunate, for if Sevagee hears that a majority of Court are fighting his cause (and odd enough he is said to have pretty good intelligence of what goes on at Home) his arrogance will have no bounds and all my exertions will go for nothing. Guzerat is in a bad state as it is but it will then be much worse. I am preparing a laborious minute on Baroda affairs, taking a review of the past from our earliest connection and pointing out what should be done now. It gives me great labour, in fact the business here has so much increased, that I am sometimes at my desk from six in the morning till sunset. Thank God, my health and my eyes hitherto do not give way, but I am not without anxiety on that score. I receive every assistance from the secretaries, and my colleagues work well with me. Mr. Anderson is particularly valuable to me, and I wish you would extend his period of service in Council. He has claims before he was in Council to indulgence, and it would be, I beg you to believe, a most acceptable arrangement to me. When the time comes for making a provincial appointment, instead of doing so, you might extend Mr. Anderson's time for a couple of years.

Perhaps you will mention this to Bayley. Knowing the terms you are on I write my letters for him as well as yourself if you have no objection to it. Your kind letter of the 14th October arrived with that of the 4th November. I don't see that there is anything in it requiring a particular reply. It gives me infinite delight to find you, who I so highly respect as a public man, and to whom I am so much attached as a friend, approving generally of my views—it gives me confidence in my proceedings, and sometimes, I know not how it is, I am a little distrustful of my judgment.

The public papers are pouring in for despatch by the steamer, and I have no time to add more except that Lady Carnac joins me in kind regards to Lady Jenkins and yourself, and that I am sincerely ever yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Many happy returns of this day to you and your's.

45.—THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

BOMBAY, 15th January 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this day submitted to Council my minute respecting our Baroda relations. It is a very long paper and embraces a review of our relations with the Guicowar, from the date of our earliest connexion in 1783. You will soon, I hope, have your official instructions how to proceed, in the meantime I have proposed that you should at present confine yourself to getting satisfaction from Sevagee for the demands already preferred, and for the rest to wait until we have the authority of the Governor-General. The demands that I propose to make are mainly,—that he recognises and confirms all our guarantees, appoints a new minister, to be approved by us, the question of police in co-operation with us, the substitution of 1,500 horse, being half the number stipulated by the treaty of 1817, to be placed entirely under our control, and to be officered by us, the granting of *Asmanee Sooltanee* to the Tributaries in Kattywár, and that Surferauz Ali and others should have full redress for the injuries inflicted on them. There are some other few points for future negotiation, such as the Commercial Treaty, the introduction of the Company's rupee, the abolition of Sutte and the attendance of our troops on religious festivals except as a personal distinction to the Prince.

When Sevagee has complied with all the demands already made upon him and the others which I have suggested to the Governor-General exclusive of those which I would leave for negotiation at a favorable opportunity, this Government then to be empowered to return the whole of the territories sequestered with the 10 lacs in deposit since the time of Lord Clare's Government.

You will now proceed to obtain redress for those complaints which you have made to this time—we shall soon see by his conduct whether Sevagee is really sincere, in his submission—for my part I have some doubts of him though I may be doing him injustice. I am particularly anxious to avoid any extreme measures with his highness, but until he

complies with all we require, he will not get back Petland, or any of the tribute which we have attached.

Much of success will depend on your able management, in which I have every confidence. On the other hand I know how unmanageable a man you have to deal with and the difficulty of your position. Report here states that Sevagee is dissembling, and it is given out in proof of this, that he has in fact done nothing to shew that Veneeram and his associates have been discarded.

I anticipate that you will find difficulty about the arrangement I have proposed as regards the Horse to be substituted for the 3,000—but that point will not be agitated until we hear from Lord Auckland.

Believe me in haste,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

46.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 31st January 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have been enabled to get four horses for her Majesty, the best to be obtained at this place or in India. Two of them will go by the present steamer under charge of Captain Malcolm, the son of the late Sir John Malcolm, who has kindly undertaken the charge, and is well qualified being an officer of dragoons. The other two will probably go by sea, unless I should find someone I know well who may be going home overland by the next steamer. I hope it may be in my power to complete the commission you sent me for six horses—in the meanwhile I have drawn on the Master of the Horse for £1,041-13-4 on account.

Her Majesty, accustomed to English horses, may at first consider the horses sent as small compared to them, but they are larger generally than Arabs, and of the best blood. I should be proud to hear that they are approved, or that any of them were suited for the Queen's own riding.

One of the four but neither of those going by this steamer was a horse belonging to me—it is said that a horse like him, has not been imported for the last 12 or 15 years, and I felt it my

duty to offer him as I bought him, for the service of my Sovereign, to whom we all owe so much, and by whose gracious approbation I am here.

Captain Malcolm will deliver the two horses to the Master of the Horse, I trust in good order, considering the journey they will have undertaken.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

47.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

BOMBAY, 31st January 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I send herewith, as required in your letter of the 4th November, an abstract of the Sattarah Affair as far as it can be made. Allusion to the facts stated in this paper, on any discussion which may arise, and the printing of the whole case in support of them ought, I think, to satisfy any reasonable man.

I have now to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th December which reached me in 37 days!! You appear to write angrily and tax me with changing my opinions. I am not conscious of ever having given an opinion in favor of Aden. It was not acquired, you will remember, while I was a member of the Secret Committee, and the only circumstance which I recollect regarding Aden was, that, soon after I had heard of it I mentioned to Lord Palmerston, on the occasion of my waiting on him on my departure for India (the sole visit I paid his Lordship in the Foreign Office), that I thought Aden would be a troublesome and unprofitable acquisition to us. Possibly you have confounded Karrack with Aden, as I was always strong for the occupation of the former and for its retention. Be this however, as it may, I feel that even if I had changed my opinion, I ought, in return for the confidence you have reposed in me, candidly to impart my sentiments to you in our private correspondence, which is quite a different matter from official opinions. Perhaps when you wrote on the 4th December you had been worried about the Sattarah Affair, but that case you will find as good as Kurnool and Jodhpore. With respect to the relations in Scinde being placed under this Government,

Lord Auckland has recently resolved that all the forces from that country shall be furnished from Bombay. He has directed also that the Political Agents in Upper and Lower Scinde shall send copies of their interesting communications to him, to this Government. This is all that can be wanted for the public service.

The Guicowar, as far as I can yet tell, has become a new man. You have heard of his entire submission to our demands, in a letter which he addressed to the Resident, and I am letting him quietly redress some of them. I have made my minute of the policy which we ought to pursue at Baroda, and it has met with the entire approbation of the Council here. The minute is sent to the Governor-General and will be forwarded to the Court of Directors—there is nothing in it about dethroning—a policy only justifiable in the last extremity, and God knows that I want not a repetition of the Sattarah Affair: it would neither conduce to my ease, nor is it my inclination. If I am not hampered, I hope to place our relations at Baroda on a satisfactory footing.

The honors which you have bestowed for services in Affghanistan have given general satisfaction—those to our excellent Governor-General, the like of whom we shall not often see, and to Sir John Keane particularly so, and it cannot fail to be observed that you are the first President who has rewarded services on the spot where they were rendered, with one exception in the person of Lord Wellesley.

We are generally tranquil in India, and many of our troops are on their return to us from Scinde by order of the Governor-General. He did intend to retain some Europeans there, but there are no Barracks and none could be erected, before the hot and unhealthy seasons. I am very sorry for the necessity which has arisen for Lord Auckland's proceeding forthwith to Calcutta to fit out the expedition to China. He tells me that he will press lightly upon our resources, and wants but one or two of our steamers and these we can spare, now that the *Serostri* will join us, and we have the new boat *Cleopatra* ready. I have told his Lordship, that we are ready to execute his orders in co-operation with his views to the utmost of our power, and

that if he wanted a European Regiment from this side, it might be furnished without inconvenience to us. The newspapers state that 14,000 tons of shipping are to be taken up to carry 7,000 Troops from Bengal to Madras. The last accounts from China of the 14th December are to the effect of Lin having been associated with a new man from Pekin, and degraded two steps in the rank of Mandarin, it is also said that the Chinese are assuming a subdued tone.

The natives on this side, and, according to the public prints, at Calcutta are restless about the Missionary proceedings. It is a very delicate subject to handle, but I hope you will see no reason to object to the reply I have given to the Memorial from the Native Community here. I know the power of the Evangelical party at home, and have said less than my own feelings would have prompted.

There has been an unlucky occurrence in the Sawunt Warree country¹ which occurred before I assumed the Government. It was a shooting of some prisoners by Lieutenant Gibbard, who I caused to be brought to a Court Martial, and he has been dismissed, but the sentence will not be promulgated till we know from the Advocate-General whether he is not liable still to be tried for his life. Lieutenant Gibbard justified himself by the verbal orders of the Political Superintendent, a Mr. Spooner, whose conduct has been most indiscreet, and I have proposed his removal from office, but my colleagues desire that he should be called upon for further explanation, and I shall see whether it makes any impression on me which I much doubt. This business will make a noise, if I mistake not in England, it shews a reckless indifference to human life.

As to our external policy the letters I have, continue to speak of Russian advance on Khiva, the establishment of Russian influence at Bokhara and the treachery of Yar Mahomed, Minister at Herat. The Punjaub is in a very unsettled state, and I expect to hear that they will soon be cutting each others throats in that quarter.

