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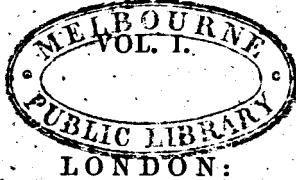
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Melbourne

ABORIGINES' FRIEND, AND THE COLONIAL INTELLIGENCER.



AB UNO SANGUINE



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So much delay took place in bringing out the concluding Number of the Fourth Volume of the "Intelligencer," which contained no details of a later date than 1854, that it has been judged best to produce a single large sized Number for the past year, by which means we are enabled to arrange the matter under the heads of the respective districts to which it belongs. As the Committee have again secured the services of an Assistant Secretary, we trust that the production of the Society's periodical will now be liable to less interruption than has been the case since the loss of the able assistance of Louis Alexis Chamerozow. For the present, however, it is considered expedient not to run the risk of involving the Society in fresh financial difficulties by publishing more frequently than once in the quarter of the year.

AFRICA.

To no quarter of the globe has the attention of the friends of the Aborigines been turned with greater or more frequent interest than to Africa. From the commencement of the Society's labours the wrongs of the natives of Southern Africa have claimed a large and important share of its solicitude. We shall therefore commence at this portion of the continent.

CAPE COLONY.

In our last Number we published the Address presented on behalf of the Society to Sir George Grey, on his departure from England to enter upon the important post of Governor of this colony. Before describing some of the gratifying results which already offer a fair promise that our favourable anticipations of Sir George Grey's policy will be realized, it will not be amiss to observe, that it appears, from papers laid before Parliament relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes, that Sir George Grey, while yet in New Zealand, transmitted to the Colonial Office an exposition of his views as to the mode in which it was expedient to deal with the native tribes of South Africa. It also appears that these views were sent from Downing Street to Sir George Cathcart—at that time the Governor of the Cape—by whom they were regarded as "not practically applicable to the circumstances of this locality and native people." When we consider that many of the colonists would be likely to form an opinion similar to that of Sir George Cathcart, and that doubts respecting the policy of Sir George Grey were felt by members of the British Government, and that strong opposition to it has been expressed both in and out of Parliament, it is subject for sincere congratulation that not only Sir George Grey has had the firmness to mature and develop his plans, but that the British Government has not shrunk from supporting him in their execution.

Although Sir George Grey's ideas regarding the policy to be adopted towards the native tribes had thus preceded him, he met with a gratifying and honourable reception from the colonists. The Government papers afford the evidence that his attention was soon called to alarming reports of impending disturbances, and to various statements of the natives making preparations for the renewal of war in the event of their not being able to obtain, by treaty, some mitigation of the terms which had been imposed upon them, and some extension of the limited and inadequate territory which they were permitted to occupy. He, moreover, found the state of the Fingoes, as respects the colony, by no means satisfactory. The uneasiness excited amongst the colonists by the friendly relations and matrimonial alliances which had commenced between these people and their former oppressors, the Kaffirs, was noticed in the last Annual Report of the Society. Sir George Grey's attention was arrested by circumstances inherent in the peculiar position of the Fingoes themselves. In one of his despatches he says, "It appears that when the Fingoes were a broken and scattered tribe they were humble and docile, but that, now they are again collected into tribes, and become rich and powerful, their former difficulties are forgotten, and their demeanour is altered. It also appears that some of the chiefs of this tribe have now so many men that they find it difficult to preserve peace." In another despatch, again alluding to the Fingoes, he makes the following important remarks:—"It is, I think, an invariable rule in the case of barbarous tribes, that if a tribe has been in a state of slavery, and is then redeemed from it, that there is extreme difficulty in managing them, for their chiefs having lost their authority, there is no power which they recognize and obey, and the young men, who have been brought up in submission, finding the reins of discipline relaxed, are almost certain to become more than ordinarily presumptuous and overbearing, and, having no superior authority to repress them, are very difficult indeed to control. I think, therefore, that the troubles which are arising with respect to the Fingoes are such as we might, to some extent, naturally anticipate. It is clear that Sir George Cathcart foresaw that precautions would be necessary to prevent such a state of things, and he devised a system for gradually ameliorating the condition of the Fingoes, and of attaching them to us by giving them a permanent tenure of the lands, a system which has unfortunately not been carried out. That great alarm now generally prevails regarding them cannot be denied, and this suspicion upon our part will undoubtedly raise theirs. In a recent despatch I stated that it was reported that the troops at one of the military stations had got under arms on account of rumours regarding the Fingoes. From the enclosed copy of a letter which I have this day (22d December 1854) received it will be seen that the inhabitants of a distant town in another part of the colony, Cradock, without any knowledge of what had taken place elsewhere, in like manner

suddenly turned to protect themselves from an anticipated attack from the Fingoes in their neighbourhood."

Under these circumstances the new Governor seems to have spared no pains to make himself really acquainted with the actual state of things, not merely by obtaining official reports, but also by visiting different localities in person.

The following despatch describes his interview with the chiefs in British Kaffraria.

"Dohne Post, Amatola Mountain, Feb. 14, 1855.

"SIR,—I have the honour to report that upon my arrival in this colony it was stated by several persons to the Government that Sandilli, the chief of the Gaika tribes, had declared that he would not attend at any other interviews with the Governor of the country. The cause of this determination on his part was alleged to be his fear of treachery, although it appeared to me to be the mere bravado of an uncivilized man.

"2. I thought it, however, to be my duty, on entering Kaffraria, to let it be understood that I had no desire to hold any interviews with the chiefs, and should not, therefore, invite them to any meeting.

"3. The result of this was, as might have been expected, that the Gaika chiefs, as soon as I entered British Kaffraria, communicated with their Commissioner, stating their desire to see me, and to wait upon me at any place in their vicinity which I might visit. The answer returned was, that I was inspecting the different military posts, and that I should visit the Dohne Post, where if any of them wished to wait upon me they could do so. The friendly chiefs had in this manner waited upon me as I have proceeded on my journey.

"4. Sandilli, Anta, Macomo, and the other principal chiefs of the Gaika tribes, having received this message, repaired to this place, a military post, where they have for several days, with about 800 of their followers, unarmed, awaited my arrival.

"5. After that I arrived here this day I first visited, in company with Lieutenant-General Jackson, the military post, and we then received the Gaika chiefs at the Commissioner's house, about 200 yards from the post. The chiefs thus, for the first time for several years, so far showing confidence in us as to assemble fearlessly at a military post, being themselves unarmed, whilst an armed British force was close to them.

"6. As they were unwilling to speak first I began the proceedings by thanking them for having come, some of them from a very considerable distance, and at much inconvenience, to wait upon me, adding that I was very glad to see them.

"7. Sandilli replied by expressing the pleasure with which they met me. They thanked God for having brought me in safety across the broad sea, and actually up to them, so that they had this day the pleasure of seeing me, and could now look up to me. That one subject lay very near their hearts, and with my permission they would avail themselves of this opportunity of opening their hearts to me.

"8. I had understood previously from Mr. Brownlee, their Commissioner, that they intended to pursue this course; and that when I had given them the permission they asked for, Macomo was to press me to restore land to them or to provide more land for them. I had also heard that on previous similar occasions with other Governors, when Macomo had been spokesman, on the subject of restoring lands, that when their requests had not been complied with angry and rather unpleasant conversations had ensued. To avoid this, therefore, and yet to let them plainly understand what my intentions were, I replied—

“That a child newly born into the world was long before it could distinguish its own parents from other persons, longer still before it could distinguish friends from foes. That I was yet, in this country, but a new-born child; therefore I could answer no matter hurriedly. I therefore intended to lay down the rule that all great public matters must be submitted to me in writing. I begged, therefore, that they would write me a letter expressing their wishes, and send it to me through their Commissioner. In this way I could not possibly misunderstand their request, nor could my reply be misunderstood. Moreover, all that passed between us would then remain on record, and would be fully considered before I came to a decision.”

“9. This answer confused them very much, as it was quite unexpected; and after a long consultation, Sandilli, still as their spokesman, said, they only begged me at least to hear what they had to say now, they would then write it down and await my answer.

“10. These natives are very subtle, and I feared they thought by prolonging the conversation they would gradually draw me into a public argument. I thought, also, that by hearing them I might lead them to indulge hopes which I could not fulfil, and thereby ultimately cause disappointment. I therefore replied, that I must decline hearing what they had to say; that I should often afterwards visit them, and gladly hear their private complaints, and redress them if I could, but that their general request must be delivered to me in writing.

“11. This answer evidently discomposed them much, and an air of embarrassment spread over all their chiefs. I therefore rapidly turned the conversation to the subject of a disease now spreading amongst cattle and horses, and in a few minutes, by leading them to thoughts agreeable to them, a cheerful and merry conversation sprung up; their countenances changed from gloom to mirth and animation. Some bullocks, tobacco, and blankets were promised to them, as also four saddles, one to each of their principal chiefs. Sandilli begged to have a plough given to him; and finding he would really use it, I promised him one, and the assembly soon broke up in the highest good humour, and as I met the chiefs moving about afterwards all looked happy and contented.

“I should add, that all which passed at this meeting, and all I have seen of the Kaffirs since I have been in their territory, entirely satisfies me that if Her Majesty's Government will assent to my carrying out the plans I propose, a very few years will suffice to entirely settle the troublesome questions which have disturbed this country.

“I have, &c.,

(Signed)

“GEORGE GREY,

“Governor and High Commissioner.

“The Right Hon. Sir George Grey,” &c.

On the 15th of March 1855 Sir George Grey opened the session of the Cape Parliament, and delivered a speech containing a full exposition of the policy which he proposed to pursue as High Commissioner, and of that which, as Governor of the colony, he earnestly recommended for the adoption of the Home Government and of the Colonial Parliament.

The following copious extracts from that communication will shew the Governor's care for the natives, and the remarkable coincidence which in many, not to say all, respects, exists between his views and those contained in the address presented to him on the part of the Aborigines' Protection Society.

“ You are aware that the British territories in South Africa consist of two portions. One of these—British Kaffraria—lies beyond your jurisdiction and control; its government and affairs may at present be said to be administered by myself, as Her Majesty’s High Commissioner. The other portion constitutes the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. That district I can, on Her Majesty’s behalf, only govern with your consent and advice, and in accordance with your views and wishes. Beyond these two portions of territories lie other states, forming independent powers, ruled by persons of European descent, or by chiefs of the native races. Over all such territories Her Majesty’s High Commissioner can, by advice or otherwise, exercise a greater or less degree of influence, in respect of which he is not responsible to this Legislature. But in any attempt to carry out plans which, instead of only aiming at maintaining on the frontier a temporary momentary peace, and at a mere putting off for the instant of imminent danger, embrace within their grasp views for the ultimate security and greatness of the whole territory of South Africa—which contemplate its existence as a real power, which may hereafter bless and influence large portions of this vast continent—it is essential that there should be no divided views between the several authorities who can bring about such a desirable state of things, no conflicting legislation for minute portions of the country, no petty jealousies regarding the exact limits of separate authorities. On the contrary, all who are interested in the future of this country, and who have the power to influence it, should have before them a distinct plan which all are anxious to see realized, in the carrying out of which all are eager to co-operate.

“ I shall, therefore, unhesitatingly lay before you the line of policy I propose to pursue in British Kaffraria, and my views in reference to the countries which lie beyond our border. Should these be adverse to the interests of the Cape Colony, or opposed to the feelings and interests of its inhabitants, you, their chosen representatives, can advise me of this, and counsel me as to the modifications which you think desirable. Should, however, my views be in accordance with your own, and such as must, in your opinion, promote the prosperity of South Africa, then you, as the depositaries of the revenue and resources of this colony, can render me the most material aid.

“ I propose that we should dismiss from our minds the idea of attempting to establish or maintain a system of frontier policy, based upon the idea of retaining a vacant tract of territory, intervening between ourselves and a barbarous race beyond it, who are to be left in their existing state, without any systematic efforts being made to reclaim and civilize them. The necessary results of such a policy appear to me to be, that such a people as the Kaffirs, so abandoned to themselves, will break in upon us whenever it suits their caprice or convenience, whilst the vacant territory would afford a convenient place for them to harbour in, until they ascertained upon what point of our frontier they could most readily and profitably direct their blows, and ultimately an easy and unoccupied line of escape for them into their own country with the booty which they might have secured.

“ I would rather that we should, with full yet humble confidence, accept the duties and responsibilities of our position, that we should admit that we cannot live in immediate contact with any race or portion of our fellow men, whether civilized or uncivilized, neglecting and ignoring our duties towards them, without suffering those evils which form the fitting punishment of our neglect and indifference; that we should feel that if we leave the natives beyond our border ignorant barbarians, shut out from all community of interest with ourselves, they must always remain a race of troublesome marauders, and that, feeling this, we should try to make them a part of ourselves, with a common faith and common interests, useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors

to our revenue; in short, a source of strength and wealth for this colony, such as Providence designed them to be. What, therefore, I propose in this respect is, that, availing ourselves of the fertility of British Kaffraria, and its power of maintaining a dense population, we should fill it up with a considerable number of Europeans, of a class fitted to increase our strength in that country; and that, at the same time, unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kaffirs in Christianity and civilization, by the establishment among them, and beyond our boundary, of missions connected with industrial schools, by employing them on public works, and by other similar means.

"Should this plan be carried out, our ultimate frontier defence would be a fertile and populous country, filled with a large population, partly European, partly native; the Europeans, reared in the country, acquainted with its inhabitants and their mode of warfare; the natives, won by our exertions to Christianity, trained by us in agriculture and in simple arts, possessing property of their own and a stake in the country, accustomed to our laws, and aware of their advantages, attached to us from a sense of benefits received, respecting us for our strength and generosity.

"The native races beyond our boundary, influenced as they would be by our Missionaries, instructed in our schools, benefiting by our trade, would be likely to attempt but little against such frontier, occupied to a great extent by their own race and countrymen, whose example they would be desirous of emulating and imitating. Did they, however, attempt any enterprise against it, a mixed European and native population, such as I have described, could more readily repel and punish them than any other description of force.

"The means by which I hope that this may be accomplished are as follows: Firstly, with regard to the military protection of the country, and the introduction of an increased European population, I propose that men from the enrolled pensioners in England should be allowed to volunteer for service in South Africa, under the admirable system devised by Earl Grey.

"If this plan is sanctioned by the home government, the men enrolled will never exceed forty-five years of age. They will be medically approved of as fit for the occasional military duties required of them. They will be carefully selected from that class of men whose services are most likely to be valuable in new countries. They will be all married men, the maximum of their families being five: and with their wives and families they will have a free passage given them to this country.

"Upon their arrival, they will be located, with their officers, in the immediate vicinity of a military post; each man will have an acre of good land, with a cottage upon it, allotted to him; and their villages will be so arranged, that they will, whenever practicable, form, together with the military post, a continuous series of defences.

"The conditions of their service will be, that they serve for seven years; that they never go more than five miles from their village; that they assemble under arms for church parade every Sunday; that they serve twelve days in every year without pay, whenever called on for that purpose; and at all other times, when called out, for a stipulated rate of pay. At the termination of their seven years' service, they will receive a free grant of their cottage and an acre of land.

"I have already recommended that one thousand men and their families should, under this system, be sent out for location on the frontier and in British Kaffraria, and I propose that, ultimately, this force should be increased to 5000 men.

"It is probable that so large an increase to our European population, and the advantages to which I will presently advert, as resulting from the introduction of pensioners into the colony, would, in conjunction with the other

measures which will be taken for the control and improvement of the Kaffirs; prevent any war of magnitude from again breaking out. Should these expectations, however, be disappointed, the pensioners would then form the garrisons of the military post, and the whole military force would be set free for operations against the enemy, and thus enable the Government to carry on the war with greater vigour and effect than it has ever hitherto been able to do.

* * * * *

“ Little would, however, be done if we stopped here. We should, I think, use our time of strength, when our generosity cannot be misunderstood, to instruct and civilize—to change inveterate enemies into friends, alike from interest and increased knowledge—destroyers of our stock, and produce into consumers of our goods and producers for our markets.

