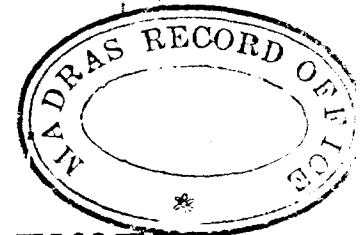


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January 1910.

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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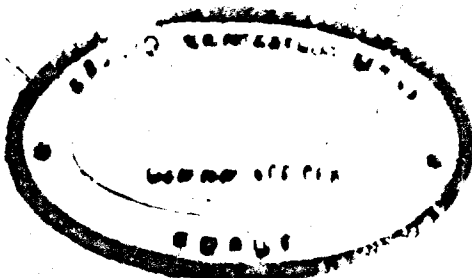
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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 259.—JANUARY 1910.

Art. 1.—THE QUARTER.

THIS case to which we referred in our last number has at last assumed a complexion of finality and on the 23rd November judgment was delivered by the Chief Justice Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Justice Carnduff. During the hearing of the appeal the opinion was frequently expressed that the appellants would all be acquitted. This opinion was formed because of the numerous questions put to Counsel by the Court which to uninformed minds indicated a leaning towards the prisoners, but which to reasonable beings meant only a whole souled desire for justice. The result of the appeal is that of the 18 appellants, 1 has been acquitted; 2 have had the death sentence commuted to transportation for life; 2 sentenced to transportation for life have their sentences confirmed, 3 have transportation for 10 and 2 for 7 years in place of life sentences, 2 with life sentences and 1 with 10 years are to be transported for 7 years, while 2 with 10 years' transportation sentences receive 5 years rigorous imprisonment. In the cases of five appellants the judges disagreed and a third judge will decide their fate. The sentences will, we trust, act as a lesson to those misguided men who imagine that the road to liberty is one of crime. The result is a fitting reward to the energy and forbearance

of the police and the masterly marshalling of evidence by Mr. Eardley Norton, and though the appeals failed, a well-merited compliment was paid by the Chief Justice to the prisoners' leading Counsel Mr. C. R. Dass.

This annual function took place in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 30th November, when about 300 subscribers and guests sat down. The chair was occupied by Mr. C. W. N. Graham, President of the Chamber of Commerce. The gathering could not be considered as "distinguished" as its predecessors, as the absence of the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, one or more of whom is usually present, robbed it of much of its importance. The speeches were hardly of the same high order that one is accustomed to look for on this annual occasion. The Chairman had a good deal to say regarding the Reform Scheme that is at present occupying so large a space on the Indian political horizon. His speech has been received with mixed expressions of approval and disapproval and it would have been better had he made out a stronger case for more extensive representation of the Commercial interests of India on the Re-formed Councils. As a commercial enunciation it can hardly be considered either as illuminating or interesting and St Andrew's Dinner of 1909 has passed into history as probably one of the least important of such functions.

The 15th of November will long be remembered in the history of India as a day which is practically the birth of a new era in the British Administration of this country and the publication in the *Gazette of India* of the provisions of the scheme marks the pronouncement of Government's intentions as to the future course of rule in India. That

St. Andrew's Dinner.

The Reform Scheme.

all communities would be satisfied was not to be expected, but no one anticipated so wholesale a condemnation from the Bengalee Press as the measure has called forth. Government should take heart by this condemnation for the fact that it has failed to please the editors of these journals is ample guarantee that it is calculated to advance the best interests of the masses even were those of a special few to suffer. The educated classes have now been given a larger share in working out their own salvation and while greatly diverse opinions are held and expressed as to the ultimate result of the bold step taken by Government, time will alone show how far the measure is wise and to what extent the people are capable of helping themselves to a satisfactory solution of getting the best out of life. In a country divided by castes and creeds it is extremely difficult, if not well nigh impossible, to bring to a satisfactory fruition a scheme of electoral representation at once comprehensive and efficient, and the provisions enunciated are eloquent testimony to the thought and care bestowed by those entrusted with the stupendous task of working out the details. We are glad to see the Mahomedans getting what was undoubtedly their due, but in a country made what it is by its commerce we consider the commercial representation totally and lamentably inadequate. The disqualifications to representation are set forth and Government is to be congratulated on retaining through the President of the Council an excellent and absolute discretion in the exclusion of undesirable representation and useless interpolations.

This Conference concluded its sittings in Simla on the 18th October. With the eminent medical men present it was only

The Malaria Conference.

natural that the deliberations and reasonings should be sound and instructive. The Viceroy was present at the opening of the Conference and several interesting papers were read and experiences related. The conclusions arrived at and recommendations were drawn up under certain main headings. They were as follows:—(1) scientific investigation; (2) the agency by which investigations should be made; (3) practical measures.—(a) extirpation of mosquitoes, (b) quinine treatment and prophylaxis, (c) education, (d) finance. The following is a summary of the details under the first heading, scientific investigation:—It is recommended that arrangements should be made for the immediate systematic investigation of (1) the distribution of malaria; (2) its epidemiology and endemology—(a) relation to meteorological and physiographical conditions, and (b) the life history of malaria-bearing mosquitoes; (3) the physiological and therapeutical action of quinine and other remedies for malaria, and the critical examination of vital statistics of each province undertaken to ascertain the different degrees of the prevalence of malaria. It is recommended that vital statistics should in future be compiled by smaller units than at present to prevent the true distribution of malaria being obscured, and that tests of registration work should be introduced in selected areas to be conducted by a special staff carefully supervised. Special attention should be directed to non-endemic areas to ascertain the reasons for such immunity. As to the investigating agency it is recommended that local organizations should be established in each province to work in consultation with the central scientific committee to be appointed by the Government of India to direct and co-ordinate the investigations, an annual meeting of the central

committee with a delegate from each organization to be held at a convenient centre to review the work done and prepare a programme for future work. Numerous practical measures were suggested. The first relates to the extirpation of the anopheles mosquito and continuous investigation is urged. Attention to drainage, sanitation and water-supply is also impressed on the attention of all medical officers. The intensity of desire to combat malaria successfully was the outstanding feature of the proceedings, and that good will result we are confident.

The recent tour completed by the Viceroy is by far the longest undertaken in recent years by any ruler of India, and it was appropriate that the representative of the King should visit as many of the Native Chiefs as possible at this most important period in the country's history. The warmth of the reception Lord Minto has experienced in every town of importance is eloquent testimony to the loyalty and attachment to the British Government of the Princes of India, and the unfortunate attempt on His Excellency's life at Ahmedabad only served to emphasize the sincerity of the welcome as we learn the would-be assassin got away in the crowd who were too intent on watching the Viceroy to notice the culprit. The new system of government just introduced was no doubt fully explained to the rulers of Native States, who thus had an opportunity of receiving first hand an intimation of the views and hopes of the Government of India. The tour extended from the morning of the 25th October when Lord Minto left Simla to the afternoon of the 15th December when he arrived in Calcutta, and the extent of his travelling may be gauged when it is remembered that he visited both

Madras and Bombay and in the course of his journeying met nearly every native ruler in the country. With a stay of 24 hours in Calcutta he left for Darjeeling, where he spent about four days and arrived in Calcutta on his return on the 21st December. That the continuous travelling should have caused a slight indisposition towards the end of the tour is not to be wondered at, and we are glad that on his arrival in Calcutta it could be truthfully said he had quite recovered. Lady Minto accompanied the Viceroy throughout his tour and lost no opportunity in doing something to testify her interest in and affection for the women of India.

Eastern Bengal will have, cause to remember the 17th October for the severe storm that swept over the province. The wind was of sufficient violence to cause destruction over a large tract of country, but Goalundo and the adjacent district suffered most. The two steamer companies, the Rivers Steam and the India General, lost very heavily, every steamer and flat being damaged seriously, some beyond all hope of repair, while some were totally lost. The Eastern Bengal State Railway suffered heavily also, the living accommodation, principally on flats moored to the shore, was entirely destroyed, and the force of the storm was sufficiently great to blow a train into the river. It is a matter for sincere thankfulness, however, that the loss of life was small compared with what one might have expected.

The Elections at Home must always have a certain amount of interest for us in India, but in this year of grace such interest has been intensified by certain events which have, and are, happening in this country. The measures sanctioned

by the Liberal Government have produced in the Latin phrase a situation of *tot homines quæ sententiae*, for while there is a large section of Anglo-Indian opinion which leads to the belief that the Reforms promulgated by the Government have been granted before the fulness of time and the defeat of the Liberals, will therefore be received by a large section of the public as a blessing. On the other hand, the sympathy of Indians goes out to the Liberals, who have given them so much and from whom, like Oliver Twist, they will like to have much more. And so for a considerable time during the period under review excitement was sustained, till it eventually subsided when the final results in favour of the Radicals were made known after the Quarter was over. The Elections have been notable for the number of members, with an interest in India, who have been thrown out at the polls. Some of these have, it is to be regretted, used their influence to embarrass the Government at a critical time, and their exeunt from the House will be regarded by right-thinking men with satisfaction.

The ingratitude of a section—a very small section it is to be hoped—of the Indian people was evidenced by the foul attempt which was made during the quarter on the life of the Viceroy of India. No British statesman has, perhaps, been imbued with such an earnest desire to sympathise, in a practical way, with the newer aspirations of the Indian than Lord Minto, and in spite of this, on the very eve of the introduction of the Reform of which he was the originator, a base attempt is made to take away the life of this just statesman who has never for a moment allowed the repeated dastardly acts of the anarchists—almost wearisome in their reiteration—to influence him

in postponing the Reforms so dear to his heart. By the grace of Divine Providence the attempt failed in its intentions and spared, let us hope for many years to come, one of the wisest statesmen who has ever ruled this unhappy country.

The black hand of the assassin, however, if he failed to slay the highest in the land, succeeded in his foul work elsewhere. The murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik, while he was attending a theatrical performance, on the invitation of the Indian community, was one of the saddest events, perhaps, in the quarter. Mr. Jackson was the Senior Collector, Bombay, and served his whole time in the Bombay Presidency. He was one of the most brilliant men in the service and also the most sympathetic and lovable, and by the irony of fate it is such men that the Indian anarchists seem to fix upon for their prey.

The passing of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, removed one of the most striking figures in Europe. The deceased monarch possessed more enemies perhaps than friends and his rule of his Colonial Empire in Africa, the Congo State, brought upon him the contempt of all right thinking men. His domestic life was most unhappy. His only son died when ten years old. The Princess Louise married Philip of Saxe-Coburg, was declared insane and kept a prisoner all her life. The Princess Stephanie married the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary and after his tragical suicide married Count Longay, her Chamberlain. Leopold's dissolute life was the subject of common gossip in Europe. He is succeeded by the only son of his deceased brother, the Count of Flanders, who it is to be hoped will purge the Belgian Court of the impurity which has made it notorious in Europe.

Art. II.—“NATURE” AND “CONVENTION” IN GREEK ETHICS.

TO the Greek mind, the problem of change and decay first excited wonder, which is generally said to be the starting point of all speculation, moral or metaphysical. Particular things were coming into being and passing away. The mystery of this phenomenon made the early thinkers of Greece awake to the need of answering the question: What is the one identical single substratum of matter which lies behind all the elements? The early Greek cosmologists busied themselves with the riddle of the universe, as they were fully conscious of the principle first proclaimed by Parmenides *ex nihilo nihil fit*. The underlying substratum or the permanent substance amid the flux out of which the varying phenomena arise, they called “Nature,” though the physical inquirers of Greece differed with regard to the content of the term. Thales called it “water;” Heraclitus, fire; and Pythagoras, number. Traditional views about the universe had succumbed before the investigations of these Greek thinkers. But the sphere of morality was left untouched. It was at a later day that this tendency of the early Greek mind to stand in the realm of thought and reason without acquiescing in blind faith in presented experience showed itself in the region of morals.

The beginnings of Greek moral philosophy are to be laid in those isolated apophthegms, which are the expression of what is generally styled the “proverbial” stage of morality. The naïve and fragmentary sayings of the seven sages of Greece, in which nascent moral philosophy first made itself felt, were the crystallisations

of the popular moral consciousness. Such even were the isolated ethical maxims we find in Heraclitus and others. *e. g.*, "wantonness needs to be extinguished even more than a conflagration." "It is hard to fight with desire. Whatever it wishes to get, it purchases at the cost of the soul." (Heraclitus : Fragments)

Time had not yet come for reflection which sees life steadily and sees it whole. Traditional morality prevailed here as elsewhere. No man dared to question the immutability of the laws of custom. A sort of sacredness instinctive in the case of the primitive man stood in the way of his questioning the inevitable order of state and its laws. Custom, as Pindar sang, was the Lord of all things. Evidently this state of affairs was not to last long, though the subtle mind of the Greek was not turned to it till the close of the Persian wars. The wars with the Orient were just brought to a close. Greece reached the acme of political power. She was now the foremost nation in the world. Around the name of her statesman, Pericles, rightly renowned for his oratory and statesmanship stands forth, a number of lesser stars equally brilliant in their respective spheres, science, art and poetry. An impetus was given to freedom of thought in every direction by the increase of individual and national self-consciousness. "Proud of their achievements," says Aristotle, "men pushed further afield after the Persian wars. They took all knowledge to be their province, making no distinction but seeking wider and wider studies." Greece was now surging with new ideas to an extent unknown before. Every line of mental activity and excitement found its proper soil there. This newly awakened spirit called forth a reconsideration of man's moral and intellectual interests. Old methods of instruction were found

inadequate to meet the requirements of the new Greece. This new spirit was found to offer the best opportunity for a sect of people who were teachers, philosophers, journalists and rhetoricians all in one. Their object was indeed noble; their endeavour was to pull down traditional morality which was based on the sanctity of custom and to place it on a more scientific basis. These the Sophists, who were the mouthpiece of this newly awakened consciousness, began to question the moral ideas connected with the popular religion, faith in which was rudely shaken by the early physical philosophers of Greece. The naïve consciousness of early Greece obeyed the laws of the state without asking whence they came or why they existed. None in the pre-Sophistic period thought of questioning the law and its authority, but with the enlightenment, confidence in it began to waver. Morality, for the Sophists, became a problem.

Why? What led to this unsettlement of belief in state and its laws? Several influences contributed to this result. *First* and foremost is the intellectual spirit of the age of Pericles. Much need not be said about it. Then everything was subjected to the ordeal of rigorous examination. Morality cannot escape passing through the same. The Greek mind was not in an attitude when it could take the traditional morality on trust and act up to its dictates. The order of the state and the injunctions laid by it upon the individual cannot be accepted without murmur or question. *Secondly* the experiences of public life also tended to the same result. The frequent changes in the political constitutions of the Greek city states took away the halo from unquestioned and unconditioned validity of the state and its laws. With the single exception of Sparta every other city state underwent a cycle of changes. Everywhere there had been a

development from Monarchy to Democracy through Aristocracy and Tyranny. Blind faith in the state and its laws might have continued to be the attitude of the Greek mind, if the different constitutions be of a single type. In the face of the fact that constitutional changes were occurring one after the other in quick succession, doubt cannot be repressed, free thought cannot be stifled. Those laws once revered as divine and sacrosanct can no more be held immutable when each city had developed in the course of history a code of conduct peculiar to itself. Thus owing to the different interpretations current about the state and its functions, men were forced to ask about the *raison d'être* of the state. When Athens, Sparta and Thebes imposed on their citizens qualifications so various the question cannot be raised. What are the duties of a citizen? What is the best state? *Lastly*, Colonisation had also its share in unsettling the confidence which the Greek had in the sacredness of political laws. In the colonies legislators like Solon and Lycurgus enacted laws. Perhaps laws everywhere were the work of man. Law can no more be considered divine. It was out and out an artificial construction.

Just as the physical philosophers of Greece were obliged to posit some underlying entity under the manifold, so the Sophists were on the look out for some principle which is identical in the midst of the changing moral laws. Is there anything at all in this variety of traditional morality which is independent of time, place and circumstance? Greece was prepared for this question by the cosmological speculation of the pre-Sophistical era. As Greek cosmology styled this constant entity "Nature," so even in ethics the Sophists gave the title "Nature" to the universal element. If there is anything universally valid, it is that which is valid by "Nature."

The State is simply due to "convention" and not to "Nature." The laws of "nature" are everywhere the same. The stone if left unsupported falls to the ground everywhere and at all times. But look at these "conventions." A hundred different customs of marriage and as many forms of burial. Can all these be products of "Nature"? Surely not. Law, a convention; State, a contract. Such was the theme preached by the Sophists.

Let us now turn to Protagoras, who is generally considered to be the standard exponent of the Sophistic doctrine. "Man is the measure of all things" is the Protagorean formula, as all the world knows. Whatever the divergences among the Sophists in other points may be, one thing is plain that they pass from "nature" to "man"! Philosophy from being cosmocentric became anthropocentric. The value of the saying "The proper study of mankind is man" was seen to the full. The play of human agency in the constitution of civil institutions was emphasised very much. The state and its laws, they proclaimed were due to "convention." They do not exist by "nature." At once arose questions whether the State was rightly constituted, or whether it stood in need of reform. Tested by the Protagorean dictum the state fails miserably. Measured by man it is found wanting, hopelessly wanting. The state and its laws, due to convention as they are, are nothing less than anathema. They stifle the free play of self, which is the rule of moral life everywhere. As Hippias in Plato says, "Law being a tyrant constrains man contrary to nature." "Nature" and "Convention" are as wide as anything. There is a big chasm separating the two. The traditional code of morality due to convention is, according to them, not in consonance with the ethics of nature. There is always an internecine war between the ethics of convention and the ethics

of Nature. Nature leads us to self-assertion, self-enjoyment and self-indulgence while Convention dictates to us self-abandonment, self-denial and self-abnegation. Thus the two are diametrically opposed.

Well now, asked the Sophist, what is the *nature* of moral life apart from its *conventions*? What will be the character of the ideal code which constitutes the "nature" of the ethical phenomena? What is not "convention" is "nature" Convention inflicts on us the rules of society holding up social well-being as its end. So then, the individual well being is the end of nature. The pleasure and satisfaction of the individual (for the Sophist treats man as a being capable only of feelings) is the characteristic of the Sophistic morality. Individualism thus became the gospel of the fifth century.

Reflection in this age manifests itself in its opposition between nature and convention which formed the theme of Antigone of Sophocles. Equality of men is the law of nature. Distinctions between men depend therefore on convention. This is why Lycophron desired to do away with the class of nobles. Alcidas wanted to get rid of the slave class. Even the idea of political equality of women with men was projected in this age.

Next arose the question in giving an answer to which the Sophist has displayed all his ingenuity. How in the world did it happen that men, conscious of their free individualities, surrendered their independence. Man is the organiser and originator of the state which threatened at times to stifle the whole of a man's free individuality. For relief in this difficulty, the speculative subtlety of the Sophists has busied itself in several ways, some of which we shall note here. The Hobbesian theory of social contract presented itself as the most plausible one. Men voluntarily abandoned the satisfactions

of individual initiative for the advantages of co-operation. Even here it is the individual's self-interest that led to the formation of the state. It had not the inevitability of a natural order, nothing of the sacredness of a divine institution. The state was organised because it saved man from the nasty and brutish condition of the state of nature but still pure individualism must throw away the yoke of the state.

The state was sometimes said to be due to the conspiracy of the weak. A social contract made by the weak in their own interests against the strong, such was the origin of the state. Even this will not do. As it is, the state violates the law of nature. The state is a conventional thing, an artificial construction and a human makeshift which must utterly be overthrown. Nature emancipates the individual from the bondage of society. It allows to man the full license of self-satisfaction. "Might is right" is the law of nature. Every individual has, according to the law of nature, a right to satisfy his cravings to the best of his powers. The greatest right of the greatest might is the rule of nature. The natural instinct of self-preservation makes the weak join together as small birds unite against a hawk in order to get greater satisfaction for themselves. So then the state as due to the conspiracy of the weak is not a natural organisation, for, while "nature" has ordained that might is right and that the strong should rule the weak, convention makes the weak rule the strong which is giving to the weak something more than their powers warrant.

Whether therefore the explanation of the origin of the state takes the form which Thrasymachus (in Plato's Republic) gives to it, that it is the organisation by which the strong force the weak to do their will, or the one

in Callicles who makes it a bulwark instituted by the weak against the encroachments of the strong the state is made in the personal interests of the legislators themselves. If the path of convention swerves from that of nature, it is plain that the deviation is in the interests of the law-makers. Thus ultimately the basis of political obligation is the individual's self interest. Laws are to be obeyed only so far as the individual's interests are promoted, *i.e.*, only so far as convention and nature coincide. But if the two diverge, then convention has to be thrown overboard. Nature's dictates have to be obeyed. Plato's *Gorgias* offers an interesting illustration of the divergence of the two. Criminals have attained the greatest happiness by acting in ways opposed to convention. A consummate villain can well simulate justice and can thereby derive honour, fame and wealth while possessing at the same time an unjust soul. The sin of the soul can be expiated by sacrifices to God. Is not an unjust man infinitely happier than a just man in this life, and in the other are not all equal?

The sensational theory of the Sophists leads to this result. There is, according to it, no universal norm for human conduct. The so-called standards of morality were only subjective, changing with individuals. Morality became relative. It is dependent upon the precarious constitution of mankind. Their practical life was in perfect consonance with their theories. They adopted individualism not only because they thought it was true, but because they found it was useful to them. On the whole the Sophistic teaching was questionable and hurtful to public morals. Their doctrines were subversive of older moral standards. Their ethical teaching ended in moral scepticism and moral chaos. The orthodox and conservative spirit of Greece was much roused

Aristophanes was the spokesman of this party. The sophists have fallen on evil days, so much so, that even the title "Sophist" has fallen into evil odour.

But there is another side to this whole picture. Without them we would not have had a Socrates or a Plato. They made a great stir in the world of thought. They did much to awaken the intellectual life of the city. They provoked discussion and induced perplexity. They brought to the front the need for a scientific account of morality. With this aspect of their philosophy, Socrates is in cordial sympathy. He agreed with them as to the necessity and propriety of bringing everything to the bar of reason. But he wanted that the investigations must be more complete and thoroughgoing.

The ethics of nature and the ethics of convention, the Sophists declared are not coincident. They never offered a solution to bridge the gulf between the two. To reconcile the opposition is the aim of Socrates, and he therefore starts with the question, What belongs to man's nature? "Sensation," said the Sophists. Their psychology began and ended in sensationalism. To such a being self-enjoyment would be the most authoritative command. If the individual is endowed with such a constitution Socrates admits that the ethics of convention which he finds opposed to him, when he is turned adrift into the world, squares but badly with the ethics of nature. Their logic is irrefutable, but Socrates urges that their premise is false. They have failed to grasp the true nature of man. Socrates is sophist enough to emphasise the importance of the study of man, but he appeals to the good sense of the Sophist to know "man" more completely and thoroughly than he has till now cared to know. Know thyself. Get a good grasp of the true nature of man. Man possesses

the faculty of thought in addition to the faculty of sense. Man is not a mere sensuous creature but also a rational being. He possesses in common with all intelligence the faculty of reason. Reason gives us universals while sense gives us particulars. If this distinction is made and if man's nature is known to be rational also, then morality is secure from the attacks of the Sophists. The Sophists had taught men to go along the lines of instinct, which led to an overthrow of the older moral standards. The age was in need of teachers who would revindicate the claims of popular morality. Such a man was found in the person of Socrates. He taught men to train themselves in knowledge and control themselves by it. He accepted the Protagorean dictum "Man is the measure of all things," but with a qualification. Man is the measure only so far as he participates in the nature of all intellect, but so far as his sense-faculty is concerned he is not a measure of the universe. Whereas the Sophist regards "sense" as *such* the essential part of man, Socrates regards reason as more natural to man.

Virtue is knowledge. He impressively instilled this doctrine into the minds of his people. Man should direct himself by known rules. He agreed with the Sophists that blind faith in rules ought to be depreciated, but at the same time wished men to analyse the duties of life and arrive at clear conceptions of their meanings. A true examination reveals that human nature is composed of both reason and sense. Reason, however, is superior to sense. So Socrates urges that the pleasures of the soul are preferable to those of body. Thus in Socrates the two—ethics of nature and ethics of convention—coincide. Convention just imposes what nature prescribes. The contradiction between the two is overcome

and appeased. The never-ending controversy about the problem of morality is thus solved. Convention and nature go hand in hand. The just, the legal and the useful are one. Virtue, utility and law all point the same way. Thus Socrates fulfilled the aim with which he started, *viz.*, to raise conventional morality to a scientific plane. How far he was successful, it was left for his successors to decide.