The Arabs have not renewed their attack on Aden, but we must keep the present Garrison there for some time yet. I

¹ Sawantwarree country. A native state 33 miles W. by N. from Belgaum.

have suspended the incurrence of any material expense by the erection of buildings asked for, till we hear from you about Karrack. Our letter to the Secret Committee reports the course Lord A. desires to be pursued in the Persian Gulf. I enclose copy of my letter to you by Captain Malcolm in charge of two horses for her Majesty in this steamer—the other two will go by Sir Edward Paget, by the Cape of Good Hope, and will sail in about a fortnight or three weeks.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

48.—THE HON'BLE J. SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

BOMBAY, 9th February 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—The instructions for your proceedings in consequence of Sevagee's submission, have been forwarded to you, but I perceive by some late official despatches, that through your excellent management, many important points have already been settled. I am delighted to see that Sevagee has given such proofs of his sincerity, and I hope he will continue to evince the same spirit, until every demand has been acceded to. This happy change in his disposition is a matter of great congratulation and, I am fully sensible of how much I owe to the judgment and firmness which you have shewn, throughout the painful discussion in which you have been engaged. I beg you to accept my warmest thanks, and to be assured that it will be a great satisfaction to me officially to record them on the termination of the pending negotiation. You will observe that you are at liberty to enter upon an immediate settlement of all questions except the proposition about the Contingent, upon which we must have the sanction of the Governor-General before we open it to the Guicowar. I apprehend that we shall have some difficulty in making this arrangement, beneficial as it is to Sevagee and ourselves, and therefore I want to see every other point at issue finally adjusted before a word is said upon the subject.

The settlement of the police question does you great credit, and is of the first importance among the arrangements

we desire to see effected. It will be necessary, by and by, to embody his concessions into a written statement of them, which Sevagee will have no objection to sign, after he has made them in detail. The acknowledgments of the guarantees, including those to the Shastry's family, and Dhackgee Dadagee will, I presume, have been made, as well as that to the Nowsanee Desroy, and I trust Sevagee will see the justice of separation to Surferauz Ali, in which measure I consider the honour of the British Government as much implicated as if he had possessed our guarantee.

The points of the commercial treaty, the transit duties, abolition of Suttee, etc., may be reserved for future consideration. Perhaps these may be postponed unless you have a good opportunity of bringing them forward, until the close of this year, when I purpose to visit Guzerat, Kattywar and Cutch. But certainly it is not desirable to agitate them at present.

I have seen your assistant, Mr. Malet, and am very much pleased with him. I wish that I had an opening by which his interests could be promoted. If all our demands are settled with Sevagee, the consequence will be restoration to him of Petland, and sequestrated Tribute, which will remove Mr. Malet from his present situation. But I have no intention of giving up Petland or anything else, until every one of our demands are fully satisfied—indeed I had it in my mind, in the event of Sevagee's contumacy, to sequester the Baroda Pergunnah as the first step. However, it is most pleasing to me to think that harsh measures will not be necessary, and much of this is due to you.

Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

49.—SIR W. H. MACNAGHTEN, BART.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure last night to receive your favour enclosing a letter for my esteemed friend David Hill, which shall be forwarded with our packet on the 29th, the day fixed for the departure of the steamer. Our January steamer arrived two days ago with the mail by Marseilles of the 4th of that month, and we are now able, by the present

arrangements, to calculate with some certainty on our communications from England reaching us each succeeding month by the 12th or at latest the 15th. If I can be of any service to you in receiving your letters from England or in forwarding those you may have to send there, pray command me without the least hesitation. I regret with your Lord Auckland's hesitation with regard to Herat. We shall not easily find so good an opportunity in consolidating our position in Affghanistan or of erecting Shah Sujah's dominion into a respectable kingdom. Now that Russia is advancing upon Khiva, the necessity of having no divided authority appears to me more urgent, and the time cannot be distant when Herat, for our security, must be incorporated, but it will be under circumstances of greater difficulty. The impression of our power will not be so vivid, and political relations may have so altered as to render the step susceptible of objections which at present cannot be urged against it. I have always thought it unfortunate that we have been obliged to enter into alliance with Herat, as an independent State, and having had a fair opening by the perfidiousness of Yar Mahomed and his usurpation of Kamran's power; this it seemed to my humble judgment the moment for crowning our enterprize the value of which in its imperfect state cannot be overestimated. But I am not surprised at Lord Auckland being cautious. The opinions of great men in England are loud against our established occupation of any country beyond the Indus, and clamorous for the withdrawal of all our forces, not taking into account that our object in going at all into Affghanistan, which was the security of India against the power of Russia, would be altogether compromised by receding from our commanding position. The force of circumstances have driven us to occupy it and every day develops causes which demonstrate that we must retain it with a considerable military force. It does not signify what present sacrifice we make when the stake at issue is the preservation of India. Delay in resolute action will but aggravate our difficulties, and, if I recollect likely, was the substance of my opinion to Lord Auckland. It is a pity, I think, that any operation has been

undertaken which has subjected us to a conflict in which some loss has been sustained. The successful experiment, at Ghiznee¹ should only be tried when skill and science had the direction of it: in any operation against forts and strongholds, the force should be accompanied by a competent Engineer Officer and adequate means for his measures. I would add that I think that you should have at your disposal some good Engineer Officers, and there are many in India highly qualified among the Juniors. I remember their services in 1817 when we had to reduce the Hill Forts in the Deccan, deemed impregnable by the natives, but which were abandoned owing to the consummate science of the Engineers, with scarcely any opposition. Two of the officers who have been employed in Persia have proceeded to join you. One of them who held the local rank of Major in Persia, named Rawlinson,² is a man of considerable talent and enterprize. I have only known him since he came here, but he is the sort of person who seems to me well qualified to give satisfaction in any charge of a difficult nature. My letters from England are full of admiration of our Affghanistan exploit, and at the commencement of the Sessions was considered a great cost for the Ministers. The fall of Kelat was not then known to them. These events, together with the Queen's marriage, it was thought would foil the strenuous attempts intended to be made by the Conservatives to oust them. Our relation with Egypt is in a doubtful state, and this has it is said conduced to some coolness with the French Cabinet. I have been³ delighted to observe in one of my letters from the India House that they are thinking of you for the Supreme Council. This I may tell you is not a new idea, and sincerely do I hope that if it suits you to accept such an appointment that it may be made for the sake of the public service. The papers tell us, and some private letters also mention it, that a reconstruction of the Government of India is projected, which is to establish the Governor-General somewhere on this side.

¹ *Ghiznee*. Ghazni.

² *Rawlinson*. Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson. The distinguished scholar entered the Bombay Military Service in 1827. He was Sir Wm. Macnaughten's Political Assistant at Kabul. See Buckland. *Op. Cit.*

I have no communications myself which allude to the question. Report says that Lord Normandy is to succeed our excellent Governor-General if the Whigs remain in office, otherwise the Conservatives will send the Duke of Buckingham.

It will give you pleasure to hear that Sir Charles Metcalfe is most successful in Jamaica Government and winning golden opinions. The China Expedition is much more a secret in India than it is here. I do not know what is the precise plan of operations in that quarter, but the Governor-General does not draw upon our military resources here. I am glad of this, because we shall have abundant means of meeting any calls which may arise from your part of the world. It would have been better, I think, if we had retained at Quetta a body of European Infantry and Artillery and a regiment in Lower Scind. I do not yet know what are the final arrangements of Lord Keane, to whom Lord Auckland has very properly committed them. The Indus at this season is so unusually low that the Indus steamer has had much difficulty in making way above Hyderabad. I consider it of great importance to have several steamers on the Indus. I shall have two more there before the Monsoon and if the Governor-General will let me two or three besides when the season opens. I wish I could hear that one of them had got up to Attock and erect there a sailable fortification. It might if necessary be supplied by the Indus—it would have many advantages and be a support to our advance at Cabool. You will be pleased with the liberal distribution of honours to the Army in Affghanistan; but I cannot account for the omission of Sir Alexander Burnes and Captain Outram.¹ This I trust may yet be rendered. I must now conclude with an apology for this desultory letter. I hope it is not too long to tax your patience.

Believe me to be my dear Sir with great respect and esteem,

Yours most faithfully,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

17th February 1840.

¹ Captain Outram. The "Bayard of India" had taken a prominent part in the Afghan Campaign, and in 1839 was Political Agent at Hyderabad in Sindh.

50.—COLONEL SIR JEREMIAH BRYANT, C.B.¹

BOMBAY, 19th February

MY DEAR SIR JEREMIAH,—I had the gratification of receiving on the 14th instant your letter of the 4th of last month, as it conveyed to me the information that your prospect of obtaining a seat in the Court of Directors was so promising. I was [not?] surprised at your success in the canvass, because I have never known the Body of Proprietors when at liberty withhold encouragement from a candidate of established merit. Whatever may have been the little interest I was supposed to have had, it has been one of the sacrifices which I have made by leaving England that it no longer can be said to exist.

I was naturally interested for one or two whom in lucky times I had served on this side of India who were candidates with yourself for the high office of a Director, but they seem likely to be provided for before you proceed to the Ballot, but I may say, however, with perfect truth, that I always looked forward to your becoming one of the Executive with feelings of a full sense of your personal worth and in the firm conviction that your election would be a public benefit to the great and unceasing interests of our Indian Empire. The circumstance of there being no Bengal officer in the Direction, the Army at that presidency, comprising at least half our military strength in India, must have its weight with the Proprietors, and this, added to your admitted talents and close habits of application, your long and meritorious professional career for which you are distinguished by marks of honor from your Sovereign, cannot but lead to the consummation of your wishes, you will be assured (*sic*) succeed, and that that at no distant time. The Proprietors do discriminate, and you will be the man of their choice. As one of the Company's servants I shall right gladly hail you as my "Honourable Master."