“ With much experience on this subject, I feel entirely certain that this can be accomplished. The means by which I propose to attempt it are, as I have already stated, the encouragement of missions connected with industrial schools, in which the natives may be trained in Christian doctrines, and at the same time instructed in the arts of civilized life, which institutions I hope to see spread far beyond our frontier; the establishment of hospitals, where the sick of the native race, as well as Europeans, may be carefully tended, and of other such like charitable institutions; the employment of adult natives upon public works, which will in fact form also industrial schools, where they will be trained to perform operations of industry, and to use implements with which they are now almost entirely unacquainted.

* * * * *

“ With regard to the employment of natives on public works, I should state that I find a great growing desire amongst the natives to be employed on such works. This I regard as an excellent sign for the future; for, as the natives will not only be paid, but will also be rationed on articles such as the natives themselves produce, a spur will be given to the industry even of those who are not employed by the Government, from a ready market for their produce being brought to their own doors.

* * * * *

“ In order that a proper development may be given to these efforts for the moral training and elevation of the native population, it is necessary that they should be carried on simultaneously beyond the border, and within the border; for the fact cannot be concealed that if the Fingo population is neglected, that race, which might be such valuable friends, may become formidable enemies.

“ I have therefore recommended Her Majesty's Government to separate entirely British Kaffraria from this colony, and to provide for a few years for the expenditure in that province by means of a grant from the British Legislature, upon the same plan which was adopted with such happy success in New Zealand; leaving those funds reserved in this colony for aboriginal purposes to be spent entirely for the improvement and civilization of the natives within the colony, as I am satisfied, that where such great exertions are to be made, the resources of the colony will not more than supply its own necessary demands, and that especially at a time when it is called upon to make such efforts to provide a police force sufficient to meet the requirements of the frontier.

“ In reference to the countries lying beyond the limits of British territory, I propose, wherever it is possible, and where the people are willing to receive them, to encourage the spread of industrial schools, in connexion with those which lie within our limits.

“ I ought not to conceal from you that I feel much anxiety regarding the future of the republics recently established in our vicinity. It is much to be feared that, from their weakness, they will find great difficulties in working out, unaided, their own prosperity and happiness, and that they may involve

themselves, this colony, and the native tribes in very serious troubles. I can only hope that the anxiety we may evince for their welfare, and the generosity which this Government will exhibit towards them, may be such as to win their attachment and regard, and to convince them that their interests and our own are, in fact, identical, and that the more closely they can unite themselves with us, the stronger and more prosperous they, together with ourselves, will be, the more efficiently shall we all execute our duties in reference to the numerous inhabitants of the interior of this continent.

"It might, I think, be even now in your power to do much for these republics. The great majority of the inhabitants of those countries are members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Travelling through this country, and contrasting it with other colonies, inhabited by a widely-dispersed population, where only very limited means of religious instruction and supervision existed, I have been much struck by observing how powerful an influence the system of government and discipline of the Dutch Reformed Church exercises over the morals and conduct of its members. In a very scattered community, removed from the watchful control of a government, the discipline and system of that church imposes regularity, decency, order, and propriety of conduct; and, in fact, fulfils many of the functions of government and law, besides affording an admirable machinery by which new settlements may be thrown off from the old stock. To provide, therefore, for an efficient ministry, which would follow and minister to the members of that church, as they spread over the distant portions of this continent, is a most important consideration. I think, therefore, you would confer an inestimable benefit upon South Africa if you could in your wisdom devise a system which would enable you to bring this about. Perhaps you might establish in some educational institution in the colony one or more well-endowed theological chairs, the professors for which should be chosen by the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church.

"If this were done, youths born in any part of South Africa might then be educated here for the ministry of that church; want of the means to defray the cost of giving a child a European education would then not prevent parents from striving to train up a talented and well-disposed son for the ministry. The Dutch Reformed Church would be enabled to avail itself of much of piety and talent which now runs to comparative waste, and the best and most virtuous of the youth of our race inhabiting the colony would have the satisfaction of knowing that, although their parents were comparatively poor, still it was now in their power to afford them an education which would enable them to follow those of their countrymen who were advancing further and further into the interior, and from the means of instruction, with the consolations of religion, the faith of their forefathers, and the elements of human learning. Any efforts that you may make to secure, for those who were so recently your fellow-countrymen, advantages which will so materially influence their future, cannot but gain for you their gratitude; and so improving and raising them must evidently produce many advantages for yourselves.

"Such is the outline of the system for securing the future tranquillity and prosperity of the frontier, and of the countries beyond it, which I recommend for your consideration. The plan may seem large; but I believe that any thing less would not accomplish the object sought for, and therefore would be simply so much thrown away. If the plan is extensive, so is the object to be accomplished. We have to put an end to wars, the cost of which is reckoned by millions; to prevent irruptions into our territories, which have become almost periodical; each of which impoverishes a colony and spreads an amount of private disaster and loss, the money value of which it would be very difficult to ascertain. The cost of all I recommend will, either to the mother country or the colony, be but trifling compared to two months of war; whilst the

expenditure it involves is not immediate, but is spread over a space of several years. The amount disbursed will not be wasted but will fructify for all time.

* * * * *

"Experience has shown that in a country whose scanty population is spread over a vast extent of territory it is not possible to collect direct taxes, except at a cost which renders a tax, apparently light, in practice oppressive.

"Moreover, in a country circumstanced as this colony, where you find barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes, either within or immediately beyond your borders, who, if they are not either influenced or controlled by the Government, become a source of constant danger to the country, it would be found extremely difficult to make such tribes defray, by direct taxation, the costs which their supervision entails upon the Government. By subjecting them, however, to indirect taxation, they will, without knowing it, and by a species of voluntary taxation, contribute largely to the charges which their government entails upon you; whilst in proportion as you raise them in the social scale, and induce them to use either the conveniences or embellishments of life, they will more largely contribute to your revenue, and enable you to take, in each succeeding year, more and more efficient means for their control and improvement."

The following despatch from Lord John Russell will shew how well the proposals of Sir George Grey have been received by the Home Government. The observations contained in the despatch afford subject for reflection and comment which we reserve for the present, together with some exceptions to be taken to the Governor's plan—

"Downing Street, June 3, 1855.

"Sir,—I have read with great interest the speech which you delivered to the Cape Parliament on the 15th March.

"2. The importance of the subjects there treated, the ability with which you have treated them, and the certainty that these topics must occupy your attention and that of the Legislature for a very long time to come, induce me to state to you fully the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the policy to be pursued in that portion of South Africa placed under your direction.

"3. Let me, in the first place, declare explicitly that it is for no object of dominion or extension of territory that Great Britain wishes to maintain possession of British Kaffraria. So far as the interests of this empire are concerned, British Kaffraria might be abandoned and the eastern districts of the Cape Colony left unprotected, without injury to the power of the United Kingdom, and with a considerable saving to its finances. But such considerations have not been allowed to prevail. The performance of an honourable duty to British colonists, the maintenance of a position acquired at great cost both of men and money, and, lastly, views of comprehensive and vigilant humanity, induce Her Majesty's Government to take a very different course. Her Majesty, impelled by these high motives, approves, therefore, of the general line of policy which you propose to adopt.

"4. It is my duty, however, to point out to you the serious obstacles which may prevent your deriving the immediate benefit you expect from the measures you have devised.

"5. At the root of these obstacles lies the difficulty of supplying British Kaffraria with a sufficient European population to vanquish in arms and conquer by civilization the native tribes. On the frontier of the United States of America, bordering on Mexico, Indian races disturb and plunder the settlers. But the great flood of American population in no long time inundates and fertilizes the land.

"6. On the frontiers of Austria the restless marauding borderers are kept in check by military colonies. But these colonies consist of husbandmen exercised as soldiers, and not of soldiers turned into husbandmen.

"7. The Russian military colonies are organised with great skill, but the immense armies of Russia readily supply fresh materials for these colonies.

"8. I fear that in British Kaffaria you will find it difficult either to stock the country with emigrants, or to procure from our limited body of pensioners a sufficient number of men fulfilling your conditions, and willing to embrace the prospects you hold out to them. Still, what is difficult is not impossible, and I will do all in my power to forward your design.

"9. Could you by the other means which you propose, of employment on public works, of establishments for education, of hospitals for the benefit of the natives, and other subsidiary means, obtain an enduring influence over the African tribes, I should hope that the measure of sending pensioners from this country might succeed as well in Kaffaria as in New Zealand.

"10. I must frankly tell you, however, that perseverance in these measures must depend on the willingness of the Colonial Legislature to assist and promote your views. We cannot undertake to help the Cape Colony unless the Cape Colony is ready to take its proper share in the task.

"11. You will understand, therefore, that the grant of 40,000*l.* now assented to, and the measure of sending pensioners to the eastern districts of the Colony, are adopted in the hope that the Colonial Legislature will concur in your enlightened views, and assist them in the most liberal manner.

"12. The alternative we have before us is one of vital importance.

"13. If we succeed, we secure the colony of the Cape from invasion, we civilize savage tribes, we open a vast territory to the influence of Christianity, we give an example of an African nation adopting the peaceful habits and social improvements of an European community.

"14. If we fail, the Parliament of the United Kingdom will give up its work in despair; border wars will be perpetuated, and the Cape Colony, even with the assistance of Her Majesty's troops, will find it difficult to bear the cost and repel the danger of repeated incursions of savage tribes.

"15. I will now refer shortly to various topics touched upon in your speech.

"16. I trust that your recommendations on the subject of an increase of mounted police, and the provision for a burgher force, may be adopted.

"17. The employment of the Fingoe militia on public works is a very advisable measure. With respect to these irregular forces, I trust you will take great care to preserve discipline. A disorganized irregular force is a blunt weapon in the hands of government, and a sharp sword against peaceable inhabitants.

"18. Her Majesty's Government approve of your suggestion, that the sums voted in the Colony for aboriginal purposes should be spent within the Colony for the improvement of native races. It will be very desirable that you should endeavour to gain the confidence of the Hottentot tribes, to learn what complaints they have to make, to remove false impressions made by enemies to British rule, and study the welfare and comfort of these subjects of Her Majesty. The increase you propose in the number of ministers of the Dutch reformed religion may be made very conducive to this object.

"19. Generally you will foster and protect all ministers of religion whose influence is used to inculcate charity and peace, who teach their flocks to fear God and honour the Queen. I will not enter into the questions you propound with regard to the increase of the number of judges, the improvement of harbours, the development of the mineral wealth of Namaqualand, and other local measures. The Cape Colony, having now a representative legislature, will, I trust, concur in your views, and devise such measures as may be most con-

ducive to the welfare of their constituents. In free discussion, in the encouragement of all beneficial projects, and the advancement of able and honest men, the Colony will find the elements of its future prosperity, and Her Majesty will derive from the same sources the satisfaction of having extended the domain of freedom and the boundaries of Christian civilization.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed)

"JOHN RUSSELL.

"Governor Sir George Grey," &c.

DISTRICTS ASSIGNED TO THE KAFFIRS.

It may be safely inferred, from the letter of the Gaika Commissioner which we quote, that the complaints urged by the Kaffirs against the territory to which they have been driven, are not groundless and unreasonable, since even the spots appropriated to the principal chief and his family require the appliances of European engineering and agriculture to render them capable of producing the means of subsistence.

"Dohne, March 24, 1855.

"SIR,—I went yesterday to Sandilli's kraal, on the Kabusi, to ascertain the capabilities of the ground for the construction of a watercourse for the chief.

"Immediately below Sandilli's kraal is a piece of splendid soil, in extent about thirty acres, which may be brought under water at an expense of about 30*l*.

"This piece of land, which lies along the bed of the Kabusi River, is terminated by a precipice rising abruptly from the water's edge, which would prevent the extension of the watercourse to a more extensive and better situated piece of ground, now cultivated by an influential man of Umhala's tribe. Though I did not take the level for this land, I think it may also be easily laid under water.

"Sandilli expressed himself as very desirous that a watercourse should be made for him, and I promised to begin it as soon as the crop, which now covers the valley, should be off the ground.

"Sandilli still intends retaining the gardens at his old kraal; and as I ascertained yesterday from his great wife that her crop had failed this season from the exhaustion of the soil, I promised her that I would in the season have a piece manured and ploughed for her: this will be a good opportunity of exemplifying to the natives the advantages of manure, and of our superior mode of cultivation.

* * * * *

"From the great slope of the soil at Sandilli's kraal irrigation will be difficult. I will therefore have to furnish a man to take the management of the watercourse for the first season at least, for it will be of no avail to make these works for the people unless we make provision for their proper management. This applies particularly to the cut to be made at Sandilli's kraal, the first part of which will be on the face of a steep hill, and will have to wind among large ironstone boulders."

* * * * *

"(Signed)

CHARLES BROWNLEE,

"Gaika Commissioner."

RELEASE OF ANDRIES BOTHA.

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that, in the month of May 1852, Andries Botha, who was in the British service at the

Cape of Good Hope as a field cornet, was tried for high treason, convicted, and sentenced to death, the punishment being subsequently commuted to transportation for life. As all the circumstances of the case were described at length in the "Intelligencer" for August and September 1852, and also commented upon in subsequent Numbers, it is unnecessary for us to refer to them further than to state that there were strong reasons for believing that Andries Botha, who had been an old and faithful servant of the Crown, was innocent of the charges preferred against him. These were the views which we then felt it to be our duty to express—views which were largely shared by many of the colonists themselves. We have now the pleasure to inform our readers that Andries Botha, and the other Kat-River prisoners, have been released, although their liberty is granted on condition that they do not appear again within the Kat-River settlement.

NATAL.

"WE subjoin the following important information respecting the natives of Natal, a portion of whom, it appears, are likely to be removed to the Cape of Good Hope. The information is contained in a letter which has been published in the *Zuid Afrikaan*. It is as follows."—*Cape Paper*.

"Some time ago I proposed to you to introduce into this Colony, under the direction of a committee, a number of Natal labourers. Several of you applied for labourers; some paid 7*l.* 10*s.*, others 25 per cent. of that amount. I placed 75 per cent. of the first-mentioned sums in the hands of the Committee, and left in June last for Natal; and as you are doubtless anxious to know the result of my voyage, I avail myself of the press to acquaint you therewith.

"I arrived at Natal on the 8th July, at once entered into a correspondence with that government, and urgently solicited its co-operation. The Natal Government, which is very anxious to reduce the coloured population by one half, and who had already made arrangements to remove a large number at its own expense to the Umzimkulu River, showed a great inclination to render me all possible assistance to relieve Natal from some hundreds of the coloured population without expense to that country, and to facilitate a neighbouring British Colony with them as honest labourers; but as Sir George Grey, who is also High Commissioner for Natal, was, at the same time, on his journey to Natal, and, as far as I could ascertain, chiefly with the view of placing the future government of the Kaffir population upon a permanent basis, the Natal Government would do nothing in the matter before the arrival of Sir George Grey. There is no doubt, however, but the Natal Government will, with Sir George Grey, establish an emigration scheme on a permanent footing, and the Cape Colonists will be supplied with some hundreds of labourers at ten and twelve shillings per month. When I was at Natal, Sir George was not expected there before November; and as I lost one of my children since my departure to Natal, and did not wish to remain there inactive for two months at the expense of the subscribers, I determined to come back in the 'Gitana,' and to await the result of the proceedings of Sir George Grey and the Natal Government, I shall therefore return to Natal in December, at my own expense, and as speedily as possible return with fifty or sixty labourers."

We have already noticed the enterprise of the Bishop of Natal,

and of T. Shepstone, for the removal of a portion of the coloured population of Natal to a territory within the dominions of the Kaffir chief Faku; and notwithstanding the humane and Christian feelings in which that measure originated, we were obliged to avow our doubts of the expediency of the plan, in consequence of objections, both practical and connected with the principle involved, to which it is liable. The proposal in the foregoing extract, though it would seem to be popular with colonists, both of the Cape and of Natal, seems to possess all the objectionable and none of the mitigatory circumstances. It promises to delude the coloured labourers, sacrificing them to the prejudices and jealousies of the half-Dutch half-English colonists of Natal, and delivering them over to the Cape colonists, where, separated from their friends, and poorly paid, they are likely to form a class in too many respects resembling the Chinese emigrants in California and some British colonies.