It is plain from his life that the identity between the two is not a true one. He refused to cease the preaching which the state forbade for conscience' sake. So he died a martyr's death. He introduced new gods and corrupted the youth. The charge against Socrates is not altogether a false one. There is no question about his loyalty to the state in his actual behaviour, but yet he was an enemy of its stability and authority. To defend the state and its laws on the ground of their utility is to lay them open to be rejected whenever they were found useless. Again the fact that schools of divergent tendencies claim Socrates for their master also shows that his doctrine was not very consistent.

Virtue is knowledge. Knowledge of what? Of the good. What is the good? Sometimes it is stated to be virtue, sometimes happiness. These two interpretations give rise to two different schools in which again the opposition between nature and convention is laid stress on. The cynics pushed the abstract Socratic formula "Virtue is knowledge" to its extreme consequences. The wise man who had attained knowledge was sufficient unto himself. For each thing that alone can be a good that belongs to it by nature. The only real thing which belongs to man is mind, which is the same as free exercise of thought. Every want or desire is a bond which makes man dependent upon fortune. Independence can

be got only by the suppression of desire and restriction of wants. Virtue is freedom from wants. In their endeavour to reduce the wants to a minimum, the cynics revolted against the goods of civilisation and wanted to attain the ideal of a state of nature in all its pristine purity. They rebelled against society with its grades and institutions. One man is as good as another; one place as good as another. "Why should I be proud of belonging to the soil of Attica with its worms and slugs?" Thus professing no city, home or country they came back to the state of nature.

The Cyrenaics also adopted the same attitude towards society though for a different reason. The Socratic formula "Virtue is knowledge" was made to yield a hedonistic view. How is knowledge useful? Aristippus says "Just to enable the philosopher, supposing all laws are abolished, to go on living as before." The Socratic identification of law and utility was brought to this pass. Utility, says Socrates, is the basis of law. Therefore utility is the end of existence. Law was a mere convention. Right and wrong existed by convention and custom and not by nature. A wise indifference to all objects is the rule of life. So they deny to the individual any interest in a civic unit. Every man has a right to enjoy by a law of nature. Social institutions which are products of convention impose a limit upon that right. The goods of civilisation so far as they were a limit to the free enjoyment of the individual were rejected though they gladly shared the refinements of enjoyment which civilisation brought in.

Let us now pass from these one-sided and imperfect Socraticisms to the full development of the Socratic doctrine in Plato. The republic of Plato is mainly directed against the Sophists. Justice, the Sophists argued, was

merely a conventional thing and ought to be adopted only so far as it conduces to the end of self-interest which is a law of nature. If happiness can be got by unjust means there is nothing to deter us from doing so. This called forth Plato's wrath and indignation. The Sophist and not Socrates, Plato thought, was the *corruptor juventutis*. The fabric of faith in state and its laws was shaken to its very foundations by the Sophistic doctrine, which makes justice a means to the further end of self-interest. Plato attempts to overthrow this ideal of justice by showing it to be the law of the very being of man. Justice fulfils a law of man's being and is itself an expression of man's nature. Justice lies in the harmony of the three faculties of the soul—reason, spirit and desire. There can never be a just soul without the proper harmony. The mere semblance of justice is not enough, but the reality is requisite, or else the soul instead of being happy is miserable. Law and justice, the code of rules and the court of equity are just the outward expressions of man's nature. Obedience to law is only obedience to one's own nature. Nature, law and reason thus coincide. Conventional laws or the laws of the state are the manifestations of the true being of man. Each individual would be securing his own ends by securing the ends of the state. His own interest is not the motive which propels him to secure the interests of others. Man has impulses egoistic as well as altruistic engrained in his own nature. This truth Aristotle brings out by saying "Man is a political animal."

Thus have the two "convention" and "nature" been reconciled. Convention simply enforces what nature has already prescribed. The conventional man is merely the development of the natural man. The citizen is then the perfect individual.

Neglect to emphasise this, the social nature of man, has given rise to the apparently never-ending controversy of Egoism and Altruism. Throughout the course of English Ethics with some honourable exceptions here and there, the fallacy makes itself felt. Man has been considered to be a self-centred individual capable of attaining satisfaction in himself. Hobbes thought that everyone if left to himself would pursue his own happiness without having any interest in the welfare of others. Though Bishop Butler lays stress on the social nature of man, he is still a prey to the same fallacy when he urges "We can neither justify to ourselves this or any other pursuit till we are convinced that it will be for our happiness or at least not contrary to it." Bentham repeats the same tendency when he declares, "Dream not that men would move their little finger to serve you unless their advantage in so doing be obvious to them." According to J. S. Mill it is the individual's pleasure that is the end with each man. Almost all these English moralists held the nature of man to be purely egoistic. This is why they all find it hard to explain altruism. If the law of my nature asks me to care only for my welfare, what in the world can make me look for the interests of others? Hobbes' Social Contract, Butler's Conscience, Bentham's External Sanctions and Mill's Internal Sanction are some of the ways by which the several men attempt to bolster up the theory that though each man's nature impels him to look to his own interest, yet he must also see in so doing that he promotes the interest of others. But these several solutions do not completely reconcile the opposition for the root of the whole fallacy lay elsewhere. Man was never in a nasty and brutish condition looking only to his own welfare. Individual satisfaction is not the end of

man as the Sophists and the individual moralists of the later period thought. Plato's answer to the Sophists is just the answer by which we can rebut the arguments of these egoistic moralists. Both egoism *as such* and altruism *as such* are later developments of the individual's self consciousness. Man had, to begin with, both egoistic impulses as well as altruistic impulses. Man was from the very beginning a member of society obeying its laws rather than looking to his own interest. As Plato said, justice is the normal state of the soul. "Altruism" is also then a manifestation of man's nature. There is therefore absolutely no opposition between the two

S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, }
MADRAS, 9th July 1909.

Art. III.—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.

(Continued from page 551.)

INTRODUCTION.

VII.

PORTUGAL and the Netherlands had made peace before Cochin and Cannanore fell. The treaty was signed on the 6th of August 1661, ratified by Portugal on the 24th of May 1662, by the Netherlands on the 14th of December 1662¹, and published on the 14th of March 1663, but nothing was heard in the East of the ratification till much later. On the 11th of May 1663 the Dutch at Batavia heard that "the peace with the English was concluded, but that with the Portuguese not,"² and it was not till the 14th of June that "the frigate *Joncker* arrived in the roads from the fatherland having stopped nowhere on the way"³ and brought a letter from the Directors, dated the 23rd of December 1662, which announced the ratification of the treaty. The 6th article of the treaty ran as follows: "According

¹ Danvers II., 329; date 14th December (not 4th as Danvers nor 24th as Valentijn) I take from Bat. Diary, 1664, p. 84. The treaty is given in full in Biker's Collection, Vol. IV.

² Diary 1663, p. 172.

³ Diary, 1663, p. 336. The Portuguese do not appear to have got the news till much later. Father Giuseppe di S. Maria only heard it in November.

to this treaty all hostilities and offensive actions shall cease between the King and the Kingdom of Portugal on the one part and the United¹ Netherlands on the other and between their subjects and citizens in Europe within two months from the date that this treaty shall be signed by both parties, and in the other parts of the world from the date of the publication of this document, and to all the prisoners on both sides shall be given their former freedom directly after the ratification of this treaty, while all regions, places, ships and goods which may be taken in the meantime by either party as well as those conquered before in the East Indies, the West Indies or elsewhere, will remain in possession of those who appear to have been their possessors at the moment; but such as are occupied and taken in Europe after the lapse of two months from the signature of the said treaty, in other parts of the world from its publication, shall be restored without delay or exception to their former masters."

This seems clear enough. Cochin and Cannanore were taken in January and February 1663, that is before the publication of the treaty on the 14th of March 1663. Nevertheless in March 1664 an envoy from the Portuguese Viceroy arrived at Batavia with a letter from the Viceroy, dated the 18th of January 1664, in which he wrote: "Under the capitulations of peace between the King of Portugal, my Master, and the Most Serene Estates of the United Provinces which you must have received by now and I again send for you to see, you must restore me the places of Cochin and Cannanore as having been taken after the publication of the said peace which was made on the 14th of December 1662"* * * *

The letter is inserted in Bat. Diary, 1664, under date 28th March.

The Dutch replied "it was true the treaty was ratified on the 14th of December 1662, but it only came into force, so far as the East was concerned, in conformity with the sixth article, after the publication of the said peace which took place three months after the said ratification, as may be seen in article 26."

The question was again raised in Europe two years later, but the claim was, as might have been expected, not taken seriously by the Dutch¹, though they seem to have been open to an offer. The Portuguese continued to press their claims and under article 14 of the Treaty between Portugal and France of the 31st of March 1667 the Most Christian King was to endeavour to get Cochin and Cannanore restored to Portugal *omni genere officiorum*. The question was finally set at rest by the Treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands of the 30th July 1669, article 1 of which states that Cochin and Cannanore should remain in the hands of the Dutch East India Company until not only the war indemnity fixed by the treaty of 1661 had been paid, but also a special indemnity for the cost of the Company's fleet, which had taken them, and of all the operations². The fort at Cannanore remained Dutch until it was sold to the Ali Raja (Sea King) of Cannanore in 1771, and Cochin until it was taken by a British force in 1795.

VIII.

The history of Dutch rule on the west coast of India from 1663 to 1795 can be written in detail only when 1,400 volumes of records have been examined and compared. Meanwhile the accounts of Stein van

Campaigns of 1717 A.D.
and of 1739-42 A.D.

¹ Danvers II. 329 ; Valentijn V. (2), 34.

² These treaties are given in full in Vol. IV. of Biker's collection (Treaty relating to Portuguese India in Latin and Portuguese).

Gollennesse and Moens will throw some light on the politics of Malabar during their administrations. The first was written just after the failure of an enterprise which might have resulted in the establishment of a Dutch Empire on the west coast, and just before Dupleix showed the French, the English and the world what a simple matter the establishment of European ascendancy on the east coast was. The second was written when the English were becoming the leading power in South India, but were still engaged in their struggle with Mysore. When Stein Van Gollennesse wrote Malabar was divided up among a great number of petty princes, none of them formidable. In 1881, when Moens wrote, Holland was sinking to a low place among the nations, the Dutch had long ceased to be masters of the sea, and the once great Dutch East India Company could no longer dream of territorial expansion in the East, but was about to be ruined by the war between the home country and Great Britain.

Though the history of the Dutch in Malabar cannot yet be written, something may be said about two outstanding campaigns.

When the Dutch took Cochin the most powerful and aggressive of the petty princes of Malabar was the Zamorin of Calicut. He had been for a hundred and fifty years the enemy of the Portuguese and of the King of Cochin and when the Dutch prepared to lay siege to Cochin he entered into an alliance with them and gave them some assistance, though much less than the Dutch had expected. The Zamorin expected in return to be made King of Cochin¹. But the Dutch had no intention of making him too powerful. He then asked for at least the island of Vypeen. But this

¹ Batavia Diary, 1663, p. 128.

also was refused him. The relations of the Zamorin with the Dutch were naturally not cordial thereafter. Moreover questions were always arising between him and the King of Cochin, whom the Dutch were bound by treaty to protect. As early as 1665 there was a question about a piece of territory called Catur. The Dutch had to interfere and propose a settlement, which was accepted. But hostilities continually broke out between the parties, and as often as not Cochin, though the weaker, was, according to the Dutch, the aggressor, relying on the Dutch to protect him¹. War was in fact the natural state of Malabar; the different princes always had claims, often of great obscurity, to places in one another's territories. Moreover the Zamorin and Cochin were the heads of rival factions, also of obscure origin, called the Chavarakur and Panniyurkur factions, and as such had always an excuse for fighting. The Portuguese found Cochin at war with the Zamorin in 1500; the parties continued to be at war intermittently for the next two hundred and fifty years.

For half a century after the occupation of Cochin the Dutch were from time to time embroiled in these wars and led into expenditure which caused Malabar to be set down as an unprofitable settlement. The Zamorin's route of invasion lay along the shore by Chetway and Cranganore. The Payenchery Nair, in whose territory Chetway lay, and the Prince of Cranganore were tributary to him. In 1710 A.D. the Dutch forced the Zamorin to conclude a treaty by which he ceded to them the suzerainty over these two little chiefs (treaty of 10th January 1710) and proceeded to build or extend a fort at Chetway. The situation became acute again in the year 1715 when the Zamorin surprised the fort on the

¹ Canter Visscher.

night of the 22nd of January¹. The prestige of the Company was seriously affected and the numbers of their enemies began to swell "like a snow-ball."² A glimpse of the Dutch Commandeur of the time, Barent Ketel, is obtainable from the diary of Stephen Strutt,³ who was sent to inspect the English factories on the west coast in 1714. He was at Cochin on November the 16th and was received politely by the "Commodore," of whom he remarks: "The Governor Barran Kettle raised himself from a Centinell as several of their men in post have done; he was mighty affable and courteous." He seems, however, to have been corrupt; for Strutt goes on to remark that the Governor and broker "being equally concerned" charged the Dutch Company "whatever they could agree" for pepper, and that private persons could easily procure pepper underhand in spite of the Company to monopoly, "but it must not be openly."

This person was afterwards summoned to Batavia to undergo his trial for high treason and cowardice, but was eventually acquitted in 1719.⁴

It was realised in Batavia that a considerable force would be required in Malabar to restore the Company's prestige. 1,573 men were sent in September 1715, and 1,500 more in September 1716,⁵ these last under the command of the Right Worshipful the Councillor Extraordinary William Bakker Jacobsz. The Diary

¹ Summary of history in Resolution of 5th March 1777, MS. No. 1151 C. F.; also Study of Affairs in Malabar, 1691-3, from original documents by N. Macleod, 1902, published by Nijhoff, the Hague, and the summary given by the Dutch to the British Resident in 1793 (Vol. 13, Malabar Commission's Report and Vol. 29, Malabar Commission Dranes, Political, in Fort St. George Records).

² Canter Visscher.

³ MS. Diary in the Madras Records.

⁴ Klerk de Reus, p. 151, note.

⁵ Valentijn V. (2), 44.

of His Worship's campaign was written up in great detail from day to day and is still in existence.¹

His Worship arrived in Cochin on the 28th of November 1716. One of his first acts was to send letters announcing his arrival and that of Barent Ketel's successor, Johannes Hertenberg, and his intention of punishing the Zamorin, to the powers of Malabar. The list of addresses below will give some idea of the manner in which Malabar was then divided up into petty States.

To the Raja of Porea	To the Palyet
" Repolim	To the 3,000 of Baijpin
" Calicoilan	" Coddachery Caymal
" De Marta	" Corretty Caymal
" Signatty	" Changara Coddachery
" Trevancore	" Caymal
" Teckenkore	" Mannacotta Atsja
" Berkenkore	" Tottacherry Talehenore
" Peritaly	" Murianatty Nambiar
To the Ameen of Atinga	" Aynicuty Nanbeddy
" Cochin	" Raja of Paru
To the Raja of Cartadavil	" Balnore or Bargara
" Aijrore	" Adergia of Cannanore
" Palcatchery	" Caimal of Cunattunaddu
" Valavanatty	" Tevengul Nairo
" Colastry	" Parra Olledam
" Cranganore	" Palurgatty Caymal
To the second Prince of Man-	" Tachetta Munancur
gatty	" Caymal of Angecaymal
" Bardella	" Payenchery Nairo ²
To the Pula of Cariatta	
" Gurip of Trevancore	
" 7,000 of Caraporam	
" 30,000 of Cururnadda	

From calculations as to how far a supply of rice would go, it appears that the Dutch force in the field at the beginning of the campaign consisted of 3,226 men without counting 1,000 Singalese expected

¹ MS. Nos. 97-99.

² Where most of the places are and the meanings of the designations will be explained in Stein Van Gollenesse's Memoir and the notes thereto. The Nairs are the fighting caste (a Sudra caste), Pillai and Kurup Nair titles, Caymal means Prince, Atsja (Achan)=father, Adergia=Ali Raja, Sea King, Balnore is Malayalam Valluvanar, Ruler, etc.

from Ceylon, who actually arrived at Chetway on the 26th February 1717¹. It is also mentioned that there were not more than 193 topasses, and 113 lascorins in the service, and from an entry under the 10th January 1717 it appears that the Dutch could then dispose of 3,400 men as against 2,200 the year before. The Zamorin was entrenched in a pagger (stockade) at Paponetty (Pappinivattam), some 20 miles south of the captured fort of Chetway. The pagger was attacked on the 16th January 1717 and taken with a slaughter of 2,000 of the Zamorin's Nairs. The Dutch casualties were 17 Europeans dead, 72 wounded; others 22 dead, 69 wounded. On the 27th the Dutch army arrived before Chetway, which they found abandoned, and the Zamorin began to negotiate.

According to the Rev. J. Canter Visscher, who was chaplain of Cochin from December 1717 to December 1723, the result of the action at Paponetty was a great shock to the heathen, and the bones of the dead lay about the fields for many years afterwards. The reverend gentleman exaggerates a subsequent skirmish at Uruvenur on the 12th of February, in which the Dutch, according to the Diary of the campaign, lost one man killed and five wounded, and the Zamorin 117—120 killed and wounded, into "a decisive victory," and cannot be considered a very trustworthy witness, but it certainly appears from the Zamorin's correspondence that he had no stomach for fighting after the action of the 16th of January. The negotiations fell through for the time being over the question of the amount of the indemnity, the

¹ Diary of the Campaign. On the 7th of March the field army at Uruvenur consisted of 4,181 men of whom 941 were Europeans, 125 topasses, 371 lascorins (Indian and Ceylon Sepoys), 1,654 Malays, 1,090 Singalese. The auxiliaries supplied by the Raja of Cochin are estimated by Valentijn at 15,000.

Zamorin asserting that he had no cash but would surrender land, while the Dutch wanted both land and cash. A few months afterwards peace was concluded and the Dutch obtained a small indemnity¹ and were also placed in possession, in complete sovereignty, of a strip of sea-coast (Province Paponetty), forming part of what was called "the Sandy land" between Chetway and Cranganore²—now a southerly projection of the British district of Malabar, cutting off the Cochin State from the sea. They were also confirmed or established in the sovereignty over Cranganore and other petty states³, while certain other territories handed over by the Zamorin⁴ were handed on to Cochin. In this war the Zamorin seems to have received assistance from the English. This is not only asserted in the Campaign Diary of the Dutch, but is confirmed by the contemporary writer Alexander Hamilton (edition of 1739, I 315) and by an entry on page 67 of the Tellicherry Diary for 1743-4, where the old "linguist" or Eurasian agent of the English at Calicut is reported as observing: "When this Fort at Tellicherry was set about the Building of, Mr. Adams got leave from the Samorine to export what materials he should want from Calicut customs free, which he believes the Samorine more readily granted, as Mr. Adams was very serviceable to him by assisting him in his wars against the Dutch."

The supply of war material was a profitable branch of trade, while it was good policy to injure a trade rival and secure the favour of a native chief. Another extract from the Tellicherry Diary under date the 19th

¹ Article 2 of the Treaty of the 17th December, 1717 : 85,000 Calicut new golden fanums (MS. No. 105).

² Article 23 of the Treaty.

³ Articles 17 and 24 of the Treaty.

⁴ Article 21 of the Treaty.

September 1743 will show that another native chief had been given similar assistance against the French : "From the circumstances of the Debt we judge that the reason he (the chief of Boyanore) refuses to discharge it is that as it arose from Stores and Ammunition supplied to him privately in his wars with the French, he imagines we do not care to make any great stir about it, lest the French should be acquainted with our having assisted him."

Canter Visscher suggests that more advantages should have been obtained and hints that the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz had private reasons of his own for not completely humbling the Zamorin. This shows that the Dutch at Cochin, or some of them, were not satisfied with the acquisition made. But His Worship had not a very large force and the Singalese expected from Ceylon did not arrive in time, and it was not the policy of the Dutch Company at this time to assume the sovereignty of extensive territories, but rather to force petty princes in the neighbourhood of their settlements to enter into contracts for the delivery of products at low prices (that is, to pay a disguised tribute), while it held in sovereignty only the sea-margin of productive hinterlands¹. It appears however from Stein Van Gollennesse's Memoir and papers of 1717 A.D.² that the authorities at Batavia were much dissatisfied with His Worship for being content with a small indemnity and for handing over to the King of Cochin some of the territories ceded by the Zamorin. The revenue of the strip of land retained (Province Paponetty) was not large. The average nett revenue for the five years before Hyder Ali took it was only

¹ P.

² MS. No. 105.

15,000 guilders or 12,500 rupees,¹ while, if Canter Visscher is to be believed, the war had cost the Company nearly two million guilders.²

The Company may have been somewhat ill served, but even had more ambitious counsels prevailed the time was not favourable for acquiring large possessions in Malabar. The second Javanese Succession War shortly afterwards broke out and occupied the Dutch forces for the next five years. Reinforcements could hardly have been spared for Malabar. The finances of the Company would perhaps have permitted them to conduct a war in Malabar as well as the war in Java. 40 per cent. dividend was paid each year from 1715 to 1720, 33½ per cent. in 1721, 30 per cent. in 1722, 12½ per cent. in 1723, 15 per cent. in 1724 and 20 per cent. in 1725, the Company's stock reached 1,260 for every hundred in 1720³ and its credit was excellent. But there was always great difficulty in getting European troops. The pay was not attractive and the mortality, especially on the voyage out and in the dépôt, Batavia, then perhaps the most unhealthy European Station in the East, was appalling. Sufficient Dutchmen could not be procured; men had to be obtained from the interior of Germany or elsewhere⁴, and the Dutch had at one time French, at another Swiss regiments in their service in the East. In some of their wars they employed considerable armies, but the necessary stiffening of Europeans was always small, and they probably seldom had as many as 10,000 Europeans in their military service in

¹ Figures in MS. No. 1151.

² Canter Visscher, Letter VI.

³ Klerk de Reus, p. 177 and App. VI.

⁴ Lists of soldiers with towns of origin in MS No 1067 and other volumes. The comments quoted by Whitehouse of Anquetil du Perron, who visited Cochín in 1757-8 on the mongrel garrison at that place, may be compared.

the Indies. With a mortality in the European army calculated at from 70 to 120 per thousand, with garrisons in numerous stations which, even at minimum strength absorbed many thousands of men, with recruitment very difficult and with only 25 ships of a few hundred tons each a year on an average to convey the new levies from home¹, the Dutch Company was scarcely in a position to conduct a war of conquest in Malabar while it was engaged in Java.

However that may be, the campaign of 1717 restored the Company's prestige in Malabar and there was no further trouble for some years. The next campaigns of importance occurred in a war with the Kingdom of Travancore which lasted from 1739 to 1742.

When the Dutch first came to Malabar, Travancore was a very small principality. According to a report² of Van Goens written in 1675. "Travancore begins with the West Cape of Comorin and ends on the coast about two hours' walk or less north of Tegenapatnam" (a port in Vilavankod Taluk 15 minutes south of the present capital, Trivandrum). On the north along the coast followed the principalities of Attungal (whose rulers permitted the English Company to construct a factory at Anjengo), of Quilon or properly Desinganad (the Signatty) and of Cayenculam. On the north-east Travancore was bordered by the Kingdom of Peritalii and Elayadatu Svarupam. Even the memory of the Kingdom of Peritalii has died out,³ but I find it mentioned in the early English as well as Dutch records. On the 4th of March 1726 the English factors at Tellicherry recorded in their Diary "The Kings of

¹ The facts are from Klerk de Reus, *passim*.

² Apud Valintijn V (I) II. 233.

³ So Mr Achyuta Menon informs me.

Chinganatta and Perital have joined Vanjamatta and are resolved to crush the King of Travancore."

From 1729 to 1758 an able and ambitious prince, Martanda Varma, reigned in Travancore. He first reduced his own vassals to obedience with the help of the English according to Stein Van Gollennesse,¹ a statement which cannot be fully checked as the Anjengo and Tellicherry records of the time no longer exist, but is confirmed by a letter written in 1757 by the Chief of Anjengo to the Select Committee at Madras.² He then turned his attention to his neighbours. He first (1734 A.D.) attacked Elayadatu Svarupam, in which Peritali had by that time been absorbed, and imprisoned the ruling family in a fort in the hills, where the King died in 1741.³ The acquisition doubled his dominions. In the same year he attacked the Raja of Cayanculam, who fell in battle on the first of June 1734.⁴ The Signatty of Quilon, who had had previous differences with Martanda Varma and was the nephew of the Raja of Cayanculam, declared Cayanculam absorbed in his State and continued the war.