¹ Sir Jeremiah Bryant. Joined the E. I. Co.'s army in 1798, and saw active service in Oudh, the Mahratta war, Bundelkhand, etc. Fort Major at Fort William 1815. At Bhartpur 1826. Knight 1829. Commanded the 14th N. I. 1835. Director E. I. Co. 1841. Died June 10, 1845.

Pray remember me respectfully and kindly to that able and excellent man, Mr. Edmonstone, whose support is a host.

Believe me,
Very sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

51.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE S. R. LUSHINGTON.

BOMBAY, 24th February 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure to receive your letter, dated the 4th of last month, ten days ago. I was quite aware of the merits of your young friend Lieutenant Hogg. He is one of the most distinguished scholars in several Oriental languages that we have under this presidency and otherwise an intelligent and zealous officer. Your recommendation of him be assured shall not be lost sight of, but your long experience as a Governor will tell you that we cannot always immediately do that which we wish. It has been a principle with me since I came here to encourage those young men by appointments who had made respectable proficiency in the current languages on this side of India, and I do not intend to advance any individual in the same service who has not that qualification. I was glad to find Lieutenant Hogg in a responsible office with the force in the field by the selection of its distinguished Commander. I am anxious to be of service to him now that he has returned in health and spirits to the Presidency, and I want, but the opening to do so in furtherance of your wishes and in testimony of my sense of his merits. The expedition to Afghanistan has indeed had a glorious termination, and, if I am to judge by the papers and the Honours which had been so justly awarded, the service appears to have attracted more attention in England than any which preceded it in this part of the world. I confess that from the beginning (when I was in the chair) I felt that the enterprise was *indispensable* and hence doubted the results, alarming as it was. All is quiet in India! Lord Auckland has returned to Calcutta to fit out the China Expedition, of the details of which he knew nothing. None of our troops are required, and we shall be ready and able to give a warm

reception to anyone who ventures to disturb us in our new acquisitions. Remember me most kindly to my firm friend your gallant brother and believe me with great respect,

To remain,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

52.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART., M.P.

BOMBAY, 29th of February 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Your letter dated on New Year's day reached me the 14th of this month. I need hardly say that I am perfectly satisfied with your orders to Bengal respecting the Packet Steamers. It has also been very gratifying to know from you that the Chairs in their P. C. communication take so favourable a view of my Sattarah proceedings. All is as you could wish it to be in India. With one or two exceptions in the Khybur Pass perfect tranquility seems to reign from the Hindoo Cosh to the Burrumpootee and from Katmandoo to Cape Comorin. I heard from Lord Auckland yesterday he was in full work in spite of his long and fatiguing journey to Calcutta. Preparations are making both there and at Madras for the China Expedition which will finally leave Singapore in May. Nothing was wanted from us but a steamer or two so that if there should be anything going toward in Egypt you may calculate on our being able and willing to co-operate from Bombay. Captain Lynch is getting on rapidly with his steamers in the Euphrates. We are giving him every assistance in our power, but our means will not enable us to meet all his calls which I think are a little extravagant. The Indus steamer is at Bakhur and the little Snake [?] is going on to Ferozepore. The *Comet* has gone up, and by this time must fairly be in the river. I should have had at least two more boats, had it not been for the obstructions I had met with from the Supreme Court here. The other day they sent the Sheriff and stopt the workers, an uncourteous proceeding to the Government. I had a great mind to send the Sheriff to the right about, but on reflection I considered it better not to come to an open collision, but to refer to Bengal, and

get an Act passed to prevent the Judges from interfering with Government works. I think Lord Auckland will do so, or we can never have one foundry on in fact our steamers in the Docks.

These Judges are very great men, and though their business occupies but a few hours now, their being the Supreme Court there is no end to their official importance. The Guicowar is coming all right. He has attended to some important suggestions and publicly abolished Suttee. I hope to see the whole of Guzerat as it was in my day, when any one might have travelled from one end to the other as easily as you could walk through Hyde Park. This being done, I hope I shall be considered as not having come here for nothing; at least I shall feel satisfied.

In one of your late letters you speak of the honours bestowed on the Army of Afghanistan which are liberal and have given great satisfaction. You desire me to say whether any one had been overlooked, and in consequence I will tell you who, in my opinion, has been so. The first is in having left unnoticed in any of your dispatches the zeal and exertions of the Bombay Government in providing a considerable portion of the Army of the Indus. I do not allude to my Government, for there has been no opportunity since I came here, but the Government of Mr. Farish. The Governor-General first omitted to notice this Government in his final order, and the omission has been followed by the Home Authorities. There is a precedent in point. The exertions of the Madras Government in co-operating with the Bengal Government are amply acknowledged at the termination of the Burmese War. Second, Lieutenant-Colonel Burnes is fully entitled to the honour of a C.B. Throughout the campaign he rendered important services and for a considerable period, until Sir William Macnaghten joined, he was the chief political authority with Lord Keane's force. Third, Captain Outram. This officer performed the most meritorious service, for proof of which let me refer to the annexed copy of a letter of Sir W. Macnaghten's and to Sir Thomas Wiltshire's dispatch reporting the capture of Kelat. I think he deserves to be promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel

by Brevet and a C.B. I ought to explain that Outram has incurred Lord Kenne's displeasure. He is said to have performed good service before Ghuzni. His name does not appear in the despatch, but Sir W. Macnaghten acknowledged his services on that important occasion. *Fourth*.—Nothing has been done in recognition of the services of the heads of the Medical Staff who had arduous duties. In the Peninsula they were not overlooked, and it would be very popular in that branch of the Service if the Bombay and Bengal Superintending Surgeons are *knighted*—a cheap way of rewarding them. The Bombay man was Dr. Kennedy, but I do not know the name of the Bengal one—I believe it is Atkinson¹ he and Kennedy are both men of literary acquirement. Mind, I should not have presumed to speak to you about these honours if you had not invited me.

Lord Keane and his suite are now living with me, having arrived four days ago. He is looking remarkably well and in high spirits. When he landed he did not know of Sir T. MacMahon's arrival. I was a little afraid he would have been disappointed, but when I explained and told him that I obeyed, as he would as a soldier, my orders, he said that he was perfectly satisfied, and spoke in the warmest terms of the magnificent rewards he had received from the Home Government. The day he arrived he met Sir T. MacMahon² here at dinner, and they were on very cordial terms. Lord Keane goes home by the steamer on the 31st of March with Sir Henry Pottinger and Mr. Bux, the Resident of Indore.

We are bringing our Indian Navy into order having made some examples. I hope you will not disapprove of my having put some mercantile men into the packets as mates.

Believe me,

Very faithfully yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

¹ Atkinson. See Buckland, *Dict. Ind. Biog.* James Atkinson was the founder of the *Calcutta Annual Register* (1823), and a distinguished Persian Scholar.

² Sir T. MacMahon. A veteran of the Peninsular War. Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, 1840-47. Died 1860.

53.—SIR RD. JENKINS, G.C.B.

BOMBAY, *the 29th of February*, 1840.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—I have delayed my letter to you till the last and find that I have but little time to spare. I received no letter from you by the January mail, but under cover to me you appear to have placed a letter to Lord Auckland, I apprehend by mistake, which I immediately sent to his Lordship. Perhaps the one you may have intended for me has gone to him. All quiet over India. Lord Auckland at Calcutta preparing the China Expedition, but I know nothing about it as no troops are wanted from Bombay. Lord Keane is now in this house remarkably well and very happy. He goes home by the next steamer on the 31st of March with Pottinger and Bux. The Guicowar I am very sanguine will come all right, and I shall be able to place our relations on a stable and satisfactory footing. He has abolished Sutte in his dominions, and some capital police arrangements as I suggested have been made. This looks well, and please God! at the end of this year I will be up at Baroda. Our troops are returning from Scinde and we shall be able and willing for any service you may require. I do not like the aspect of affairs with Mahomed Ali and his French friends. The Russians I believe are positively at Khiva. Dost Mahomed's son captured at Ghiznee is sent to my charge. He is a good humoured fat fellow, and I am told wonderfully admires English ladies, and where is the wonder I say. I am anxiously looking out for your judgment of my Sattarah proceedings; all my private letters give me great encouragement. I have now to ask a favour of your or of my friend Bayley or of any one who can bestow it. One of these days perhaps I may be able to repay it. But it is a cadetship for Mr. Tardie of Robert Scott's house, who gave me a Blue Coat School Nomination, and I had no unpromised patronage when I left the Direction. He wanted a Cavalry Nomination for some relative, but this is a difficult thing and one I cannot think of asking; but if you or any one will give him an Infantry appointment I may send for Mr. Tardie and offer it to him on my application,—say nothing, however, about the Cavalry one, to which I did not commit myself. Forgive me

for my rather extravagant request. If you can't do it, I know it will not be for the want of inclination. I have written to Sir John Hobhouse, and I believe this will be the last to my "Honourable Master the Chairman." I have no doubt that you were as glad as I was when the time expired.

Kindest regards of all of us to Lady Jenkins.

Ever your sincere friend,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

54.—JAMES BEGGS, ESQ.,¹

BOURNE,

LINCOLNSHIRE.

BOMBAY, *18th March* 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I have been favoured with your letter of the 7th February enclosing copy of your pamphlet on Infanticide in Western India.

Your philanthropy and benevolence do you infinite credit, and the solace which your exertions in the cause of humanity will afford you is far more valuable than wordly praise. My steady attention is devoted to the extirpation of enormities in this benighted land. I am happy to assure you that the measures taken by this Government for some years past have led almost to the total suppression of the crime of Infanticide in Kattywar, where its prevalence first attracted the attention of those good men, the late Mr. Duncan,² Governor of Bombay, and the late Colonel Walker,³ the British Resident at Baroda. I am in hopes that we shall soon be equally successful in the Province of Cutch, but in working changes in the habits of people we must calculate on temporary disappointment, only to be effectually subdued by losing no opportunity of showing our abhorrence of the crime, and urging its discontinuance by means of conciliation and persuasion. As the Sovereign of Cutch has lately announced his detestation of the practice, and promised his powerful co-operation in putting an end to it, I

¹ James Begg. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² The Late Mr. Duncan. See previous notes. He had been in Bengal in Hastings' days.