“An expedition against the chief Dushani had been successful without having been obliged to resort to bloodshed. The *Natal Mercury*, of the 27th of December, states that Dushani was terrified at the demonstration against him.”—*Cape Paper*.

“He confessed the most abject submission to the Lieutenant-Governor, called himself ‘a dog,’ &c., and, as usual, attempted to shift the blame from himself, by pretending that the thefts of cattle had been committed by new comers among his people, or without his knowledge or power of prevention, and other plausible excuses of a like kind. The result, however, was that he paid the fine and compensation insisted on, namely, 1038 head of cattle; and some minor chiefs in the same neighbourhood were fined in smaller quantities for other offences, making the entire quantity, we believe, about 1400 head. Some of the cattle brought in were identified as having been stolen several years ago.

“On the whole, this demonstration of a determination on the part of Government to visit promptly and severely such conduct as Dushani and his tribe have been guilty of has produced the most salutary effect on the minds of the natives, and will have a powerful tendency, together with the new ordinance, in checking the offence of cattle-stealing.

“Besides the good effect produced on the natives by the mere strength of this demonstration, the thorough union exhibited between the Dutch and the English greatly surprised them, and appeared at once to produce the conviction that resistance or evasion was hopeless. This cordial union has also produced the best results as regards the two European classes themselves. It is the first exhibition of combined action to any thing like the same extent that has occurred in this district; and such co-operation, extended to the peaceful and ordinary pursuits of life, will do more than any thing else to improve our social condition, and to secure permanent tranquillity.”

We differ as widely as it is possible from the writer in the *Natal Mercury*, who appears to regard severity, exaction, and intimidation as the best means of dealing with the native tribes in order to render them good neighbours; and although we certainly desire to see peace maintained between the Dutch and English settlers, their union for anti-Aboriginal purposes is the worst basis on which to found their friendship.

THE TRANS VAAL.

ACCOUNTS from the Transvaal Republic announce the return of General Pretorius, after inflicting signal punishment on the Kaffir chief Makapan, for the murder of Field-Cornet Potgieter and seven or eight men, and the massacre of several women, accompanied by circumstances of the most horrible cruelty. The General reports that towards the end of October his force, united to that of Commandant-General Potgieter, reached the subterranean caverns in which the enemy had entrenched themselves. These caverns are—

“Upwards of 2000 feet in length, by 300, 500, and 550 feet wide, intersected by several walls, and offering security on every hand, so that an Egyptian darkness prevails throughout, even in those caverns which have two openings. I did not consider it prudent for my men to rush into these, and therefore devised another plan to destroy our foe.

“In our council of war on the 28th we resolved to blast the rocks above the caverns, and thus to crush the enemy. The requisite implements were soon constructed and collected, so that on the 30th we made a trial, which failed, however, on account of the loose and slaty components of the rocks there, the powder losing its effect by reason of the manifold crevices and openings.

“This having failed, I gave orders to besiege the caverns day and night, and to cut off, as far as possible, all supplies. With this view I had some fences constructed on the rocks, behind which I posted 100 men day and night. During this work the Kaffirs fired incessantly out of the caverns, but without injury to us, while our patrols daily shot down some of the enemy. On the 6th of November I proceeded to the caverns, accompanied by Commander-General Potgieter: we had ordered the bushes, which obstructed us at night, to be cut down. My colleague, while urging on a party of friendly Kaffirs who were working for us, having gone too far in advance, was struck by a bullet fired by the enemy at the very mouth of one of the caverns; it entered the right shoulder, and came out between the left shoulder and the neck; so that he was knocked down the krantz upon which he had been standing, a height of about twenty-five feet, and fell right in front of the enemy's fence. I at once ordered the fence to be stormed, and thus secured the body, which I had forthwith escorted to the camp, to be buried there. On the same day his brother, the Commandant H. Potgieter, was provisionally appointed to succeed his brother as Commandant-General. The chief command of the whole force there engaged was, however, confided to me, as the executive Commandant-General; and this task I readily accepted. Deeply indeed was I grieved at the loss of my colleague, whom I had learnt to love as a brother. In every thing we consulted each other. To his praise it may be said that he was a warrior in the fullest sense of the term; undaunted, and educated in the war with the Kaffir tribes, he despised them, and knew no danger; wherever duty called him he was present, and was enabled at all times to point his men to his own example.

“The loss of my gallant colleague strengthened, if possible, my determination fully to avenge the blood which had already been shed.

“The siege was a work that proceeded much too tardily. Fruitlessly had the Kaffir chief been challenged to come out of the caverns with all his men to answer for the butchery which he had committed. On the 8th of November I determined to block up the openings of the caverns, which are from forty to fifty feet wide, and twenty-five to thirty-five feet deep. Fifty span of oxen,

with an adequate number of labourers, were employed upon that work on the first day. During the next five days this work was vigorously prosecuted, during which time 1500 drags of trees and as many loads of stones were brought on and thrown down the caverns by 300 friendly Kaffirs in our employ. Meanwhile the Kaffirs commenced at night to sally forth to procure water; a large number of women and children, suffering from want of water, also sallied forth, but died after they had drunk a little. Among these was a male Kaffir, who surrendered, undertaking to point out where the ivory of the murdered man was secreted. Lieutenant Paul Krieger was despatched for this purpose on the 11th inst., with a small guard, and returned in the afternoon with twenty-three large and fifteen small elephants' tusks. The first, 1010lb. in weight, belong to Mr. Uckermann, trader, of Pietermauritzburg, the latter belong to the murdered men here. This afternoon two horses of the late H. Potgieter also fell into our hands. On the 16th of November a large number of women and children again rushed out of the caverns, while, on our part, we continued to approach the same, so as to be enabled to look into them for some distance. The following day part of my men entered the caverns almost without opposition; they took twenty-four guns, fourteen shot-belts mostly filled with powder and balls, a bag of slugs, some pieces of lead, two chests of clothing (some unfinished), forty pounds of coffee, and numerous other small wares. Among the booty captured there was much belonging to the families of the murdered, and which was returned to them. The rest, after consulting the council of war, I caused to be sold, besides half the ivory belonging to Mr. Uckermann, to defray expenses. I moreover caused all the sheep and goats to be sold. The whole realised 3800 rix-dollars, part of which was given to the men of the late General Potgieter, while the rest I have reserved to cover the expenses of ammunition, &c.

"On the 21st I gave orders to raise the siege. We could no longer bear the stench of the putrid bodies of the enemy both without and within the caverns. The number of those who had fallen outside the caverns amounted to upwards of 900. The number who had fallen within must be much greater, according to the statement of some of my men, who penetrated into the caverns.

"The siege of Makapan's caverns having been raised on the 21st, I gave orders to advance upon Mapela. Mapela has fled: his kraals are deserted. Having proceeded some distance farther in pursuit of the fugitives, we discovered a large, stupendous, and dangerous rock, upon which a large number of Kaffirs, probably those of Mapela, had posted themselves. To storm that rock I did not consider prudent; to besiege it the season was too unfavourable for men and horses. I however sent two patrols out, who shot some Kaffirs, and captured 2800 head of cattle, making, together with those previously captured, an aggregate of 3300 head, besides 1200 sheep and goats. The widows of the murdered men have been compensated out of these for their losses. I retained 160 head, in aid of the losses sustained by my men whose oxen had been shot on account of the long sickness, which distemper has fortunately now disappeared.

"After the capture and distribution of this booty I broke up my camp, but left behind, however, a small detachment, to check, harass, and annoy the enemy as far as possible, and at the same time to protect the inhabitants in these parts. [While writing this the detachment has returned, bringing with them a considerable number of captured cattle. According to their report the Kaffirs are so panic-stricken, that they have fled in every direction, so that if the detachment had been stronger a much larger number of cattle would have been captured.] On my return, passing the kraal of Mapela, we found the remains of six of the murdered men; and at that of Makapan some more pots, with fat and roasted limbs, all of which I caused to be buried, while the town was laid in ashes.

"The casualties on our side are two killed, as above stated; and, besides the two men wounded as above, the following have also been wounded, viz. Adolf de Lary, while entering the caverns, and two Hottentots in the service of Mr. Hartley. The commando lasted about two months, and, with the men who afterwards joined, was about 500 strong, with 116 waggons and two field-pieces. The greater part were mounted."

General Pretorius was about to proceed on another command, towards the end of January, the destination of which was kept secret.

The *Times*, in commenting on the foregoing particulars, observes that the Trans Vaal Republicans "do not content themselves with our mild system of reprisals, or deal in our fashion with their savage enemies;" and although, in the following extract from one of its articles on the same subject, it makes a modified protest against the revolting barbarity of the Boers, it would seem rather to commend than disapprove of their policy.

"Every one will rejoice that so horrible a massacre was not perpetrated by British soldiers or under cover of the British flag, and the example may, perhaps, be reasonably appealed to by those who protest against committing the conduct of such wars to any but regular troops. It is impossible, however, to overlook the disadvantages in which such a policy places us. Judging from experience, we could not have done so much towards curbing the Kaffirs in a long campaign, or after an expenditure of millions, as General Pretorius did in two short months with a handful of volunteers, at probably little or no cost to his countrymen, and with a loss of only two killed and five wounded. The whole expedition was contrived with a rude simplicity, which, though barbarous enough in its results, was successfully adapted to the purpose in view. The settlers of the Transvaal Republic turned out to hunt savages after a savage fashion. The Kaffirs had not only butchered their countrymen, but had added cannibalism to murder, for pots were found containing the roasted limbs of the victims. To such offenders no more mercy was shown than to so many wolves; and when they had been tracked to their dens they were starved and shot without respect to the usages of more civilised war. After the expedition was over the booty collected was sold for the public good; a portion of the proceeds was assigned to the widows and families of the murdered men; the rest was reserved to pay for the ammunition, &c., expended; and with this primitive settlement the Kaffir war of the boers was closed.

"We, it is plain, do not fight with such enemies on fair terms. The Kaffirs, in passing from peace to war with us, forego little, sacrifice little, and hazard to a very small extent even their own savage lives. We export soldiers thousands of miles, every man of whom has cost us the worth of a Kaffir province in training, and who are expected to encounter treacherous and sanguinary barbarians in their own deserts according to the punctilios of regular war. The result is that the losses are almost exclusively our own. The Treasury is drained of million after million, our best officers and men perish in the thicket, and, after the lapse of a year or two, the 'Kaffir war' is concluded, to be followed in a few months by another. We doubt very much if as many Kaffirs have fallen by the bullets or bayonets of our troops in the last three wars as were destroyed in this single expedition of Pretorius. It would be hard indeed to argue that such an example should be followed; but of this we are convinced,—that, if the colonisation of South Africa is to be continued, the savage tribes of our frontier can only be successfully encountered, like the savages of all other regions, by acts resembling their own. The backwoodsmer

of Kentucky pursued the Red Indians as the Red Indians pursued them, and victory in the end fell to the superior race. It would probably be the same at the Cape; but to expect that the contest should be conducted without offence to civilised feelings is altogether vain. We simply put the case by aid of this illustration before the eyes of the reader. Handled as those on the spot could handle them, the Kaffirs—those bugbears of our statesmen and economists—could be kept down with little outlay or trouble, but the system would be only too sure to involve shocks and scandals to the humanity of the nation. This, however, we must needs add, that if such an alternative be rejected, the border provinces ought to be relinquished altogether, for the country can no longer afford or tolerate those periodical wars of which the cost is found so great and the fruit so little.”—*Times*, March, 1855.

The *Bloemfontein Gazette* says:—

“It appears Commandant General Pretorius is out on another command against the Captain Mapeels, to the eastward of Mooi River Dorp. Our authority is a person from the Dorp. On inquiring the cause, we were informed that some thirty persons had been murdered by the natives, and that the commando had gone out to inflict punishment.”

THE BASUTOS AND THEIR CHIEF MOSHESH.

FROM the Cape Papers we learn that Governor Sir George Grey had received a cordial welcome in the various towns through which he passed on his way to Natal; and that, in the language of the *Cape of Good Hope Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, “there is no doubt that the information which he has derived from personal observation in each district, both within and without the colony, will have a very beneficial influence upon His Excellency’s mind, as respects the position and requirements of the inhabitants generally; and that he will be enabled to mature such plans of operation for the future, not only as respects this colony, but also Port Natal, as shall tend to promote the peace and welfare of the whole community. There is no question that His Excellency’s desire is to accomplish this, if possible, and happy will it be for the country should he succeed.”

Moshesh was about to meet Governor Grey at (North) Ailwal; and it was expected that the President of the Orange Free State would also be present. The *Frontier Times* of the 9th October writes ominously of the danger of a rupture between the Free State and Moshesh’s people. “It is imagined, however,” says that journal, “that the Governor’s advice or mediation may stave off, for a time, the evil day.”

It is with much pleasure that we re-publish the following paragraph which appears in the *Cape Shipping Gazette* of the 26th October:—

“It is gratifying to state that, chiefly through the instrumentality of Sir George Grey, an amicable arrangement has been made, which will no doubt create a better feeling between the Basutos and the inhabitants of the Free State, and thus allay the feelings of many parties who had anticipated a rupture between those countries. The meeting took place on the 6th inst., at Smithfield, in the presence of His Excellency, who attended merely as a spec-

tator; and the terms of settlement with respect to disputed questions were mutually agreed upon and signed. Such a result will be highly gratifying, not only to the inhabitants in that quarter, but also to the residents in this colony, who, naturally, must feel an interest in the prosperity of the Orange Free State, so lately left by the English Government to its own resources."

Reserving further particulars of this conference till we are able to furnish more complete details, we merely give the following extracts from the *Cape-Town Mail* relating to this treaty. The opinion which is expressed is most important and peculiarly valuable, as the spontaneous expression of sentiment springing up in the colony. It is that which we have long held, and already, some years since, alluded to, in reference to Kaffir depredations.

"Sir George Grey had the satisfaction of witnessing a friendly conference between the President of the Free State and the Chief of the Basutos, Moshesh. Both these men are able and well-disposed, and there is at present a fair prospect of lasting peace between the two states. In the treaty between them every thing seems prudently provided for, with the exception of the article respecting stolen cattle. It is agreed that if any stolen cattle are traced into the territory of any chief or captain, we suppose subordinate to Moshesh, the thief and the cattle, if found, are to be delivered up to the authorities of the Free State; but if they are not found a fine of four times the value of the cattle is to be paid—it is not said expressly by whom. In their circumstances, the contracting parties may possibly find this a convenient arrangement. But the principle is not sound. It involves punishment without offence. It may have been impossible for the chief thus fined to prevent the theft, or to discover or arrest the thief. The fault may have been on the side of the party who lost the cattle from carelessness. Cattle also may be claimed as stolen that have only strayed. An unsound principle, however convenient it may seem at first, always fails in practice. We see here the germ of future quarrels. The rule here should be the same as in Europe and other civilised countries. Prove the theft. Aid the stranger in tracing the thief and recovering the property. A single step beyond this confounds innocence with guilt. Its tendency is to create neglect, and even to encourage false claims. We would earnestly recommend an early revision of this article."—*Cape-Town Mail*.

A MISSIONARY VISIT TO THE KING OF DAHOMEY.

THE Appendix of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's Report for 1855 contains some most interesting particulars respecting the visit paid to the King of Dahomey by the Revs. T. B. Freeman and Henry Wharton, in May 1854. The following extracts are selected from Mr. Wharton's letter to the Secretaries of the Society:—

"Our first Sunday (May 21st) at Whydah was marked by the shipment of another cargo of slaves! The paths to the beach were all stopped by the Portuguese very early in the morning, and, by ten A.M., *four hundred and fifty human beings* were driven from their homes, and embarked on the mighty deep for a far distant land, where a grinding bondage awaits the majority of them! Oh, when will this accursed traffic come to an end? May the speedy and triumphant accomplishment of our object in visiting this sink of iniquity give a death-blow to its existence!