It was to the interest of the Dutch to maintain the position they had acquired of arbitrators in Malabar, to prevent any one prince growing too powerful, and to stop encroachments on the principalities of Cayanculam and Quilon, where they had factories. The conquest of Peritali and Elayadatu Svarupam, the peaceful absorption of Attungal on which Travancore had a claim through his mother,⁵ and the practical absorption

¹ P.

² Fort St. George records. Military Conss, No. 8. "It's to be remarked that by the help of the Hon'ble Company he [Travancore] was first enabled to acquire an influence in the country."

³ Stein Van Gollennesse p.

⁴ MS. No. 203.

⁵ Moens p.

of another small principality called "Marta" between (Quilon and Purakad) by the succession thereto of a female member of Travancore's own family, alarmed the Dutch. Eventually it was determined to take the field on behalf of the Signatty and of the imprisoned prince of Elayadatu Svarupam.

The Commandeur of Cochin was not in 1739 as in 1717 a corrupt ex-"Centinell" destined to be tried for incompetency but the author of one of the Memoirs here translated, Stein Van Gollennesse, a man of good family, afterwards promoted to be Governor of Ceylon and member of the Batavia Council; and a superior officer of the Company, the ordinary Member of Council, Van Imhoff, who made a short visit to Malabar at the beginning of the year 1739 and seems to have suggested the policy of war,¹ was an even more distinguished personage than the Right Worshipful Willem Bakker Jacobsz. Gustaaf Willem, Baron Van Imhoff, was member of a family of nobles. The monument to a relative in Wolfendal church, Ceylon, displays sixteen quarterings.² He was born on the 8th of August 1705, came out to the East in 1725, became Councillor Extraordinary in 1732 and in 1736 Ordinary Councillor and Governor of Ceylon. In 1738 he was at home on leave and made so good an impression on the Directors that they resolved to appoint him Governor-General at the next vacancy,³ and he was in fact destined to be one of the most distinguished of the Dutch Governor-Generals in the East.

His Worship was an able and energetic man. He seems to have concluded that the system under which

¹ (2) Diary of Van Imhoff, January to March 1739, MS. No. 281.

(6) Stavorinus and Report of Van Imhoff, dated 6th July 1739, quoted by him.

² Anonisz' Dutch Records at Colombo.

³ Enc. Van Nederl. Indie.

the Dutch had endeavoured to act as arbitrators in Malabar and to content themselves with a tribute in products to be delivered at a price much below that of the market, had broken down. The action of a single ambitious prince had shown that the system could not be maintained without a considerable force. Malabar must either become an ordinary commercial settlement, like the English or Danish factories on the coast, and buy products at the market price, or the Company must establish its sovereignty over the country. The second of the two policies was adopted and war was declared on Travancore. The position being critical, reinforcements from Batavia were not awaited. A few companies arrived from Ceylon and the campaign was opened with these and the Malabar garrison. A history of the war which ensued could be written from the diaries and other papers of the time. A summary will be found in the foot-note at page . . . below. It will be sufficient to say here that it never became much more than "a defensive and auxiliary war" as Moens calls it, because events in Java, in which Van Imhoff himself bore a great part, while they resulted in establishing a Dutch empire in that great and rich island, made it impossible for the Company to despatch troops to Malabar. After four campaigns Travancore had become more powerful than he had ever been before, the Dutch were compelled to recognise all his claims, and the schemes for large territorial acquisitions on the West Coast of India were dropped by the Company, though we still find Stein Van Gollennesse writing in 1743¹: "Should the Hon'ble Company at any time have a great force in India and occasion permit us to push the matter energetically, my opinion would be that it would suffice to *make*

¹ P.

ourselves completely masters of the states of Peritalli and Vadacancur." The Dutch, he goes on to say, had previously "conquered the coast," but the sovereignty of the coast was insufficient, as pepper could be exported inland, and the only way to secure an unfailing supply of cheap pepper was to assume the sovereignty of tracts in which the spice grew.

Even this modified imperialistic scheme came to nothing, and in 1753 the Dutch finally came to terms with Martanda Varma. They were not to stand in the way of Travancore absorbing all the petty principalities of South Malabar¹, and were to supply him with 12,000 rupees worth of arms annually on payment². He on his part was to supply them with all the piece-goods manufactured in his country, with 1,500,000lbs. of pepper from his hereditary possessions (Travancore and Attungul) at Rs. 65 per candy (500lbs. Dutch³) and with another million from the principalities "he had conquered or might conquer through the neutral attitude of the said Company⁴." By this treaty the Dutch reverted to their traditional policy of recognising a native prince in return for an indirect tribute paid in kind. The market-price of pepper of course varied; but I find from the Tellicherry Diaries that it was Rs. 100 a candy of 520lbs. English (Diary 1740-1, p. 69) in December 1740, Rs. 104 a little later, Rs. 98 in April 1741, Rs. 116 in March 1742, Rs. 95 for a supply of 410 candies obtained from Ezechiel Rabbi of Cochin in December 1743, and in general the price seems to have been never much less than Rs. 100 during the next forty years. On the 28th of February 1780 the

¹ From article 9 of the Treaty.

² From article 20 of the Treaty.

³ From article 4 of the Treaty.

⁴ From article 6 of the Treaty.

Tellicherry factors shipped a cargo of 939 candies odd of the invoice value of Rs. 1,14,000 odd (Rs. 121 per candy). In the same year out of a total of 1,065,249 lbs. collected by Governor Moens at Cochin, 1,001,959 lbs. were supplied by Travancore at Rs. 65 per candy². The indirect tribute paid by Travancore to the Dutch in that year may accordingly be reckoned at over a lakh of Rs. (2,000 × Rs. 50). It would have been about three lakhs of rupees if the full amount stipulated for by the treaty of 1753 had been supplied. But Travancore argued that the 2,000 candies to be supplied from lands conquered or to be conquered were not due as the Dutch had by preventing him absorbing the kingdoms of Cochin and Calicut not fulfilled their part of the bargain³, and he usually did not even supply the full 3,000 candies or million and a half pounds due from his hereditary territory on the plea that that small territory did not yield so much—which may have been true. Martanda Varma at any rate, in the opinion of Commandeur F. Cunes, who wrote a Memoir⁴ in 1756, three years after the conclusion of the treaty, honestly intended to deliver the full amount, and if his successors were lax in making the supply, it must be remembered that they could obtain the war material of which they stood in need from other European nations who were willing to pay a higher price for pepper. “A candy of pepper for every musket you let me have” was a proposal made by Martanda

² Accounts in MS. No. 1136. The Anjengo factors were getting pepper from Travancore at the same time at Rs. 82 a candy, but that was under special contract, and they supplied him with arms in return. In 1793 the English Company contracted with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560lbs. at Rs. 115 per candy and with Cochin for candies of 500 Dutch lbs. or 540 English lbs. at the same price, in 1795 with Travancore for 3,000 candies of 560lbs. at Rs. 130 (Logan's Treaties, pp. 174, 184, 234).

³ Moens p.

⁴ MS. No. 593.

Varma to the Anjengo factors in 1744¹; on the 19th of February 1780 the Anjengo factors received “600 stand of new Arms for the King of Travancore;²” and the following passage from a letter written by the Chief of Anjengo in 1757 illustrates the point: “As the Dutch on one side supplied him (Travancore) with arms, etc., and the Danes and other Europeans at times did the same at Coletchy, for which they got pepper, he withheld pepper from us under pretence that we show'd ourselves less friendly to him than others. Therefore, tho' reluctantly, the Hon'ble Company were necessitated to submit to the said evil other Europeans had indulged him in³.”

The political result of the Dutch policy was that Travancore absorbed all the smaller principalities south of Cochin and a part of Cochin itself and attained its present dimensions, while Cochin continued to exist at all only because it was under the immediate protection of the Dutch and the Calicut Kingdom perhaps only because the Dutch Cochin barred the way. Travancore maintained a considerable army partly trained by Dutch deserters, of whom Lannoy and Duyvenschot are specially mentioned by Moens⁴ as the most important. Stein van Gollenesse's administration regarded the reported appointment of Duyvenschot to command the King of Travancore's forces as a most serious danger, and an attempt by Travancore to storm Quilon in July 1742 was attributed to his influence⁵. Lannoy was afterwards appointed Commander-in-Chief of Martanda Varma's disciplined forces, said to have amounted to

¹ Anjengo MS. Diary.

² Anjengo Diary.

³ Fort St. George Records, Military Department General No. 8, p. 899.

⁴ P.

⁵ Letters to Batavia of October 1741 and August 1742 in MS. No. 335

50,000 men¹, and served him and his successors for 37 years (1740 to 1777)². He died at the age of 62 while giving the finishing touches to the famous Travancore lines which checked Hyder Ali and Tippu. The resistance offered by Travancore to the formidable armies of Mysore at a time when they were disputing the British supremacy in South India is a historical fact of no small importance. The Dutch policy assisted in the creation of a strong state out of the numerous principalities of South Malabar and Dutchmen commanded the forces of Travancore for thirty-five years and fortified his frontiers.

IX.

Such was the actual course of events. The fact that the Dutch had entertained plans for the acquisition of territorial sovereignty in India before Dupleix and Clive had shown the way is not generally known and it may be worth while to explain why the determined and energetic Van Imhoff, who seems to have been their originator, did not execute them when in 1742 he became the Dutch Governor-General and could dispose of all the Company's forces.

There is an interesting contemporary entry in the Tellicherry Diary under date 24th July 1742. "The Dutch at Cannanore inform that Baron Imhoff is coming General to Batavia with thirty-six men of war." Congratulations were sent by the English factors "on such a fleet as we had not heard of before in India." Stein Van Gollennesse tells us³ that on hearing the news

¹ Nagam Aiyar Travancore Manual, 1358; Shungoony Menon's History of Travancore, p. 165; both statements perhaps resting on Fra Paolino, Foster's translation, p. 173.

² His Latin epitaph at Udayagiri (in Cotton, p. 376).

³ P

of Van Imhoff's return to India as Governor-General Travancore "hurriedly returned with his army to his own country" and sued for peace "in very polite terms" and as late as November 1744 he is reported by the Anjengo factors as still "very apprehensive" that the Dutch would attack him again.¹ Why did the new Governor-General not fulfil the general expectation and send to Malabar forces which would have made it possible to carry out what seems to have been his own old policy?

In 1729 began what is called "the black period" of the Company's rule. In 1731 the Governor-General Diedrik Durven, three members of the Supreme Council and other officers were removed from office and recalled to Europe. They were not put on their trial and clear proofs of the charges against them are not now available. But it was notorious that the administration, political, commercial and judicial, had become corrupt, and it is believed that the main charges against Durven were of selling appointments, and of impaling Chinese alive and letting them die of slow torture in public; at any rate these are among the charges advanced in the pamphlets of the day. Ceylon had suffered from similar tyranny and a Governor, Peter Vuijst, had been found guilty of cruelty, oppression, corruption and judicial murders, and had suffered a shameful death on the scaffold at Batavia.

For a hundred years no Governor-General had been appointed from home. A member of the Council, usually chosen by the Council itself, had succeeded on a vacancy occurring. Such a man could not be without his likings and prejudices; he had usually formed family ties in the east; he had had his quarrels with other members of the service. The post of Governor-

¹ Anjengo Diary.

General was often won by intrigue and used to pay off old scores or to reward partisans. The service was full of cliques, and a clique which had made its way into the Council Chamber was bitterly opposed by the cliques which had been unsuccessful, while the Council itself was often divided.

In the year 1740 Van Imhoff was a member of council at Batavia. He had for years been an enemy of the Governor-General Valkenier, who had reached that eminence in 1737 after being passed over in 1735 for one Patras, a feeble old man. In the long secret letters that Valkenier had occasion to write some years later he put down his supersession in 1735 to the opposition of Van Imhoff. In 1740 violent quarrels broke out between Van Imhoff and Valkenier.¹

The Council was at that time confronted with a problem of great difficulty. The settlement of the Dutch in Java had led to a large immigration of Chinese. The Chinese were not easy people to deal with, and the Dutch had from time to time forbidden their settlement in Batavia or required them to take out residential licenses. With the civil service as corrupt as it was at this time the system of licenses led to manifold abuses. The rich Chinese were squeezed, the poor were driven from their occupations and trades and a large class was formed of Chinese tramps, criminals and bandits. In 1740 the Dutch became seriously alarmed and on the 25th of July a resolution was passed in Council that all suspect wandering Chinese, even if provided with licenses, should be arrested.

Van Imhoff brought forward this resolution. Valkenier opposed it. But Van Imhoff commanded the stronger party in the Council and it was carried.

¹ I follow De Jonge, Vol. VIII in my account of these transactions.

Many honest Chinese were imprisoned under the resolution, and the rumour among them was that the prisoners were to be put on ships, on the pretext of being taken to the Cape, and drowned on the way. On the 26th of September news arrived that the Chinese in the highlands were forming themselves into bands of 50 and 100 men under separate commandants and providing themselves with arms. In the Council Chamber Van Imhoff complained of the oppressive way in which the resolution of July had been carried out and of the general squeezing and oppression of the Chinese. Valkenier pretended to be surprised and declared that he knew nothing about it. Meanwhile the town was put in a position of defence, and all kinds of rumours went about regarding the intentions of the roving bands outside and of the Chinese population of Batavia. Actual attacks from outside followed on the night of the 8th of October, but were repulsed, the members of Council commanding detachments at the different gates of the town. Batavia had passed a very unpleasant wakeful night and when the Council met at six o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, Valkenier proposed that "whereas in the past night the Chinese nation had not hesitated to attack the outposts weapons in hand and to show themselves and commit hostilities before the very walls and gates of the town, this nation should be declared enemies of the Company and *the town cleared of Chinese*, who were to be found within the same in great numbers, in order that the enemy should not have to be forced within and without the town at the same time." Van Imhoff was not for violent measures. He proposed sorties to discover what was going on outside the town, a pacificatory proclamation and the inspection of all Chinese houses in the town, ..

those in whose houses arms were found to be imprisoned, the rest to be left unmolested on condition that they did not leave their houses after half-past seven. Van Imhoff's proposal was approved, the register of resolutions recording that it was strongly opposed by the Governor-General "who was of opinion that the Chinese in general must be declared enemies of the State and that the first thing to do was to *wipe the town clear of them from within* if we wished to place ourselves in a position to attack the enemy outside."

Orders were given to carry out Van Imhoff's proposal. Meanwhile a fire broke out in the Chinese quarter. It was believed by some to have been lighted by the Chinese with the purpose of destroying the town. Others afterwards declared it was the work of Europeans. At the same time the magisterial officers charged with the execution of the resolution that the Chinese houses should be searched arrived with their numerous following. The escort mixed with the crowd which had been attracted by the fire. Misunderstanding, or taking advantage of, the presence of the officers, a mob of Europeans began to plunder the houses of the Chinese and massacre the inhabitants. In the next two days they massacred every Chinese man, woman and child they could find, 10,000 altogether it is said, even the prisoners in the jails and the sick from the hospital.

Valkenier was accused of having ordered the general massacre. He denied it to the day of his death, but certainly did not raise a finger to prevent it, and on the 10th of October he issued an order that the Chinese in the hospital should be turned out into the streets, knowing of course what their fate would be.

Nor can Van Imhoff and his party, who afterwards vaunted their outraged feelings and their innocence, be acquitted of blame. They seem to have done nothing to stop the massacre, though a week after, on the 17th of October, Van Imhoff laid a written declaration on the table in Council that he was in no way responsible for the horrible massacre on the 9th, left the responsibility to those who had given the orders for it, and had no desire to participate in the consequences of that "unheard of" event though he would gladly help to restore order. He then carried a resolution to the effect that the responsibility for the massacre of the Chinese was left to those that had ordered it and that a general amnesty should be offered to all Chinese who laid down their arms within a month. Valkenier protested, but was outvoted.

The panic in the town died down and measures were taken to deal with the roving Chinese bands; but the quarrels in Council reached such a point that on the 6th of December Valkenier placed Van Imhoff and two other councillors under military arrest and on the 10th of January 1741 sent them home in arrest.

Meanwhile orders, dated December 1740, arrived in Batavia appointing Van Imhoff Governor-General in succession to Valkenier. Valkenier started home in November 1741 leaving a locum tenens in charge. On arriving at the Cape in January 1742 he found himself in military arrest under orders from the Directors that he should be sent back a prisoner to Batavia to stand his trial. Van Imhoff had arrived in Holland and told his story.

Valkenier's trial was never concluded. He languished in jail till he died on the 20th of June 1751. The charges took long to draw up, still longer to

answer. Valkenier asked for copies of an enormous number of papers. His answer to the charges, which was handed in in December 1744, consisted of no less than 12,333 (twelve thousand three hundred and thirty-three) paragraphs. He was accused of selling offices as well as of crimes under various heads in connection with the massacre and with the arbitrary arrest of the three councillors. The 12,333 paragraphs naturally afforded opportunities for further replies, counter-replies, demands for documents and applications to the Courts. His death broke off criminal proceedings which had lasted nine and a half years. They were followed by civil proceedings regarding his estate of some £60,000 sterling, which lasted another $8\frac{3}{4}$ years.

Meanwhile Van Imhoff was Governor-General from 1743 to 1750. The Chinese bands and the Javanese who had joined them had been overcome before he returned to India after some very severe fighting and with the result that the Company claimed supremacy in all Java. But that supremacy was again challenged in 1745 in a war which lasted from 1747 to 1755, is known as the Third Javanese Succession War and really left the Company sovereigns of Java. While the Company was putting out all its strength and spending millions of guilders¹ in Java, it could not afford to conduct wars in Malabar. And that is why Van Imhoff, though he arrived "with such a fleet as had not before been heard of in India," could not send troops to Malabar to carry out what may once have been his own ideas.

(To be continued.)

¹ Klerk de Reus xxxviii Note.

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

(Continued from page 608.)

71.—THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABELASWAR, 21st May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th of last month—the Mail by which it was conveyed reached Bombay in 32 days, and would have done so within a Calendar month, had there not been some detention and owing to mismanagement at Aden. Our new ship the *Victoria* has surpassed our best expectations as to her speed, and shews what could be done with an establishment of efficient vessels. I thank you sincerely for the dispatch on the Sattarah case, it is all that could be desired, and has given us all satisfaction. I conclude however that this will not terminate discussion, either in Parliament or in the Court of Proprietors, or perhaps in both. The present Rajah, who is now with me here on a visit is going on admirably, and his conduct since his accession refutes the tales which were told of him in England.

With regard to Aden, I agree with you that we cannot now retire from it, in the critical state of our Egyptian relations. Its acquisition may have tended to raise the apprehensions of Mahomed Ali, and I have hardly a doubt that our retention of it will be made a question in any ultimate settlement with the Pacha. There have been some discreditable disputes between Captain Haines and the Officer Commanding the Troops in which the latter has mostly been in the wrong, and I have been compelled to propose his removal. By our last accounts, the communications with the interior were open, and so little indeed was a serious attack apprehended from the Arabs that though left discretionary with the

* 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.

Political Agent, he and the Commanding Officer have sent away the Battation which we proposed to relieve. Many persons too have repaired; apparently to settle at Aden from Mocha owing to the Egyptian Troops having been withdrawn from that quarter, and on the whole matters were satisfactory.

As to the Persian Gulph, we have sent every available vessel, to which will be added the *Sesostris* which the Governor-General has made over to this Government for the purpose of being employed on the Gulph service. By September I hope to see our new Steam Frigate the *Auckland* in a forward state of preparation and this addition will suffice for the present. I do not deny that one or two men of war would render us more complete, but how we are to obtain them is a question, certainly not from the Indian Squadron during our Chinese operations. I hear nothing from the Gulph of Persia which leads me to expect that Koorshed Pacha will prosecute the designs imputed to him against the Maritime states. His troops are said to be destined, or the greater part of them, to join their Master the Pacha in Egypt. This for the present relieves us from all fears of Koorshed Pacha; in the meanwhile we have sent the Treaty to the Imaum of Muscat and stationed an European Agent with His Highness. Of the movements of the Shah of Persia we have neither speedy nor accurate intelligence. His advance to Ispahan and reported intention of going to Sheraz may be occasioned by the unsettled state of those Provinces, or he may have in view some attack on Bagdad, in that case, what we are to do, I am rather at a loss to imagine, it appears to me possible that Mahomed Ali and the Shah understand each other at the proper opportunity, and that there is a design of embroiling us on all sides. How far Russia may be engaged in such design, I must leave the wiser heads than mine to solve, but as to her professions I confess that I am exceedingly doubtful. I heard by the last Mail that the expedition to Khiva had entirely failed. I hear now from Cabool that the Russians are within a hundred miles of Khiva and so often has this been repeated that I am inclined to give it credence. I have furnished the Secret Committee with all the intelligence which I

have gathered from Affganistan from my private correspondents. I hope that they will see no reason to disapprove of my having sent up the Body of recruits for the Corps in Upper and Lower Scinde and retained the Madras Corps under this Presidency stationed at Malligaum, and Ahmednuggur. I foresee the necessity of some Military demonstration after the rains towards Candahar and of operations in the Punjab about the same time. We shall then have the means of taking up the ground of our advanced Corps or for any other service which may be required of us in these troubled times.

Now to proceed to local concerns. Mr. Gibbard after having been dismissed the service is to undergo trial in the Supreme Court at Bombay on the prosecution of the parent of one of the parties whom he had executed. As to Mr. Spooner I quite think with you that he deserved instant removal from his office, in fact I had proposed it and was over-ruled by my Council and you will see by the Minutes recorded on the occasion. I may add that the letter reporting our proceedings to the Court had never been seen by me until after dispatch, or it would not have been received my entire approbation. The urgency of the sailing of the Steamer was the cause assigned for its not having been sent up and it appeared to me a most insufficient reason, but on the other hand what was to be done but shortly to record the facts. Yesterday we received the comments of the Government of India in this very letter in which it observes that Mr. Spooner ought to have been suspended the service until the pleasure of the Court of Directors was known. Upon this I have again proposed that gentleman's removal, and I think that I will take it upon myself, if there should be a demur about it. The Guicower continues slowly to give satisfaction—true it is only bit by bit, but that is of no consequence so long as we get what we have a right to demand. I hear nothing lately of the Missionaries, beyond what I sent you the other day in a pamphlet and issued by some one of the party.

I had executed your original commission for six horses for Her Majesty, before I received your letter to say that *four* would be enough. As for China, we have given Lord

Auckland everything that he wanted and were ready to give more. He has officially written to thank us. I confess that I am a little anxious about the result of Sir James Graham's motion.

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

72.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASWAR, 21st May 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—My warmest thanks are due to you for your letter of the 4th April. The decision you have sent me on the Sattarah case is ample in all respects and to my friends in the Chair I am indebted for this handsome acknowledgment of my services on that unfortunate occasion. I wish there was an end to it, but I fear when the papers are given discussion will be revived, perhaps in Parliament and certainly in the Court of Proprietors. I regret this for the trouble it may give you, but I observed with great pleasure that in Jenkins' absence from illness you presided in the Proprietors with your accustomed ability.

I know not how I can do better than send you a copy of my letter of this date to Sir John Hobhouse which will save me from much repetition. You will see that I am sceptical about the failure of the expedition to Khiva. I hope we do not allow the Russians to throw dust in our eyes, though I am quite aware of our bias against everything Russian in this quarter. Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom maintain a regular correspondence with me, stoutly declare the continued advance of a Russian Army, and the threatened occupation of Bokhara. A very short time will determine the question. I see nothing for it but interference in some shape with the Punjab. As doubtful friends they are worse than open enemies. Lord Auckland, I presume, will take some steps after the monsoon. We have just now before us a ticklish point to settle. Angria, Chief of Colabah, is just dead and there is not a legitimate Angria in existence—the widow asks leave for adoption from the illegitimate stock which has

requently been the custom in the family, and indeed the Rajah with whom we made a treaty in 1822 was himself descended from illegitimacy—the question is, how are we to act in such a case? I am inclined to grant leave, from my desire of preserving the little native states which surround us, but my Council I suspect think quite differently and view the State as an escheat. I am afraid also of the Government of India to whom the whole matter must go.

I hope that your doubts about the China motion will not be realised. I am under the same apprehension as yourself and would like to see it well over. Most glad am I of the opinion you have formed of Sir John Hobhouse; whatever may be some of his defects and (who is without them) he is a straightforward honest man, and I was sure, as I told you long ago, that you would agree admirably. I should be sorry if in your Chairmanship you became officially separated.

I beg you will thank Mrs. Bayley for her very kind note; tell her that I shall not forget her young friend Walpole Clarke who has already given proof of his value in the Irregular Horse in Scind. He had been unwell, but he is now himself again, and after the Beloochees.