³ Colonel Walker. Probably Brigr.-Genl. Alexander Walker. See Buckland *Op. Cit.*

feel sanguine that we shall succeed without producing any violent effects.

With regard to the practice of Suttee, you are aware that it has been abolished in our own territories by that enlightened Governor-General, the late Lord William Bentinck. But our laws could not extend to the territories of Native Princes, and Suttee prevailed in them in full force. In fact, parties from our possessions sacrificed themselves in those of our native allies. My first object in coming here was to induce the Native States dependent on this Government to proclaim the abolition of Suttees within their respective limits. I have had the good fortune to succeed with two of the principal States, namely, those of the Guicowar and the Rajah of Sattarah, and these examples will I expect have their effect in other parts of India.

I mention these facts to you because I am sure that the knowledge of them will give you great pleasure. While I remain in India my strenuous efforts will be directed to the amelioration of the people, the main consideration in leaving my native country.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

55.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 27th March 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—Lord Auckland asks me in a letter which I have lately received from him whether we could not manage to recruit here for Shah Sujah's contingent and send the men up in small parties as escorts to merchandize to Candahar. I replied that I would ascertain your sentiments, and if you should be favourable to the plan that we will do our best to meet his Lordship's views. I shall therefore feel obliged by your favouring me with your opinion, and in the event of your wishing to have men from this side of India to inform me of the number required, the standard pay and every other particular, in order that I may give you the best satisfaction in this respect in my power.

Another steamer in addition to the two before despatched this year is on its way to the Indus. I wish I could hear that one of them had got up to Attock and another to Ferozepore—perhaps this may be suggested to Mr. Ross Bell if the suggestion has not already been made by you. If the merchants here were to hear that our steamer had safely ascended to Attock it would be a great encouragement to them to send supplies for Cabool at a much cheaper rate to the consumers I apprehend than they could be had from the Upper Provinces. We are making every exertion to have a fourth steamer on the Indus before the season closes. Afterwards we shall give you another at least, and the whole will make a respectable Flotilla.

There is nothing new in this quarter. Our next packet from England may be expected by the 10th of next month. Allow me to enclose you a letter which I have received from my friend Sir John MacNeil. It relates to an officer who has gone up to serve under your orders. I had often heard of his great merits and formed a most favourable opinion of him during his sojourn in Bombay. When you have any packets for England have no scruple in sending them to me. I will forward them with our own packet with great pleasure.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

56.—W. B. BAILEY, ESQ.

MAHABELASHWAR, 28th March 1840.

MY DEAR BAILEY,—In addition to your other plagues in your high offices of Chairman, in which I hail you with feelings of the highest satisfaction for the sake of the public service and for my own sake as one of your humble servants, you must now calculate on being tormented with my correspondence which I commence by requesting that with your usual consideration you will bear with me, and give me occasionally the benefit of your advice.

I am glad that my first letter to you is to report that general tranquillity prevails all over the Empire and that

Bombay appears to be progressing. The Guicowar is going on satisfactorily though slowly in making the necessary reparations, but I believe him sincere which I fancy they hardly think him in Bengal, from whence I have not yet heard officially on the course I propose to pursue at Baroda. The rectified Rajah of Sattarah, when he was placed on the Gadee, is winning golden opinions by the mildness and equity of his rule, and the improvements he is making in his country.

Scind is represented to be as tranquil as any of our own Provinces, and, if we but let well alone, these I have no doubt of all being right hereafter. Sir W. Macnaghten writes me that the prospects of tranquility in Afghanistan are so promising that he hopes our troops may all withdraw by the end of this year. The Hero of Ghuzni goes by this steamer and his opinion is well deserving of your attention. He meets a cordial reception from the Court, for he has acquitted himself admirably throughout the service. Macnaghten and he were always excellent friends, and it is I consider fortunate that the command fell into the hands of a man of Lord Keane—good sense, and resolution. He was no man for Councils of War, when at the Bolan Pass, some of them reminded him of Burgoyne's fate in America, but "Forward" was always the word with him. Indecision in such a service would have been ruin, but he has none of it in his composition.

We have within these six months sent three steamers to the Indus and a fourth will be there before the Monsoon. In January next there is to be a grand fair at Sukkur. The road now is quite open to Candahar. I believe I have now told you in a few words all that is necessary for you to know about India. The China expedition has by this time sailed to *rendezvous* at Singapore, and to move on to its destination in all May. We know not here what are its specific objects, but I trust they will at first at least confine themselves to the occupation of Macao and a general blockade I should mention, that the missionaries seem more quiet and native feeling less excited. I fear that I am at a sad discount with the good people, and it would not astonish me to find Mr. Poynder opening his fire upon you.

I suppose we shall soon hear from you on the Sattarah affair. The vackeels of the ex-Rajah I am informed write him to keep up his spirits—they are informed by some "great people" in England that he will soon be restored to his throne—and the poor man indulges the expectation that he is only making a pilgrimage to Benares. The papers shew me that your son is following the footsteps of his father in Bengal. I expected as much when I saw him in England. Your young friend Clarke, I am sorry to say, has been ill in upper Scind, and was coming to the sea coast to recruit it. Let me, I pray you, know about whom you are interested in this quarter.

Lady Carnac joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Bailey, tell her that India hitherto has agreed with us all, very fairly, as I know her great objection to it. How do you get on with my friend Sir John?

Believe me, my dear Bailey,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

57.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR J. HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABELASHWAR, 29th March 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have little to write by this opportunity, happily peace prevails in all parts of India and I hear from Sir W. Macnaghten that the general state of affairs in Afghanistan is very favourable. The road between Candahar and Sukkur is quite open and we are to have a grand fair at the latter place next January. Scind is as quiet as any of our own Provinces, and now having four steamers on the Indus (a fifth will be there I hope before the Monsoon) we may soon look forward to a brisk commerce in that quarter.

The Guicowar going on well but slowly, which I do not mind so long as he does what is wanted. I gather from what I hear privately from Bengal that they think me too considerate towards him. I believe that I shall be let alone in managing that troublesome gentleman; I will not now plague you with details about him. Affairs are in *statu quo* in the Persian

Gulph and as long as it remains so, I am not for any demonstrations. The Island of Bahreen will never do to be occupied by us, the climate is most hostile to Europeans. As we are I suppose to give up Karrak we should, I think, manage to get one of the Turkish islands at the mouth of the Tigris rather than settle anywhere lower down the Gulph. The next mail will bring us I suppose our instructions on Persian politics.

The China expedition from Bengal sails the end of this month for Singapore, and will be at its destination in all. May I hope our military operations will be confined to the occupation of Macao and of the Fort in the stream of the Boque and that the rest will consist of a general Blockade by the Squadron. We ought to know more of the people and the country before we venture too far.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. C.

58.—LIEUT.-COL. SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 3rd April 1848.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—A few days ago I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 24th of February and the paper of news enclosed. By all accounts which have reached us from different quarters, Dost Mahomed is in a miserable plight at Bokhara. It would be a great stroke of policy if we could get him given up to us, but I doubt its practicability now from the accounts we have just got from Persia, which shew that the Russians are not only again in the ascendant in the Councils of the Court of Teheran, but that the Chiefs of Turkistan, including that of Bokhara are beginning to be alarmed at the power of Russia. I had not heard by these advices from Colonel Sheel any thing regarding the progress of the Khiva expedition but Mahomed Shah has assumed an altered tone, and the confident expectations of an early return to our former friendly relations are for the present at least at an end. The language said to be used by the King is that of insult and defiance, for example "Come what may," he

says, that he will have one Blow at those Knife-making rascals the English. The Russian Ambassador is in the high confidence of his Majesty, and Colonel Shiel¹ sends the Governor-General the sketch of a letter to Lord Palmerston suggested by the Ambassador of a very objectionable tenor. The Shah's head also seems to have been turned by the arrival of the French officers with a quantity of arms and stores, and the expectation of their soon being followed by a splendid Embassy from Paris. I entirely agree with you that no dependance can be placed on Russian professions; they have so long amused us in this way, that presently I expect they will throw aside the mask and tell us that they will not allow a British soldier to remain west of the Indus. The Shah, *i.e.*, the Russians, is keeping up his intercourse with the perfidious Minister of Herat, and Syed Masood, one of his Ministers, has been deputed to Khorassan, doubtless with a view of conveying on the intrigue with Herat. In the meantime the Kandahar Chiefs are hospitably entertained, and encouraged to expect the recovery of their dominions. All this shews to my mind that Russia has not abandoned her original designs and that she requires to be vigilantly watched. The possession of Herat by the Persians would undo all that has been done with so much hazard and expense on Affghanistan. Shah Soojah in such a case would never be able to establish his power over the country, and he could only maintain himself by the presence of a large British force. We had lately an opportunity of incorporating Herat with his dominions, and that is the sort of policy, with due deference to those who think otherwise, that situated as we are, we ought to have adopted. We must make Shah Soojah powerful for our views or we cannot venture entirely to withdraw our own troops to this side of the Indus. This opinion of course is confidentially expressed to you—in the meantime you will all look to Herat and the proceedings of Persia in that quarter with redoubled interest—the aspect of the times would warrant a belief that we shall yet have some trouble before we can venture to say that Affghanistan is a barrier to our Indian Empire.