"On inquiry, after landing from the 'Elizabeth,' I learnt that the brig which we saw shipping slaves on the morning of our arrival took away *six hundred and fifty*. Four of the wretched beings were drowned on their way to the vessel, having leaped from the canoe into the sea, declaring by their act that they preferred death to slavery in a strange land. A poor female, who had given birth to a child a day or two before, was inhumanly torn from her infant, notwithstanding her entreaties, and sent on board the slave-ship. These are some of the horrors associated with the African Slave-trade as it is at the present day.

"A messenger from the king having arrived, conveying to us His Majesty's desire that we would proceed, without delay, on our journey to Abomi, and having made the necessary arrangements, we started from Whydah on Friday, May 26th. Our party consisted of Messrs. Freeman, Dawson, and self, the two girls, Grace and Charity, Madiki, (the English and Dahoman interpreter,) and the usual number of carriers. Nothing of consequence occurred on the journey, save the usual discomfords inseparable from bush travelling in Africa. On the Tuesday following we reached Kanna, one of King Guzzu's favourite retreats, and only eight miles distant from Abomi. Immediately on our arrival Mr. Freeman despatched a messenger to His Majesty, acquainting him with our approach to the capital. At midnight I was awakened from a sound sleep to hear the delivery of a message from the king, the substance of which was, we were not to await breakfast the next morning, but to proceed quickly on to Abomi. Accordingly, at half-past six we commenced the last stage of our journey, and in two hours after we arrived at our destination. We had, of course, to endure the customary ordeal of a fatiguing public reception, which lasted fully three hours, after which we were ushered, with much ceremony, into the presence of his sable majesty. Mr. Freeman having introduced me to him, he kindly shook hands with us, and expressed his thanks for our visit. He was particularly courteous to Mr. Freeman, whom he repeatedly designated his 'old friend.' The two girls were then presented to him; but I was much struck with the coldness with which he seemed to receive them. After an hour's conversation, we rose to take our leave. The king also rose from the reclining posture in which he remained during our interview, and escorted us a part of the way to our quarters, when he again shook hands with us, and returned, followed by several hundreds of attendants.

"We had, subsequently, several interviews with the king, of the purport of which Mr. Freeman will have fully informed you. I was delighted to hear His Majesty express his anxious wish to suppress entirely the slave-trade in his dominions, as soon as it can be accomplished consistently with the support and prosperity of Dahomi. On this subject he has addressed a letter to Her Majesty the Queen of England, which I trust will be favourably entertained. His ready assent to the establishment of a branch of our Mission at Whydah is matter for devout thankfulness to every friend of Africa. I sincerely hope and pray, that no obstacles may be placed in the way of its benign operation, by those who may consider it their interest to oppose the influence it is intended to exert.

"We returned to Whydah on Wednesday evening, June 14th. During our absence, two additional cargoes of slaves—*one thousand odd*—were shipped by the Portuguese, making altogether since our arrival upwards of *two thousand souls*. That the traffic in slaves in Whydah and its vicinity has of late received a fresh impetus is painfully true. Within the last fortnight or three weeks, I am credibly informed, another brig sailed with *six hundred*."

THE EXPLORATION OF THE NIGER, AND THE CIVILISATION OF WESTERN AFRICA.

A MEETING was held in London on 4th July 1855, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland in the Chair, at which a statement was read respecting the late Niger Expedition by the steam vessel "Pleiad," which ascended the Tshadda during the summer of 1854, spending 118 days on the river without the death or serious illness of any members of the Expedition, although among them there were eleven Europeans. It was further stated that the natives exhibited "a very friendly disposition towards Europeans for the purposes of lawful commerce; and that the amount of population, and the products of the country, present encouraging prospects of a lucrative trade, should proper methods be employed for its encouragement through native agency."

Dr. Baikie, R.N., who was appointed by Government to accompany the Expedition, gave much information respecting the friendly disposition of the natives, the resources of the country, especially in the abundant supply of palm-oil, ivory, &c.; and explained the improved medical treatment of the diseases of the climate. He stated, also, that, upon his return to Sierra Leone, a large number of natives waited upon him, who had been brought as slaves.

The Rev. H. Townsend, who has resided for seven years as a Missionary in the Yoruba country, in the Bight of Benin, stated that the labours of the European Missionaries now extend and are welcomed over a large tract of country; that various considerable towns have been visited, and in many of them native teachers have been located; and that there is thus a prospect of a road being soon opened through this country to the banks of the Niger at Rabba, about 400 miles up the river. He described also the active commercial habits of the people, and the extent to which cotton is already cultivated, and their desire for trade and intercourse with Great Britain.

Among the Resolutions that were passed was one declaring "That it is essential to the success of any plans for the attainment of this object by means of native agency, that Her Majesty's Government should establish or promote the establishment of a regular steam communication between Fernando Po and the Niger and Tshadda rivers, in order that native traders may be sure that the way will be kept open; and also that Her Majesty's Government should, at periodical intervals, extend such communications further up the two rivers, with a view to the extension of geographical discovery, of commercial enterprise, and of religious civilisation in the interior of Africa." A Committee was appointed to further these praiseworthy objects.

THE BOMBARDMENT AT MALLAGHEA.

WE learn from the public journals that the English authorities at Sierra Leone have been engaged in a contest with a native chief, which, if the particulars stated be true, will add another stigma to the deeply tarnished reputation of this country. The following are the main facts of the affair, so far as we can glean them from the various published accounts. Last year some chiefs of the Morea demanded redress of the British authorities at Sierra Leone, for the death of six of their subjects, who had perished in defending several canoes of slaves in the Sherbro' country, which were seized by command of the British Consul. Redress being of course refused, King Stephen of Wonkagong, and his brother chiefs, ordered all the English ships to leave their river, and instituted other retaliatory measures. The merchants who were affected by these proceedings at once appealed to the temporary Governor of Sierra Leone, the new Governor not having arrived. Three ships of war, and 500 men, were immediately sent to attack Mallaghea, whereupon its chief, Bamba Mimah Lahi, at once came to terms, and as compensation for the injury that had been done, gave his bond for 1000 dollars, which he agreed to pay in the month of March following. When March arrived, however, payment was not forthcoming. Bamba offered 300 dollars instead of the thousand, which the Deputy Governor refused to accept; and to compel the payment of the entire amount, another expedition, under the command of Mr. Dillet (the private Secretary of his Excellency), and Commander Nicolas, appeared before Mallaghea. This demonstration had its effect upon Bamba, who stated that he had not the money in his exchequer, but would seek to raise it among his friends. This, it seems, the chief did, for a merchant writing from the town states "that the king had sent the whole of the money, say 1030 dollars, to Binty, requesting Mr. Davidson to receive it on behalf of Government, but that gentleman had refused to receive it." Mr. Dillet demanded the hard cash; and as he could not get it, and would not listen to explanations or promises, the town was bombarded on the 23d of May last. The troops first advanced into the town, and burnt the king's palace, the mosque, and several other buildings. Compelled at last by the heat to retire to the boats, they were fired upon by "the enemy" on each side of the landing place, and five soldiers were wounded. Commander Nicolas next bombarded the town, pouring into it grape, canister, and shell. Then ensued the last fatal act of the tragedy. A second landing of the forces took place, Nicolas and Dillet commanding them in person. They were immediately attacked by an overwhelmingly superior force of the natives, and were driven back to the boats with great loss. Another catastrophe now took place, as the pinnace, containing thirty or forty men, was capsized. The expedition was of

course compelled to return to Sierra Leone, with a loss of seventy-two men killed, besides twelve wounded and nine taken prisoners. The latter have been released. To comprehend the full extent of the defeat, it should be remembered that the expedition consisted of only 150 soldiers, so that they were reduced more than one-half.

Owing to the delay which took place in the publication of the papers relating to this subject, the matter could not be brought fully before Parliament during the last session: there is, however, reason to believe it was capable of a perfectly peaceful solution. To burn a flourishing town to ashes, and sacrifice a multitude of lives over a few paltry dollars, seems to us to be an act of criminal folly. We shall again bring the subject under the notice of our readers when we have analysed the official documents. In the meanwhile we think, with the Editor of the *Preston Guardian*, that "we may consider ourselves fortunate if we do not get involved in another Ashantee war, a contest that can bring us neither profit nor glory."

FURTHER DISTURBANCES ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

SCARCELY had the tragedy of Mallaghea taken place before the Governor of the Gambia was engaged in war with the natives of Sebagee. It is impossible for us to form a satisfactory and impartial judgment of the merits of the quarrel until the Government places us in possession of official information. It appears, however, from the newspaper accounts, that a native, named Todey Ansumana, made captives of a man and his wife who lived under British protection, and carried them to Sebagee. The husband succeeded in escaping to Bathurst; and upon telling the story of his wrongs, Governor O'Connor dispatched a party of soldiers to Sebagee for the purpose of arresting Todey Ansumana. A collision between the natives and the military forthwith ensued, in which the latter were worsted. The natives, flushed with success, devastated the neighbouring country. Our soldiers, aided by a French military force, in return destroyed the fortified town of Sebagee, and the Gambia is now the scene of all the horrors and calamities of intestine war. A deep feeling of dislike to British authority seems to prevail among the natives of Western Africa, especially on this part of the coast. The *Examiner* attributes it, in some measure, to the presence of an Arabian prophet, who has secured an extraordinary influence over the native tribes. Whether this be so or not, we altogether demur to the policy pursued by Governor O'Connor in employing an armed force in endeavouring to arrest the culprit. He should, in the first instance, have employed means less calculated to arouse the animosity of the natives, knowing how suspicious they are of British interference when it is attended with military display. When we observe the fre-

quency of our quarrels with the natives on the West Coast, we are more than ever confirmed in the belief that there must be some fatal errors in our policy towards them.

The "Retriever" steamer, which arrived at Plymouth on the 12th of October, brought the news of a disturbance at Bonny among the natives, in consequence of a suspicion existing in the minds of the adherents of the late King Dappo that he had been poisoned by two chiefs, friends of the ex-King Peppo. The latter successfully resisted the attack of the natives from Bonny for several days; but finding further resistance unavailing, they blew themselves up, thus destroying some hundreds of lives, including much valuable property, a portion of which belonged to British traders.

ABYSSINIA.

WE rejoice to learn, by recent advices received from this interesting country, that it is making important progress in civilization. The king has abolished slavery and polygamy; banished the Jesuits; and is anxious to introduce European mechanics (especially masons, printers, and gun-makers,) into his kingdom. Mr. Plowden, the British Consul, has great influence with the king, which he appears to exercise beneficially. The Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* makes the following comments on these facts, in which we cordially concur: "It is known that since time immemorial a Jewish colony—the Falashas—has been settled in the mountains of Abyssinia, and that they were greatly oppressed by the other inhabitants. Latterly it was feared that the Jesuits, who some years ago had acquired great influence in the country, would increase their burthens for the purpose of compelling them to embrace Roman Catholicism. We therefore learn, with great satisfaction, that the present king follows principles of enlightenment, and takes the advice of English counsellors. Let us hope that the humane prince will also extend his protection to his Jewish subjects."

THE CHRISTIAN PRINCE OF MADAGASCAR.

"THE Rev. David Griffiths, of Woodbridge, the only surviving Madagascar Missionary, has been for more than two years engaged in the important work of revising the Malagassy version of the Scriptures, in which he is ably assisted by the Rev. T. W. Meller, the learned and devoted Rector of Woodbridge, who is the general reviser of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mr. Griffiths is also the author of the Malagassy Grammar, which may enable future Missionaries to that island to acquire the language with facility. When the New Testament was out of press, he sent copies of the sacred volume and the Grammar to the Prince of Madagascar. Last week he was favoured with the following reply in the Prince's own handwriting:—

"Antananarivo, July 2d, 1855.

"TO DAVID GRIFFITHS,—I received the letter written by you on the 10th of August 1854, presenting to me the book just finished, and my heart rejoiced. I thank you in Jehovah-God, to bless you. I assure you that I am doing all that lays in my power for the people of God in tribulation, as God blesses me. May you be enabled to fulfil your promise, to be earnest in prayer to God to bless me, the Christians, and the people of Madagascar (read 2 Thesa. iii. 1), that we may meet here on earth, and to eternity if it be the will of God (read Rom. xii. 12; Ephes. iv. 5). Respecting your inquiry about coming up to Antananarivo, it is true that it is the country in which you toiled and laboured hard, and I assure you that I am doing what I can, by the help of God, for your coming up. I am extremely delighted with your words when you say that you will spend your strength in the country of Madagascar, to teach us all again true wisdom. May God be merciful, and grant us what we and you desire (Rom. xii. 12). As to the articles you sent, they have all arrived safely; the razors, the spectacles, the paper, the ink, and the pen-knives. We are presenting to you on paper our salutations, and are inquiring after your welfare. How are you? We are all well, through the blessing of Jehovah-God. May you live long, and be blessed of God, saith

"RAKOTOND RADAMA, Prince and Chief Secretary."

"The Prince is the Queen's only son, and heir-apparent. He was converted to Christianity in 1845, and has continued a consistent and zealous Christian ever since, in the midst of the severest persecutions. Though he is not at present in a position to abolish the law which prohibits all Missionary effort, and even a profession of Christianity in the island, still he uses all his influence to prevent persecution, in which he is very successful, for as chief secretary, all complaints from the people to the Queen, and all orders from the Queen to the people, pass through him. Some time ago a young officer came forward to accuse the Christians of reading the Bible and praying at a certain place, and the Prince immediately gave him a post in the southern part of the island, lest his presence in the capital might endanger the lives of the Christians. Christianity has more to fear from the smiles of princes than from their frowns; still we cannot but hail with delight the day when this intelligent young Prince shall ascend the throne of his illustrious father, the good Radama, and, like him, grant perfect liberty to the messengers of peace."

The "Freeman."

ASIA.

IT will be in the recollection of the older members and friends of the Aborigines' Protection Society, that the state of the native tribes of the large and populous Asiatic dependencies of the British empire were by no means excluded from the notice of this Society. On the contrary, they afforded such numerous and important subjects for the attention and exertion of the advocates for suffering humanity, that a large and influential section of the Society, and its supporters, withdrew themselves from it for the purpose, as they trusted, of better espousing the cause of oppressed India. It might have injured the cause which that section took

up to have produced a division of attention by the older Society continuing to be engaged with it, and its hands being full with subjects relating to other parts of the globe, it was very willing to feel itself excused. That section no longer exists as a distinct Society, and the present critical and most interesting position of East-Indian affairs calls upon us no longer to remain silent respecting them. The following articles will not only be acceptable to our readers, but will shew that we are not indifferent to affairs so deeply affecting the native races of Asia.

THE SOCIAL STATE OF INDIA.

PUBLIC WORKS.

ONE of the *Times*' correspondents in India furnishes some interesting facts regarding the social condition of that country, in a letter dated Deccan, 23d July. He is unable to furnish any definite information respecting the large and extraordinary five per cent. loan which has been recently raised. He trusts that it will prove to be nothing more nor less than a Public Works Loan. He expresses his hope that irrigation will not be neglected, and says: "If government had not been sorely blind to its own interests, it would ere this have attended to the earnest advice of Captain Wingate, one of the most intelligent and thoroughly practical officers that ever served in Bombay; it might ere this have begun, nay completed, that weir on the Gat-purbah pointed out by Captain Wingate, on which a special report was made by Colonel Walter Scott; or it might have tried the dam on the Godavery, near Nassuck, which had been recommended; or it might have constructed a few tanks: but no, there is no sign. I am, therefore, anxious again. I would not have all this money spent, and the Deccan none the better, the people none the richer, and the government getting its poor rents from the ryots from 3d. to 1s. per acre for land, which, if government would but provide water, would be worth from 6s. to 14s. per acre." The writer illustrates the advantages of irrigation by the following reference to the Madras Presidency: "Take away the irrigation from the Madras Presidency, and you would have a revenue barely equal to or no more than that of Bombay—a thin population, and no improvement. Bombay has finer land by far than Madras, undulating ground, possessing the most ample advantages for tanks, and a people far more hardy, enterprising, and robust in the Mahrattas. The employment of wells, the raising of water always by four bullocks, the great expense of this, some thirty rupees an acre, is well known. Yet government might give water for two rupees an acre, and cover its capital; or if five rupees an acre, or more, were taken, the profit would very rapidly exceed the expenditure." Of the easy practicability of these improvements he says, "Hundreds, nay, thousands of lakes or tanks, large or small, might be made."