Lady Carnac and my daughter cordially join in kindest regards to Mrs. Bayley and yourself. We are all, thank God, hitherto in good health and I have had no gout since I came to this country. My congratulations to Lyall and best wishes to him in his new and arduous position.

Ever my dear Bayley,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

73.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABELASWAR, 22nd May 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th and 25th of last month, your despatches to the Secret Committee which accompanied the first communication have reached me but not those by the last. It is possible that they may have arrived at Bombay in time for the

steamer to be despatched to Suez to-morrow, but, to ensure the information getting home quickly, I have made an extract from your letter to me for the information of the Committee. I hope this mail may be as expeditious as the last we received from England—it was delivered at Bombay in 32 days from London!! By the letters which we had by it, I was informed that the Russian Expedition to Khiva *had totally failed*, and they congratulated us on the event, as enabling Lord Auckland to withdraw our troops across the Indus. I am much more disposed to rely upon your information, that the Russians had nearly reached Khiva; than on that of my Lord Clanricarde of their discomfiture, independent of your having better means of obtaining intelligence than through the interested representations of the Court of Persia. We have so often found her professions contradicted by facts, that I am led to consider her statement to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to be a cloak to cover her designs. The treaty with Bokhara which you mention, is quite in character and clearly establishes her determination *at least* to have the supremacy north of the Oxus.

I have done all that I dare do on my own authority in the way of supporting you; the whole of the Recruits in Upper and Lower Scind, amounting altogether I should think to more than 1,000 men, have been sent up, with 3,000 stands of arms to be placed at your disposal at Sukkur. I have also detained two corps here of the Madras establishment serving under this Presidency in the absence of troops which have returned from Scind in order that we might have a dispensable force for service. I expect to hear of some outbreak by the Seiks, or that you will want a force at or near Candahar shortly after the rains. Our accounts from Egypt give me ground to expect that Mahomed Ali will resist the surrender of the Turkish fleet which has been demanded of him, and that war with him is more than probable. What with Persia, who I believe to be in league with the Pacha, the Russians, and Seiks, our political horizon is a good deal overcast.

I see in the newspapers a report that you are in October to succeed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-

Western Provinces. I sincerely hope that it may be true, if you wish the appointment, and that the management of the Seiks may be committed to your hands.

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

74.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

MAHABELASWAR, 3rd June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last letter to you was dated the 22nd of last month, since which I have been favoured with your communications of the 30th of April and 3th ultimo. I have taken measures to have a return of the Ordnance in store, as well as of small arms, in order that supplies may be furnished to you on the opening of the season. You may be sure at all times of a zealous and active co-operation from Bombay in any way which you may point out. I hope that you have had advices by this time of the 3,000 stand of arms which we sent to Sukkur to be placed at your disposal and that we had dispatched all the recruits for the corps in Upper and Lower Scind. I had this morning a letter from Lord Auckland, dated the 21st of May, in which, with reference to what you had written to him of your correspondence with me, he desires me to be prepared to re-inforce the force at Sukkur in the autumn, he says “in the event of an active rupture with the Seiks it might be possible to act upon the Southern districts of the Punjab from that direction. I cannot but believe that the Agents and dependants of the Seik Durbar have been acting with great rashness and impropriety, but I look with confidence to disavowal and redress.”

I should be glad to know from you to what extent you conceive that the Sukkur force should be augmented, and who you would wish to command it. I should on first impressions say that no one could be better qualified than Colonel Stevenson, but he is junior in rank, and there may be difficulties if the force under his command is much augmented in keeping off officers senior to him. For example, if an accession of

Europeans is wanted, the 40th at Kerachee is nearest at hand and in complete order in all respects, but its Colonel is very far senior to Colonel Stevenson.

I should have thought that Major Todd's plan of attacking Ghorian might have been delayed until the Shah of Persia had committed himself by some overt act of hostility. His Majesty's advance to the Southern Provinces of his Kingdom, I believe to be connected with some plan conjointly with Mahomed Ali of attacking the Turkish possessions in Arabia, perhaps Bagdad itself. It is not likely that he can long remain in his present negative position, and our attacking Ghorian would give him a fair pretext for open war. Lord Auckland by his advices from England by the last mail seems to think the discomfiture of the Russian expedition to Khiva, quite certain. I need not repeat that I have no such dependance on these accounts: their progress has, I dare say, been interrupted, but they will advance again on the opening of the season, and make short work of the Khivians.

I was exceedingly sorry to hear of Sir Alexander Burnes' illness, for he is too valuable to lose even temporarily. I trust the next accounts which I have from your quarter will state that he is quite well again. The cholera has, and is, making great ravages amongst the native population. Chiefly under this Presidency, we have had the hottest season known for the last 40 years, and are anxiously looking out for the setting in of the monsoon.

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

75.—THE HON'BLE T. C. ROBERTSON,
etc., etc., etc.

POONA, 13th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your note, forwarding to me the duplicate of a despatch from Sir William Macnaghten to the Governor-General in Council a copy of which will be transmitted to the Secret Committee by the steamer to be despatched by way of the Persian Gulph on the 22nd instant.

It is very satisfactory to find that Mr. Clerk* has been so well received by the Lahore Durbar and that as far as promises go, they have shown a disposition to meet our wishes. The question remains to be proved whether they have the ability to repress the rebellious conduct of their feudatories giving them credit for sincerity in wishing to do so. In case they cannot, they must leave the task to us and facilitate our means of effecting it.

We are in anxious expectation of our May packet, which is overdue, and if there is much more detention I shall begin to apprehend that a rupture with Egypt has taken place.

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

76.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

DAPOOREE, NEAR POONA, 13th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you much for your kind letters of the 12th and 13th of last month, the last enclosing the duplicate of your important public despatch to the Governor-General in Council which was forwarded to me by Mr. Robertson† from Agra. By my late letters from Lord Auckland, I think that his Lordship feels impressed with the necessity of adopting a vigorous course of policy with the Lahore Durbar, when the season opens for operations, in the meanwhile he will try the effect of remonstrance.

Our¹ position in Affganistan is much changed by the indications we have had of Russian designs in Central Asia. I never had indeed any sanguine hopes that we could venture to leave Shah Sujah to his own means for a considerable length of time, but now that Russia has fairly brought her Legions forward, the permanent occupation of Affganistan is a measure called for, for the safety of our Indian Empire, so long as Russia maintains the attitude which she has assumed. You are so fully in possession of my humble sentiments

* Sir George Russell Clerk. Envoy at Lahore 1842. See notice in Buckland *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

† Thomas Campbell Robertson, Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., 1840—1842. Provisional Governor-General. See Buckland. *Dictionary Indian Biography*.

respecting the Seiks that I need not recapitulate them. Presuming that we have good grounds of quarrel with them, in the course of my correspondence with Lord Auckland, I have ventured to advert to what I consider we should hold in view, *viz.*, the establishment of a subsidiary force at Lahore, the occupation of Attock as a military post, the cession of Cashmere to meet the subsidy, and the surrender of all countries west of the Indus to Shah Sujah. This it appears to me would produce all that we could want in the way of security for the exclusion of Russian influence and intrigue, and for our safety in Affganistan. But there may be a thousand difficulties to contend with to secure these objects with which I may be unacquainted, the greatest perhaps may be a full and sufficient ground for going to war.

I hope that by this time you have had advices of the 3,000 Musquets sent to Sukkur to await your orders. With regard to the advance which we will send when the season opens, perhaps you can give me some idea of what you consider best with reference to the means of transport to Candahar or Herat. Mortars and howitzers would probably answer better than large and heavy guns. No doubt the route by Soumeanee and Kelat to Candahar would in all respects but one be the most preferable, but the want of passable roads for the present will oblige us I fancy to forward our heavy supplies to you by the way of the Indus.

I am waiting with some anxiety for the receipt of our May mail, which is overdue, and if there should be much more detention, I shall begin to apprehend a rupture with Egypt. This packet I expect will disclose to us the views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg in the expedition to Khiva.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

77.—RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 19th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I had this morning the pleasure of receiving your two letters of the 4th of last month. The delay

in receiving them has arisen from the circumstance that at this season of the year our mails by the Red Sea are conveyed to us from Aden by a sailing vessel. I will reply to these letters before I proceed to enter upon topics of passing interest.

I am glad that you think that I have done well in regard to the outfit of the steamers for the Indus. Our reports of the navigability of that river are not very promising, and Lord Auckland has resolved to withdraw the "Indus" after the rains with a view to its adaptation for general purposes. We shall go on with the other vessels, some if not all of which may be found to answer at least for the main river, with a little more experience of its obstructions. I have had no more trouble with Her Majesty's Judges in the construction of our boats in the Dockyard, nor has any thing gone on the subject to Bengal, though I confess that they gave us provocation. It is very gratifying to hear from you that you think we shall avoid direct hostilities with Mahomed Ali of Egypt. I do not hear anything lately from the Persian Gulph or Arabia to give us apprehension of him in that quarter. I am delighted to see that you have requested the Governor-General to prolong his stay among us; he has now got a complete insight into his business, and conducts it with an ability which those unknown to him never expected. With regard to Lieutenant Lynch, I have taken care that in all his movements and operations he is independent of all authority but the Resident at Bagdad, or such orders as he may receive from the Secret Committee. The differences which have arisen between him and Captain Oliver have been about the outfit of his boats and some forms of office; and, as Lieutenant Lynch indented *extravagantly* for stores and officers far beyond our means of compliance (in which Lord Auckland concurred), we could only do our *best* with the heavy demands upon us which I fear fell short of his expectation. It was necessary also, as Her Majesty's Government is to pay for the expenses of the Flotilla, that we should have the regular vouchers for disbursements and the usual returns for our defence when the day of reckoning arrived. These I believe he now furnishes,

and he may be sure of having cordial assistance from me in promoting the important object of his employment.

I now proceed to give you the intelligence of this quarter since my last communication of the 21st of May. Our accounts from Affganistan and Upper Sind have lately been far from satisfactory. I had heard from Sir William Macnaghten that the Seiks at Peshawar had been inciting rebellion among the Shah's subjects, and he wrote urgently for some decided measures with the Court of Lahore and for reinforcements through the Punjab. The advance of the Russians to Khiva had given encouragement to these intrigues. I wrote as emphatically as I could to Lord Auckland, and went as far as my authority would allow me by sending off 700 recruits to join their corps in Upper and Lower Sind; and instantly complying with Sir William Macnaghten's request for a supply of 3,000 Musquets to be sent to Sukkur to await his orders. Of this Lord Auckland entirely approved. Within these few days we have accounts of the Gilzai tribes being in open rebellion between Candahar and Ghuznee and that they had been defeated by a force of the Shah's regular troops. At the same time we heard of the Baloochees below the Bolan Pass being in open arms, and that they had cut up to a man two separate detachments of 75 men each belonging to the Bombay 5th Regiment of Native Infantry and the only officer with one of them, Lieutenant Clarke of the Sind Irregular Horse, one of our most gallant and promising officers. This is to be deplored, not only because it will elate the Baloochees, but likewise because it may depress the spirit of our sepoys, the Native Regiment at Karachee has been ordered to proceed forthwith to Sukkur. It remains for the Governor-General to cause enquiries to be made, how the details have been placed in a situation which led to their destruction; we possess *no information* on this point except that they had gone to a post established at a place called Kahim, and which place I fear the officer in Command (Captain Lewis Brown) will now find it difficult to maintain, for at this season of the year I am told that he cannot easily be reinforced or supported; but was it not a blunder in a military point of view attempting to establish

this post? The Sukkur Brigade is weak in European officers, and I will endeavour as soon as possible to increase their number. I have written at the pointed request of Sir William Macnaghten to the Governor-General my opinion as to what should be done with the Seiks, and what I verily believe it must come to sooner or later; in the meanwhile Mr. Robertson at Agra writes me that Mr. Clerk our Agent in the Punjab had a most courteous reception and many fair promises, but I have no faith in these people—our relations with them for our security in Affganistan must be placed on a different footing, though Lord Auckland will not perhaps go the length I would wish to see.

Our accounts also from Aden are not favourable—the Arabs have made another attack and were easily beaten off, but we have just got letters from Captain Haines stating that it was to be renewed on the 7th or 8th of this month which will require all the best energies of the troops to defeat. Captain Haines is now calling for reinforcements which must be sent up, though it was but the other day that when we left it to his own judgement and discretion to retain a battalion which was to be relieved by another, he thought it unnecessary to do so.

We have too melancholy accounts this morning from Bombay in the loss of the ship *Lord William Bentinck* from London; of the whole party on board it is said only Captain Benbow, Lieutenant Coombe and another young officer with about 70 recruits and 7 or 8 seamen are saved. The rest all drowned, and I believe there were at least 160 recruits and 10 passengers; it is a most horrible accident, but the worst of it is that seeing her lights before she went to pieces, the *Castlereagh* with some of the 24th Regiment N.I. coming down from Karrack struck along side of her. 150 men have been landed but it will require great exertion to save the remainder, still there were 350 men on board.

I am afraid that you will think this letter full of nothing but a recital of misfortunes. On the 10th of this month we lost Mr. Sutherland, the Resident at Baroda, by a fit of apoplexy. He is a serious loss, particularly at this moment when he was making progress in the negotiations with the Guicawar. I

have some difficulty with His Highness, but by patience and firmness we shall bring him to reason though it requires a good deal of the former quality. I see, however, that I must go up to Baroda after the season opens and put affairs on a proper footing. I am rather at a loss to know what arrangement to make in succession to Mr. Sutherland, at present Mr. Malet has taken charge of the Residency.

I have read Mr. Edmonstone's explanation of his vote on the Sattarah question with great satisfaction; he has put the case in its proper light and I hope that it may be published. I hear that Sir Charles Forbes is going or has convened another court of proprietors to pass a censure on the Court of Directors!! Surely the court of proprietors ought to have nothing to say to political questions.

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

20th June.

We know nothing more of the China expedition beyond its having sailed for the rendezvous at Singapore. They experienced very bad weather in the Bay of Bengal, and there were numerous accidents to some of the transports which happily have not been confirmed to the present time. Admiral Elliott had left the Cape with several ships of his squadron. These accounts have reached us by the *Sesostris* which arrived a few days ago. By our last intelligence from China, it does not appear that Commissioner Liu had made any extraordinary preparations for defence, and this encourages a hope that he will come into terms on the appearance of our armament.

You seem to think that the Russian expedition to Khiva has totally failed, and that we may be relieved from all apprehensions on that score. Our accounts however from Affghanistan continue to tell a different story, and I would infer from them, not only that the Russians are now at Khiva in good force, but that they are on the best terms with Bokhara. The only cure which I can see for this evil is some demonstration in Europe. You can hardly expect in India that we have the means, though we do not want the will, of meeting Russia

with our arms. Her policy, however, is to advance gradually on some plausible pretext until she gains a position dangerous to our Indian Empire. I shall continue this letter tomorrow, the last day for despatch in the event of anything occurring of interest in the meantime.

In the present uncertain state of the weather I think it best to close and send this off immediately.

78.—W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 20th June 1840.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,—I thank you for your kind letter of the 4th of last month. To avoid repetition I think my best plan is to send you copy of my letter to Sir John Hobhouse who will most likely be in the country when this reaches England. It contains a list of calamities of one kind or another and not among the least of them is the death of our young friend Clarke, who gallantly fell at the head of his gallant band in a desperate fight with an overwhelming force of Beloochees, with the whole of his infantry force of 70 men of the 5th Bombay N. Infantry. He did not however surrender his gallant spirit before he had killed three of his dastardly opponents with his own sword. The proceedings of detaching a force at this season of the year to Kathim, 8 marches from Sakhar, comes of the authorities in Upper Scind being subject to the control of so distant an authority as Bengal and the Political Agent's absence (Mr. Ross Bell) at the Hills for his health. I sincerely sympathise with you and Mrs. Bayley on the loss of poor young Clarke; he died it is true a soldier's death, but had he been spared, he had given such indications of high professional qualities, that he would have been among our most distinguished officers. It may be some consolation to his family and friends to know that I have never known a young man more universally esteemed and respected or whose early fate is more regretted. I intended to have given his place to his brother, but found him senior to the Officer Commanding the Corps, but I will take care, please God, to serve him in some way.

I hope that Lord Auckland will comply with your request to prolong his stay in India. A change in these times ought if possible to be avoided, and he has proved himself an able Governor-General. For my own part, I shall be truly happy that he resolves on staying, as I am very much honored with his confidence in matters not always connected with the concerns of this Presidency.

I have seen the requisition of Sir Charles Forbes for another Court on the Sattarah business, and from its terms it is but a beginning of a series of assaults. I have never known the Proprietors take to themselves such powers of revision, but I cannot believe he will have many supporters. What an admirable paper is that of Mr. Edmonstone's; the luminous and statesmanlike view of the question taken in that valuable paper should be made public. How perfectly true is his delineation of the Rajah's character and relative position. It will carry conviction to the mind of any man open to reason. Pray thank Mr. Edmonstone in my name, as bearing rather a prominent place in the transaction, his approbation and able exposition of the grounds upon which it is founded, I consider a highly honorable testimony to my public character, and my feelings of obligations are enhanced by the high respect I have always borne to his judgement and estimable character.

I am glad to hear that you are going to send me *something* about the Guicawar. I quite concur in the justice and soundness of Mr. Edmonstone's views with reference to such allies as the Guicawar. We have no right to depose such Princes except under circumstances which call for open war, *nor was it ever in my contemplation*. I understand the Guicawar is urgent to see me, and it is my present intention to go to Baroda towards the close of the year. The sudden death of Mr. Sutherland is to be regretted, though I was not quite pleased with the dictatorial style of some of his communications to Syvagee. He was however very zealous, and the defect I allude to has probably risen from his never having been in the diplomatic line; but always acted as a Judicial Officer before he went to Baroda. I have no fear that with a little patience and firmness the Guicawar will be brought to do all that we can

want from him; indeed he has nearly done so already. I have not had time yet to determine who shall be Mr. Sutherland's successor; the sort of man who I would wish to see there is one of plain good sense and *good temper*. My field of selection is limited by your orders to the civil service, among whom such a man may be found.

Our kindest regards to Mrs. Bayley and with best wishes to yourself.

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

79.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBBHOUSE, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 21st June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The weather looked so threatening yesterday that I closed my letter abruptly in order that it might be sure of reaching Bombay in time for the packet. You will see, by our despatch to the Secret Committee, that we have much more favorable accounts from Banian, and that Dost Mahomed's family have sought our protection which I consider an event of considerable importance. I have also received a letter from Lord Auckland, which I have sent to the Chairman with a request that he will forward it on to you. He states that by his last accounts from Macao in April all was quiet there, and that several English ships had loaded with cargoes of tea and were then taking their departure. From this I infer that no preparations for defence were going forward by the Chinese, and that possibly they will yield on the appearance of our Squadron. The accounts we have of the wrecks at Bombay are truly distressing—many lives have been lost, but I am yet without particulars. Out of the *Castlereagh* 37 Sepoys are lost, besides Captain Earle of the 24th Regiment, Dr. Davis and Lieutenant Walker of the Engineers, all of whom are great losses to the service in their respective lines. Out of *Lord William Bentinck* from London, 81 Recruits are saved, 9 of which are in hospital and 3 others died shortly after landing. Three ladies, *viz.*, Mrs. Eckford, Mrs. Fraser, wife of an

Assistant Surgeon, and a Miss Robertson, 11 European women and some children are lost, and 3 unhappy Cadets. Captains Benbow and Coombe, and a Cadet of the name of Manson, and, Dr. Fraser, who lost his wife, are safe. There may be further calamities still unknown to me, but the newspapers at Bombay will give the correct account.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

80.—SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN, BART.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, NEAR POONA, 22nd June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last letter was dated the 13th instant. We received the May Packet on the 18th, but it does not bring any interesting news. They still rely upon the accuracy of their previous accounts of the discomfiture of the Russian Expedition to Khiva, though Mr. Bayley writes me that it is said it will be renewed this year, which he hardly believes. I wish that I could agree with him in this opinion. By a communication I have had from Lord Auckland of the 7th instant, his Lordship states that he believes the European account to be the true one. He speaks also of Mr. Clerk having been well received at Lahore and that the Seik Durbar has spoken and done well. Nevertheless, I trust that the reinforcement you have asked for will be furnished at the earliest practicable time. Affairs with Egypt are in *statu quo*, and apparently the Pasha is determined not to surrender the Turkish Fleet. The Ministers hold their places, having got a small majority on the China question, and I do not think they can be disturbed this Session. My chief object in writing at present is to tell you that one of my correspondents at the India House states that they are about to nominate a provisional member for the Supreme Council and that he conceived you will be named. This piece of information has given me great pleasure and I trust the next Mail will confirm it.

We have had two dreadful wrecks at Bombay. The

accounts you will see in the newspapers. Pray offer my kind regards to Sir Alexander Burnes and believe me.

Yours most sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

81.—W. S. BOYD, ESQ.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

MY DEAR BOYD,—It always affords me sincere pleasure when I have it in my power to promote your wishes, and I have now the pleasure to inform you that I have this day nominated you to succeed our poor friend Sutherland at Baroda. You have my best wishes that you may enjoy this important office so long as it suits you to hold it, being confident that you will give every satisfaction to the Government and do credit to yourself.

I have nominated Forbes to your present office and Simson to succeed him at Surat.

Believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

82.—ALEXR. BELL, ESQ.

etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—With every desire to promote your wishes, I feel it to be out of my power to do so with reference to your application of the 14th instant to succeed the late Mr. Sutherland at Baroda.

The value of your services and long experience in the Judicial line has satisfied me that I shall best consult the public interests by retaining you in that Department in which it will always give me sincere pleasure to contribute to your promotion.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

83.—S. MARRIOTT, ESQ.

etc., etc.

DAPOOREE, 27th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 16th instant offering yourself as a candidate to

succeed the late Mr. Sutherland at Baroda. With a high sense of your services and respect for your character, I have considered that your continued employment in the Judicial line of the service would be more promotive of the public interests than in any other department. I regret that I cannot dispense with you in the eminent station which you occupy so much to the satisfaction of Government.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

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

DAPOOREE, 29th June 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—This goes by a sailing vessel to Aden, whence the Packet will be conveyed to Suez by a steamer. Nevertheless, I do not expect it can reach England before two months.

I send you copy of a letter just received from Sir Alexander Burnes with its enclosure containing news of the Russian Expedition to Khiva. Your accounts and ours are so contradictory that I know not what to think, but incline to the belief that we on this side of the world are correct. I am delighted to observe that Sir A. Burnes writes as if all was quiet in Affghanistan.

I enclose also a note from Captain Carless to Captain Oliver giving some account of the Indus steamers. The *Comet* is on its way to Loodiana!! and it is intended that she should prosecute her voyage to Biluaspore situated at the foot of the Himalaya mountains. The moral effect produced by the appearance of the steam vessels along the Indus and Satlej has been very considerable. I wish that I could see one make its way to Attock or near it, for it would shew the Seiks what sort of a power they may have to deal with and cool their propensity to thwart us.

By a letter from Lord Auckland, dated the 14th of this month, he writes me "I am glad you are seriously thinking of strengthening the force at Sukhur after the rains, for the last accounts both from Upper Sinde and Kabool have not been such

as I could wish them. The melancholy affair in which Lieutenant Clarke lost his life may have a bad effect upon the general peace of the Country, and though Captain Anderson seems to have handsomely dispersed the Ghilzai insurgents yet the insurrection of itself proves that some further exertion on our part may be necessary. I should like Brigadier Stevenson, unless there should be a very favourable turn in affairs, to have five or even six regiments at his Command and to be prepared to send three of them or at least two on to Quetta and even if necessary to Candahar. Whether Cavalry should form part of this force we may presently consider and whether more Artillery is required. I have often thought that some of the Madras Cavalry might be moved into your Presidency, if any of your cavalry should be required for the northward." Again his Lordship writes: "Our expedition seems to be collecting well at Singapore, notwithstanding the rough weather in May, but I am impatient to have accounts of the Admiral and of the English ships."

We are quite prepared to send the re-inforcement to Sukhur, and it will now be matter of less difficulty and expense from our having recently ascertained *by survey* that Troops can easily march from Guzerat into Sinde, an important discovery.

Soon after Lord Auckland wrote me, he will have heard of Admiral Elliott and his ships being in full sail for Singapore, which he would reach by the 10th of this month or sooner. This is all the news I have for the present opportunity.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

85.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR ALEX. BURNES.