¹ Colonel Shiel. Possibly the future General Sir Justin Shiel.

Lord Keane has finally left us ; he spoke of you to me in very high terms, and, when I asked him, could not account for your being overlooked in the late distribution of honours. He told me that his mention of you in the Ghuzni dispatch was not published, under the impression that it was not his province to bear testimony to the services of political authorities independent of him. I yet hope, however, to see that your acknowledged merits are marked by public approbation. I am here to avoid the excessive heats of Bombay, but we do not find the change so great as we had been held to expect, except at nights, but that is a great relief. I fell so exhausted at Bombay that I found a good deal of difficulty in attending to business as it ought to be. Here we can manage the work, and at the same time communicate with Bombay in 24 hours.

All is quiet under this Presidency. The Guicowar is coming to his senses at last and I hope that our relations with him will be put upon a satisfactory footing. The 17th Regiment under Colonel Croker had a narrow escape at the mouth of the Indus by the wreck of the transport ship *Hannah*. No lives happily were lost and the Regiment is safe at Bombay, but stores and clothing were destroyed.

Believe me,

My Dear Sir Alexander,

• Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

59.—THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.,
etc. etc. etc.

MAHABELASHWAR, 4th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—We have just received the instructions of the Governor-General in Council on my proposed course of dealing with the Guicowar. I am sorry to see (copy of a letter will be sent to you) that the Supreme Government are not disposed to act so mildly with Sevagee, as I am disposed to do: the tenor of their letter leads to the inference that they would not have objected to measures of extreme severity against him and it is fortunate that he made his submission when he did. Their present instructions

peremptorily requires that 1,500 horses should be placed entirely under our control and be paid by us from the Guicowar's tribute, and that Petland and the sequestrated Revenues should be held for some time until we are fully satisfied of Sevagee's reformation. I had suggested that if we found the demand for 1,500 horse very distasteful to him I should be empowered to reduce the number, and that when he had fully satisfied all our demands Petland and the other Revenues should immediately be restored to him. The only way which I see for carrying my views into effect is for Sevagee not to procrastinate concession. It is a long time since I have heard from you and I am at a loss to judge of his real disposition, or whether he is still clandestinely in communication with his late Minister or his party, which some seem to think is still the case, but which I am not disposed to believe. If he acts wisely, he will lose no time in redeeming his voluntary pledge to you, and I would wish you to impress this on his mind.

I have been a little surprised at not having yet received an answer to my letter. It is suspected that delay is occasioned by his having consulted Veneeram as to the reply he should make, but I am disposed to think that he awaits the completion of satisfying all our demands before he makes one.

I have observed with great satisfaction the firmness and ability with which you have hitherto conducted the difficult negotiations in which you have been engaged, and it will be to me a source of great pleasure to bring your valuable services to the particular notice of the Court of Directors. I consider it to have been a fortunate circumstance that your personal Agency has been available, and I have no doubt that you will carry through the task committed to you with eminent success.

I should like to have your private sentiments, particularly on the proposition which you will now have to make for the 1,500 horse. It would be well that Sevagee should know that this proposition, as well as all the demands which have been made upon him, is strongly insisted on by the Bengal Government. I expect to find that the measure will be extremely distasteful to him and perhaps you will have more difficulty

in this matter than in any other. But though there will be a sacrifice of military patronage, still he should consider that in finance he will be a gainer, an object of some importance with a man of his avaricious disposition.

Have you any idea who is likely to propose to us as his new Minister? You mentioned to me last August that Meer Surferaz Ali would be the best selection he could make, and what I saw of him here for many months confirmed the good opinion I had of him from my former knowledge, it is true, now a very long time since. He has returned to Baroda by Sevagee's special invitation, and if he was selected for the vacant office, and you recommended it, he would be approved by me. I know none among the Durruckdars who could have the weight and influence indispensable to maintain our relations with Sevagee on a permanent good footing. It will never do that he should elect his Minister from the faction of Veneeram, I mean more particularly Gopal Row Narain and any of the family of my poor friend Meer Kehmaulud Dien, whose sons I regret to see have acted so differently from the example set them by their father.

I heard with regret that Miss Sutherland had a narrow escape by a bridge giving way on which she was passing over in her carriage. I hope that she has felt no ill effect from the accident.

I write in the midst of bustle and business, though at such place as this one might be supposed to have some leisure.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

60.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

etc. etc. etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 8th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your acceptable letter of the 11th of last month reached me two days ago. By the time this reaches you I hope you will have received from us copies of the dispatches from Colonel Shiel to the Governor-General, reporting a total change in the friendly feelings of the Shah of Persia

Sir John MacNeil is said now to be on his way out, under the confident expectation that Persia has yielded to all our demands and willing to place our relations with her on their former amicable footing. These papers afford sufficient evidence to my mind that Russia has not abandoned her original designs, and that no faith can be placed on her professions. The Shah continues to hold correspondence with Yar Mahomed of Herat, and the deputation of Meerza Masood to Khorasan must be connected with these proceedings. The question now is, how will the Governor-General act upon this important information? Should Persia acquire Herat by the treachery of its Minister the late service may almost be said to be labour lost. In such a case, there will be no peace for Shah Soojah, and the expense of maintaining him will be more than a dozen expeditions to Herat at the favourable time which lately presented itself of undertaking it. To enable the Shah to become a power capable of being a barrier to our Indian Empire, he should be possessed on every opportunity which offers of his ancient dominions. Herat we can never depend upon until it is annexed as Candahar has been to Cabool, and, should the Sheiks quarrel with us, Peshawar and the territories west of the Indus ought again to fall to the Shah.

I know not what to say to an enterprise against Balk. It appears to me too distant for conquest with the Shah's present means, and nothing should be undertaken in which he is not certain of success. I would rather be disposed to confine ourselves within the natural barriers of Afghanistan than to go beyond them, or to advance so far as to excite the jealousy or alarms of Bokhara and drive her into any sort of alliance with Russia and her allies.

Dost Mahomed's son has been committed to my safe keeping. He does not possess any energy of mind and has it not in him to be dangerous. He seems most grateful for the kindness with which he has been treated. The moral effect of our human and generous conduct towards him will be excellent. He told me with tears in his eyes of the kind consideration he had received from Lord Keane and the British Government, and that he should write to his father and family how

sensible he was of the magnanimity of the English nation. I had when he arrived at Bombay received no instruction regarding him from the Governor-General, and resolved on giving him Rs. 1,000 a month for his maintenance and that of his few followers. It appears that I have been too liberal, as before the Supreme Government had heard of my arrangement, it directed that from 3 to 500 rupees and not more should be the sum assigned for Hyder Khan's support. I hope it will not adhere to this resolution—the money ought not to be the consideration.

Lord Keane left India on the 31st in the Victoria steamer for Suez. He was in good health and in excellent spirits. His reception at Bombay by his countrymen must have been very flattering to him, and he has amply deserved all the distinctions he has received.

We expect our March mail from England by the 10th or 12th of this month.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

61.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 6th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I received two days ago the accompanying Journal from Captain Outram, the Political Agent in Scind. It appears to me so interesting that I think you will forgive me for sending it to you, and requesting you at your leisure to give it a perusal. Some days previously to my receipt of this Journal, I had a letter from Outram which I enclose: it is very characteristic of the man and should you ever want partisan officers, he and those he mentions are just the sort of people. There is no danger they would not encounter to gain distinction. Lord Joceyn is very enterprising and pants for an opportunity of bring himself into notice as a soldier. Outram is one of our choice spirits and has been fully tested: the others are candidates for military fame and stand high in the roll of our enterprising officers. It is not likely that you

would ever require such men in your part of the world, but there is no harm in my mentioning them to you, for who knows what may happen. I never had any faith in Russian professions.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

62.—THE LORD ELPHINSTONE, G. C. H.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 9th April 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,—It has given me much concern to see in the newspaper that you had met with a serious accident in hunting near Tanjore. I trust to hear from you, that the effects have been but temporary, and that you are now enjoying the delightful climate of the Hills. I have resorted to this place for the hot months from the excessive heat this year at Bombay, which for the two or three weeks I had to endure; it exhausted me considerably. Here it is much cooler, but the climate, I am told, is not comparable to the Neelgheries.

We are now again in a state of quietness. The troops which have returned to us from Scind and Cabool have gone to their original stations, and their gallant Commander-in-Chief has taken his departure for his native country. How long this state of tranquillity may be permitted, it is very difficult to say in the present state both of Egypt and Persia. The latter has suddenly changed its tone, which had led us confidently to calculate on the early restoration of our former friendly relations, and now vilifies the English in open terms. The Shah designates that nation as "Knife-making rascals" and says come what may, he will have one blow at them. In the meanwhile he has given a welcome reception to the late Sirdar of Candahar, and is represented as holding out hopes to them of recovering by his power the dominions which they have lost. It is quite evident from the report sent us by Colonel Shiel, that Russian influence is again in the ascendant at the Court of Teheran, and it is to that influence we may attribute the sudden alteration in the disposition of the Persian King. I never had the slightest faith in Count Nesselrode's professions and never

believed that the Russians had abandoned their original designs towards India. We shall see this manifested, if I am not mistaken by the revival of the measures of Persia against Herat which she would only dare to undertake at the instigation of her Russian Allies unless in Europe some strong measures are taken to humble the Autocrat.

In Egypt our position seems any thing but satisfactory; there the French influence is said to prevail, and now we hear that a splendid embassy is on its way to Persia from Paris. Can it be possible that the French and Russians understand each other in their Eastern diplomacy? Excuse these hasty lines, and pray let me be favoured with an assurance that you are well.