Of the state of education the *Times'* correspondent does not write very encouragingly; while his remarks on the torture question need not be reproduced, as we have elsewhere given fitting prominence to that dark feature of the social condition of India.

A WISE RULER.

THE *Times*, in a recent article on Indian affairs, has revived the memory of a truly good man, Mr. Cleveland, who, in the districts of which he was collector (to quote the language of "the leading journal"), "founded schools, endeavoured to divert the people from hunting and depredation to agriculture and peace, raised from them a large body of sepöys, and won the gratitude both of the Indian government and of the rude Puharees." The following is the inscription on the monument which was raised to his memory at Baghulpore:

"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late collector of the districts of Baghulpore and Rajmahal; *who without bloodshed, or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions; inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational dominion.* The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character, and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January 1784, aged 29."

If any additional proof of the excellency of Mr. Cleveland's character, and of the value of his labours, were wanting, it is to be found in the fact that the Aumlah and Zemindars of the jungleterry of Rajmahal also erected a monument to his memory, to which even now they pay an annual visit of reverence and affection. Would that our Indian rulers would imitate the example of a Cleveland, and abandon a system of coercion and violence, which, while it may terrify the natives into submission to us, cannot but prevent their advancement in peace, prosperity, and happiness!

TORTURE IN INDIA.

IN July of last year a debate took place in the House of Commons on a motion "that an address be presented to Her Majesty, praying for the appointment of a Commission to proceed to India to inquire into the tenure of land in the Presidency of Madras." During this debate the subject of *torture* in India was first brought under the notice of the House of Commons. After Mr. Blackett had ably expatiated on "the squalid pauperism, misery, and starvation," which characterized the condition of the population of the

Madras Presidency, Mr. Danby Seymour (who had recently returned from a visit to India, and who is now Secretary to the Board of Control) made the following important statement: "I believe," said the honourable gentleman, "that there is no farmer in England who does not care more for his stock than the East-India Company does for those human beings entrusted to their charge. *Tortures*, similar in their character to those which were inflicted in the beginning of the last century, *were resorted to for the purpose of extorting the required amount of revenue*. In certain districts this torture goes on every year; and although the civil servants may deny the facts, it is proved by the testimony of many English merchants." Mr. Bright confirmed Mr. Seymour's statement, and quoted the evidence of Mr. Fisher, "a highly respectable merchant" of Salem, Madras, who declares that if the ryot cannot pay his rent, "every species of severity is tried to enforce payment—the *thumb screw*, bending his head to his feet, and tying him in that position, and making him stand in the sun, sometimes with a large stone on his back; all which failing, his property is sequestered and sold, and he is ruined, and let loose on society, to live by begging, borrowing, or stealing. Thousands are ruined in this way." Messrs. J. G. Phillimore, Vincent, Scully, and Otway brought forward similar evidence, which evidently produced a deep impression upon the House; for Mr. Henley arose and appealed to Sir Charles Wood (then President of the Board of Control), and Sir James Weir Hogg (formerly Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and now an East-India Director), as to whether or not they were able to deny the appalling statements that had been made. Sir Charles Wood at once declared that he "did not believe them." Mr. R. D. Mangles, formerly Secretary to the government of India, said that "he could *solemnly declare* that he had never, during the many years he was in India, heard of a single case of torture having been resorted to in Madras for the purpose of collecting the revenue." Mr. Elliot, formerly Postmaster-General for India, "had never heard of such a thing" as torture in that country "until it was mentioned in that night's debate." And Sir James Weir Hogg capped the climax of denial by pouring unmeasured ridicule upon all that Mr. Seymour had said, charging him with having "fallen into the hands of interested and designing persons," and declaring "that no Commission of Inquiry was wanted; the Governor-General was the Queen's Commissioner, and was all that was required." The bold asseverations of the friends of the East-India Company had their due weight in the House of Commons, and the motion for inquiry was defeated by the narrow majority of five.

The truth may be stifled for a time, but it must eventually come out. In this instance its victory, and the consequent confusion of the magnates of the East-India House, was not long delayed. In due time it appeared that Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, had appointed a commission to inquire into "the alleged

prevalence of the use of torture in the exaction of the government revenue;" and also into the "use of torture in the administration of police." With regard to the latter subject, Lord Harris says that the native police "are known to have been in the habit of resorting to cruelties for extorting confessions from prisoners."

Some most painful and revolting details of the tortures employed by the revenue officers in Madras on the persons of native defaulters are contained in a petition addressed to the government of that Presidency by the inhabitants of the district of Guntoor. The petitioners state, among other things, that "the families of the ryots were prevented from taking water from their tanks and wells; that they were made to stand in the sun; were tied round the waist and dragged; had their hands and feet placed in the stocks; their bodies bent down, and large stones placed on their backs, and peons mounted on them while so situated; that stones tied in cloths were hung about their necks; that their hands were pressed in an instrument of torture called a chirtaloo; that their hair was tied to ropes, fastened to the boughs of trees, and moved violently backwards and forwards," &c.

The proofs of the existence of these barbarities does not by any means rest exclusively upon the evidence of the natives. Sir Lawrence Peel, the Chief Justice of the Court of Calcutta, admits its existence. The editor of the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle* says that "the practice of torture is universally prevalent throughout this country." Similar are the testimonies of the *Calcutta Englishman*, the *Madras United Service Gazette*, and the *Madras Athenæum*.

Last year Mr. Theobald, a gentleman connected with the Calcutta bar, brought the subject of torture under the notice of the Indian government. Mr. Theobald furnished the particulars of several cases, which came under his own observation while travelling in various parts of the country, and which fully confirm the statements made in the petition before referred to. The following conversation took place between Mr. Theobald and a Missionary in Calcutta—

Minister: "Oh! you want cases of torture by the police? Go to so and so (naming a Missionary): every cold season he goes into the villages and lives among the people: he will tell you of a hundred cases of torture."

Mr. Theobald: "How does he know them?"

Minister: "The people in the village tell him."

Mr. Theobald: "How do you know that?"

Minister: "He relates the cases within the circle of his friends; and he will tell you or any one."

We have furnished our readers with sufficient information to indicate the nature and extent of the practice of torture in India; and we have now the satisfaction of stating that the Commission of Inquiry has arrived at a decision in harmony with the facts of the case. The papers containing that decision were recently laid

before Parliament on the motion of the Right Honourable Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control; and the *Times* has placed it on record, that in consequence of the debate in the House of Commons, the East-India Directors ordered a most searching inquiry to be instituted in India. In the language of Mr. President Hollis, and other members of the Indian government, "practices, properly designated as torture, do exist;" and the evil is "of a most serious nature, pervading the whole of the native population, and helping most influentially to perpetuate the moral and social degradation in which the inhabitants of the country are sunk." It affords us gratification to learn that the Indian government have issued a circular, dated June 7, "calling upon the local authorities to make known the illegality of torture, and co-operate with government for its extinction."

The subject has since received further attention in Parliament, tending, we trust, to the abolition of the disgraceful practice.

During the debate on Indian Finance, which took place in the House of Commons on the 7th of August last, Mr. Bright, towards the close of his able speech, severely attacked Sir James Weir Hogg and Mr. Mangles for their denial, in the previous Session, of the statements made by Mr. Danby Seymour, respecting the practice of torture, and so fully shewed, from unquestionable authority, not merely that torture was commonly employed, but that it had long been notorious; that without insinuating that the honourable members were chargeable with designedly violating the truth, one could scarcely avoid concluding that their memory was of that convenient description which signalized some of the military officers at a late remarkable court martial at Windsor, and which, many years ago, was quaintly and humorously described in the following *Macaronic* lines—

"Nulla quæ forgets; meminisse quorum
Interest; quorum juvat oblivisci
Nulla remembrat!"

Sir James Weir Hogg sought to evade the force of Mr. Bright's telling rebukes; but was compelled to admit the existence of the abominable system. Mr. J. G. Phillimore replied to Sir J. W. Hogg by quoting extracts from the Blue Books, which proved that torture was much more general and iniquitous than the honourable baronet had represented it to be. Mr. Phillimore further declared that the administration of justice in India "was a scandal to the country." Mr. Otway followed, quoting the language of Mr. Lewin, who asserts that the practice of torture within the territories of the Madras government was "universal, systematic, and habitual." After a few remarks from Mr. Mangles and others, Mr. Danby Seymour (Secretary of the Board of Control) declared that "the Government had neglected reports which had called their attention to the infliction of torture; and that the judges

of Madras had failed to administer sufficiently severe sentences when charges of torture were proved before them."

Mr. Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control, referred to the subject of torture in terms of indignation; and assured the House that "as long as he continued to hold the office which he had the honour of filling, the question should not sleep; for such a system was so opposed to all the ideas of an Englishman that it must be totally abolished."

Since writing the foregoing, we have read with regret the following article in a recent Number of the *Madras Athenæum*.

"It is our painful duty to call the attention of Government to the particulars of a case at Vellore. A man in good health, who has just taken his meals, is arrested; he is carried first to the Moonsiff's house, thence to the court; he never again comes out alive; he is well at half-past eight at night; by midnight he is a corpse. Rumours are of course rife that the man has been murdered by torture. We wish to know, under these circumstances, how it happened, how, rather it was permitted to happen, that the body was buried without the most complete *post mortem* examination which the best medical skill of the city placed at the disposal of the civil authorities? We learn that the corpse was actually taken, before burial, to the Assistant Magistrate's court or house, and to the General's; but that the people were turned out, and no further investigation held before the body was buried, although the son of the deceased personally laid a charge of murder before the magistrate, and asked him to look at the body. The feeling in Vellore was so uneasy that the corpse was subsequently exhumed by Dr. Montgomerie, under order of the authorities, but decomposition had so set in that nothing beyond uncovering the face was accomplished. This is the second case of the kind which our columns have recorded within these last few days. Let these questions be categorically answered by those concerned. Was not the prisoner, to all appearance, in perfect health when arrested? Was he not removed from the Moonsiff's house to his court at night, and by whose authority? Was the prisoner not a corpse within a few hours of his arrest? Were not marks of violence seen on his person by many; especially was there not a purple mark on the neck? At what hour did the first report of the occurrence reach the magistracy? What steps were taken in consequence? Was not the only examination of the corpse carried on by the apothecary alone? Were there not reports that his examination was by no means satisfactory? Was any examination of the body made by Dr. Montgomerie or Dr. Kevin? Did not the populace take the corpse to the magistrate's house or court? Did not the magistrate then see the people? Did the deceased's son not then personally charge the police with murder, and beg the magistrate to inspect the corpse? Was it stated that the man's neck was broken? What steps did the magistrate take for securing such evidence as the body itself afforded? Were the people turned off by the magistrate? Were they also turned off by the General's orders? Was not the body suffered by the civil and military authorities to be buried without any further examination after the corpse was brought by the people to the magistrate? What led to its exhumation? What examination then took place?

We will only observe that these statements require the serious attention of the President of the Board of Control.

THE INSURRECTION OF THE SANTHALS.

A FORMIDABLE insurrection has been raging in the province of Bengal during the last few months. The insurgents are an aboriginal race inhabiting the Rajmahal hills, a portion of a vast mountainous range, which extends nearly across the continent of India. Until they arose in arms against British authority, they bore a comparatively high character for an uncivilised people. Such journals as the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Friend of India*, and the *Hurkaru*, admit that, while they are in many respects in a savage state, they yet exhibit, in a high degree, such qualities as industry, honesty, and a love of the truth. We will not sicken our readers with a long detail of the frightful scenes which have accompanied the insurrection. No doubt the Santhals have displayed much savage ferocity; no doubt every human mind must shrink with horror from many of their deeds; but grave doubts may be fairly entertained as to whether they alone are to blame. If what is stated by trustworthy authorities be true, their rebellion is not to be wondered at, however much we may condemn the savage excesses with which it has been attended. The causes of the insurrection have been thus summarized by the Assistant Secretary in a pamphlet which he has written on the subject—

“Fanaticism seems to have been the immediate cause of the insurrection. The god of the Santhals is said to have revealed himself to one Sindhoo Manglee, who, together with his three brothers, are the leaders of the rebellion. The god, it is further stated, promised ‘to turn the swords of the Sahibs into sticks, and their cannon-balls into water.’ But more potent influences than the revelations of an imaginary deity have been at work. Mr. Toogood, the magistrate of Moorshedabad, who has been conspicuous in suppressing the insurrection, states that the Santhals had been exceedingly irritated by some Bengalese money-lenders, who had emptied their hoards, and who proved themselves to be ‘the most merciless of human creditors.’ He also says that they complained of the extortions of the Amlah of the court. Another cause is stated, by the Bombay correspondent of the *Times*, to be ‘the fear of the approach of the railway itself into their country, as causing an apprehension that their lands will be seized, or, at least their forest home cleared away, to make room for a civilization they cannot appreciate.’ But the most serious cause is to be found in those fiscal exactions which have been the curse of India. The Santhals had been lightly taxed; but the government of the East-India Company, whose one great object seems to be to increase the revenue, thought that they might bear a heavier load of taxation. Their land-tax was raised from two to twelve annas the begah, or exactly *six-fold*. They had been strangers to the iniquitous excise on salt, ‘an excise which levies a duty of 1600 per cent. *ad valorem* on the first necessary of life:’ but this also was imposed upon them. Well may the *Press*, with honest indignation, exclaim, ‘How should we like an *ad valorem* duty of 1600 per cent. on tea, for instance, and a sudden increase of the land-tax six-fold? How many hours would a Ministry last that brought forth such a project? or how many days would a Parliament last that sanctioned such a project?’ Surely the East-India Company might have been satisfied with seeing the Santhals converted from roaming savages into peaceful husbandmen, without wishing to extract from them a revenue at all, least of all a revenue derived from their salt, which is a necessary of life, and from their land, which they naturally regard as their own.

'And surely,' every Englishman will say, with the *Examiner*, 'it is not creditable to the British Government that it should lower itself to the level of an Asiatic despotism, from whose fiscal grasp there is no hope of escape except by rebellion, and the fabrication of a new form of superstition.'

We learn, by the last advices from India, that martial law has been declared in the disturbed districts, and that the insurrection, in all likelihood, will now speedily be repressed. Some Indian journals, ignoring altogether the probable causes of the rebellion, and disregarding the claims of Christian humanity and forbearance, wish to wreak summary vengeance upon the Santhals. It is proposed that "every leader, every village headsmen, every prominent follower" should be summarily punished. "The whole tribe must be punished," says an Indian journal, "if substantial justice is to be added to permanent security. * * * Martial law, by itself, can but produce submission in the present. The country relies on the Government for *retribution for the past*."

Before this retribution is exacted we earnestly hope that an inquiry into the causes of the insurrection will be instituted. We have seen the advantages of a faithful and honest inquiry in the recently issued Torture Report. The insight into the character of British rule in India, which is furnished by that Report, is well calculated to inspire us with serious doubts as to whether, in the case of the Santhals, we are altogether in the right, and they are altogether in the wrong. When we remember what Mr. Cleveland accomplished among these hill tribes by "employing the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence," we may well urge, not only a strict and impartial inquiry, but also the adoption of that Christian and humane policy which has already been tried with such eminent success.

OUDE.