DAPOOREE, 2nd July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I thank you for your kind letter of the 3rd of last month, sending me your intelligence of the advance of the Russians to Khiva. Contradictory as the accounts are from England I give credence to the information you have received. I think that you were quite right in not

leaving even for a time your present important position to have an interview with the Russian General. It is not likely, that unaccredited, your remonstrance would have arrested his measures. It is a question which must be decided in Europe and I expect nothing from the Mission of Captain Abbott to the Russian Capital.

I was relieved a good deal by the conclusion of your letter. Late accounts had led us to believe that Affghanistan was in a disturbed state, and that Seik gold and intrigues had raised some of the most powerful tribes into rebellion. I have strong suspicions of the fidelity of Kamran and his minister, and would be glad to see Herat annexed to the dominions of the Shah as well as Peshawar. The Governor-General contemplates reinforcing Brigadier Stevenson after the rains and the possibility of advancing a portion of his force to Quetta and Candahar, but I think, unless circumstances call for vigorous action that his policy is essentially pacific.

The public mind here is chiefly absorbed by the Expedition to China. It must have arrived at its destination about this time, Admiral Elliott having been heard of far on his way with his squadron from the Cape to Singapore, where our transports had safely arrived.

Your brother, Dr. Burnes, as you may know, has gone to Calcutta on a visit to Lord Auckland. I have no doubt that it will turn out to his benefit, and he has my sincere best wishes for his success. There is nothing new in this quarter, and we have heard no more from Upper Sinde about the Beloochees, who attacked and destroyed poor Clarke's detachments. I am not without some fears at this season of the year for the safety of the detachments which have been sent to communicate with Captain Brown at Kahim. This Presidency, you are aware, has nothing to say to any proceedings in Sinde, except such as relate to commercial relations. I hope that you are again as strong in health as ever.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

86.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.
DAPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th of last month. Our accounts from Afghanistan are much more satisfactory. The alarm about the Russians appears to have subsided and the Ghylgze insurrection has been effectually suppressed by the unaided means of the Shah's own troops. This gives promise of the complete settlement of the country. For the present we are quiet as to an Expedition against the Marris in Belochistan owing to the season being so unfavourable for operations. The heat is intense at Sukhur and in the countries in its neighbourhood, which is an obstacle to any active exertions, but in October we can move and punish the murderers of Lieutenant Clarke and his detachment. We shall then send up an additional battalion to Sukhur which will give four corps with suitable details of artillery to Colonel Stevenson. At the same time the reliefs of the Corps so long in Sinde will be arranged to take place, and they will add to the force there in the event of emergency at that time. The relief will consist of three battalions, one of which will march direct from Deesa in Guzerat to Hyderabad in Sinde by a route which we have ascertained lately by survey. Being professedly a relief it will give no alarm in the country.

■ The reinforcement to Aden of 250 rank and file of H.M.'s 6th Regiment besides 25 men from the Artillery have just sailed from Bombay. I am authorised by the Supreme Government to improve the defences of the place which has been ordered as far as the land side is concerned; but with due deference to the opinions of others, I cannot but think that these Arabs are thought too much of, their last attack was no better than an attack of Decoits, but they say that a more formidable one is projected. My anticipations of Aden are beginning to be fulfilled; it may be a useful possession, but we are paying very dearly for it. Major Todd at Herat writes that Yar Mahomed Khan is meditating an attack on Ghorian and that he has strong hopes that he will be able to capture it. In that event I hope that we shall not be so ready to

surrender Karrack an invaluable island to us in many respects. Of the news of Egypt and Arabia you will have later intelligence than I can give you. All my apprehensions of Khoorshid Pasha's designs on the Maritime States in the Gulph have vanished, but nevertheless I have ordered the *Elphinstone* sloop of war now in the Red Sea when relieved by the *Clive* of similar force to proceed to join the Squadron at Karrack. I do not think that we shall want any aid from the Royal Navy in that quarter. We hear that Admiral Elliott has passed Anjeer Point with his squadron, having been preceded by the Indian ships and troops which had its rendezvous at Singapore. Before this time operations will have commenced or the Chinese will have yielded to the demonstration. If they fight as they have apparently made no preparations, I fancy the Russians have taught them the mode put in execution at Moscow, and that they will devastate the whole Coast, Canton and all.

Our accounts of the Indus navigation are more favourable as to the upper part of the River. The *Comet* has got up to Loodiana, though she was a long while about it. By perseverance and more experience I am sanguine that we shall overcome all difficulties, but it would be very desirable if we could have boats of more power and less draught.

The Guicawar has done nothing since the sudden and lamented death of Mr. Sutherland. He has now written me a long letter full of professions of personal regard, earnestly entreating me to visit him, and I have answered by telling him to settle the question of the reform of the contingent and then I will come. This letter will be presented by Mr. Boyd, the new Resident, who travels overland to join his station; and I dare say will produce the settlement of the only important question unadjusted. Sevagee has been sadly humbled, but he is a slippery character and requires to be kept tight in hand. When I go up, if at all, will be in December, I hope to place affairs on a permanent footing.

When this is done, I care not how long I stay in India. In coming out my object was to try and settle the questions of Sattarah and the Guicawar which had kept this Government

so many years in hot water and were beginning to induce other states to hold us in contempt. The Sattarah case will be a prolific source for debate and discussion in England. I fancy we shall have a great deal of it when the papers are produced and that when defeated there, it will be carried to Parliament. One of my correspondents tells me that Lord Brougham is to be the Advocate in the Lords, and great things are expected of him—it will be a fine theme for his declamatory powers, but I can hardly believe that he would take up such a cause. The ex-Rajah has been sending home more Vakeels, and his party in Bombay, Europeans and Natives, are active and sanguine. The present Rajah is going on admirably, as you will by and bye see by a general report which I will make of his administration.

I had nearly omitted to mention a subject of considerable importance, namely, the great want European officers with our native corps. The complement was reduced a few years ago while our calls for officers to the irregular corps have been increasing. At this moment there are but 8 Subalterns and 5 Captains for regimental duty to 3 regiments at Sukkur; the consequence is that we are obliged to order officers employed on the staff to join. If it could be possible to restore the captain and the two lieutenants, which were reduced, it would be a great relief and make the army efficient for any service. The difficulty perhaps is in the expense of such an augmentation. By the next Packet I will send you an account of the six horses sent to Her Majesty. It amounts to the bills which I have drawn on the Master of the Horse. I have been much vexed to hear that one of the horses sent by sea has died. I hope Her Majesty will approve of these horses, being the best which can be had in India; but the charge may be considered large, averaging at £250 apiece, including expenses of transport, etc. We all here hear with great delight that the Queen gives such early promise of serving her loyal subjects. We permanently pray for Her Majesty's safety, and that she may many times repeat the favour.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

87.—W. B. BAILEY, ESQ.

etc., etc., etc.

DAPPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR BAILEY,—I write a few lines in the belief that you would desire to hear from me by the monthly mail, though I may have but little to say. The accounts from Afghanistan are much more satisfactory. I look upon it that we shall have the country much more settled now that the alarms of the Russian Expedition have subsided by at least their temporary discomfiture. You will of course see at home that the Emperor does not advance too far in this direction. The Seiks have no doubt been intriguing, and situated as we and they are, I consider them as very doubtful friends. I have had some correspondence with Lord Auckland on the subject. His Lordship's policy is decidedly quite pacific and most properly so; events may drive us into a war, *nolens volens*, and then we must act with vigour. I have no idea of the military power of the Seiks, one or two pitched battles would settle it, considering their internal divided state. In the event of a war I have recommended the Governor-General to conclude it by having a subsidiary force at Lahore, the possession of Attock and Cashmere, to keep up our communication with Cabool and to complete our barrier against Toorkistan where at present we are much exposed. We shall, after the rains, re-inforce Colonel Stevenson at Sukhur permanently with one more battalion under the instructions of the Supreme Government, and, at the same time, relieve three corps in Sind, so that if there appears a local emergency they may be detained for it. There is a sad complaint of the want of European officers, there being but 8 subalterns and 5 captains to three corps actually in the field, with most harrassing duties. It is no now, as it was in former days, so many irregular corps having been raised which must be officered, but, besides, this miscellaneous duties, revenue surveys and others. I do not see what you can do sooner or later but to restore the captain and two subalterns, which were reduced from the strength of the corps some years ago. Remember too, that we have had to

provide for officering from the Line, Shah Sujah's Army and extended political duties.

The Guicawar is lying on his oars since poor Sutherland's death, but I shall soon settle the only remaining question with him of any importance, namely, the reform of the contingent. He has lately written me a letter full of professions of personal regard and earnestly entreating a visit from me. I have written to him that when all is settled, we can then meet on the most friendly terms. I hope that you will think that I have been conciliatory and patient with him, but I am told that Veneeram is furious against me for getting him publicly discarded and all his crew. As far as I am able to judge, the Sattarah ex-Rajah is sending more vakeels to England, determined if they can do nothing else to keep up the row, and they will not want abettors either here or in England. Some of them write out that Lord Brougham is to be their champion in the House of Lords, and he is expected to restore the ex-Rajah. Whatever may be his complaint about money he has plenty of it.

I return a letter which has come down from Sind which you addressed to poor Clarke.

Believe me,
My dear Bailey,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

I write, you see, in great haste, being my last letter for the mail and it just going off!

J. R. C.

88.—C. TREVELYAN, ESQ. *

DAPPOOREE, 21st July 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had pleasure to receive your letter of the 11th of April. I am very sorry to say that being absent from the Presidency, I had not an opportunity of seeing your young friend, whom I invited to join us here, but he passed on to Calcutta almost without stopping at Bombay. I should

* Afterward Baronet. He married a sister of Lord Macaulay, whose educational policy he supported. He was the father of Sir Geo. Otto Trevelyan.

have been most happy to have shewn him any attention on your account, and that of his relative, Sir George Grey.

I have read the pamphlet you have sent me with great interest, and cannot but compliment you on its execution. Let us hope that it will tend to open the eyes of many who have been misled and deluded by the bigotry and intolerance of our over heated ministers of religion. As intelligence advances their power will be weakened of doing mischief; we can now well account for the obstinate and virulent opposition of the wise plan of National Education and the exhibitions at Exeter Hall.

I heard with sincere satisfaction of your appointment to the Treasury. The only alloy was the loss which India sustains by your permanent withdrawal from it, where you would soon have risen to the highest distinctions. But you have a fine field in Europe for the exercise of your talents, and you are right in not risking your health in this climate.

I hear frequently from Sir William Macnaghten with whom I presume you are well acquainted. Affairs in Afghanistan are much more satisfactory, and now that the Russians have been discomfited in the Khiva expedition, I expect that the country will completely be quietly governed. I am doubtful of the Seiks continuing as they have been. There is no doubt of some of their feudatories in the west of the Indus have instigated rebellion and occasioned the recent insurrection of the Ghilzais, which has been put down by the unaided forces of Shah Sujah's *own* army. Lord Auckland is decidedly for a pacific policy, but from the divided state of parties in the Punjab, we *may* be driven to a war, in the event of which I hope the Governor-General will have a subsidiary at Lahore, the possession of Attock and Cashmere, to keep up our lines of communication with Cabool, and complete our barrier to the westward.

The China expedition by our last intelligence had passed Anjeer point, Admiral Elliot and all. I hope the Chinese have yielded to the demonstration, but if they fight it is possible that they may do so after the fashion of the Russians at Moscow, devastating and burning the whole coast.

With my sincere best wishes, believe me, my dear Sir,
Very sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Pray mention any one about whom you are interested in this quarter. Your brother * is in a line in which he can but want best wishes for his success.

(Sd.) J. R. C.

89.—THE LORD ELPHINSTONE, G.C.H.,

DAPOOREE, 26th July 1840.

MY DEAR LORD ELPHINSTONE,—I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 9th instant. I am sadly afraid that it will not be in our power to spare the company of Sappers and Miners now at Belgaum. We are now taking measures to send almost the whole of that corps belonging to this Presidency to Aden to reconstruct the defences under the orders of the supreme Government, having finished details for Karnack and Scind. If we part with your company, there will be none left to meet with any operations which may be required on the opening of the season. There is every prospect of having something to do in Upper Scind, there appearing to be an extensive insurrection throughout the Kelat Country and among several tribes as far as Kandahar and Khelat-i-Ghilzai which places our posts at Quetta and other spots in considerable danger. The force at Sukhur under Brigadier Stevenson at present is not equal to meet the exigencies, though we have strengthened the Brigadier, as far as we could from Karachee, leaving that station with insufficient means. A reinforcement of 4 or 5 Battalions will be sent up directly the season opens for Sukhur and Karachee, for it is difficult to say how far we may be compelled to put forth our strength in that quarter. Under such circumstances, I hope you will not think me unreasonable in wishing to detain as much force as I can. If I could assist your undertakings, you may be assured that no one would more cheerfully do so.

Although our late accounts from Afghanistan have been more satisfactory than those which preceded them, those

* Henry William Trevelyan, Major General 1867. C. B. 1858. Died 31st August 1876.

which have reached us within these three days make me apprehend that we shall have some work to do before we can hope for its permanent tranquillity. You are perhaps aware that political affairs in Scind are not subject to this Government which all along I have thought a pity though the *detail* of Military forces are subject to it.

We know nothing of the causes of insurrections and have but to provide the means of putting them down when they take place. Arrangements are making to supply the place of your staff at Belgaum. I am unable at present to say to what Commander-in-Chief they are to be subordinate, but I rather apprehend to the Commander-in-Chief here, but this can be arranged hereafter. The change of the staff has been by orders from the Court of Directors.

You will have later intelligence of the Chinese Expedition than ourselves. There is a report flying about the bazaar that Canton has been taken, but it must be premature.

I have now to ask a favor of your Lordship if you can without inconvenience confer it on me. I have a cousin in the 2nd Regiment of Madras Cavalry, a Lieutenant Robert Taylor; can you do anything for him in a small way? He is a very correct young man and is married. Permit me also to mention Mr. Lugard an assistant chaplain of my nomination in England. He will not press upon your patronage, but his object is to get if possible to a healthy station on account of the state of his wife's health, a very interesting young woman and a very old acquaintance of mine. Let me know any of your wishes for individuals under this Government and they shall have my best attention.

Believe me, my dear Lord Elphinstone,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

90.—ROSS BELL, ESQ.
etc., etc.

DAPOOREE NEAR POONA, 27th July 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 13th of this month with its enclosure. The intelligence

which you have had the goodness to send me I had previously received through Captain Outram and no doubt you are already aware that he has sent up from Karachee the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, excepting three companies, and that he has called upon Colonel Farquharson for a wing of H.M. 40th Regiment to reinforce Brigadier Stevenson with the least possible delay.

Directly that the season opens which will be by the end of August, we shall send the 21st and 25th Regiments of Native Infantry by sea to Karachee to proceed on to Sukkur. The 6th Regiment Native Infantry will also move from Deesa in Guzerat overland to Hyderabad for the same destination. The 8th Regiment Native Infantry is to supply the place of the 2nd Grenadiers at Karachee.

These Corps are professedly sent as a relief of the Native Corps which have been so long in Sind and all officers on the Staff belonging to them are ordered to join. It will be at your discretion to allow the relief or to postpone it as the state of affairs may appear to you to demand. In the event of its being your opinion that more troops either of cavalry or any other arm are necessary, I shall be very happy to use my best exertions to meet your wishes.

It will afford me great pleasure occasionally to hear of the proceedings in Upper Sind, and heartily to co-operate for the public service in that quarter.

I hope that our re-inforcement will reach Sukkur towards the end of September to enable the Brigadier to commence operations before the very cold weather sets in.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Your faithful servant,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

WALTER K. FIRMINER, B. D.

(To be continued.)

Art. V.—HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.—VIII.

II.—BOMBAY.

(Continued from page 509.)

FAILING to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Court, Mountstuart Elphinstone passed the Regulation for restricting the establishment of printing presses and the circulation of printed books and papers in the Bombay Council on the 1st January 1827. This was Regulation XXIV of 1827.

About this time the Parsees of Bombay quarrelled among themselves upon the subject of their calendar *Kabiseh*. The controversy was originated by Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji, then the high priest of Broach and champion of the Shahanshahi Parsees, by publishing a book on the subject at Surat about July 1826. The *Bombay Samachar* opened its columns to receive arguments on both sides of the question and allowed the Dastur, Mulla Firoz,* to publish on behalf of *Kadmis*

* Mulla Peshotan Firoz bin Kawoos was a native of Broach, born 1758, son of Mulla Jalal Kawoos, a priest of the Parsis of Bombay: when 10 years old, accompanied his father in 1768 on a journey to Persia: they were sent by Dhunjishaw Manjishah, the leader of a small band of Indian Zoroastrians who had seceded from their Indian coreligionists' mode of reckoning the Parsi new year's day and who were thereafter called *Kadmis*, for solving the *Kabiseh* questions: on the 21st April 1782 on their return to India, they were shipwrecked near Broach and lost several rare valuable books brought from Persia. On their return they settled at Bombay.

Firoz Mulla became a Parsi priest (*dastur*) of the Kadmi sect from 1794: was induced by Jonathan Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, to write an epic poem in Persian, *George Nama*, called after George III, being a history of India from its discovery by the Portuguese and of the English in India; he was a great collector of Persian and Arabic MSS., published in 1818 the *Desatir*, a very ancient Persian religious work: assisted the foundation of the *Bombay Samachar* in 1822 and wrote largely in it: led a retired and ascetic life, devoted to his studies: much sought by scholars, English and Asiatic, and held in the highest respect; wrote also on the advantages of vaccination: on his death on October 8, 1830 his collection was left as a gift in the charge of the Elders of the Kadmi Zoroastrians: it now forms the Mulla Firoz Library in Bombay: the Madrassah bearing his name was founded in 1854, for the instructions of Zoroastrians in their sacred lore. The title *Mulla* was conferred upon Firoz by the Khalif of Bagdad for his great learning in Arabic and Persian.

his counter-arguments against Aspandiarji Kamdin. In opposition to Mulla Firoz, Dastur F. D. Jamas Asana, a follower of Aspandiarji, began to publish in Bombay a periodical paper called the *Aklibar-e-Kabiseh* (autographical), while the *Kadmis* launched an opposition journal called *Ebtal-e-Kabiseh*. The dispute ended in 1827 when both journals ceased to exist.

In the height of this controversy, Joakim Hayward Stocqueler launched his paper *Iris* in 1827 and received much pecuniary support from his Parsee readers. "Accidentally," he writes in his *Memoirs of a Journalist*, "a moonshie or teacher from whom I had received lessons in Hindoostani asked me to publish his views on the quarrel in my paper. I did it. The moonshie's party began to buy the paper by hundreds and made the editor a rich man."

In the beginning of 1828, Mr. Henry Roper (afterwards knighted and Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court) came out as a barrister to practise in the Bombay Supreme Court. Stocqueler made his acquaintance soon after his arrival, and Henry Roper began to contribute to his *Iris*. This made the paper flourish. Roper's conduct sent dismay to the proprietors of the other journals who resolved to buy Stocqueler over. The proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* offered him Rs. 1,000 per mensem to win him over to their side and succeeded. He gave up his own paper and joined the *Bombay Courier*. Among his colleagues on the staff were Colonel Vans Kennedy, Alexander Burnes, Henry Rawlinson and Henry Roper.

When Stocqueler assumed charge of the *Bombay Courier* Lord William Bentinck curtailed the *bhatta* or the extra allowance of the troops one half. The Indian Press at once became the vehicle of army

grievances, and in the Bombay Presidency, the *Bombay Courier* under Stocqueler led the van. An opportunity soon offered which made Stocqueler one of the proprietors of the paper of which he was then the editor. In March 1829 the peremptory orders of the East India Directors repeating that no public servants of the East India Company should have any connection with the Indian public press was received in India. One of the proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* was Mr. Francis Warden of the Bombay Council, and he was obliged to dispose of his interest in the paper. Aided by the purse of a lady friend, Stocqueler purchased Warden's interest in the paper for Rs. 26,000.

The *Kabiseh* controversy also created a taste for reading among the Parsees. On the 1st September 1830, a Gujarati weekly newspaper called the *Mumbai Vartman* (the Bombay News) was begun to be published by Mobed Naorozji Dorabji Chandaru, a disciple of Mobed Fardoonji Murzban. After 13 months he changed the name of his paper into the *Mumbaina Halkaru ane Vartman* and made it bi-weekly in 1831. From the 6th August of this year, the Government of Bombay began to publish the *Bombay Government Gazette* according to the suggestion of Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay. This action deprived the *Bombay Courier* of its principal source of income, for hitherto it used to receive from the Bombay Government Rs. 20,000 annually for publishing their advertisements. At this crisis an opportune offer came to Stocqueler from Calcutta to edit the *Bengal Hurkaru* and he severed his connection with the *Bombay Courier*. He was succeeded in the editorship of the paper by Colonel Vans Kennedy.

On the 2nd January 1832 the *Bombay Samachar*

began to appear daily in one broad sheet. On the 12th March 1832* the present *Jam-e-Jamshed* was founded by Pestonji Maneckji Motivala, then Secretary to the Parsee Panchayet, as the organ of the orthodox Parsees and published from his lithographic press as a weekly. In May of this year there appeared a letter signed by JUSTINIAN in the *Bombay Gazette* on the subject of the injustice that was being done to the English soldiers by sending their pay to England and thereby putting them to loss on account of the fluctuations in rates of exchange. The Military authorities called upon the editor to divulge the name of the writer which was given as Private Hugh Joseph O'Donnell. He was tried before a Court-martial and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

In this year a Calcutta paper severely criticised some distribution of patronage by Lord Clare, then Governor of Bombay, who, thereupon, wrote a pressing letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Deputy Governor of Bengal 'to force the Editor to make a public and ample apology, retracting every word he had stated to the prejudice of Lord Clare, or to withdraw the Editor's license.' Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote in reply that since the local administration had come in his hands the Press had not been once interfered with in the slightest degree and 'so satisfied am I that this is now the most unobjectionable course, that I shall continue to follow it as long as I have any discretionary power on the subject.'

In the beginning of 1833, the *Bombay Samachar* ceased to be a daily, and began to appear twice a

* Mr. Jehangir Byramji Murzban, the present editor of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, writes that the paper was first started on the 1st January 1831. I have not been able to ascertain which is the correct date; the date of the text is given on the authority of the late Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramji Patel, author of the well-known *Parsee Prakash*.

week. In November of this year the name of the *Mumbaina Halkaru ane Vartman* was changed to the *Mumbaina Chabook*,* and the paper was continued as a bi-weekly.

Occasionally about this time there were trials for libel. In June 1833 Mr. R. X. Murphy,¹ Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, challenged Colonel Vans Kennedy.² The Colonel refused to accept the gage of battle, whereupon the editor in his paper denounced him to the public and the army as a slanderer and a coward. The Colonel thereupon sued the editor for defamation, and Murphy was sentenced to pay Rs. 500. The same year Captain Morley sued R. C. Money³ and Dr. Wilson⁴ for some printed matter in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*⁵ anent a tomb at Ahmednagar which

* Mr. Navroji Dorabji Chandaru edited the *Mumbaina Chabuk* till 1859 when he died. The paper then declined, and in 1872 was incorporated with the *Akhbar-e-Soudagar*.

¹ Robert Xavier Murphy went out to Bombay as a master under the Bombay Native Education Society; edited the *Bombay Gazette* from 1832 to 1837; on the death of Dr. Daniel Brenan acted as Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and edited the *Bombay Times*; Oriental Translator to the Bombay Government 1852; prepared a map of Bombay; wrote in the *Journal of the Geographical Society, Bombay*, and in the *Dublin University Magazine*; invented the expression "Towers of Silence" for *Dakmas* or places where the Parsees expose their dead; for indisposition was sent home in 1855; died at Kingstown, Dublin, 26th February 1857.

² Son of Robert Kennedy; born 1784: educated at Edinburgh, Berkhamsted, Monmouth: went to Bombay in the E. I. Co's military service in 1800; became Persian Interpreter to the Peshwa's subsidiary force at Sirur 1807: Judge Advocate-General to the Bombay Army 1817-35; Oriental Translator to Bombay Government 1846; became a Major-General: died at Bombay 29th December 1846. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 233.

³ Robert Cotton Money of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service, second son of William Taylor Money, Consul-General at Venice, died at Sholapur 21st January 1835, aged 52 years. There is a mural monument to his memory in St. Thomas' Cathedral, Fort Bombay. He was for several years Secretary to the Bombay Native Education Society. In 1832 he drew up a Memoir on the Education of the Natives of India for the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bombay. He also was a great friend of Dr. John Wilson and helped him much in conducting the *Oriental Christian Spectator*.