Believe me, My Dear Lord,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

63.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

MAHABÉLASHWAR HILLS, 18th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 21st of March with its important enclosure. I did not permit an hour to pass, before orders were issued for transmitting 2,000 stand of arms with pouches, etc., to Sukhur, and I trust this supply will soon be on its way to you to await your orders at that place. Although pressed for officers with our regiments, I could have managed to have furnished you at least with a part of the officers you desire to have, but I felt that without the authority of the Governor-General I might be stepping beyond my limits. Directly that I hear from Lord Auckland of his approbation of my compliance with your requisition, I will send Lieutenant Studdart to you (having ascertained that he will be willing to be so employed) and some other qualified officers.

I have given much consideration to the highly important subject discussed in your letter to the Governor-General, and for its communication to me I thank you sincerely. I shall always give you my opinions with frankness, though I am quite aware that they will require to be treated with tenderness. I

do not like the project of any expedition at present beyond the Hindoo Kosh or beyond any of the natural barriers of Affghanistan. We know nothing apparently of the disposition of the Chief of Kholoom or of the people, and there is great doubts of the fidelity of the Saiks or how far they are not at this moment inciting the Khyberries to insurrection against us. In the event of the Russians coming to Bokhara, no easy matter I should think, it should be dealt with by the Cabinet of England and not by the Government of India. We must consider whether advancing to Kholoom would not place that Chief as well as the Chief of Bokhara in hostility to us and in alliance with Russia, a result which appears to me to be very likely.

My own impression is that in these times we should discourage Shah Shujah from any designs of conquering the ancient possessions of the Affghan Kingdom; that he should be taught to look only to the consideration of his authority in Affghanistan, and that we should annex Herat to his kingdom, for which we have so justifiable a plea and when an opportunity offers restore to him all the territories conquered by the Seiks, west of the Indus. We cannot now give him tribute from Scind, but it was a pity that we ever consented to its relinquishment.

It is very obvious to me and has been so from the moment of Runjeet Sing's death, that we must interfere in the Punjab, the sooner the better, for the reason you give respecting the Nepaulese. A respectable British force in or near Lahore, and our occupation of Attock, which should be made a place of strength, will keep up a chain of communication between India and Cabool, *essential to our security* in Affghanistan. You can never be safe with more than doubtful friends in your rear. We will here use our best endeavours to keep as many steamers as the Governor-General will allow me on the Indus, and to maintain our forces at Sukhur and Kerachee to their full complement. I would suggest to you to look after the passes in Cashmere before the Russians gain an influence in Toorkistan.

The whole complexion of the intelligence from your quarter is calculated to raise anxiety. You will find us at Bombay

if wanted ready heart and hand to co-operate with and to attend to your requisitions, and it would be well if with reference to forthcoming events that we had authority to do so, without the delay of sending to Bengal. I ought to have said that there can be no objection to our employment of agents in Toorkistan. Captain Conolly's¹ communication with the agent in Hokoia at Constantinople renders him well qualified to be sent there. He is a very able man and of great enterprise, as his travels demonstrate.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

64.—R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 20th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 29th of February. You have my best thanks for your handsome notice of me personally in the debate in the Court of Proprietors on my Sattarah proceedings.

On the merits of that case, it does not now become me to say a word; it is *sub judice* and pending investigation. I do not desire to give a bias to any man's judgment. The papers submitted to the Court of Directors must determine whether my conduct deserves censure or approbation, and whichever it may be, the voice of public opinion cannot be wrong. I will only speak to the rectitude of my intentions in the execution of my duty. Far be it from me to complain, even when my friends assail me under an honest belief that I was wrong. I desire a full and dispassionate examination of the whole course, a most painful one to my feelings, and being in its result one of extremity, was foreign to my nature if I know

¹ Captain Conolly. Subsequently murdered in Bokhara. Conolly is one of the most remarkable characters in the history of the English in India. See Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers*. Vol. II or the article in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* Conolly had been one of Bishop Heber's shipmates on the Bishop's voyage to India. Sir W. Macnaughten was his brother-in-law.

² R. Montgomery Martin, Esq. He had published the *Marquis of Wellesley's Despatches* in 1839. He is best known to us in Bengal by his volumes on the Antiquities of this province, but his activities extended to Jamaica and Hong-kong. Died Sept. 6 1868.

myself aright. But by this time all the documents I suppose are before you. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*

I am glad to hear of any institution calculated to confer benefit on the people of India. It is delightful to witness the growing interest in England, as to the welfare of this country. It is one of the many blessings which have resulted from steam communications; the obstacles of time and distance have been annihilated and your sympathies proportionally excited. What infinite good may be produced by a well directed philanthropy in these regions, the reciprocation of benefits to which India also has been a stranger. I read with much satisfaction Sir Richard Jenkins' speech in the House of Commons on his motion for an equalization of duties, and I was equally pleased at the disposition evinced, at least to examine into the merits of an India question. It used not to be so, and I hail it as the dawn of justice from the British Legislature to this long-neglected Empire. The Court of Proprietors and its Executive body, deserve great credit for their steady prosecution of the object, and the Ministers appear to be acting in that liberal policy which they profess and practice in their Government. I have no doubt that your projected bank for all India will be valuable to its interests, and as a speculation judging by the success of the Bank of Australia, the present resources of which country are as nothing to those of India, it cannot fail to answer. I sincerely wish you every prosperity in this useful undertaking, and to all your endeavours for the general good. The account you send me of Lord Wellesley was very gratifying. I trust he may long be spared to us and that I may be permitted once more to see that great man. His kindness and condescension to me I can never forget, and my reverence for his public character cannot be surpassed by the most enthusiastic of his admirers. I beg you will do me the favour to mention me in respectful terms to his Lordship as well as to the Marchioness. You have always taken so friendly an interest in my welfare, that I am sure you will be glad to hear that my health hitherto in India has been good and that my occupations which are pretty extensive are not more than I can carry.

General tranquillity prevails, and the chief object which engages attention at present is the equipment of the expedition to China. Our operations there, it is said, will commence in all June. • No assistance, but a steamer or two has been required from this side. We have now got five steamers on the Indus and a flotilla of the same description on the rivers of Mesopotamia.

Believe me, my Dear Sir,

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely.

(Sd). J. R. CARNAC.

65.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

PRIVATE.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 27th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Your two letters of the 4th of February and 4th of last month, arrived as you expected at the same time. With regard to my correspondence I beg you will not deem it necessary on all occasions to give me a reply, for I am quite aware of your many occupations, and that much of what I write you is not worth particular notice.

We are proceeding here quietly enough at present. It is pretty clear, that we shall not be troubled in the Persian Gulph, now that Mahomed Ali has so much upon his hands in Egypt. Our last accounts from Aden state that supplies are coming in freely from the interior, which looks well for the peace of that place. It will I admit be a possession of great value now that we find affairs so unsettled in Egypt, and it may become of considerable commercial importance, but it has cost us loads of money nevertheless. I am sorry to see Captain Haines and the Commanding Officer squabbling, now that they have nothing else to do. Unless they mend their manners, there will be nothing for it but to remove both parties, both being more or less in the wrong, and having but one authority at Aden. Five of the six steamers for the Indus are by this time there, but it is said that they all draw too much water for such a river; a fair trial, however, has not yet been

given, though if you would give us some boats which would not draw more than 18 inches I have hardly a doubt of their answering better than our present vessels.

The revenues of Bombay are improving; its internal commerce has made a wonderful start in the last year, the amount of our continental customs exclusive of the island of Bombay and excise in 1837-38 was Rs. 21,69,949. In 1838-39 we realized Rs. 28,91,148 showing an increase of Rs. 7,21,199 with every prospect of increase in the current year. This is to be attributed to the abolition of transit duties and the great reduction of rates by the new Customs Act. I wish you could be prevailed upon to give us more latitude with respects to roads, which would speedily repay a hundred fold. The observation of Lord Auckland about roads does not in the least apply to many parts of this Presidency, especially in the Deccan. I cannot get an answer from Bengal about my proposed Revenue Survey operations. From what I gather by private letters from Lord Auckland, I fear his reply will not be favourable to my wishes to their full extent; he says that they have succeeded on a different system in the Upper Provinces in Bengal, and that he would wish me to see how it can be followed here.

I am making all enquiries about cotton and the attempts to improve its production which have all failed *hitherto*. I shall shortly place on record the result of my enquiries; it does not seem to be generally known that not more than one-third of the cotton which is exported from Bombay, is grown in the territories of this Presidency. I at present see no way of employing the Americans coming out, but on an experimental farm. If they succeed, and much time and perseverance will be required, the natives will follow them fast enough, but they cannot be prevailed upon to abandon their own modes of cultivation and gathering for a speculative system. Much have been said of fine cotton having been sent to England realizing a good price but the expence of producing it has swallowed up the profit. This I think I shall be able to shew and it will be far from satisfactory to our Manchester friends. They do not appear to take into calculation, the high price of labour on

this side of India, and the very long time it took the American to bring their cotton to its present perfection in a more favourable soil and climate for its growth.

As to political matters in India we are in *status quo*. I send you herewith a letter which I lately received from Sir W. Macnaghten, with whom I am in frequent correspondence with its important enclosures. I forward also copy of my letter to Lord Auckland upon the occasion. The Guicowar is doing nothing very lately. I suspect he is looking to see the result of the Sattarah proceedings in England. *The Debate* in the Court of Proprietors (what an Exhibition) has been industrially circulated among the natives and no doubt speedily got to Baroda.