WE extract from an Indian journal the following brief account of the origin of the civil war which is now raging in Oude—

"For some months past the dispute pending between the Mussulmans of Oude and the Rajpoots of the same country, relative to the Hunooman Temple at Fyzabad, has been gradually approaching a crisis. Ameer Ali, a fanatic Mussulman moonseh, having managed to gather together two or three thousand followers, was most resolute in his determination to wreak vengeance upon the Hindoos for building a monkey temple on the alleged site of a ruined mosque. The Hindoos were equally resolved to defend their temple to the last, and a civil war seemed inevitable. The two parties divided popular feeling between them. Ameer Ali, as a matter of course, had the sympathy of every Mussulman, while the high priest of Hunooman had the support of all the orthodox Hindoos: the latter had, moreover, all the Hill Hindoo Rajahs on his side; all the Rajpoot tribes and the Hindoos within a radius of 500 miles, who swelled his votaries to 200,000."

The quarrel between the contending parties has assumed formidable proportions; while the king has acted in a weak and irresolute manner, apparently paralysed by the perils of his position. The *Times*, and other English journals, are now advocating the

annexation of Oude; and some of the principal Indian newspapers contain articles which significantly proclaim the wisdom of such a policy. We should not be surprised, therefore, if the Marquis of Dalhousie terminated his Indian career, or Lord Canning commenced his term of office by the annexation of Oude to our Indian empire. The report has reached us that the measure has already received the sanction of the home authorities. If rumour speaks truly we shall have occasion to recur to this subject, at greater length, in a future Number.

PEGU.

MANY of our readers have doubtless perused Mr. Cobden's admirable pamphlet entitled, "How Wars are got up in India," which contains a masterly exposure of the causes of our last iniquitous war with Burmah. Unjust and unnecessary as that war is on all hands admitted to have been, it nevertheless terminated with the annexation, on our part, of the important province of Pegu; and although the King of Ava has since sought, by a peaceful embassy, to obtain justice from the Indian Government, the only answer he received from the Marquis of Dalhousie was, that "as long as the sun shines in the heavens the British flag shall wave over those possessions." No doubt the annexation of Pegu was effected under the delusive belief that it would prove to be a rich treasure and the source of enormous wealth to the East-India Company. As the *Press* states, "The value of the teak forests was descanted on; rice, it was said, might be grown in sufficient abundance to supply the wants of every nation; and, finally, Rangoon was to be a vast centre of commerce for the Eastern world." And what has been the fitting results to a conquest achieved from motives so dishonest and immoral? We will let our contemporary still speak, as the testimony which he furnishes is too important to be omitted —

"The teak forests are neglected, as leaving no profit after paying for the transport of the wood, the cutting, &c.; the rice-fields that were to be are still in their original state of uncultivated swamps; instead of exporting rice from Pegu, we are obliged to import it in large quantities for the use of our troops, and to prevent an actual famine in the land; and the commerce of the port of Rangoon is even still more limited, if the supplies for our army be left out of account, than it was under the Burmese rule before the war began. The revenues of the province are insufficient even to pay what may be called the civil charges, and the whole naval and military cost of the occupation goes to swell our annual deficit and increase the public debt."

The cause of this state of things is said to be the want of population in Pegu. Before it was annexed, its population was estimated at four millions, while the census recently made reduce the number to twelve hundred thousand. It is proposed to people Pegu by means similar to those which are being adopted in certain portions of the Cape of Good Hope. As Bengal contains a large labouring population, the Government proposes to transport *three*

millions of souls from that province to the swamps of Pegu. The *Press* thus forcibly comments upon this extraordinary measure :—

“Of course it were needless for us to combat a plan which must bear impossibility on the face of it to the eye of every practical man. Supposing that three million Bengalees were willing to go to Pegu, we should have to find transport for them, which, at the lowest estimate, would be twelve million tons. This would require twelve thousand ships of a thousand tons burden to supply it, or twenty thousand of such as ordinarily navigate the Eastern seas. Twelve millions sterling would be the lowest sum that would have to be paid as freight, and, reckoning five pounds a head for inland conveyance to and from the ports of embarkation and landing, and for outfit, the cost under this head would be fifteen millions more. An equal sum would have to be given to supply food for the first year in the new locality till the time of the harvest came round, and the cost for bullocks, seed, and agricultural implements would come to very nearly the same amount, it being perfectly clear that the immigrants could do little for the agriculture of Pegu without these aids. Fifty-seven millions sterling is therefore about the sum that would be required, according to this new Government theory, to be laid out upon Pegu in order to procure the realisation of its original dreams! The philosopher of Laputa had a plan for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers. Why not reverse the project, get cucumbers out of sunbeams, and so turn to golden account the ever-burning rays of our Indian sun? The plan may not at first sight appear a very promising one for arriving at national wealth; but we can assure the Indian Government that it is likely to prove equally successful with that laid down by its organ in India, for obtaining a remunerative revenue from the swamps and jungles of Pegu.”

SIR JOHN BOWRING'S MISSION TO SIAM.

THE intercourse between the civilised nations of Europe and the Asiatic kingdom of Siam has been so limited, that the visit recently paid by Sir John Bowring to the court of that country presents more than ordinary interest. Sir John possessed not only the advantages of his high personal character, and of the respect due to his important mission, but also the benefit of previous communications with the King of Siam, with whom he has long corresponded, and who therefore received him with friendly cordiality. The “Rattler,” in which His Excellency sailed, was permitted to steam up the river to Bangkok, where no armed foreign vessel had ever before been. Before describing the results of the mission, we will present our readers with an abstract of Sir John's reception, as described in the *Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce*. The following is the account furnished by that paper—

“There were four state meetings, three with the first king, and one with the second king, on which occasion the display of Oriental pomp was such as to convey the European visitors into the regions of eastern romance, and to enable them to realise the pictures of the ‘Arabian Nights’—visions of ‘barbaric pomp and gold’ which seem not to belong to real history. The first formal reception took place in one of the magnificent temples of Siam, whose pagoda is 200 feet high, and dazzles the eye with the many-coloured adornings of glass and metal which reflect the sunbeams from its elegant spires. Hither the king had come in his magnificent state barge to worship Buddha; and

here, in the presence of an immense multitude of people, and of hundreds of prostrate princes and nobles, and in the midst of the most ostentatious accompaniments of royalty, the king sat on a raised throne and publicly received the British Minister. But the principal reception took place, after the settlement of the treaty, in the Great Hall of Audience within the palace, which we will proceed to describe.

“A flotilla of state barges conveyed the plenipotentiary and suite, and thence they were carried in chairs through lines of troops and elephants, the former extending from the water-side to the inner enclosure of the palace—a distance of several hundred yards—to a building where they waited for a short time until their arrival was announced. At this spot the previous embassies had been required to submit to various humiliating observances, such as the surrender of swords, the removal of shoes or boots; but these were now omitted. The plenipotentiary had already made it known that, although desirous to pay his Siamese Majesty every mark of respect in his power, His Excellency's duty to his own sovereign equally forbade the adoption of any derogatory form; and the king—in the exercise of that good sense which has often enabled him to rise above local prejudices, and to take liberal views of manners and mankind—admitted the reasonableness of Sir John's arguments, and thus prevented trouble arising out of mere questions of etiquette. When summoned to the Audience Hall, the ambassador and his suite passed the double gates which guard the inner enclosure of the palace, crossed a spacious court, and entering a vestibule found themselves in the presence of royalty, and spectators of a scene as peculiar as it was splendid. The king sat on his throne at the opposite end of the hall to that by which the embassy had entered. Up to within twenty or thirty feet of the throne the floor was covered with princes, ministers, courtiers, and other officers—many magnificently, and all showily, attired. An open space, a few feet in width, remained vacant in the middle of the prostrate court, along which the plenipotentiary advanced to a cushion placed about thirty feet from the throne, and on a line with the position occupied by the highest of the nobles. After bowing three times, Sir John Bowring took his seat; Mr. Consul Parkes being on his right, Mr. J. C. Bowring (private secretary to His Excellency) on his left, and Captains Keen and Mellersh and the other officers immediately behind the plenipotentiary. Sir John delivered a speech laudatory of His Majesty's reign and the wisdom shown by him in respect of the negotiations so happily concluded. His Majesty, in reply, reviewed the previous embassies, and expressed a hope that the present treaty would enable the two countries to know much more of each other than they had hitherto done. Some conversation followed on less important subjects; and the audience having lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the king rose and withdrew—and a curtain drawn at the same moment excluded the throne from sight. The plenipotentiary and party then retired, but the former was immediately summoned to a private audience with the king.

“The ceremonies of the audience with the second king were identical with those observed towards the first. The audience-hall and throne of the former are not so large, or so profusely decorated, as those of his royal brother, and the number of prostrate courtiers may have been smaller; but the order, cleanliness, and excellent arrangements of the outer premises of the palace elicited great admiration; and the same terms of approval are applicable to the appearance of the second king's troops, of which there must have been two thousand men on the ground, with some superbly-caparisoned horses and elephants, and a park of artillery. Sir John Bowring, in his speech to the second king, alluded very justly to this prince's love of western science, in which he has made considerable advancement.

“Both kings have sent handsome presents and letters written on plates of gold to the queen, the delivery of which was also attended with much pomp

and circumstance. The plenipotentiary and suite attended at the palace of the first king to see them delivered into the hands of high officers who were appointed to convey them to Her Majesty's steamer 'Rattler;' and to join in the grand procession that was formed for this purpose."

The *Illustrated London News* furnishes the following interesting particulars of the two kings of Siam—

"The first king, who enjoys the long name of Somdet Phra Paramendit Maha Mongkut, is now in his fifty-first year, and early sought to satisfy his spirit of learning and research by studying profoundly the sacred literature of his own country, and the still more classical Sanscrit. His curiosity then prompted him to acquire, under the tuition of some Roman-Catholic Missionaries, a knowledge of Latin; but he subsequently pursued with greater industry the study of English, in which he was assiduously assisted by the American Missionaries resident in Siam. In the latter study he progressed sufficiently to express his ideas, both in speaking and writing, with fluency and facility; and he then turned his knowledge to good account by using it as a means of acquiring an insight into European science—astronomy in particular, and succeeded so far as to be able to calculate lunar and solar eclipses, latitudes and longitudes, &c. He has also a high appreciation of European improvements, has collected various astronomical and philosophical instruments, keeps a printing and a lithographic press constantly employed in his palace, and has lately ordered from America a steam-engine of twenty-horse power.

"Nor can the attainments of the second king—who can also speak, read, and write English, and who has made himself master of the elements of navigation—be regarded in a less remarkable light. All his information is of an eminently practical cast, and he renders himself particularly pleasing towards Europeans by his easy, affable, and refined manners. His good taste is exemplified in his private palace, lately constructed by himself, on the model of a European house; round the rooms of which are arranged engravings, bookcases filled with foreign books, cabinets of arms, sextants, and chronometers, and several statues of his own modelling—prominent among which appears one of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. An excellent laboratory and a workshop on the ground-floor of his palace bespeak his attachment to both science and art."

Previous to Sir John Bowring's visit, the commercial policy of Siam had been most restrictive; and for eleven years past no British vessel had visited the country for purposes of trade. Happily, however, Sir John has succeeded in inducing the king to adopt a more beneficent policy, which we may hope will result in great and permanent advantages to the monarch and his people, as well as to European commerce generally. The leading features of the treaty entered into between Great Britain and Siam are thus enumerated by the *Straits Times*—

"It has been agreed, it seems, that the restrictions and impediments which had nearly completed the destruction of foreign—by which we mean European—trade shall be removed from the 6th April, 1856, on which day the new treaty comes into effect. The old farms and monopolies, with the exception of the opium farm, are, from that date, to be abolished; and also the measurement dues, an import and export tariff taking the place of the latter. The treaty also provides that produce from the time of growth to that of shipment shall pay but one tax or duty, and it is easy to see what a stimulus is thus given to production. In some instances the duty will be on exportation, in others on

its transit through the interior. The import tariff, we are informed, is the same as that in force with Siamese and Chinese vessels. Every thing may be exported, but the Siamese Government reserves to itself the right of prohibiting, in time of scarcity, the exportation of salt, rice, and salt fish. The import duty is to be three per cent. on the market value of the goods, payable in money or in kind at the option of the importer. British subjects will have liberty to rent or purchase houses and lands anywhere within a distance that can be reached within twenty-four hours from Bangkok. A fleet-pulling boat may accomplish fifty or sixty miles within the above-mentioned space of time. Within four miles of Bangkok, however, a residence of ten years is the condition of holding lands in fee. With proper passports travellers may proceed into the country beyond the above-mentioned limits. Siamese may be employed by British subjects in any capacity, and British subjects will be allowed to build ships in the Menam, if they can find it convenient to do so; but as the Siamese Government is apprehensive—though probably unnecessarily so—of their supplies of teak running short, permission to build must, in each instance, be obtained. Perhaps the most important of all is the appointment of a Consul, under whose sole jurisdiction British subjects will henceforward be placed, and an opportunity will be afforded of remedying any imperfections that may be found in the treaty, its rules and arrangements, by the closing clause which provides for its revision, at the desire of either party, after the lapse of ten years."

We earnestly trust that this "peaceful victory," as it has been appropriately designated, will be the precursor of many others of a similar kind in the East, where our progress has too often been marked with violence and blood.

JAPAN.

THE *Indian News* furnishes the following brief sketch of the principal features in the treaty which has just been concluded with Japan by Admiral Sir James Stirling—

"Nagasaki and Hakodadi, and any other port accessible to other nations, will be open to British ships for making repairs and obtaining provisions, but for nothing else; farther access to Japan being debarred except to men-of-war and vessels in distress. But wherever admitted, conformity with Japanese laws is to be strictly observed, under pain of closing the port, or punishing the offender, should he be a common seaman. Great Britain is to enjoy all the advantages granted to the most favoured nation, except Holland and China; and, as if this and the other provisions of the convention were the perfection of reason, it is stipulated that it is unalterable by any envoy or high officer coming to Japan after Sir James Stirling."

THE BORNEO COMMISSION, AND SIR JAMES BROOKE.

THE Report of the two Commissioners appointed to inquire into the position of Sir James Brooke in the island of Borneo has at length appeared. We cannot, at present, enter into any details of the investigation, which fill a blue book of large size. We may, however, state that there is some difference of opinion between the two Commissioners, as will be seen from the following statement.

The Hon. Mr. Devereux cannot arrive at a decision as to whether Sir James Brooke's Rajah-ship of Sarawak is consistent with his other offices, until the terms of the document in which Sarawak was ceded to Sir James by the Sultan of Borneo are known. This point, however, is not now of much importance, as Sir James is willing to relinquish his Sarawakian dignities, if necessary.

Mr. Devereux does not consider that Sir James Brooke's position as a holder of territory, and a trader, is incompatible with his office of Consul, and Commissioner of trade. The only complaint made against Sir James of having sought to injure the interests of British subjects was preferred by the Eastern Archipelago Company, but was not entertained.

The Commissioner decides that the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks have been in the habit of attacking the Sambas and Pontianak courts, and also the courts with which Sir James Brooke has been connected; but the Commissioner is unable to say whether Sir James should be entrusted with the power to suppress piracy until he knows his exact position, but he intimates that such an authority is needed.

Mr. Prinsep, the other Commissioner, states that Sir James Brooke had acknowledged the incompatibility of his interests as a trader with his duties as a British Consul, and that since his last return to Sarawak he had abandoned the latter functions. Mr. Prinsep thinks that it is neither "necessary nor prudent that he (Sir James) should be entrusted with any discretion to determine" which of the tribes are piratical. He also describes the Rajah's position as exceedingly anomalous, regarding him, of course, as a vassal of the Sultan of Borneo.

Mr. Devereux justifies the expedition against the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks in 1849; but Mr. Prinsep thinks that it was not occasioned by any injuries inflicted on British subjects, but rather on the inhabitants of Sarawak. He also deploras the great sacrifice of life occasioned by Capt. Farquhar's expedition.