⁴ Dr. John Wilson, D.D. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 456 for an account of his career.

⁵ The *Oriental Christian Spectator* was started as a weekly by Dr. John Wilson in 1830, and lasted till 1856. In 1847 it was edited by Mr. T. J. A. Scott.

had been raised to a native mistress and converted into a Hindu temple, and obtained damages, Rs. 350.

It is well-known that during the administration of Lord William Bentinck the Indian Press was supplied with information on various points relating to the administration of the country and was freely allowed to comment on them. Even Government servants were allowed to criticise the measures of their superiors in the columns of the public Press. What was the state of the Indian Press in his time is thus graphically described by Sir Charles Trevelyan:—

"When I first went to India, the country was suffering under a Reign of Terror on a small scale. There had been deportations of editors, and penalties imposed on those who wrote in the obnoxious newspapers, the consequence of which was that there was a state of general mental restraint and stagnation; and any person who advocated any reform, however desirable, was regarded more or less as a dangerous innovator. The first inroad that was made upon that system was by an announcement which appeared in the public papers, signed by Lord William Bentinck's Private Secretary, stating that his Lordship was ready to receive suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the natives and the development of the resources of the country, from whatever quarter they came. This announcement was so inconsistent with the prevailing state of feeling such as I have described, that at first the authenticity of it was not believed; and it was a long time before the Anglo-Indian community availed themselves of Lord William Bentinck's liberal intentions. The first practical exemplification of a free Press was that remarkable series of letters published by the Honourable Frederick Shore, under the signature of

'A Friend to India,' in which the detailed administration of the Government of India was criticised with great severity. I remember that, as each letter came out, we used to expect that some severe measure would be taken against Mr. Shore; but probably the circumstance which established the complete mental emancipation of the community was the general blaze of newspaper-writing called out by the letters signed 'Indophilus' which letters had the merit of inducing all kinds of people who had never before written in the newspapers, to enter into a discussion of the public interests of the country in the newspapers. I can mention another remarkable case in which the public interests were subserved by freedom of discussion. I had been employed by Lord William Bentinck to prepare a scheme of detailed arrangements for opening the navigation of the Indus, the first foundation of which was laid by Lord Ellenborough. A copy of this paper was sent by the Governor-General to Lord Clare, who was then Governor of Bombay, and he sent it to the Bombay newspapers; and as comments of various kinds appeared upon it, explanations were required for the successful understanding of the measures. Upon this I commenced a series of letters, signed 'Indophilus,' directed to that particular object; but I found, before I had gone far, that I had got possession of the public ear and mind, and that I might turn this to very valuable account. I had recently returned to Calcutta from the Upper Provinces, with a strong impression of the great evils of the then existing land revenue system and of the uncertainty and absence of all security of property consequent upon the temporary settlements then made from year to year, and it occurred to me that I might, with great advantage, make such an *exposé* of the subject as would enlighten

public opinion and create a general tendency on the part of the Commissioners, Collectors and other persons engaged in those settlements, towards making moderate settlements and long settlements so as to establish in that part of India the great principle of the security of property. I accordingly directed the series of 'Indophilus' letters to that object; and I think I do not say too much in asserting that the effect which was produced on public opinion by those letters had a manifest tendency to bring about a moderate and satisfactory settlement."

In the early days of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Indians were not eligible for its membership. However, in 1834, Seth Manekji Khershedji Shroff was elected a member of the Society for the first time. This election was severely criticised by the *Bombay Gazette*, and a suit for defamation was instituted against the paper by the new member.

In 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe freed the Indian Press and repealed the Regulations¹ then in force in Bombay. Partly on account of this and partly on account of the establishment of regular monthly communications between Bombay and Europe by steam ships,² the members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce started a joint-stock company³ with a capital of Rs. 36,000 to set up a newspaper with the view of devoting it to trade interests. Accordingly the *Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* was first published as a bi-weekly⁴ on the 3rd November 1838

¹ Regulations passed on the 11th May 1825 and 1st January 1827.

² This was mainly due to the efforts of Thomas Waghorn. For an account of his career, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 438.

³ Among the original shareholders there were eleven of the principal European houses of Bombay, Mr. Framji Cowasji Banaji, the oldest and most respectable of the Indian merchants, two of the leading barristers of the Supreme Court and the most distinguished private medical practitioner of Bombay.

⁴ Used to appear on Saturdays and Wednesdays.

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under the editorial management of the then Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, Dr. Daniel Brenan.¹ Sir Robert Grant, then Governor of Bombay, warmly supported the project.

In this year a weekly paper in Gujarati called the *Mumbai Doorbin** owned by Nasarwanji Temuljee first appeared from the *Jam-e-Jamshed* press. On the 18th December of this year, Sir John Wither Awdry, Kt., Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, Bombay, sentenced Mr. McCallum, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* for having defamed John Malcolm, late Superintendent of the Indian Navy, to three months imprisonment, to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, to enter into recognizances himself for Rs. 2,000, and to find two sureties each for Rs. 10,000 to keep the peace towards the Queen and all her subjects for two years. In this year, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* was made biweekly.

In May 1839, on the occasion of the conversion to Christianity of two Parsee lads,† the *Bombay Gazette* having strongly advocated the cause of the missionaries and passed strictures on the Parsee community, the Parsee subscribers entirely withdrew their support.

In 1839 Dr. Daniel Brenan, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, died and was temporarily succeeded by R. X. Murphy, Professor William Henderson of Elphinstone College, and Dr. Richard Knight, then an officer of the Bombay Medical Service. The latter was relieved in May 1840 by Dr. George Buist as Editor of the *Bombay Times*.

¹ In the *List of Tombs and Monuments of historical and Archeological importance in Bombay and other parts of the Presidency* published in 1902 by the Bombay Government, there is a copy of the inscription on his grave.

* About 1844 this paper ceased to circulate.

† One of them is the Rev. Dhanjibhai Naoroji who is still living.

In 1840, Mr. Rousseau, sub-editor of the *Bombay Courier*, died of cholera, and Mr. McCallum, Editor and Proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, also died of cholera, aged 36. The *Bombay Gazette* was, therefore, sold to a new proprietor for Rs. 15,500, in May 1840, who, on assuming charge, was obliged to give the following explanation regarding the policy of the paper in its issue of 12th June 1840, as under Mr. McCallum the paper had become very unpopular:— 'We have learned with great regret that many of our Parsee friends, judging from the tone of previous remarks, have imbibed an opinion that our journal was to be exclusively conducted upon the principles which guided it formerly. We beg to assure the Parsee community, among whom we have many highly estimable friends, that our journal now is perfectly free and unbiassed.'

In the beginning of 1841, Sir Henry Roper, then Chief Justice of the Bombay Supreme Court, issued a rule calling upon the editors and the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier* to show cause why they should not be charged with contempt of court for having allowed the editors to ventilate the grievances of the Bombay merchants, which arose in the following way: Formerly when a British subject died in the Bombay Presidency, leaving property within its Supreme Court's jurisdiction, but having no executor or next of kin within that jurisdiction, the Law directed that the Ecclesiastical Registrar should administer. The Law gave it to him as his right, and to deprive him of it was to illegally withhold from him his due. Yet, despite this clear direction, the merchants of Bombay had been in the habit of evading it, and in an instance in 1840, an agency house, Messrs. Forbes and Co.,

kept a gentleman's will in their desk for twelve months after his decease until probate could be taken out wrongfully in England, and they were appointed agents. On the 12th February 1840 the case came up before Sir Henry Roper, then a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, and in disposing of it, he not only remarked that instead of so acting Messrs. Forbes and Co. should have given up the will to the Ecclesiastical Registrar and thus avoided the wrong of keeping the testator's legatees out of their property during a year merely for the sake of obtaining 5 per cent. upon Rs. 40,000, and severely commented on the conduct of Mr. Charles Forbes, a partner of the firm. The Bombay merchants proposed, in the beginning of 1841, through the leading newspapers, the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier*, to present a petition to Parliament against the aspersions made by Sir Henry Roper on Mr. Forbes in his written judgment. The above newspapers sided with the Bombay merchants and commented on Sir Roper. He, thereupon, issued the above rule.

On the 27th March 1841 the following proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and the *Bombay Courier* attended the Court to show cause :—

Proprietors of the *Bombay Times* :—

- (1) Mr. C. B. Skinner, of Messrs. Jardine, Skinner and Co.
- (2) Harry George Gordon, Chairman of the first Oriental Bank and a partner of Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart and Co.
- (3) J. C. Steuart, a partner of Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart and Co.
- (4) Dawson.
- (5) T. Cardwell.
- (6) R. Richmond.

- (7) W. Mackie.
- (8) J. A. Russell.
- (9) E. M. Davidson.
- (10) F. Martin.
- (11) J. Wright.
- (12) Framjee Cowasjee.*

Proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* :—

- (1) Humphrey Francis Boaden.
- (2) Henry Fawcett.
- (3) Robert Wigram Crawford.
- (4) Reginald Frederick Remington, of Remington and Co., Bombay.
- (5) James Remington Hadow, of Remington and Co., Bombay.
- (6) Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (afterwards first Parsee Baron).
- (7) W. Henderson.

Mr. Herrich, the Counsel, appeared before the Chief Justice, Sir Henry Roper, on behalf of Mr. Framjee Cowasjee and stated that he (Mr. Framjee Cowasjee) entertained the highest respect for the Chief Justice, and expressed regret for the "scandalous" paragraph in the *Bombay Times*. A similar explanation was offered on behalf of Mr. Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, and the Chief Justice was pleased to excuse them. On behalf of the European proprietors, Mr. John Cochrane, the Counsel, appeared, who expressed his unwillingness "to offer any apology on behalf of his clients." The Chief Justice, thereupon, issued a rule against these proprietors. The case was finally heard, and Mr. Cochrane having "disavowed all feelings of hostility towards the Judge," the rule was discharged.

* For an account of his career, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography* p. 25.

In April 1841 the Governor-General of India received the following despatch from home containing revocation of the prohibition against the connection of the East India Company's servants with public newspapers subject to the restraints imposed upon military officers by the rules of the service :—

Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 9 (Political), dated the 21st April 1841.

The letters noted in the margin relate to the

abuses of the Indian Press, and to the measures recommended by the Government of Bombay for counteracting the evil effects arising therefrom.

2. We have had this question under serious consideration, but have delayed replying to the letters from Bombay, in the expectation that, as the Governor-General had concurred in the opinion of the Governor of Bombay on the propriety of revoking the prohibition laid by us on our servants many years ago against being connected with the public newspapers, we should receive

some communication from your Government on the subject.

3. But as the Bombay Government continues to urge the subject on our attention, and as any measure which we may sanction, in relation to it, must necessarily be general not local, we address to you our determination to concede the point in question. We accordingly revoke the existing prohibition against the

connection of our servants with the public newspapers, subject, of course, to the restraints imposed on our Military Officers by the Rules of the Service.

We are, etc.,

GEORGE LEGATE,

LONDON, } AND 13 OTHER DIRECTORS.
The 21st April 1841.]

Accordingly a Notification* No. 1608, Fort William, Political Department, dated the 28th June 1841, was issued.

In his letters noted above, Sir Robert Grant, then Governor of Bombay, also proposed to counteract the evil effects arising from the abuses of the Bombay Press by securing the *Bombay Courier* as the Government organ to advocate its interests. But Lord Auckland did not approve the Bombay Governor's proposal for the reasons fully stated elsewhere.†

In August 1842 the *Bombay Gazette* ceased to appear. On the 6th March 1843 Mr. P. J. McKenna and the Rev. John Stevenson, D.D., began to publish the first Anglo-Indian daily paper called the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily Newspaper* at Bombay. In July 1846 Mr. Jamieson started the *Bombay Telegraph* as a bi-weekly, but finding it financially unsuccessful, disposed of it to Mr. T. J. A. Scott,‡ Editor and Proprietor of the *Bombay Courier*, who amalgamated it with his own paper. The amalgamated papers appeared on the 1st January 1847 as a daily paper called the *Telegraph and Courier*—the second Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay.

* *Vide the Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

† *Vide the Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

‡ Mr. T. J. A. Scott was made the first Secretary of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway of Bombay in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the Company in promoting the introduction of the railway. He was also Secretary to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

In 1845 Mr. John Connon came out from England to relieve Messrs. P. J. McKenna* and Stevenson from the editorship of the *British Indian Gentleman's Gazette and Bombay Daily Newspaper*. In 1849 Mr. Connon became the proprietor of this paper, besides editor and changed its name to the *Bombay Gazette* from the 12th November 1849.

From the 1st August 1849, Mr. Navroji Dorabji Gai, and Dasturs Kekobad Minocheher, Mulla Firoz and Aspandiarji Framji Rabadi with the pecuniary aid of Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama began to publish a daily paper called the *Samachar Darpan*† in Gujarati.

On the 2nd September 1850, the *Bombay Times* began to appear as a daily, the third Anglo-Indian daily of Bombay, under the management of Dr. George Buist. In October of this year an illustrated Gujarati weekly called the *Chitra Gnyan Darpan* (Mirror of Pictorial Knowledge) began to be published, edited by Jehangir H. Punthaki and Behramji Gandhi. Its illustrations were lithographed. In the beginning of 1851, this paper published a blurred picture of Mahomed which enraged his followers in Bombay to a very great extent, and led to a serious riot in the city. The Parsees being numerically weak, suffered much, and their leaders, Shettias, for days did nothing to stop the

* In April 1879 speaking at the Byculla Club in Bombay the Hon'ble Mr. Gibbs recalled his own memories of the Bombay Press at the time he came to India and referred thus to Mr. P. J. McKenna: "I only know that in those days the editor of the *Gentleman's Gazette* was a very mild, very elderly person who went about in a *palkee* dressed in white garments, including a short jacket, from office to office, to acquire any information he could in order to fill the next day's issue, and I am sorry to say that he often got such information that he not only filled the next day's issue, but he had, on the following day, generally to contradict what had appeared before."

With reference to this part of the speech the late lamented Robert Knight wrote thus: "The 'elderly person' of the *Gentleman's Gazette* to whom Mr. Gibbs refers was a Mr. McKenna under whose unfortunate conduct of the paper it earned for itself the title of the *Blackguard's Gazette*. The late Mr. Connon succeeded Mr. McKenna."

† In 1868 the *Samachar Darpan* was amalgamated with the *Akhbar-e Soudagar*

riot as they took shelter in the old Fort. The then existing newspapers did not also help the majority of the Parsees living outside the Fort in stopping the outrages of the rioters. Enraged at this apathy, the advanced section of the Parsees started the *Rast Gofar* as a fortnightly newspaper on the 15th November 1851. Its projector and first editor was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The capital to start the paper was supplied by Kharshedji Nasarwanji Cama.

The wise revocation made on the 28th June 1841, was effectually neutralised by Lord Ellenborough by his Notification No. 150, dated the 30th August, 1843, from Fort William, Foreign Department, in which it was ordered that official documents should not be made public or communicated to individuals without the previous consent of the Government of India and should not be used in carrying on personal controversies.* During 1846-47 a series of articles appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* and the *Calcutta Review* on Lord Hardinge's Sikh War betraying an amount of confidential information on the war. Thereupon the Governor-General published the following notification:—

General Order, Foreign Department, dated 15th March 1847.

The Governor-General deems it advisable to republish for general information the Notification No. 150 issued on the 30th August 1843, in which the principle is laid down that it is contrary to the duty of every Officer, Civil or Military, to make public or to communicate to individuals, without the previous sanction of Government, any documents, papers or information of which he may have become possessed in his official capacity.

The practice of making use of official information in carrying on personal controversies is a course highly prejudicial

* For the text of the Notification and the reason of its promulgation, see the *Calcutta Review*, April 1908.

to the public interests, and is not only at variance with the rules by which due discipline and obedience to superior authority can be adequately maintained, but is a positive breach of faith inasmuch as no functionary has a right to reveal, without due authority from his official superiors, or the Home Authorities, any fact or circumstance which may come to his knowledge in the performance of his duty, or to correspond with any one upon the instructions he may have received for his special guidance.

The Governor-General is persuaded that every Officer, Civil and Military, will henceforth conform to this rule of the Service, under the conviction that, if in the transaction of his official duties his public conduct be impugned, he is at liberty to seek redress through the usual official channel by an appeal to the Government he serves, and that the Government so appealed to will afford him every opportunity of vindicating his character.

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General
of India.

H. M. ELLIOT,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India with the Governor-General.

From the 1st June of 1852, Mr. Dadabhai Kavaj began to publish, as a tri-weekly paper in Gujarati, the present *Akhbar-e-Soudagar*. Towards the end of this year, Dr. George Buist went home on six months' leave, and the *Bombay Times* was, during his absence, edited by the late lamented Robert Knight, then a frequent contributor to the paper. While at home, Dr. George Buist vindicated the Indian Press from the charge of being hostile to the Indian Government by presenting on the 12th August 1853, a petition to the "Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act 3 and 4, Will. 4, c. 85, for the better government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories," in order to correct the false impressions which the public might receive from the

evidence on Indian newspapers given before the Committee. The following is the full text of Dr. George Buist's petition :—

Petition complaining of the Evidence given before the Select Committee of this house on the Government of Indian Territories, on the subject of Newspapers in India, of Doctor George Buist, Editor of the "Bombay Times."

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The petition of Doctor George Buist, Editor of the "Bombay Times," Secretary to the Geographical Society, Founder and Superintendent of the School of Industry, late Sheriff of Bombay, and formerly in charge of the Astronomical, Metereological and Magnetic Observatories of the East India Company at Bombay, formerly Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Western India and in charge of their experimental Gardens,

Showeth—

That your Petitioner has been close on twenty-years connected as editor with the newspaper press, for a third of that period as editor and proprietor, having for nearly eight years conducted with credit and success newspapers in the central counties of Scotland, Forfar, Perth and Fife, and for more than twelve, been editor, and for six, editor and principal proprietor of the oldest and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, the "Bombay Times," and that for the whole of this long period he has had constant occasion to study most carefully newspapers from nearly all parts of the world, those of London in particular, to some of which he has been a large and highly paid contributor, having occupied his closest attention.

That the "Bombay Times," one of those three daily papers published at the Presidency, was brought into existence in 1838, shortly after the passing of the Charter Act (1834) and the removal of the disabilities of the Press by Lord Metcalfe

(1835), and with the express views of advocating public improvement, and devoting itself to the interests of the country, to the discussion of the views and policy of Government, and the examination and diffusion of those opinions, facts and doctrines, the circumstances of the occasion, the exigencies and prospects of the period rendered expedient, with the cordial approval of Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of the time, and countenance and support of the most distinguished servants of Government. Its projectors and proprietors comprised amongst them eleven of the principal European houses in Bombay, the oldest and most distinguished native merchant, two of the most eminent barristers before the Supreme Court, and the most distinguished private medical practitioner in Western India. That they selected as their editor, Dr. Brennan, a lecturer of eminence on anatomy in Dublin, whose health rendered a warm climate desirable and who on his arrival at Bombay was elected to the then responsible office of Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce besides being Editor of the "Times." That the proprietors of the "Courier," the principal paper in Bombay up to 1838 and long the recognised organ of Government, were equally eminent as those of the "Bombay Times," and that the paper had engaged from time to time the services as editors of many of the most talented servants of Government. That the first editor of the "Bombay Times," Dr. Brennan, having died in 1839, the paper was for a time conducted by Professor Henderson of the Elphinstone College, a servant of Government. Afterwards, by Dr. Knight, at present Residency Surgeon, Khota, and of the Bengal Medical Service, and that your petitioner, having been selected for the eminence he had attained as a provincial Journalist in Scotland, to the editorship of the "Bombay Times," entered on his duties in May 1840, and has continued to conduct the paper ever since, with the highest approbation of his employers, on the principles on which it was originally started.

From the constant fluctuations in the mercantile community in Bombay, numerous changes in the proprietary have from time to time taken place, and the "Times," having always yielded, as it continues to yield, from 30 to 40 per cent. of dividends annually on the amount originally invested, a

number of the most distinguished servants of Government became proprietors, soon after the promulgation of the permission of the Court of Directors, for its Civil and Military servants to connect themselves with the press. In 1847 its principal proprietors, after your petitioner, were the Puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quatermaster-General, now Quartermaster-General of the Bombay Army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, afterwards Physician-General and the Medical Storekeeper, now Superintending Surgeon at the Presidency; and with two exceptions, one from retirement from the service and the other from promotion: these gentlemen still continue principal proprietors of the paper.

That your petitioner has not only devoted the columns of the "Bombay Times" to the advancement of good government; to the spread of education, of improvement and economy; to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars, which within these twelve years have cost us thirty millions sterling; and that policy which, under the name of expediency, disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity and the evils of which to our name and character, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories, but, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured, in his private capacity, to promote the improvements he, as an editor recommended, a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgment received from Government bear ample testimony.

Under these circumstances, it is with much surprise, mortification and chagrin, that your petitioner has seen it stated in the evidence laid before the Committee of your Honourable House, that the newspapers in India, with the exception of a Bengal journal called the "Friend of India," are uniformly and universally hostile to Government, and are continually engaged in impugning and slandering its proceedings, and that though they admit of corrections when made to them, still their tendency is that of unceasing and continual hostilities to the authorities.

That, so far is this from being the fact in the case of your petitioner, that he has been frequently charged by his brethren with being the organ of the local Government; and in the majority of cases coming under discussion, his views and those of the Government have coincided with each other; that being averse to needless aggression and uncalled-for war, he was opposed to the general policy of the Government from 1840 to 1845, that since then he has been a warm supporter and ardent admirer of the proceedings of Governors-General of India almost throughout. Your petitioner was as one with the Bombay Government in the deposition of the Rajah of Sattara, in their views of the war in Affghanistan, and in the conquest of Scinde, in their views of the conduct of the Nuffoosk Commission, the Court of the Directors having in 1841 expressed themselves in nearly the same terms as were used by your petitioner on the subject in the previous year; that your petitioner highly applauded the revenue arrangements of Government, their anxiety to promote the improvements in the culture of cotton, their desire to advance the native education, by conferring Government appointments on the most distinguished of the native scholars, and the employment of natives more extensively than before in the public service, in their appointment of the Residents at Sattara and Baroda and the Commission in Scinde, and in the great majority of other arrangements, an evidence at once, it is hoped, of the merits of the Government, and the independence and soundness of the views of your petitioner.

Your petitioner, at the commencement of his editorial career, strongly condemned the existing state of the Post Office arrangements, and in recommending their improvements, collected with great labour and care, and published, a vast mass of steam and mail statistics, which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which your petitioner for the first time put into a convenient and popular form, and the desired changes were in a great measure brought about in the course of two years; that your petitioner, in 1840, condemned the arrangements then made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was a few weeks afterwards issued securing the remedies suggested;

that your petitioner was opposed to the Government in the discussion on Baroda matters, but had a very large number of the Court of Directors on his side, and but for the principle of supporting the authorities, would most likely have had them all of his opinion; that your petitioner has been all along hostile to the existence of sinecure sheriffships, and the appointment has accordingly been abolished; that in 1849 your petitioner pointed out the enormous sums expended in the Affghan war, and the derangement of our commercial relations which the transmission of so much specie into a country from which it would not for many years return, must occasion; and the views of your petitioner were fully borne out by the state in which the finances of India had been brought by 1841 when the Honourable Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock, that the shutting of the Treasury in September had been contemplated; by the statement made by the late Sir Robert Peel in assigning this as one of the reasons for the imposition of the Income Tax and by the accounts of of the Honourable East India Company since then published, and that in like manner, in the great majority of occasions in which your petitioner has chanced to be opposed to some one division of the authorities, his views have been borne out by the others and have been afterwards shown to be in consonance with fact. He considered the annexation of the Punjab unwise and unjustifiable in 1846, and it was left in the hands of the Seikhs, and he deemed its annexation inevitable in 1848, and in 1849 it was annexed.

That your petitioner has observed, that, in the examination of Mr. John Stuart Mill of the India House, before the Committee of the House of Lords, it is insinuated, "that the Press of India is inferior to that of England, in its tone, that in England the tone of newspaper-writing is in general superior to that of ordinary conversation; that in India it is the reverse to such an extent, that a most erroneous view of English Society would be taken were it judged of by the press; that newspapers in India are of very little use to Government unless in promoting inquiry; that the English Newspaper Press in India is only the organ of English Society, chiefly of the part of it

unconnected with Government and has little to do with natives, or the interest of the country."

The groundlessness of the last of these imputations will be apparent, when it is recollected that there are seven daily and 20 or 30 tri-weekly or bi-weekly newspapers in India, and that there are not as many Europeans in the country altogether, not connected with the Government, as could provide subscribers or supply intelligence for a single daily newspaper.