These will not frighten me and the Guicowar may find it so, but I do not propose to hurry him. He will not get back his sequestered territory and revenues, at least until he has complied with all our demands. Lord Auckland thinks me too leniently disposed, and is inclined to hold all these revenues during the lifetime of Sevagee. The China expedition are all afloat. We have got our steamer the *Atalanta* so armed and equipped that I hope she will be a credit to Bombay. The *Sesostris* will proceed on when she arrives at Ceylon. The *Atalanta* is off this day to Singapore. Captain Oliver has on these occasions been most zealous and certainly deserves my thanks in spite of his former grumblings; he is equally entitled to approbation for his exertions to meet my wishes in the matter of steam boats for the Indus.

I remarked with sincere delight your majority in January and for the moment wished that I had been one of the number. I was surprized at the Knight of the Red Ribband. I did expect that on such an occasion he would have stayed away. I shall be anxious to know what her Majesty says to the horses. They were the best to be had, and were not considered dear. Am I to understand that I am to purchase if in my power, a horse decidedly of the first breed and quality. Such a horse is seldom to be met with, and then the price will be three times as much as I paid for the horses which have been sent. This mail carries our address to the Queen and the

Prince Albert on their marriage. We shall at all events be the first in India to testify our loyalty and devotion.

Believe me, yours very truly,

(Sd). J. R. CARNAC.

The Baron de Candal, the Governor of Goa, who arrived about six months ago, died at that place on the 17th instant. I am afraid that we shall find Goa again in anarchy and confusion. I wish we could get it into our hands.

J. R. C.

66.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.

etc., etc., etc.,

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 27th April 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—I thank you, sincerely for your kind letter of the 4th of March.

The delay in getting your decision on the Sattarah case is certainly inconvenient as far as regards this country: the debate in the Court of Proprietors has, I understand, been industriously circulated amongst the natives and must produce a bad effect generally with those not well affected and particularly with the Guicowar, who already shews a disposition to procrastinate but he will find if he attempts to render that the Debate has not frightened me. It is attempted by the partisans of the deluded Ex-Rajah to produce an impression that I am at a sad discount in Leadenhall Street, and the consequence will be his restoration to his *gadee*, and my being consigned to everlasting obscurity. The last of the native newspapers, formerly an advocate of the Ex-Rajah has an extract which I enclose, of a favourable tendency towards me: as to the case I rely on the papers for my justification: the delay in your decision will do me I think no harm in England. By the by, speaking of the Guicowar, you will observe that in Bengal they are by no means inclined to be so lenient towards him as I am, but I think that if he complies with all the demands made upon him, we should not retain the sequestered District and Revenues. I enclose you, for your amusement, a paragraph from the *Bombay Times* of the day before yesterday, giving extracts from a pamphlet

published by the missionary Dr. Wilson¹ which I have not seen the part to which I want to draw your attention, is that which describes me. I am no favourite with the Missionary sect, hence Poynder's readiness to join in the attack on the 12th of February in the Sattarah matter.

We are quite enough all over the country. I do not think that we can long remain so with the Seiks. I send herewith a copy of a private letter which I addressed Lord Auckland on a communication I had from Sir William Macnaghten in a private form, which I have sent to Sir John Hobhouse and no doubt he will shew it to you.

We are prospering at Bombay, for example, our Continental Customs and Excise (exclusive of the Customs of Bombay itself) are as follows:—

In 1837-38	...	Rs. 21,69,949
„ 1838-39	...	„ 28,91,148

Increase 7,21,199

If you will but allow us to lay out some money in forming roads in various places of the Ghauts where there are none; the return would soon be more than a hundred fold. The China Expedition is on its way to Sincapore. Our Steamer the *Atalanta* fully equipped as a war vessel proceeds this day to the rendezvous, and the *Sesostris* will join from Ceylon when she arrives there; this is all the assistance required from this side; we have got by this time five steamers in the Indus, but you would do well if you sent out some with *high pressure* engines, not drawing more than 18 inches.

I am glad indeed to hear that our friend Jenkins has got through the chair with so much *éclat*. I expected this, and I anticipate at least as much from you. You will, be assured, find no such difficulty as you apprehend in the Court of Proprietors: your temper and strong good sense, and conciliatory manner only requires you plainly to say what you think and it will be sure to produce a better effect than the finest attempts at oratory in such a place. Besides you will have Melvill on

¹ Dr. Wilson The Rev. John Wilson. His biography by Dr. Geo. Smith is well known.

your left, whose hints and suggestions as the discussion is proceeding I found in my day of vast assistance. I have no doubt that I shall hear from you, that the duty of Chairman hangs light on your shoulders, at least as little onerous as it has ever been to any man in that situation. Lyall speaks well and will be an able coadjutor in your debates. Pray, remember me very kindly to him. I thank you for the book which you have sent me. It contains valuable reformation at this crisis. What think you of the Russians now? Can there be a doubt of the hollowness of their professions, and do not their proceedings and those of Persia at this moment justify the Affghan Policy?

On the occasion of the marriage of your daughter, Lady Carnac writes with me in warmest congratulations and best wishes that it may be attended with every happiness. We join in best regards to Mrs. Bayley, who by all accounts has reason to be proud of her son in Bengal.

Believe me, My dear Bayley,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

The Baron de Candal, the new Governor of Goa, is dead; there will I expect be a sad disorder again in that settlement, and we shall as before feel the effects of it. Can this opportunity be taken of renewing our attempts to purchase the Portuguese settlements on this coast?

J. R. C.

1267.—THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.,

etc., etc., etc.

THE HILLS, 30th April 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 21st: the accounts which you give of the progress on the settlement of our demands appears to shew that Syagee is not very sincere, which in my opinion will prove highly disadvantageous to him under the temper of the Supreme Government as evinced in its letter which was recently sent to you: you have done very much having to deal with a man of his character, and nobody could have done better, but, for his own

sake, he should be pressed immediately to settle the whole of our demands when possibly I may be able to be of some use to him.

The dismissal of Veneram by proclamation has been a good measure, and quite verifies what I said when one of my colleagues thought that it would be extremely distasteful to him, and suggested, in place of proclaiming his dismissal, we should require only that his successor should be proclaimed; that from my knowledge of Syagee, he would feel no compunction in discarding any one in the most disgraceful manner if likely to suit his purpose. The *awri sacra fames* I expect will induce him in due time to ask our aid enforcing Veneram to disgorge some of his reputed enormous wealth which he is said to have deposited beyond his reach. It will not I think be long before we find His Highness quite prepared to finger the accumulations of Veneram's confederates at Baroda, and that the most substantial of them will be ready to start to Bombay.

I am glad to hear from you that the case of the Shastri's son will soon be disposed of. I have long been aware that Syagee had no favourable disposition to these youths or to Dhackgee, or indeed has he ever had to any man who has been connected with our Government since he had the power of shewing his hostility. With regard to Dhackgee's case, on which you say that you will have to refer for instructions, I spoke to Mr. Willoughby¹ on the subject and I infer from what he said, that as you paid the whole arrears of Dhackgee's villages since the period of their resumption he thought that all the information about the demand was with you. It is merely for Syagee to restore the villages according to the deed he himself gave under our guarantee, and which you will find on your records I believe some time in the year 1820. This has been ordered by the Court of Directors, and that the revenues should be paid from the tribute until the villages were restored. As to the case of Nowany Dossay, his claims has been enquired into by the Agent at Surat I find and we are daily expecting his report of which you will in due course be advised.

I have not been regardless of the merits and valuable services of your native agent and I shall be very happy to

¹ Mr. Willoughby. Sir John Pollard Willoughby (Bart. in 1803); Chief Secretary at Bombay from 1836.

have them noticed in a handsome and substantial manner after all our pending discussions with the Guicowar are happily at an end. In the meanwhile it would be useful to me to know what are your own wishes and views, which in this or other respects I shall be happy to promote. I shall be anxious also to know your sentiments about the proposition for the horses which I fear will be a delicate matter. Has the Sattarah Debate in the Court of Proprietors got up to Baroda, as it has to the Deccan, and if so, has it do you think made an unfavourable impression?

I had no idea that the accident to Miss Sutherland was so very serious. I hope that she is quite recovered. Your hot weather even exceeds this year any thing I ever knew in my long residence at Baroda. Here in the hottest day it has not exceeded 80° or 81° in the middle of the day, and at this moment in my room, 3 P.M., it stands at 78°, comparatively cooler at night. At Bombay the season has been most oppressive.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

63.—LIEUT.-COL. SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

MAHABELASHWAR, 1st May, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I had this morning the pleasure to receive your very interesting letter of the 2nd of last month with its enclosure of intelligence. With reference to your deserts and the public acknowledgment which I consider your dues I have not once but several times mentioned them since I came to this country and I live in hope that we shall see it realized.

The course of policy which you appear now to be pursuing very much coincides with what I took the liberty of suggesting not long ago to Sir William Macnaghten when he did me the favour to let me see a copy of his letter to the Governor-General. The military possession of the passes is of the first importance, and they should be strengthened by art in every possible way. I have no idea of the course Lord Auckland will take with Herat, but these are not times for us to have

doubtful friends either before or behind us : it ought to induce us to make the best use of our leisure to strengthen our advanced position, or you will be insulated by open enemies, for who, who has eyes to see and ears to hear, can no doubt Russian ambition. Her intrigues have been directed to foment hostility to us from Peking to the Black Sea, and she continues to make encroachments on plausible pretexts to aid the base of her own great operations at a favourable crisis. I shall not be surprised to hear that the Sheiks are discovered in the plot, and as long as they are in their present independent state there is no saying the mischief they could do. Are you quite sure now that the Khyberries are not instigated from that quarter ? My own impression is that the advance of so large a force to Khiva and the extension of Russian influence into the heart of Central Asia, added to the almost open defiance of Persia, places us in a different position to that which we contemplated on withdrawing so large a part of our forces from Affghanistan, on the termination of the Campaign. We should allow of no interruption to a free communication with Kabul through the Punjab, and our ascending in the one should be as great as in the other. Many there are who will cry out against aggrandisement, who look but to the surface. Circumstances beyond our control have forced us into our present position, and being there we should leave nothing imperfect for our security.