The Earl of Clarendon has written a despatch, completely exonerating Sir James Brooke from the various charges which have been preferred against him. The *Examiner* of the 22d December contains a powerful article in reply to Lord Clarendon. We submit the following extracts to the serious consideration of our readers—

"The first question to which the attention of the Commissioners was directed, was the nature of Sir James Brooke's position at Sarawak. On this important question Sir James offered no explanation, and the Commissioners called for no documents. The last, indeed, would have been difficult, since it so happens that the documents in question are impounded in England, to be produced in a court of justice on a question relating to Sir James Brooke's trading transactions. The common sense of the senior Commissioner, however, enabled him readily to give an opinion without explanation or document, and here it is—'I find that position to be no other than that of a vassal of the Sultan of Borneo,

holding, indeed, by a tenure very lax and easy to be thrown off altogether, but which, in the existing relations between the Sultan and Great Britain, contracted by Sir James Brooke himself as representative of the British Crown, it would be impossible for the latter power to overlook or disregard, &c. &c.—p. 6. Sir James Brooke himself, we need hardly remark, let judgment by default, on this point, go against him by tendering his resignation of all his public functions. Thus he not only admitted that for years together he had held positions which were incompatible with his duties as an officer and a subject, but that the Government had appointed and paid him for the performance of duties which it was impossible for him to discharge with honour or efficiency.

“On the subject of his trading while a public officer, the Secretary of State observes as follows—‘They (Her Majesty’s Government) also learn with satisfaction that the Commissioners were of opinion that Sir James Brooke had not traded in the produce of the territory under his control in any manner incompatible with his duties as Consul-General and Commissioner.’ Now we do not see what right the Commissioners had to vouchsafe an opinion on this subject, since they not only made no inquiry into it, but even refused to take evidence on the subject when it was offered, as appears by the published evidence, page 124. ‘Mr. Woods (the law agent) states that Mr. Brown can speak of the trading of Sir James Brooke. The Commission refuse to hear Mr. Wood examine him on that head.’ We must here hold the testimony of Sir James Brooke himself to be better than that of the Secretary of State, or of Commissioners who arrive at conclusions without taking evidence. It is contained in his correspondence, published, perhaps, rather indiscreetly by his friend Mr. Templer in 1853. ‘I would not,’ says he, ‘wish you to conclude any thing, but if I remain in my present trading concern, I must have a partner with a small capital, and well acquainted with the native trade.’ Considering that the whole question of Sir James Brooke’s trading concerns is at the present moment under litigation in the Court of Chancery, would it not have been more decorous not to attempt to prejudice it by a high official opinion?

“The third subject submitted by the Secretary of State to the Commissioners was, ‘to inquire into the accusations brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects, of having sought to injure their interests, with a view to the promotion of his own.’ Palpable charges were brought forward by two different parties, but the Commissioners refused to entertain them, and this without alleged reason. The Secretary of State thinks ‘they acted rightly in declining to go into the charges;’ that is, acted rightly in disobeying his own express instructions.

“The last inquiry, ordered by the Foreign Office, was ‘into the relations of Sir James Brooke with and towards the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that he should be entrusted with a discretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or, taking into view the recent operations on the coast, of calling for the aid of Her Majesty’s naval forces, for the punishment of such tribes.’ On this, perhaps, the most important subject of the whole the letter of indiscriminate approval from the Secretary of State observes a discreet silence, from which one might suppose that the subject had never been mooted at all.

“Nevertheless, the junior Commissioner, as far as can be judged from the following dark oracle, would seem to be of opinion that Sir James Brooke ought to be still entrusted with the power in question. ‘Whether,’ says he, ‘it is necessary that Sir James Brooke should be entrusted with a discretion to determine what tribes are piratical, and to call for the aid of Her Majesty’s naval forces for their punishment, must depend on the petition, if any, which Sir James Brooke may hold in Her Majesty’s service.’ (!)—p. 11.

“The senior Commissioner is more explicit, and, indeed, not at all oracular. ‘It is, in my opinion,’ says he, ‘neither necessary nor prudent that he should

be entrusted by the British Crown with any discretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or with any power to call for the aid of Her Majesty's naval forces for their punishment or coercion. Indeed, his own tender of resignation of the offices of Consul-General and Commissioner of Trade was made, as stated by himself, under the conviction of their incompatibility with his position at Sarawak'—p. 6 After his own admission of incompatibility, the Government could not decently have continued Sir James Brooke as Her Majesty's representative: but they have done the next worst thing to it. They have appointed as his successor his private secretary, a man living for the most part in his family, and imbued with all his opinions.

"Whether Sir James Brooke be a British subject or a Malay Rajah, the expensive Commission did not succeed in determining. Whichever he may have been, however, he has proved a costly subject to the British Treasury, having drained it for the last fifteen years of a sum, in naval expeditions, in head-money, in salaries absent and present, in printing, and in the Commission, which a quarter of a million sterling would hardly cover. And our agreeable return for this outlay has been the slaughter of some thousands of savages, proved by the evidence taken under the Commission, as well as by the opinion of the Commissioners themselves, never to have attacked a ship or a cock-boat under the British flag—the establishment of Sir James Brooke as Rajah of Sarawak—and the acquisition of the Island of Labuan, which has some good coal, but no trade. We doubt if the bargain has been a good one, especially when we consider that genuine Malay piracy has continued to be a good deal more rife since than before the advent of Sir James Brooke.

"One palpable advantage, however, it may be admitted, has accrued from mere agitation of the question at issue in this inquiry. It produced an Act of Parliament for the abolition of 'head-money,' and the consequence has been that in the five years which have transpired since the repeal, no Dyak pirate has been slaughtered, captured, or even heard of. The last sum paid was in 1849. That amounted to no less than 20,700*l.*; and it is a curious result of the Commission of Inquiry that this is proved to have been in excess by 4000*l.*, since competent witnesses deposed that the number sworn to as killed on the 31st of July was not 500, but 300 only, the difference at 20*l.* a head, making the sum in question, which ought in justice to be disgorged.

"Such a despatch as that on which we have been commenting never would have been penned had Joseph Hume been living. Every one that knew him, and knows the House of Commons, will admit that truth. Was the Foreign Office despatch meant merely as a kick, then, at the dead lion? A fair and impartial account of the results of the Commission of Inquiry would have set the whole question for ever at rest, but the one-sided categorical despatch settles nothing, and provokes resistance by its flagrant injustice and extravagance."

The inquiry respecting the Borneo massacre having been thus brought to a close, we may not have occasion again to revert to the subject. It may therefore be well to remind our readers, and also to assure those who may take up this article, that the Aborigines' Protection Society were not induced to call attention to this savage affair by any sinister or party motives. They were, on the contrary, rather prepossessed in Sir James Brooke's favour, in consequence of his promised interest on behalf of the natives. It was not from the accusations of any hostile party that their horror at the transaction took its rise. It was, on the contrary, the account given, with much complaisance, by the parties themselves, who took an active part in what they regarded as a

gallant exploit, which called forth a strong appeal in behalf of outraged humanity. We would refer the reader to pages 337 *et seq.* of the second Volume of the "Intelligencer," and more particularly to the letter of B. Urban Vigers, R.N.; and without joining those who may have had some political bias, or even entering into the very legitimate reasons for doubting whether the victims of the massacre were really pirates, or were more guilty than those natives with whom Sir James Brooke and the British naval officers were so ready to act in concert; we would ask whether such butchering is not revolting—whether it can be called gallantry when the disparity of force is so great, and the risk on the part of the *brave* English so slight that scarcely a single life was lost except that of one man, who was bungler enough to shoot himself; and whether any thing has been or can be advanced even to palliate the sacking and destruction of several undefended villages many miles inland.

Far be it from us to blame Sir James Brooke alone. The whole transaction seems clearly to evince a most lamentable degree of demoralization on the part of persons concerned (exclusive of confessedly uncivilized native allies) in planning, executing, praising, and palliating it. But neither the sympathies of naval and military officers, nor the encomiums of newspaper writers, nor the acquittals of any tribunals at home, or in the East, can obliterate the indelible stain, and erase the everlasting record of a deed, which, like the bombardment of Mallaghea and the attack on Grey-town, disgraces the proud civilization of the Anglo-Saxon race. That which it seems incumbent upon us to do, is to advocate a widely different state of feeling in regard to matters of this description, and to endeavour to shew that, when barbarism and its concomitant ignorance, and the inveterate practice of habits of a savage character are to be put down by *professing* Christians, it is not to be done by surpassing the savage in destruction, and that success is not in proportion to severity. We have heard the general and indiscriminate punishment of the tribe to which offending natives may belong seriously recommended as the best means of repressing their misdeeds, and as that which will be the best comprehended by them. In our opinion religion, theory, and practical experience are directly opposed to this doctrine.

AMERICA.

THE MASSACRE OF THE SIOUX INDIANS.

"IT is needless to dwell upon the inhumanity and lawlessness which (in spite of much laudable effort on the part of the United States' Government) have characterised the treatment of the Red Indians of America, by their powerful and enterprising conquerors. The historian, the novelist, and the poet have all combined to narrate the story of their wrongs, and to excite the sympathies of mankind on their behalf. Would that it could be

said that that story belongs only to the past! Unfortunately, however, another and a painful chapter is being added to it at the present time.

"In the summer of 1854 a party of Sioux Indians formed an encampment, on Indian territory, in the neighbourhood of Fort Laramie, for the purpose of receiving the annuities which were due to them from the American Government. While waiting for the Indian agent, a lame cow, belonging to some Mormons, strayed, and was killed by one of the Indians. The Mormons applied to Lieut. Flemin, the commander of the fort, for redress. In violation of all justice and morality, as well as in defiance of treaty stipulations, by which, in cases of robbery on the part of Indians, complaints are required to be made to the Indian agent or commissioner, Lieut. Flemin sent a military force under the command of a subaltern, named Grattan, to arrest the culprit. The chiefs of the tribe advised the man to surrender himself as a prisoner, and supported the demand of Grattan by their moral influence. The man, however, refused to give himself up, and his companions employed no violent measures to compel him to do so, probably because, as a writer on this subject has stated, 'an Indian, and above all an Indian of the independent and roving tribes, regards it as a life-long infamy to be taken and held in custody as a prisoner.' It should be stated, moreover, that the Indians offered to compensate the Mormons for the loss of the cow, by the payment of a sum greatly above its worth, but the offer was refused.

"The most marvellous part of the story remains to be told. Grattan, instead of capturing the culprit, or making complaint to the American Government, attacked the Indians. The troops fired upon the unoffending throng, and the distinguished chief, Marto-i-owa, was one of the first to fall. The Indians, exasperated by the death of their chief, and the perfidy of the Americans, attacked the latter in return, and only one of them escaped to tell the story of the fearful retribution.

"It is for no other reason than that the Indians presumed to defend themselves against the cowardly fire of a body of American troops that their country is now being invaded by an army. 'General Harney (we are told by the *St. Louis Republican*) has signalled his advent into the Sioux country by one of the most gallant and complete victories ever obtained over an Indian enemy. * * * The letters speak of the engagement as a gallant affair, as it must have been to kill so many men, and capture the women and children.'

"Fortunately, the proof that the massacre of the Indians was totally uncalled for—that, in fact, it was deliberate murder—does not rest upon doubtful evidence. Lieutenant-Colonel Hoffman, writing from Fort Laramie, states that 'there is no doubt Lieut. Grattan left the fort with the desire to have a fight with the Indians.' Mr. Whitfield, the Indian agent, says, that 'to have prevented a collision, he has no doubt the Sioux would have paid

any number of horses.' Again, he declares that 'the Sioux, or the bands of the Platte, have heretofore been regarded as the most peaceable and friendly Indians on the prairies.' The Secretary of the Interior, writing of the Sioux, states that 'they seem desirous of strictly performing their respective engagements.' The Commissioner of Indian Affairs acknowledges that 'no officer of the military department was, in his opinion, authorised to arrest or try the Indian for the offence charged upon him.'

"Thus, it appears from the testimony of American officials of high position that the armed interference of the military authorities with the Indians was opposed to treaty, and, therefore, wholly unjustifiable; while it is equally certain that, in the first instance, the cowardly attack upon the Indian encampment in revenge for the loss of a cow; next, the invasion of the Indian territory by General Harney; and, worst of all, the scenes of slaughter and desolation with which that invasion had been accompanied, form a combination of hideous and revolting crimes.

"On this subject a vigorous writer in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* makes the following eloquent appeal to his fellow-countrymen:—

"It is the duty of the people to arise and arrest this war, not for what it is (which is enough), but also for that to which it is intended to lead. It is true that the vulgar brutality of *rooting up*, tearing, and scattering the remains of a great and once happy race, whom most men and all women admit to have suffered cruel wrongs at our hands, should cease. It is high time to try the effect of contact with them through men of disinterestedness, philanthropy, and peace. Let us seek some men venerable for years, approved wisdom, integrity, and humanity. Where is the Fenelon of the Church, the Franklin of the State, the Penn and Wilberforce of both? Let us entreat the Father of mercies to save our victims from us and us from ourselves. Let us even lay our *respectful* petitions before the man at whose sole behest the bloody gates of war are opened, and at whose behests alone (if Congress is constitutionally a cypher in this case) they can be shut. Let us, at least, importune him with millions of signatures to show us and the world the justice of his policy, if he is resolved that the crimson tide shall flow on.'

"Every one who feels an interest in the fate of a noble race—every one, indeed, who desires a happy and prosperous future for the young Republic of the West—must earnestly pray that our Transatlantic brethren will awake to a sense of honour and rectitude, and save the few scattered representatives of the once mighty nation of red men from the sanguinary policy which now threatens their speedy extermination."

F. W. C., in the "Empire" Newspaper.

BRIEF NOTICE RESPECTING THE INDIANS OF DARIEN.

LEFT BY EMANUEL CARDENAS.

THOUGH the following article, written for the Ethnological Society, is considerably out of date, its appearance here will, it is

hoped, be excused, since it not only seems due to the memory of the very worthy man, whose interest on behalf of the Indians of Darien it attests, but it may possibly be the means of exerting some of their friends to supply the Committee with further information respecting a people whom the present state of the politics of their part of the world is rendering the subject of solicitude, as well as interest, to the advocates of the native races of America.

The fact of Emanuel Cardenas having sought to interest the Aborigines' Protection Society in favour of those Indians, was very briefly announced at page 381 of the third Volume of the "Aborigines' Friend."

"Emanuel Cardenas, a member of the Legislative Assembly of New Grenada, who visited London last year (*i.e.* 1851), having been authorised by his government to co-operate with British capitalists, for the purpose of effecting a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of the rivers in the north-west of South America, communicated to me some interesting particulars respecting the Indians of Darien.

"Before I proceed to offer these very fragmentary notices to the attention of the Society, I beg permission to say a few words respecting Emanuel Cardenas himself, which will be my best apology for troubling you with any thing so scanty, and, at the same time, discharge a debt which I feel to be due to that gentleman, who, in so awful a manner, was prevented from carrying out the good intentions with which he was animated.

"Emanuel Cardenas had engaged his passage to return home in the 'Amazon' steamer, and the time of her departure having nearly arrived, his engagements allowed him but few vacant moments. He had accidentally heard that there was an Aborigines' Protection Society in London, and that I was connected with it; and although he made repeated fruitless attempts to meet with me, he was not to be turned aside from his purpose. His object was to call attention to the Indians of Darien, for whose welfare he was anxious that something effectual might be undertaken.

"In his youth, or rather childhood, he had, through the political commotions of his country, been thrown in the way of receiving essential kindness from these Indians.

"He described them as not only amiable, but industrious, desirous of improvement, and well inclined to commerce; indeed, in many respects setting a good example to their neighbours of European origin.

"He stated that their chief commercial relations were with British subjects, who, he believed, came to them from the West Indies; but I could not well understand to what class these traders belonged, and whether they came from British Guiana or the West-India Islands. Although differing from many of the semi-civilized tribes of Indians in South America, in that they do not make even the profession of Christianity, he was sanguine as to the success likely to attend well-directed efforts for their improvement.