That, in point of fact, a large number of the newspapers are principally or wholly the property of servants of Government and are conducted by retired or invalid officers from the Queen's or Company's Army. That your petitioner is prepared to prove, what must be well known to many Members of your Honourable House, who have long been readers of the "Bombay Times" that however inferior the best of the newspapers of India may be to those at home in point of talent, that in point of propriety of expression and decorum of language, and in point of amount of space devoted by them to important subjects of discussion, or in point of the magnitude and importance of these as bearing on the interests of the country, they are second to no newspapers in existence.

Setting aside the space required for advertisting, for Military and Shipping Lists, General Orders and Prices Current, a full third part of the area of the journals of India is occupied by extracts from the very best home publications, from the *Edinburgh, Quarterly, North British and Westminster Reviews*; from *Blackwoods, Fraser's, Tait's* and other Magazines; from the *Athenæum, Literary Gazette, Chambers'* and *Hogg's* publications, together with carefully selected extracts from the very best of the London daily and weekly newspapers. The fact of papers being got up at home, affords room for selections they could not otherwise command. That so far from devoting less space to the cause of good government, the spread of education and public improvement, than is devoted to these subjects by the papers at home; they devote a vast deal more, if dealing with Statistics, Agriculture, Police, Municipal, Sanitary, Commercial, and other such like matters, bearing directly on the improvement of the country and welfare of the

people is to be considered such, where party politics are things unknown, rather than the political controversies and factions, disputes and abuse from which the columns are exempted; that by means, such as now related, a vast quantity of valuable and interesting information, much of it gathered from printed public documents, but transmitted into a condensed, popular and readable form, is diffused amongst the members of the service, and more intelligent of the native community, the former of whom are in India very apt to lose habits of reading altogether, the latter of whom require still in a great measure to acquire them, both turning to the local newspapers as the chief sources of supply.

That it is difficult to define what the precise tone of conversation is amongst the reading classes either in England or in India, and therefore impossible to compare the one with the other, or to ascertain the precise relation the tone of newspaper speculation bears to that of conversation in the one country or in the other; but your petitioner has already shown that the newspapers in India are in no respect, save talent and magnitude, behind their English brethren, the chief imperfections with which they are chargeable being due to the enormous postage charges imposed upon them, and the limited size to which they are restricted, these two combining to induce them to concentrate more of their attention on, and devote more of their space to, local incidents of little general importance than they otherwise would do; that they are not even in this respect behind the spirit of the age may be judged of from the recommendation of the Report of Post Office Commissioners now under the consideration of Government, to the effect, that such an additional postage be imposed on newspapers imported from England as virtually to exclude them from all parts of India but the Presidencies. That not only is the Newspaper Press of India at least equal in its tone to that of England, but is a vast way superior to it, and, in general, to the statesmen of the day in the possession of important and accurate information, as will presently appear. On the 23rd June 1842, Sir John Hobhouse stated in the House of Commons, in opposition to the motion

of Mr. Bailey, for the production of the papers in an un mutilated form on which the Affghan War was granted, that Lord Palmerston and his colleagues considered the explanations of Count Nesselrode in reference to the proceedings of Russia in connexion of the affairs of Herat, "satisfactory, because they were carried into effect," and Count Limonich and Lieutenant Vicovich were recalled. According to the official despatches published by Parliament, the satisfaction to the Russian cabinet here referred to was intimated to Count Nesselrode, under date 1st November 1838, the recall having first been made known on the 5th March 1839—discrepancy duly exposed at the time by your petitioner. About the same time, Lord Fitzgerald and Vesey, the President of the Board of Control, affirmed that his predecessors had not unfairly garbled the "Blue Book" of 1839: the papers of Sir Alexander Burnes having been published entire by your petitioner, by desire of the relatives of that lamented officer, show, as is now universally admitted, instances of garbling such as find no parallel in history. In June 1841 Lord Palmerston, in addressing the Electors at Tiverton, described the whole of Affghanistan as in a state of such unexampled tranquillity, that an unarmed Englishman might ride as safely through the midst of its wilds as he could have ridden from Tiverton to John O'Groats's house, the name of a British officer being a passport everywhere. That, at this very time your petitioner had published an enumeration of 33 actions, in 13 of which our troops had been unsuccessful, which had taken place within the twelve months: and the Board of Control, of which the noble Lord was a member, must have had in their hands documents giving accounts of Shelton's operations in the Nazam Valley: the general discontents in Kohistan, the three separate expeditions then on foot betwixt Kandahar and Ghuznie; the actions of Farrington and Woodburn, on the Helmund; the preparations for Griffin's expedition; the Nooskey expedition; the unhappy affair of Kojjuck; the general movements of troops in Scinde and Shawl, with the universal marching and counter-marching of detachments throughout the country occupied, as we then were in five simultaneous or

immediately consecutive campaigns around Jellalabad, Khelat-i-Ghilzie, Ghirisk, Moosting and the Sebee country. In the "Overland Times" for July 1841 estimates of the expenses of the Affghan War up to that date was published by your petitioner, so closely approaching the statements afterwards given from official authority by Sir Henry Willock and Sir Robert Peel as to show the close approaches that could be made to truth by those who earnestly sought after it, and from these and other inquiries your petitioner came to the conclusion which he published about the period referred to, that to maintain the Dooranee Alliance was next to impossible; the attempt to maintain ourselves in Afganistan, a folly which could not but issue in the most fightful disasters. Had the warnings he then gave been attended to in time, the events of Cabool, which six months afterwards justified the soundness of his views, might have been avoided, and the darkest chapter in our history left unwritten. In 1842 Lord Palmerston taunted Sir Robert Peel with the supposed intentions of the Ministry to abandon the Dooranee Alliance and retire from Affghanistan, in obvious ignorance of the resolution came to by Lord Auckland on the 3rd December 1841, and known to the Board of Control, that in the event of the loss of Cabool, no attempt should be made to renew the occupation of Affghanistan. That in 1843 your petitioner, who had been one of the most ardent admirers of Lord Ellenborough while he professed nothing but peace and improvement, and of Sir Charles Napier before he attacked the Ameers, pointing out the monstrous injustice of our invasion of Scinde, he prepared an estimate, now fully justified by fact, that it could not be maintained with less than an augmentation of 8,000 men, and accordingly betwixt 1843 and 1844 the Bombay Army was increased by 13,605 from 51,694 to 65,299, the latter number not being likely hereafterwards to be diminished, even though Aden is now garrisoned by Madras troops. At the same time he estimated the annual expense it must impose upon us at about half a million sterling, thus falling about a third or fourth short of fact. That at both these periods the journals at home and leading speakers of the time, seemed in ecstasies with

the imagined wisdom that had been displayed, and the rare good fortune that had attended it, when in reality our misconduct was drawing down upon ourselves the heaviest calamities that could have befallen us. All these things are now matter of history, as much beyond the reach of remedy as of dispute; that had the Press or the politicians of England examined or believed the statements then set forth by your petitioner, and all since fully verified, the blot which Scinde throws upon our good name might have been obliterated, and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us, avoided.

That shortly after the liberation of the Press, Lord Auckland most wisely expressed his anxiety to encourage the servants of Government to connect themselves with the newspapers and the Government should afford journalists all the information that could be given then under the secret system insisted on from home, desiring thereby to increase the predisposition that he knew must exist to speak favourably of Government, when present or former Government servants were the speakers, and those still in Government employment the listeners. In March 1842 and August 1843 all this was put an end to by the order of Lord Ellenborough; and the Court of Directors, who were understood to have disapproved of nearly every other measure under his Lordship's administration, have permitted the most objectionable of them all to pass uncensured.

That from the time the measure of Governor Metcalfe deprived Government of the power of deporting editors for reprinting the reports of parliament or articles of intelligence of the home newspapers and of indulging, as they did, most freely in persecution of the Press, scarcely surpassed by those of France of the present date, there seems to have been a constant desire to slander those who could not be reached by Lord Auckland, and those around him proving honourable. That on the 12th February 1841 Mr. Hume called the attention of the House of Commons to certain obnoxious statements made by correspondents in the *Agra Akbar* and *Bombay Times*, in reference to the death of a trooper of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, said to have been shot in a cornfield

near Ghuznie in July 1839, while supposed marauding, in reference to which the conduct of Lord Keane was severely blamed. The Chairman of the Board of Control, then bringing forward a motion for a pension of £2,000 a year to his Lordship and his descendants, stated, that the moment he observed the reports in the newspapers on the subject, he made the most diligent inquiries as to its truth at the India House, the India Board, and of parties who had shared in the Affghan campaign, and found that the statements in the newspapers, which he termed rascally, were false; that the trooper had been shot at night by the videttes, under the order of the provost Marshal, strict directions having been given to protect the cornfields from depredation, and that the report had never been heard of till after Lord Keane had quitted India. That your petitioner, who had just then (May 1840) arrived in India and could individually have no knowledge of the matter, and no bias in favour or against any one, received his information from a distinguished staff officer of Lord Keane's Army and who is still alive, and your petitioner is in a position to prove that the trooper was shot during the day, not by the videttes at all as the regimental records will show, that he was wounded by small shot, never used in the army, and that the piece was fired by Lord Keane's own hand, who naturally, of course, prevented any official report from being furnished to Government, though authentic information must exist regarding it in the hospital returns of the regiment and in the records of the Bengal Medical Board; instead of never being noticed till after Lord Keane had quitted India on the 31st March 1840, it was fully discussed in the *Agra Akbar*, and most of the other Indian newspapers in August 1839 and in the *London Spectator* of February 1840, having sufficient time for making inquiries at the proper quarter, before the pension discussion came on. That Lord Keane was himself not slow in noticing what appeared in the newspapers, may be gathered from the action in which he was cast against the *Bombay Gazette* in July 1836, for having republished from the *Englishman* a letter accusing him of having caused a trooper condemned at Deesa to be hanged without the sanction of the Government, required by the Regulations; and the fact of

his having passed the present charge (pronounced so grossly libellous in the House of Commons) by unnoticed, indicates that he felt its truth: the names of the newspaper writers, though according to custom, withheld from the letters were perfectly well known; the manuscripts of some of them are still in the hands of your petitioner, and there is no reason to doubt that, if called upon, they would not be unwilling to substantiate their statements, the truth of which no one in India ever doubted.

On the same occasion, and with the view, apparently, of throwing further discredit on the Press, it was stated by Sir John Hobhouse, that "the House was aware that in the last campaign (that is, the campaign under Lord Keane in 1839, then being considered by the House) a disaster had befallen our troops, under the Command of Major Clibborn, while endeavouring to relieve a fort," the two subjects getting mingled up in the debate, and both forming grounds of obloquy on the Press; that a commission had been appointed to enquire into the disaster, the reports of which had been surreptitiously obtained and published by the newspapers just before the departure of the mail of the 1st December.

In point of fact the trooper of the 2nd Cavalry was shot in July 1839, near Ghuznee, in the centre of Affghanistan, 60 days' march at least from the pass of Nuffoosk, where Major Clibborn was repulsed on the 31st August 1840, 13 months afterwards nine months after Lord Keane had quitted command in Affghanistan and five months after he had left Bombay for England. The report of the Commission, which bears date 22nd November 1840, obtained publicity through the instrumentality of General Brooks, its Chairman, subsequently deprived of his command of the troops in Scinde, as a punishment for this it appeared in the *Bombay Courier*, on the 19th December that paper being blameless in the matter, not as stated immediately before the despatch of the mail or with any view whatever to the injury of the prospects of Lord Keane, who could in no shape be affected by it, and in reference to whom it was not known that any debate was impending, but 12 days before hand, leaving abundance of time for the commentaries which were made upon it in the *Bombay Times*, and which were sent

home along with it, by your petitioner, which expressed the same sentiments in almost the same words as those expressed by the Bombay Government six months, and by the Court of Directors nearly a twelvemonth, afterwards.

On the same occasion Lord John Russell spoke of Lord Keane's crossing the Indus on his advance as an event of sufficient importance to be coupled with his march through the Bolan Pass; Lord Keane and the column in reality marched through Scinde by Larkhana to the mouth of the pass and never crossed the river at all.

In July 1843 a letter from General Nott appeared in the English newspaper, bearing date Lucknow, 4th April, and which must have been sent home direct, for publication, in reply to one from Sir James Lumley, Adjutant-General to the Bengal Army, of the 29th March, calling upon him by directions of the Governor-General to report upon certain excesses said to have been committed by the British troops in Affghanistan: the letter of Sir James Lumley has never appeared in print, and its tenor can only be gathered from the terms of the reply, written as it is in a wild, declamatory tone, apparently from the first intended for the Press, and as unlike as possible the calm and temperate style of official correspondence between an old Major-General and the Adjutant-General of the army.

It would appear that General Lumley, by direction of Lord Ellenborough, had asserted that certain very infamous imputations had been made against the army by the newspapers, and these were pronounced to be "gross and villanous falsehoods."

In reality they were never made by any one, or heard of in India, until General Nott's letter denouncing them appeared and the conclusion, that the whole affair was got up with the view of giving a blow to the character of the Press is inevitable. General Nott's letter was forwarded to England through the Secret Department, and was not made known to the Court of Directors by the Secret Committee till after its publication, of which no notice seems ever to have been taken by the Government of India, although severely blamed in the official despatch of the Court to the Governor-General under date 2nd August 1843. Yet so averse at this time was the Government of India to all communication of its

servants with the Press, that Mr. Erskine of the Bengal Civil Service had the previous year been punished by loss of employment for sending to the *Friend of India* an extract from a private note from his kinsman, Sir William Macnaghten, and the publication in the *Bombay Times* of the letter from Colonel Sleeman, Resident at Bundelkund, correcting some misstatements in reference to his proceedings, called forth the most stringent general order against all communications with the Press.

The extent to which the newspapers of India are indebted to the servants of Government for support, instead of being prepared for, and maintained by those unconnected with, the services, as asserted, is easily susceptible of distrust, and specific proof from the subscription list of the newspapers themselves, which will be produced if required, or by the examination of the editors: in 1848 the *Mofussilite* printed a list of all its subscribers, from which it appeared that four-fifths of these were members of the public service; and in a classified list of its subscribers lately laid before the proprietors of the *Bombay Times* and which is at the service of the Committee, it appears that out of 1,000 subscribers, assuming that to be the number on the list, (123) one-hundred and twenty-three were civil servants of the Government, (179) one-hundred and seventy-nine messes and regimental libraries, (317) three-hundred and seventeen military men, (52) fifty-two British merchants, (36) thirty-six bank and public corporations, (26) twenty-six were natives, (243) two-hundred and forty-three were private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, etc.; the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajas and the like, or in all 719, or two-thirds of the whole were officers of the Crown, or covenanted servants of Government. It may safely be assumed that the maxim which holds good all over the world will obtain in India, and the amount and nature of commodities brought to market will speedily adjust themselves to the demand. That newspaper proprietors will supply and news-editors write, what is deemed most popular and acceptable amongst the newspaper reading classes, and what they are best disposed to pay for, that the returns on such things are ample, will be seen from a paper published in 1850, when the *Bombay Times* changed its proprietors; by this it

was shown, that during the previous ten years, your petitioner had earned, as remuneration for himself, or free profit for his employers, the sum of £33,000 sterling in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment, and extending its strength and efficiency.

That the source of these aspersions, or misapprehensions, seems to be in the misconduct of a small proportion of the journals of India for the most part conducted by men freshly arrived from newspaper offices at home—journals which do not more fairly represent the Press of India in general than do the *Satirists*, *Ages* and *Towns* of London represent the newspapers of England, the existence of which, at all times precarious and short-lived, might seem inconceivable, were it not, from the diversity of tastes amongst us, such as that manifested by the late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, who mentioned the *Gentleman's Gazette* in his public letters, as only upright, respectable paper in India, that journal having been pronounced by the unanimous voice of the Indian Press a disgrace to it.

That the officers of the Indian Army and the members of the Civil Service, who may be supposed to be tolerable judges of such matters, send home by every mail 3,000 or 4,000 copies of Indian newspapers for the use of their friends, although these cost from two to three times the cost of the newspapers published in London, professedly devoted to Indian subjects, and which embody at least twice the amount of the printed matter Indian newspapers afford; that the character of our newspapers throughout the Continent must be very different from that the witnesses before your Committee confer on it, may be inferred from the fact that your petitioner has long had on his subscription list a considerable proportion of the Courts or leading statesmen throughout the east of Europe.

Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays:—

That your Honourable House will give instructions to your Committee, now assembled for the investigation of Indian Affairs that, instead of accepting, as hitherto, evidence on the state of the Press emanating as in the case of Mr. Mill, either from gentlemen who profess to possess no personal knowledge

on the subject, but are made to assent to the most obnoxious and injurious insinuations interwoven in the questions put to him, or who may of themselves become prejudiced against the Press from strictures made by it, on their own public conduct or may consider it, as a vast number of public servants still do, the grossest impertinence in newspapers to presume to make any remark whatever on the conduct and condition of the privileged classes, that they will summon before them gentlemen; and cause them to be duly interrogated; from India, or at home now, or formerly connected with the Press in the East, who alone can speak with authority on this most important subject.

The Indian newspaper press is now on its trial; the great measure of Lord Metcalf has come into operation since last Charter Act was passed; the fears expressed by Serjeant Spankie, and other distinguished men, 25 years ago, of the frightful consequences of unlicensed journalism in India, have proved as visionary as the alarm of Mr. Melville and others at the consequences of Free Trade; the ignorance prevalent regarding it, even amongst men of the highest talent connected with India, will be seen from the grievous misstatements in Thornton's History, in the articles written by a distinguished Bengal Civilian in the *North British Review* in 1845, in Mr. Campbell's book, and Mr. Mill's evidence, which has not only been shown to be untrue, and without foundation, but to involve the absurdity of upwards £100,000 a year being spent by the servants of the Company, or officers of the Queen's army, on what is described as the most contemptible literary rubbish that can be produced, when the very best might have been on the same terms procured by them; and for many a day to come the newspaper press of India must furnish the sole means by which the community at home can become enlightened as to what is passing in the East, in reference to which the published despatches and ministers of the Crown so often mislead them so fearfully. The extent to which English education is now spreading amongst the native community is rapidly introducing habits of reading not before in existence, and which will, of course, seek gratification from the English newspapers, as being most readily attainable and at hand, and it is, therefore, of the utmost importance both to England and to India that no

misapprehension shall exist as to the position the newspaper press actually occupies; if it should prove to be the mean, vile and contemptible thing it is described, some means should be taken to qualify it for all the important task it is to perform, and the lofty destinies that seem to await English journalism in every part of the world; if as your petitioner maintains, it be otherwise, the delusion apparently at present so general, ought not to attain additional weight or countenance from the results of the investigations before the Committee of your Honourable House.

That your petitioner is unwilling to intrude any personal or private considerations in a subject possessed of sufficient public importance to claim the attention of Parliament; but your Honourable House will admit that few things can be found more unjust, cruel or intolerable than for the only body of professionally literary men existing in the East, labouring with the utmost earnestness and singleness of purpose as public instructors, and for the public good, often individually devoting an amount of time, labour and thought to benevolent enterprises such as might put highly paid servants to shame, and whose great ambition themselves is to deserve and secure the approbation of their countrymen, stigmatised, without a shadow of excuse or foundation, as coarse, untrustworthy, vulgar, slanderous writers, worthy of no respect or estimation whatever, and whose statements are entitled to no weight or consideration.

That your petitioner in seeking redress for himself has restricted his complaint and assertions to the *Bombay Times*, simply because he had no authority to include the grievances of his contemporaries amongst his own, although the grounds of his complaints are general. He claims no peculiar excellencies for the paper he conducts over those of his brethren, from the columns of which many of the most important facts he had had to deal with have been drawn, and he has no doubt that they will claim, as they justly may, for themselves and their journals as great an amount of consideration at the hands of your Honourable House as your petitioner claims for himself and for his.

That your Honourable House will take these things into your early consideration, and adopt such measures for procuring

the redress that is desired as may in your wisdom seem meet is the prayer of your petitioner.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

• GEORGE BUIST,

BOMBAY, 17th November 1852. *Editor of the Bombay Times.*

On the 12th March 1853, R. D. Luard of the Indian Civil Service, then Collector of Continental Customs, who had been degraded from his position as Judge of Surat, published a letter in the *Telegraph and Courier*, reflecting on the character of Messrs. Ball and Simson. He asked the Bombay Government to allow the injured parties to sue him criminally in the Supreme Court. But the Government of Bombay did otherwise and suspended him.

In May 1853, the Court of Directors authorised the Government of India, in the following despatch, to determine whether any engagements which the East India Company's Officers may form in connection with the Indian Press are consistent with the discharge of their primary duties to the Indian Government :—

Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 25, dated the 11th May 1853.

The object of our despatch of the 21st April 1841 was

Military letter, dated 14th July, No. 122 of 1852.

Transmitting correspondence with Assistant Surgeon D. J. O'Callaghan, Assistant Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, respecting that officer's engagement as editorial conductor of the *Morning Chronicle*, daily newspaper at Calcutta. With reference to the Court's despatch, dated 21st April 1841, Government had refrained from interference in cases where Government Officers may have contributed articles for the periodical press; but with advertence to the different case of editing a daily paper, a reference is made to the Court to ascertain whether the undertaking of the editorial management is allowable, under their orders above referred to.

simply to remove the prohibition which then existed to the connection of our officers in any way with the public Press, and the effect of it was to restore to your Government the discretionary power to regulate that connection which you had possessed before our prohibitory orders were issued. Under these circumstances, it rests with you to determine, with such local information as you may possess, whether any engagements which our officers

may form in connection with the Press are consistent with the discharge of their primary duties to the Government and are free from the objection of affording an inconvenient precedent for other cases.

We are, &c.,

J. OLIPHANT

AND OTHER DIRECTORS.

LONDON, }
The 11th May 1853. }

On the 1st of August 1853, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* was converted into a daily paper, and Dosabhai Framji Karaka was made its editor.

On the 1st January 1854, Dadabhai Ardesher Shohezi started a humorous paper called the *Parsee Punch* to represent in caricature persons not mindful of their public duties. But this paper was a short-lived concern having lived for only ten months. In this year Nasarwanji Dorabji Apakhtiyar also started a weekly paper called the *Apakhtiyar* which also circulated for only a short period.

In 1854, the Government of Bombay opened in the Secretariat an "Editor's Room," where public news of importance were laid open for the use of the Bombay Press.

In July of this year, the project of publishing a quarterly review in Bombay was discussed at a dinner given by H. L. Anderson, then Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Political Department. There were present among others :—William Howard (afterwards Advocate-General of Bombay), his brother, Edward Howard (afterwards Director of Public Instruction), William Frere (afterwards a member of the

Government of Bombay), H. B. Frere (afterwards the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere), H. Conybeare (the Civil Engineer), Captain W. F. Marriott, (afterwards Secretary to the Bombay Government in the Military Department), the Rev. Philip Anderson, M.A., Coren, (Registrar of the Sudder Adawlat), John Connon, Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, Herbert John Giraud (afterwards Principal of the Grant Medical College), and James Claudius Erskine (afterwards a member of the Government of Bombay. The Rev. P. Anderson, author of *The English in Western India*, was chosen to be editor; and it was determined, after considerable discussion that articles on other than Indian subjects should be admitted. The *Review* was to be published by Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., who had at that time a branch firm in Bombay.*

The tone of the Bombay Press of this time is thus graphically described by Robert Knight:—"Upon Mr. (T.J.A.) Scott's retirement from the paper, the *Telegraph and Courier* fell into unfortunate hands (one Mr. Halcraft), and as Dr. George Buist was an *habitué* of (Bombay) Government House—far too much so

* The *Bombay Quarterly Review* appeared in 1855 and was a fair success so long as it lived, the literary ability of some of the articles being of a high standard, especially those written by Edward Howard. One of these on Thackeray's novels, was shown to Thackeray himself and declared by him to be the best he had ever read on his works. Edward Howard also wrote articles on "Oxford," "Music as a social recreation" and "Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca." Lewis Pelly (afterwards knighted) wrote one on Sind, W. F. Marriot, one on Ruskin's works, Bartle Frere (afterwards knighted), one on Rifle Musketry, the Rev. Philip Anderson, one on William Erskine's *Life of Babar* and several others founded on the old records of the Government of Bombay which he intended, when completed, to be published as a second volume of his *English in Western India*. His namesake, Henry Anderson (afterwards knighted) wrote two: one on J. W. Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, and the other on "Competitive Examinations for the Civil Service." Dr. Peet, Principal of the Grant Medical College, wrote two: one on "Education in Western India," and the other on "the Moon and her Libellers." Kinloch Forbes, author of *Ras Mala*, wrote one on J. W. Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*. These are all that have been ascertained.