You have perhaps heard that the China Expedition is off for Sincapoor. We give it two steamers, armed and equipped from Bombay, which are now on their way. It has been a seasonable relief to us that just our steamer (*Atalanta*) has gone to China, another (the *Cleopatra*) arrived to take her place in the packet service from England.

I feel deeply obliged by your communications, which are most interesting to me. Should Sir William Macnaghten require anything from this Presidency, he may be sure of our prompt compliances.

Believe me, MY DEAR SIR, ALEXANDER,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

We heard to-day from Sir Henry Fane at the Cape the 8th of February he was still very unwell ; his handwriting evinced this strongly.

J. R. C.

69.—SIR WILLIAM, MACNAGHTEN, BART.

MAHABELASHWAR HILLS, 7th May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your interesting letter of the 13th of last month with its enclosures. You will I hope have received advices of 2,000 stand of arms having been dispatched. I have now ordered another 1,000 which will go up to Kurrachee as soon as possible, as well as 700 recruits, in addition to some before sent for the corps in Upper and Lower Scind. I have in consequence of your letter suspended the departure of the Madras regiments serving in the Deccan, and so we shall be ready to spare you some regiments on your demand. At the same time, we are exploring the country between Scind and Gujerat, which I believe to be quite practicable for the passage of troops in the rainy season, when communication by sea with the former is cut off.

My letter will have shown you the opinion I have long entertained of Russian designs and Seiks' intrigues. As to the latter I conclude Lord Auckland will proceed with vigour, which would save us from much future difficulty. The former ought to be dealt with at home : the next important intelligence of the Russians will be that they are on the Oxus. What can be a better illustration of the wisdom of Lord Auckland's policy, than passing events in Central Asia ?

You will have heard from the Governor-General that he proposes sending you some officers from the Madras Army. I quite concur with him in this course ; there is much discontent among the officers of that Army, at their exclusion from all that has been going forward on active service. I have written, however, to ask His Lordship to allow Lieutenant Studdert to go—as it was your wish to have him. You have managed the Khyberries admirably and I am glad to hear of the safety of the convoy and the surrender of the murderers of Serjeant Cameron. It is highly expedient never to resort to coercion

with mountaineers in their fastnesses until every thing else has failed.

We are all tranquil in this part of India as I believe everywhere else. Our April Packet is expected on the 9th, unless Mahomed Ali of Egypt has gone wrong—not an impossible event.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

70.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABELASHWAR, 8th May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I received a few days ago a Pamphlet lately published at Bombay. The author by the title-page styles himself a "Layman," but as yet I have not been able to trace him.

It is so far of some interest as indicating the spirit of the Missionaries here, and the lengths to which they would go in their vocation: you will be amused perhaps at the portrait which is drawn of me and the contrast that is presented. My observation since I came to India convinces me that unless the Missionaries are restrained within due bounds, we shall sooner or later have some serious mischief in this country. It behoves the authorities at home, to be careful as to the persons placed in authority in India and the more I see of native feeling and Missionary zeal, it appears to me that there is hardly a duty so important as these selections.

Believe me,

Yours most truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Note.—On page 331 of the *Calcutta Review*, No. CCLVII (July 1909), on lines 8 and 9 from bottom, for "Kohat" read Kelat.

WALTER K. FIRMINER, B. D.

(To be continued.)

CRITICAL NOTICES.

NARRATIVE OF INDIAN HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS.—By J. C. Allen. Longmans, Green and Co., Bombay, Calcutta, London and New York.

IT is astonishing what a vast fund of information is rammed into the small compass of the 244 pages of small two, which comprises this instructive work. Starting with the period before the Aryan invasion and bringing the narrative down to the present time, the author conveys a view of the history of India in a style at once instructive and enchanting. Nothing in the history, ancient and modern, of his vast country, appears to have escaped his notice, and students are afforded the means of readily possessing themselves of knowledge of the principal events of history in a way that they might fail to obtain by a prolonged study of more voluminous and pretentious books. The author has a happy knack of providing an insight, essentially panoramic, yet with the principal points thrown into bold relief, in a way calculated to hold the attention of the student and fix his knowledge of the outstanding events in the history of India. The author is to be congratulated on having achieved marked success. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the questions at the end of each chapter and the illustrations and maps with which the letterpress is interspersed.

LETTERS FROM MALABAR AND ON THE WAY.—By Henry Bruce. Messrs. Geo. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London.

As a narrative of a journey, this work will be read with interest by those who have visited the country it deals with, but as a guide to those who may contemplate a visit we are afraid it will prove not completely satisfying. The author has a breezy way of describing things and places, which at times almost descends to slang, while several chapters end most abruptly and disappointingly. Considerable space is devoted to extolling the charms of manner of those daughters of the soil he met, and he is loud in his praise of the courtesy, energy and general behaviour of those Indian State officials in high places he had dealings with. The work is illustrated by photographic reproductions, a fair proportion depicting native female life. A pleasing introductory note by Mr. J. D. Rees and the chapters dealing more exclusively with Travancore and Cochin will be read with interest, and a good map of Southern India adds to the value of the publication.

A VINDICATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.—By G. W. Hastings. Henry Frowde. London, etc.

READERS of history, especially admirers of Warren Hastings, will welcome the publication of this work, in which the author has handled his subject in a thoroughly masterly manner. The book deals with six principal heads of accusations made by various speakers and writers and shows how unfounded the charges were. The writer claims for Warren Hastings an open and generous acknowledgment of the injustice done him. Nowhere does the author rely on conjecture or assumption, but produces proof of his assertions, always so much more telling than hearsay or opinion. The author acknowledges the debt he owes to Mr. G. E. Forrest and Sir John Strachey and says in his preface "The simple object of this book is to exhibit as clearly as may be, and therefore without prejudice or passion, in language that may be understood of all, the proofs contained in three volumes of State Papers, edited by Mr. G. E. Forrest, and published by order of the Indian Government, that Warren Hastings, the man who made our Indian Empire and preserved it for the Crown, was wholly innocent of the crimes so often and so grievously laid to his charge. Some of these proofs have already been given to the public (notably by Sir John Strachey in his admirable volume on the Rohilla War), but in disconnected form, and in some cases imperfectly. A full light has been thrown on the whole history of the case by the labours of Mr. Forrest, and there is no excuse now for evading the discussion of any part of the subject."

THE TRIUMPH OF VALMIKI.—By R. R. Sen, B.L., Chittagong.

TO translate from one language to another and to do so without the sense or beauty of the original being lost is admittedly extremely difficult of accomplishment. That Mr. Sen who is Law Lecturer in the Chittagong College has attained such marked success in his English version of H. P. Shastri's Bengali *Valmiki Jaya* places him in the forefront of translators and shows that he is possessed of marked linguistic abilities. The purity with which the theme of the work is maintained is not its least pleasing characteristic and the way in which he has preserved the spirit of the original constitutes a triumph.

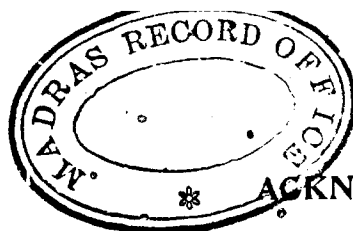
MISUNDERSTOOD.—By Florence Montgomery.

AS a story of child life with a lesson for grown-up people this little book, one of Macmillan's 7d. series, furnishes most

delightful reading. The story relates how two motherless boys, one about 3 and the other 7, the elder, healthy and bright, and the younger, frail and delicate are left to the care of a governess. The father, who is fond of both, shows a pronounced leaning towards the younger boy, quite misunderstanding the elder and believing he has no heart or thought beyond play. It is only when the unfortunate child meets with an accident, terminating fatally, that the father realises how fondly the boy loves him. The story is so absolutely true to life that one is constrained to believe that it is the relation of a family circumstance. We see the repetition daily of just such events and phases in life. A father, because his son is unemotional and not hypocritical or unduly demonstrative, cannot believe there is anything good in him, when the truth is that a little confidence or accessibility on the father's part would probably prove the snatching of a brand from the burning. How many boys, not believed in by their fathers, have grown up into useless men, feeling that there was no use trying to do right as their motives or actions would be sure to be misconstrued. We earnestly commend this book to the thoughtful perusal of parents, who will, we trust, learn a useful lesson and get a keener insight into the idiosyncrasies of their children.

THE KEY TO THE UNKNOWN.—By Rosa Nouchette Carey.

READERS will find this book intensely fascinating and the writer is to be congratulated on maintaining a continuity of narrative which never becomes tiring. The characters are well portrayed and an excellent lesson taught to parents whose chief aim in life appears to be to see their children make matrimonial successes. Their idea of such success being marriage for money. A young couple are constantly thrown together in their childhood and in their teens, the man being the youngest of four sons of an Earl. By a dispensation of providence his elder brothers, without marrying, predecease him and his parents then decide that he cannot marry the girl he is attached to as she has no money. The girl who is a beautiful character, whole heartedly devoted to him, refuses his offer of marriage as she feels she will be injuring him, and endeavours with noble self-abnegation to get him to marry a wealthy girl of title on whom his parents have set their hearts as his future wife. Ultimately the young man has his own way, his parents are not only reconciled but pleased that he has stood firm. Messrs. Macmillan and Company, Limited, are the publishers and the book is one of their Colonial Library works.



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