The death of the Editor, the Rev. Philip Anderson, then Chaplain of Colaba, on the 13th December 1857 at the age of 42, and the occurrence of the Mutiny brought the *Review* to a close in 1858.

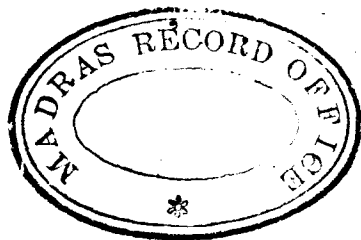
unfortunately for his reputation's sake—and the other journalists were not—the *Bombay Gazette* (under John Connon) and the *Telegraph and Courier* (under Mr. Halcraft) rivalled each other in scurrilous abuse of the *Bombay Times* (under Dr. George Buist). The attacks upon him in the other two papers were always coarse, and sometimes even brutal. The late Mr. Connon was for years a heavy offender in this direction, and the language sometimes used by him would seem incredible to men in these days. We well remember one of these amenities in which he opened his attack upon the 'spirit of a jackass that dwells in our flunkey contemporary.' In the same way he thought it witty to speak of Mr. Halcraft of the *Telegraph and Courier* as 'our contemporary Calcraft' seldom designating him in any other way. Connon was driven into a show of decency by the advent of Mr. George Craig to the *Telegraph and Courier*. Craig was a man of good natural abilities, and being a vigorous writer, not very scrupulous, and great master of abuse, Mr. Connon found the game too warm, and finally left the 'gutter' to his rival, with a plaintive appeal to the public, against the ruffianly degradation of the Bombay Press by Mr. Craig. As a fact, the ruffianism of the Bombay Press for several years was certainly unprecedented."

Another journalist writing on the same subject says: "In those distant days the ethics of the Fourth Estate (of Bombay) were apt to find expression in lampoons well-seasoned with epigrammatic comments on the personal peculiarities of rival editors. 'I remember Robert Knight saying, how shocked he was on landing in Bombay (in 1846) in the Forties at finding the Fort Walls which were then intact, placarded with notices impugning John Connon's veracity. There had

been a journalistic quarrel, and one of the combatants finding that the columns of his paper were not spacious enough for his polemics, had adopted this curious mode of publishing them."

(*To be continued.*)

S. C. SANIAL.



Art. VI.—THE ANNALS OF THE BURDWAN RAJ.

THE Burdwan Raj has been famed from days of yore for its princely liberalities and its numerous works of public utility. This ancient and enormous estate is composed of properties situated in 19 different districts comprising an area of over 4,000 square miles with a population of about 2 million souls. The revenue which the Burdwan Estate pays into the Imperial treasury is the largest in India and its total collection exceeds that of any other Raj in the Bengal Presidency. The Maharajas of Burdwan have been in the enjoyment of high honours and privileges ever since the days of the Moghul emperors ; and even so late as the beginning of the nineteenth century they occupied a political status in no way inferior to that of a feudatory. The history of this great House is therefore likely to prove highly interesting, for it will serve to show how gradually from a small plot of territory it has attained the magnitude and proportions of a great Raj.

We find many incidents in the history of the Burdwan Raj narrated in the monumental works of Sir W. W. Hunter with his usual vigour and precision, and obtain some glimpse of its early history from works like Rev. Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government and Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the East India Company.

It appears that the founder of the House who first immigrated to Bengal and settled at Burdwan was one Sangam Ray, a Kapur Kshatriya of Kotli in Lahore, who, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Puri, being much taken with its natural beauty and commercial advantages, chose to live at Baikunthapur. a

village lying near about the outskirts of the town. Commerce and money-lending being his principal pursuits, he soon acquired for himself a position of influence in the locality. The date of the immigration and settlement of this Kshatriya at Burdwan can only be approximately determined. We find that his grandson Abu Ray was appointed Chowdhuri and Kotwal in 1657 A.D. Taking the period intervening between the two incidents to be 60 years, we come to the conclusion that it was towards the end of Emperor Akbar's reign that Sangam Ray settled at Burdwan.

It appears also that before this the place had been honoured with the precious remains of one Pir Bahram Shakka, a dervish of great renown. This great man was a native of Turkestan and came to Delhi in the time of Emperor Akbar, who placed implicit confidence in him. He lived for some time in the enjoyment of the highest honours of the Court, but disgusted at the jealousy of the courtier brothers Abul Fazl and Faizi, he left Delhi and came to Burdwan in 1562 A.D. He, however, lived here for only three days and then slept the last long sleep. It is said that there was at that time at Burdwan a Hindu Yogi named Yogi Jaypal, who, very much struck and impressed with the miracles performed by Pir Bahram became his disciple, and, making over all his belongings to Pir Bahram, repaired to a corner of the garden. When the news of Bahram Shakka's death reached Akbar, he, through the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, allotted the revenues of certain villages to the perpetuation of his memory. He also gave orders to construct the mosque, to lay out the extensive mango gardens and to re-excavate the tank adjoining the garden and granted a fixed monthly allowance of Rs. 60 to be devoted to charity. In course of time

this monthly allowance came to be reduced to Rs. 41 which is the amount which the Government now pays. It is further related that Bahram Shakka was a Haji of Mecca and Medina and that he used to give water to thirsty people in the streets of Mecca and Najaf (Shakka in Arabic means water-carrier) This act was considered highly virtuous. And Bahram Shakka himself referred in one of his *musnabis* to Shaikh Sadi the poet who performed the same act for nearly 40 years. The Persian inscription in the mosque gives the date of his death 970 Hijri.

Nearly half a century later in 1610 A.D., there took place at Burdwan that memorable contest between Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin, which forms one of the saddest chapters of Mahomedan* history. Shere Afghan, the lawful husband of Nur Jehan, was a man of intrepid valour and unstained honour. It is said that he was so named after he had killed a tiger with his own hand without the help of any weapon. Kutbuddin was sent by Emperor Jehangir to subdue Shere Afghan and take away that precious jewel Nur Jehan (then called Meherun Nissa) from Burdwan, where she was living with her husband. Shere Afghan, on being apprised of the approach of Kutbuddin and not suspecting any foul play, went to greet him. The contest took place near Sadanpur on the borders of the town, and both Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin were killed in the fight. Kutbuddin fell by Shere Afghan's sword, who in turn was killed by Kutbuddin's followers. The dead bodies of Shere Afghan and Kutbuddin were removed for burial to the place of Pir Bahram, and there these two warriors whom Death has made brothers in the grave, rest side by side under the shade of the mango trees on the left side of the entrance to the mosque.

Sangam Ray was succeeded by his son Banku Behari Ray, who continued to live at Baikunthapur and carry on the trade of his father.

After him, his son Abu Ray was the first to attract the notice of the Moghul Government. Once in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb, when a detachment of troops was passing through Burdwan on its way to Dacca, the Fouzdar of Burdwan was in great difficulty in procuring food and provisions for the army. The wary Kshattriya lost no time in helping the Fouzdar by supplying the necessary provisions, and in recognition of his timely and valuable services, he was appointed "Chaudhuri" and "Kotwal" of Rekabi Bazar, etc., in the town of Burdwan under the Fouzdar of Burdwan in 1068 Hijri, A.D. 1657.

His son Babu Ray succeeded to the "Chaudhurahi" and owned *pergana* Burdwan and three other estates, paying about a lakh of rupees in the shape of revenue to the Moghul Government. He was the first to remove to Burdwan and take up his residence in the town.

His son Ghanasyam Ray succeeded to the above estates and honours. It was in his time, about 1674 A.D., that the splendid Shyamsagar tank in Burdwan was excavated. He died in 1675 A.D.

Ghanasyam Ray's son Krishna Ram Ray succeeded to the *zemindari* and acquired new estates. He was honoured with a *farman* from Emperor Aurangzeb dated the 24th Rabiwal Akbar in the thirty-eighth year of his reign (1106 Hijri, about 1694 A.D.), confirming him as *Zemindar* and *Chaudhuri* of *pergana* Burdwan, etc.

In 1696 A.D., Gopal Singh, Raja of Bishnupur, Sobha Singh, Talukdar of Chitwa and Bardha (then a part of Burdwan) and Raghunath Singh, Talukdar of Chandrakona, with the assistance of the Afghan Sardar

Rahim Khan of Orissa took up arms and marched in a body against Krishna Ram Ray. Krishna Ram fought bravely against the united forces of the enemies, but was at last defeated and slain. All his properties as well as the female inmates of his house fell into the hands of the enemies. His son Jagat Ram Ray who alone escaped with his life fled for assistance to the Nawab of Dacca. The Governor of Dacca sent along with Jagat Ram a Mahomedan captain who fought and got back all the properties for Jagat Ram. It is said that this captain after the recapture of the properties died and the Maharaja of Burdwan again sought the assistance of the Governor of Dacca. The brother of the late deceased captain came to Burdwan and lived at Ber, well known as Khwaje Anwar Ka Ber or compound or residence of Khwaje Anwar.

Another account of the origin of this notable place of interest "Khwaje Anwar Ka Ber" is that "Khwaje Anwar was deputed by the Emperor of Delhi with a detachment of army to suppress Sobha Singh and Babu Singh, who had risen against the Maharaja of Burdwan. Khwaje Anwar met with a rather mysterious death in his tent at Murkati, a place on the opposite side of the Damudar. He was a great favourite of Emperor Farukshiyar, who made arrangements for his burial at Ber, and had the building erected and gave Ber and five *moujas* (Edilpur, etc) to his descendants. The five *moujas* were settled by the Government with the Maharaja of Burdwan and in lieu of the rent of the *moujas*, Rs. 321 is received every month from the local collectorate, from which are met all expenses in connection with *shirinis*, charities and feeding of fakirs."

When Sobha Singh had captured the members of Krishna Ram's family, the ladies committed suicide,

in order to save their honour, by taking poison, except Krishna Ram's daughter Satyabati who succeeded in making an end of Sobha Singh by plunging a dagger into his breast when he tried to embrace her and then stabbed herself to death.

Krishna Ram Ray caused the magnificent Krishnasagar tank, which is one of the ornaments of the town, to be excavated and it was named after him. It is said that labour was so cheap in those days, that the labourers were paid at the rate of only a *cowrie* for each basketful of earth.

Krishna Ram Ray's son Jagat Ram Ray succeeded his father and made additions to the family estates. He was honoured with a farman from Emperor Aurangzeb in A.D. 1699, confirming him as Zemindar and Chaudhuri of pergunas Burdwan, etc., consisting of 50 mahals. It is said that he fell by an assassin's dagger while bathing in the Krishnasagar tank in 1702 A.D. Jagat Ram Ray left two sons, Kirtti Chand Ray and Mitra Sen Ray, of whom the former inherited the ancestral property and the latter received maintenance.

Kirtti Chand Ray was a man of great valour. He defeated Hemmat Singh, the brother of Sobha Singh, who killed Krishna Ram Ray and took possession of his estates. He also successfully fought against the talukdars of Chandrakona, Bardha and Balghara and took possession of their estates. In this way he added to his ancestral property the pergunas of Chitwa, Bardha, Monoharsahi and Bhursut, the last being the property of the poet Bharat Chandra. He also received a farman from Emperor Aurangzeb in 1704 A.D., and another from Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1737 A.D. and greatly helped the Nawab in driving out the Mahratta robbers from the country. He did

immense good to his subjects by excavating tanks in different places of his zemindari, where there was scarcity of water. And his mother Brojo Kishori caused the beautiful Ranisagar tank in Burdwan to be excavated in 1709 A.D. He owned at the time of his death 57 pergunas paying to the Moghul Government nearly 21 lakhs in the shape of revenue.

On the death of Kirtti Chand, which happened in 1740 A.D., his only son Chitra Sen Roy inherited the ancestral property to which he added the pergunas of Mandalghat and Arsha. He received a number of farmans from the Moghul Emperor and the Nawab of Bengal, of which one from Emperor Muhammad Shah, dated 1740 A.D., honoured him with the title of "Raja." They all conferred on him high duties and privileges such as the administration of justice, preservation of the peace, suppression of highway robbery, punishment of criminals and the like.

Chitra Sen died in 1744 A.D., without issue, and was succeeded by his cousin Mitra Sen's son, Tilak Chand, who, on his succession, received a farman from Emperor Muhammad Shah, confirming him in the title of "Raja" and his right to the Raj. He was afterwards honoured by Emperor Ahmed Shah with a farman in 1753, recognising and confirming his right to the Raj. He received a farman from Emperor Shah Alum II through the Commander-in-Chief in 1764, making him "Raja Bahadur" and "Master of 4,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry." Lastly he was invested with the title of "Maharaj Dhiraj Bahadur" and "Panch Hazari" or "Commander of 5,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry" with authority to keep guns and to use martial music, by a farman from Emperor Shah Alum, dated 14th Ramzan 1181 Hijri, 1768 A.D.

Maharaja Tilak Chand Bahadur died in 1770 at the age of 37 and was succeeded by his minor son Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur, aged six years, who, on his succession, was recognised as the Maharaja of Burdwan and immediately afterwards received from the Commander-in-Chief in 1771 a *sanad*, confirming him in the titles of "Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur" and "Master of 5,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry" with authority to keep guns, bands, etc. The administration of the district and of the Burdwan Raj was, during the period of his minority, in the hands of the Maharaja's capable guardian mother Maharani Bishan Kumari and his representative. During his time the vast estates of the Raj were brought within the operations of Regulation I of 1793, the basis of the Permanent Settlement under the British rule. The administration of civil and criminal justice which had so long remained in the hands of the Maharajas of Burdwan was transferred to the Company in 1790. And in 1793 the Company also took upon itself the work of preservation of the peace, which too was one of the functions of the Maharaja, by instituting the system of police organisation in the district. In 1797 some portions of his zemindari estates were sold away in pursuance of the provisions of the new regulation on account of his failure in the punctual discharge of the public revenue. In 1788 his mother Maharani Bishan Kumari built and consecrated the group of 109 temples at Nawabhat as productive of great religious merit. He caused several roads to be constructed for the convenience of the public, the most notable of which is the one leading from Burdwan to Kalna. During this time the people of Burdwan suffered terrible hardship from the inundation of the river Damudak which, during the rains, submerged the whole town.

One such flood which occurred in 1823 produced most disastrous consequences. At the time of the Permanent Settlement, the Maharaja had stipulated to pay annually a considerable sum of money into the Government treasury for the construction and upkeep of an embankment to protect the country from the ravages of the inundation; and at the time of the terrible flood of 1823 he earned the gratitude of the people and the appreciation of the Government by helping the homeless and distressed people. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur had eight wives and a son by his sixth wife named Pratap Chand, who predeceased him. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur entrusted his son Pratap Chand with the management of his vast estates, portions of which had already given way to the Revenue Sale Law; and it was through the intervention of Maharaja Pratap Chand and primarily for the benefit of the Raj that the Legislature thought fit to pass Regulation VIII of 1819, which gave to the Maharaja the same summary remedy against his own putnidars as the Government had against him. Maharaja Pratap Chand died in 1820 at Kalna at the age of 29. Maharaja Tej Chand Bahadur then adopted as his son the youngest son of Paran Chand Babu in 1827. He died in 1832 after enjoying the *gadi* for sixty years and was succeeded by his adopted son, who was named Mahtab Chand.

Maharaja Mahtab Chand Bahadur succeeded his adoptive father when he was only 12 years old. He received a farman from Lord Bentinck dated the 30th August 1832 confirming him in the title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur" of Burdwan. Maharani Kamal Kumari and her brother Paran Chand Babu were appointed guardians of the minor maharaja to manage the affairs of the Raj during the period of his minority.

In 1835 a sham Protap Chand appeared on the scene. He alleged that he was Protap Chand, and that having committed a grievous sin, he had taken a vow by way of penance thereof to remain absent and unknown for some years, and that he did not actually die, but feigning symptoms of death he had escaped from Kalna and came now to claim his ancestral property. Some rich speculative people of Calcutta helped him with money to meet the necessary expenses of a lawsuit and an interesting and historic trial took place. The Court, however, totally disbelieved the story of the claimant and sentenced the pretender to imprisonment, which he survived for a few years, and subsequently died in Calcutta.

Maharaja Mahtab Chand Bahadur assumed charge of his estates in 1844, which he managed with great ability. He rendered help to the Government at the time of the Sonthal Insurrection in 1855 and stood by the Government at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. In 1864 he was appointed an additional member of the Viceregal Legislative Council, being at the time the first nobleman in Bengal who was so honoured. In 1868 the Maharaja obtained for himself and his descendants the Royal License to bear "Arms and Supporters," and at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the 1st January 1877 on the occasion of the Proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen as Empress of India, the right to receive a salute of 13 guns was granted to him together with the style of "His Highness" as a personal distinction. He placed a sum of Rs. 50,000 into the hands of the Bengal Government for the medical relief of the people at the time of the terrible outbreak of the Burdwan fever in 1869 and paid a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the

Government for the help of the famine-stricken people in Madras in 1877. He established in Burdwan a free English school and a charitable dispensary and caused authorised translations of the Ramayana and Mahabharata to be printed for free distribution to the people. By all these and numerous other acts of charity and public spirit, he won high honours from the Government and eternal gratitude from the people at large. He also made valuable additions to the ancestral zemindaries by purchasing the Kujong and Sujamutha estates. He died in 1879 after enjoying the *gadi* for 47 years and was succeeded by his adopted son, Aftab Chand Mahtab Bahadur, then aged 19 years.

On his attaining majority in 1881, Maharaj Adhiraj Aftab Chand Mahtab Bahadur was installed by Sir Ashley Eden, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He received a *sanad* from Lord Ripon, confirming him in all his honours and possessions. He, however, did not live long to enjoy his estate, but, during his short period, he spent a good deal of money for the public good. The Burdwan Raj School was raised by him to the status of a second grade college located in a splendid building at a cost of Rs. 80,000. He made a gift of a public circulating library to the town and gave Rs. 50,000 to the Burdwan Municipality for the Burdwan water-works. He died in 1885 at the age of 25, leaving behind him his widow, Maharani Adhirani, Benodeyi Debi with authority to adopt a son. Maharani Benodeyi then adopted as her son the present Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Bejoy Chand Mahtab Bahadur in 1887 and died in 1888.

The Maharaja's estates were managed, during the period of his minority, by the Court of Wards with Raja Bun Behari Kapur, C.S.I., the father

of the present Maharaja who gave his son in adoption to the late Maharani Benodeyi, as manager, who managed the estates with singular ability and conspicuous success. The Maharaja was installed on the *gadi* by the Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., the then acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on the 10th February 1903. Since taking charge of his estates he has been managing them with great efficiency and has already given sufficient proofs of his public spirit and generosity. In July 1905 a son was born to him, who has been named Uday Chand Mahtab Bahadur. He received two *sanads* from Lord Curzon in 1903, conferring on him the title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur," and a *sanad* from Lord Minto, dated the 26th June 1908, conferring on him the hereditary title of "Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur" to be attached to the estate. He was honoured by the Government with the title of K.C.I.E. on the 1st January 1909 and was admitted to the third class of the Civil Division of the Indian Order of Merit in recognition of the conspicuous courage displayed by him at the Overtoun Hall, Calcutta, on the 7th November 1908 in connection with the attempt upon the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

D. K. MUKERJI, M.A., B.L.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.—Annual Reports for 1905-06 and 1906-07.

IF these reports have made a somewhat tardy appearance, this is more than compensated for by the completeness of the information contained in them as well as the admirable way in which they have been produced, while the illustrations of some of the wonderful ancient monuments of this country attain the high water mark of excellence. A large amount of work under Mr. J. N. Marshall's orders has been done during the period under review in rescuing ancient monuments from modern utilitarian use. This work formed one of the most notable features of Conservation Work during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, and we learn that several more monuments of the Mughal epoch have been added to the list of those saved in this way. One of the best known of them is the Diwani-i-Am at Lahore which had done duty for many decades as a barrackroom. This hall has now been vacated by the Military and all the modern accretions which hid the ancient work from view have been demolished. The rescue of the Diwan-i-Am has been followed by the rescue of other ancient monuments. Mr. Marshall, whose work in India may be described as prodigious, sets forth very plainly the policy of the Archæological Department in regard to restoration which he says coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home who fully recognise the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognise also that there may be religious, social, political or other considerations to be taken into account, which render it impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to one and every case. Taking the Taj at Agra as a concrete example, these were patent reasons the report points out for its restoration, which has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty. The illustrations in the report are numerous.

CASTES AND TRIBES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.—VII. Volumes. By Edgar Thurston, C.I.E., assisted by K. Rangachari, M.A.

MR. EDGAR THURSTON hardly wants an introduction to the people of India. His name is a household one in this land, more especially in the South, where as Superintendent of the Madras Museum his name is held in the highest esteem. It is not surprising, therefore, that the ethnographic survey of the South of India, entrusted to his hands, should have produced such complete information as contained in the seven volumes, encyclopaedic in the fullness of the information contained therein, of the numerous castes and tribes inhabiting the southern portion of India. Mr. Thurston, however, does not take all the credit for the preparation of the splendid work which has reached us, but believing in the old maxim *palmm qui meruit ferat* acknowledges his hearty appreciation of the services rendered to it by his assistant, Mr. K. Rangachari. Briefly the task set before Mr. Thurston in 1901 was to record the "manners and customs and physical characters of more than 300 castes and tribes, representing more than 40,000,000 individuals, and spread over an area exceeding 150,000 square miles." This achievement is recorded in the seven volumes; and the descriptions, etc., of the tribes and castes alphabetically arranged and accompanied by numerous excellent illustrations are fully set out in the most interesting manner in the work before us. The volumes have been well printed at the Government Press, Madras, and will form a standard work on the subject dealt with.

TRANS-HIMALAYA DISCOVERIES AND ADVENTURES IN TIBET.—By Sven Hedin. Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London.

THE great traveller Sven Hedin, who it seemed only the other day was welcomed by the Viceroy and distinguished people at Simla after his travels in Tibet, has now given us in two volumes a very pleasantly written narrative of his fifth journey to Asia—one which has resulted, after many privations, in the Swedish explorer locating the hitherto great white space

in the Trans-Himalaya region. Sven Hedin crossed in a single line the region between the Khalampa-la and the Suruge-la. He was able to trace the course of the Trans-Himalaya and prove that its known eastern and western sections are connected and belong to the same mountain system and that this system is one of the loftiest and mightiest in the world, only to be compared with the Himalayas, the Karakorum, Arka-tag and Kuen-lun. "Between the Shiangan-la and Zasin, not far from the sharp bend of the Indus," says the author, "its length amounts to 1,400 miles, but if it can be shown that the Trans-Himalaya merges into the Hindu Kush and continues along the Salwin its length extends to 2,500 miles." The two volumes have a particular fascination for us in India and should stimulate interest in the wonderful country which is so near to us and the mysteries of which are gradually beginning to dissipate. Sven Hedin's name is well known throughout this country, and any account of his travels by himself will no doubt command a large popularity through the length and breadth of this large country.

THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES.

WE have received a copy of Vol. I of this most interesting work from the publishers, Messrs. Higginbotham and Co. of Madras. Price Rs. 10. In 1902 the author, Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., was entrusted with the Ethnographical Survey of the State. The results of his investigations into the customs and manners of the local hill and jungle tribes and the lowest castes were published from time to time in the form of monographs, which after revision have now been presented with illustrations in the single volume before us. The volume deals with all the Malayali and Animistic castes, and photographs of same are interspersed with the reading matter. We are promised a second and third volume later on which will deal with the higher castes (high and low caste Indians), Ambalavasies, Elayads, Muthads, Brahmans, Jews, Muhamadans, and Christians, together with the physical anthropology of the inhabitants of the State. The volume begins with a

preface by Mr. John Beddoe, the distinguished past President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and bears testimony to the interest and importance of Mr. Iyer's work, which is rendered all the more interesting because the author belongs to India by race and nativity, and because Cochin, though limited in extent, is a province affording opportunities to the ethnologist which can hardly be excelled anywhere in India, having a gamut of castes extending from the Brahman and the Nair, among whom features of high Aryan type are common, and whose aspect little else, than colour discriminates from the upper class European, to the scarcely human wretch who is not, theoretically at least, allowed to crawl within a hundred yards of the Brahman, but who, nevertheless, as Mr. Iyer shows, voluntarilly circumscribes what little liberty is left to him, by various caste devices and prohibitions. We feel sure that in addition to the coterie of students of Ethnology and Sociology the book will attract a large number of readers both in the East and West.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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