“When he had engaged my interest by his verbal description of this people, I begged him to give me a few facts in writing regarding them, and he so far complied as to put a few paragraphs to paper, in Portuguese, a translation of which I am about to read. He had not even time to take refreshment, when he parted from me to join the unfortunate vessel. I sought in vain for his name in the list of those who were rescued from the burning ‘Amazon.’ I fear that the death of Emanuel Cardenas was a serious loss to the citizens of New Grenada, as well as to the Aboriginal tribes.

“He had taken pains with the cultivation of his own mind; he was a zealous advocate of religious liberty, which he described the constitution of the Republic as having fully recognised; and had he survived I doubt not but that he would firmly but calmly have maintained it in opposition to the efforts which have just been made by Rome to quash it.

“I must not omit to mention another service which he endeavoured to render to our science, by furnishing me with the names of gentlemen in Lima through whom I might expect to obtain authentic information regarding the native tribes in that part of the continent.

“The Indians of Darien are hard-working men, which accounts for their advance in civilization, and for their not destroying themselves in intestine wars, which generally happens among nations in a barbarous state, or not yet quite rescued from it.

“It is said that they have adopted polygamy, without any other condition but that of exacting from the husband the proof that he possesses a certain quantity of *carao* for each new bride whom he may wish to keep. They have a sacred personage to perform the office both of physician and priest without receiving any salary either for the cures or for the sacerdotal duties. In exchange for these services the community is bound give him, as, in fact, it does give him, all that is required for his sustenance, and a certain measure of *carao* for each bride whom he may wish to keep.

“It is added, that each time when he is called out to see a patient he is bound to declare whether the patient shall die or not die. If he says that the patient is going to die, the priest cannot any longer prescribe for him, and whoever may think fit is authorised to administer remedies to the patient; but if the priest says that the patient is not going to die, then he is bound to cure him.

“When he has erred three times, either in predicting the death of the patient or in asserting his cure, he (the priest) is condemned, it is said, to die by fire.

“If I am not mistaken, the glimpse of character which Emanuel Cardenas has given us of the Indians of Darien differs essentially from that of many of the American Indians, in their industrial character, in the possession of a sort of tabooed priesthood, which seems to assimilate them to the islanders of the Pacific.

“Many years since I noticed peculiarities in the form of the skull,

which seemed to indicate some relation between the Indians of Peru and the natives of the Pacific Islands, and the suspicion which I have just mentioned points in the same direction. The relics of colossal structures found in Easter Island and elsewhere, amongst the present Polynesians, who are incapable of raising them, indicates the existence of a former state of things when the inhabitants of those islands possessed power and resources which might well have enabled them to produce an influence upon the American continents.

“But the train of thought does not stop here. When we find, not only in these islands, but also in both continents of America, and much more remarkably in the latter, gigantic, and, in some instances, well-finished works, which incontestably prove the former existence of an advanced state of civilization, and a considerable degree of powerful combination, we are naturally led to inquire what can have produced the total destruction of those social communities of which they are the evidence. In the Pacific Islands; at least, we cannot attribute this disappearance to the destructive operation of European civilization, to which the downfall of original cultivation in Mexico, Central America, and Peru may be ascribed. There are in North America extensive ruins, attesting the former existence of social progress, the annihilation of which cannot be traced to any of the white races, much as they have done for the extirpation of the Red Man.

“The temporary editor of an eminently philanthropic American paper has so far lost sight of the character of his office as to find a palliation for the extermination of the North-American Indians, known since the discovery of America, by ascribing to them the extinction of a former race, whose existence is made known to us by the relics alluded to. Without stopping to dispute the justice of this view, even if the assumption were accurate, there seems to be very strong reasons for doubting that the more recent hunting tribes were the destroyers of those people to whom they have succeeded as inhabitants of the territory. The true explanation is still an undetermined question, and forms one of the great but mysterious subjects of ethnological inquiry on the most extensive scale.

“Scanty and meagre as these hasty notes must be regarded, they nevertheless suggest some considerations which I am disposed to throw before the Society.

“Notwithstanding the very remarkable degree of similarity which may be observed in the physical characters of the native inhabitants of the western world, from the north frozen ocean to Terra del Fuego, it is certain that they admit of being classified into several groups, like the widely-differing families of the old world.

“Although much labour has been bestowed on the necessarily difficult subject of American ethnology, it is but too evident that there is great danger that, before the facts can be collected, the existing remnants of the native tribes of both North and South

America will be so far consumed or modified as to render all attempts at the solution of the mystery perfectly hopeless. The great actors in this tragedy of races are the Hudson's-Bay Company, and other fur traders, the gold-hunting settlers in California, the colonists of Texas and Mexico, and the now restless and unsettled citizens of South America.

"On the other hand, it affords unqualified pleasure to observe the well-directed efforts of the Smithsonian institution, which has done so much to render the archæology of America the subject of systematic investigation.

"I have thought that it would be a very important step to endeavour to ascertain, by the comparison of the physiognomy, languages, and customs of the existing remnants, some clue to their remote connections, and some indications of the parts of the two great continents of America from which the diffusion of the now scattered families has taken place.

"In some cases it will be found that a similar type of person, affinity of language, and community of customs, are extended over a wide tract of country; whilst in other cases differences in all these respects are to be found in a comparatively limited circle, reminding us of what has been shewn by our fellow-member, Dr. Latham, to be the case as to languages, at least, in that part of Asia regarded as the ancient Caucasus."

AUSTRALIA.

EDWARD WARRULAN, AN AUSTRALIAN LAD.

EDWARD WARRULAN was the son of one of the chiefs amongst the natives of South Australia, residing not far from Adelaide. He was brought to England by Edward Eyre, the distinguished Australian traveller, accompanied by another native lad, who, after some short stay, was, it is believed, carried back to his own country, and of whose subsequent fate we are uninformed. Edward's age was not exactly known, but he was a mere child. He accompanied his kind patron almost wherever he went, and his good and orderly conduct was certainly very remarkable. He exhibited neither shyness nor obtrusiveness, but an unaffected manliness and propriety of manner, with a little imitation of his patron, which made him appear very amiable and interesting. Not long after his arrival in this country he accompanied the Australian traveller to Windsor to see the Queen, and the "Illustrated London News" published some account of him and his visit, with a portrait, giving a pretty accurate idea of his person as he then appeared.

When Sir Edward Eyre was appointed by Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to be the Assistant-Governor of New Zealand, an arrangement was made at the Colonial Office for the purpose of defraying the expense of maintaining and edu-

cating Edward Warrulan in this country, out of the fund set apart for the benefit of the South-Australian natives, and Dr. Hodgkin, probably at the suggestion of Sir Edward Eyre, was requested to act as his guardian in carrying out the plan. As a special favour, admission was obtained for him into an agricultural school at Sibford, in Oxfordshire. He had there the advantage of a guarded and religious education; and, besides the instruction which he might receive in the ordinary branches of useful elementary education, he was encouraged to engage in some pursuits of farming and horticulture. He could write a little, but he was extremely deficient in even the earliest steps of school learning. It is not intended, in stating this, to imply that he had been neglected, which is not probable, as his patron hoped that he might acquire a classical education as a preparation for missionary service. It was, doubtless, rather the result of his mental peculiarity. Whilst he carefully observed many things, and had an excellent memory for persons, places, and things, as well as for historical facts, he had great difficulty in understanding the grammatical construction of sentences, and more particularly every thing relating to numbers, and even greater difficulty in retaining that which he had seemed to master in respect to these subjects. It may be inferred, from the great want of numerals in the Australian languages, that defect in arithmetical power is a characteristic of the Australian natives. It will therefore be interesting to state, that two lads, brought to this country from West Australia by Dr. Madden, were reported by their teacher to have no difficulty of this kind.

When E. Warrulan was of an age to make it desirable that he should apply himself to some useful occupation by which he might both maintain himself and become useful to others on his return; it was evident that he had neither strength nor inclination for agriculture. He tried carpenter's work with the same result, and therefore quitted the party with whom he had been placed on trial to learn that business.

It was then suggested by Frederick Tuckett, who, in his extensive travels, had become well acquainted with colonial life, and with the habits and dispositions of several native races, that the business of a saddler would be very likely to suit Edward's capacity and inclination, and also to afford him the most certain means of profitably employing himself. The idea was most happy and judicious, and, in acting on this plan, Edward Warrulan evinced a perseverance and industry which, it is believed, that he had never shown before. His character seemed to unfold and ripen, without his losing his childlike simplicity. His politeness was not mere imitation, but was evidently self-suggested and habitual.

He doubtless owed much to the training which he had received, in the first instance, from the almost paternal care of Sir E. Eyre, and subsequently from those with whom it was his happiness, in succession, to reside, from the time of his going into Oxfordshire until his death. It is also especially due to our friend and zea-

lous fellow-member of the Aborigines' Protection Society, James Cadbury, of Banbury, to state that to no one was he more indebted than to him. Not only were his moral culture, mental improvement, and personal health and comfort sedulously watched by this friend, during his residence at Banbury, but the advantageous position in which E. Warrulan was placed in Birmingham was obtained by him. When E. W. was taken ill J. Cadbury went to Birmingham to visit him there, and also frequently conferred with Dr. Hodgkin personally and by letter both before and during his illness.

We subjoin the following account of this young Australian, for which we are indebted to one of his Oxfordshire friends, who has been so kind as to collect and record a few particulars which will be read with interest by those who knew him. We would also beg those who as yet have not learnt to sympathize with the uncivilized, but regard them as savages devoted to destruction, to reflect how many of Edward's unhappy countrymen might have lived as amiable and useful men, or have died with Christian hope as he did, had they not been sacrificed to the vices and cruelty of the white man, or suffered to perish through his indifference.

"Edward Warrulan arrived in Banbury from London in 1847, and proceeded to Sibford school. He resided there till the 2d month, 1852, and then became an inmate of Thomas Dumbleton's family, of Banbury, to learn the saddlery and harness work. He left T. Dumbleton the 17th of 3d month, 1855, to improve himself, and settled in the large harness manufactory of J. Middlemore, Birmingham, and remained there until the beginning of the 10th month (October).

He was taken ill from exposure in a railway train the middle of 9th month, and his malady terminated fatally on the 23d of 10th month, 1855. By request of his friends of Covendon, near Coventry, he was buried in the Church-of-England Cemetery, Birmingham, on the 27th of the same, C. Mule, of Birmingham, kindly officiating.

Thus he spent about four years in an educational establishment, and about the same period in learning the harness manufacture. He discovered much interest in the occupation, and the object of moving to Birmingham was for improvement, prior to his expected return to his native country; but, although conversant with this employ, he could not readily understand its relation with its money value.

During the whole intercourse of his short but varied residence in Oxfordshire, he maintained a character very prepossessing from its native gentleness and ease; and though often subject to irritating circumstances, was scarcely ever known to repel them, except by mild expostulation, or very trite replies, which, in years, were mostly couched in Scripture language, singularly applicable and unanswerable.

Of his conduct and attainments at Sibford school, Richard Routh states that "We found him a peaceable and innocent character, and we do not remember, at any period, his ever having intentionally done wrong. In meetings for worship, Scripture readings, and other serious opportunities, his deportment was thoughtful and suitable for the occasions. He committed to memory, weekly, portions of the Sacred Volume, and, in a severe attack of indisposition he had whilst at school, the remembrance of these texts gave him great comfort; and when too poorly to read for himself, he took great pleasure in listening to others. He also expressed a great desire that his parents might be brought to a knowledge of their Saviour."

The testimonies of both his employers are highly satisfactory, his good conduct, and general docility, and application, making them no trouble, and inducing them to promote the object in view, that of learning the trade. Whilst in Banbury he frequently accompanied his master to farm-houses, where his conduct was equally correct.

Amongst his school-fellows he contracted warm friendships, which were sustained until his decease; and letters from two of these juvenile correspondents, received after his death, proved and expressed the strong attachment that existed between them. His company was earnestly sought by numerous juvenile applicants at each successive vacation, and these visits of friendship have been maintained at intervals ever since. In his visits to Buckingham, Shipston, Banbury, &c., as well as those to his early friends in London, Covendon, Derby, &c., the warmest encomiums were expressed, or afterwards conveyed by letters, and he bore away many gratifying proofs of attachment in presents of books, ring, and other mementos, which he highly valued.

It will now prove a lasting satisfaction to each and all of these generous friends, that their intercourse tended to foster that propriety of conduct which formed a native element in his character; and, further, that they impressed him with the knowledge and love of his heavenly Father and Redeemer, which became, in his last moments, both a solace to himself and a rich legacy to survivors.

Whilst at Banbury his right hand was severely mutilated by a combing machine, but, by the kind and able treatment of Dr. R. S. Wise, his hand was restored. The confinement to his room for several weeks, and the necessarily painful dressings attending the cure, had no prejudicial effect on his patience or temper, and his sense of thankfulness under it, expressed both to the doctor and kind mistress of the family, amply proved his gratefulness to man, whilst he was equally sensible of that Source from whence he oft acknowledged all his blessings flowed.

This illness might, in the appointment of Divine Wisdom, have been permitted as a fitting means to introduce his mind to that further purification which he was favoured to experience prior to

the unexpected and rather sudden termination of his youthful career.

Late in the autumn of 1855 a pleasure trip to London was awarded by J. Middlemore to his work-people, in which E. Warrulan was glad to avail himself of the always high treat to share in the kindness of Dr. Hodgkin and his excellent lady. His health was not more feeble than usual, but in returning to Birmingham he afterwards complained that one of the passengers in the railway train refused to close the window, though he respectfully urged it. From this his susceptible frame received a shock which it never overcame, and a severe cold was the consequence. It gained the immediate care of his kind hostess, Deborah Hill, and that of E. Chesshire, whose medical skill was assiduously and gratuitously afforded to the last. Their combined efforts mitigated the severity of the attack; but the sudden termination of his life, about six weeks after, proved how difficult foreigners find it to acclimatize themselves to the varied climate of Great Britain.

Besides these aids, E. Warrulan received from numerous friends and acquaintances many attentions and delicacies which his feeble health and appetite required, and Dr. Hodgkin paid him a visit to confer on the spot with the medical attendant, though repeated correspondence had taken place between them. E. Warrulan was greatly elated to see his kind friend, Dr. Hodgkin, and anxiously inquired when he might return to Australia, where now all his affection appeared to centre. He had long before desired to forward, for his father's acceptance, a copy of the sacred writings, but it is difficult to say if it ever reached its destination. And now he was more than usually earnest to communicate personally to his father that *love of his Saviour* which he had, it is believed, for many years found as his comforter whilst separated from his friends, and now felt, during his illness, both as a solace and a privilege to experience. To his father, indeed, this would have proved too late a boon, as the information had already reached this country, that in a prevailing sickness both himself and several members of his family had been removed by death; a fact E. Warrulan was not suffered, by his truly kind and considerate friends and attendants, ever to know.

To the survivors of that family, and to the tribes of the Australian continent, it is difficult, and almost painful to contemplate the loss which they may have suffered in this truly opportunate mind. His dying sympathies were with his "brethren according to the flesh;" and though unable himself to communicate the unsearchable riches of Christ, surely, the feeble voice of the sufferer, on his bed of death, shall not fail to reach those for whose behest his last words and his closing thoughts were intended, as the following instructive narrative by Deborah Hill, and others, fully justify.

Some few days before his death a person said to him, in the

course of conversation, "Then you know that Christ died for you?" "Yes; and not for me only, but for the whole world."

During his illness, D. Hill says, he was asked what his hopes then were. He replied, "My hope is in the Saviour and His promises. My Saviour is always around me; I am happy on my bed; I am happy on my couch: my Jesus strengthens me:" and he energetically asked herself and assistants, "Are you happy?"

He frequently alluded to his father, and wished to go to Australia to tell him how good his Saviour was to him, and his wish that he, too, should come to Jesus, and partake of His love.

The evening previous to his death, on going to him, after leaving him a few minutes, he looked smilingly on D. Hill and said, "I have had some sweet sleep. Yes," he said, "I have been asleep in Jesus." D. Hill continues: "His hands were frequently clasped, as though he was in prayer, when we could not understand what he said."

At another time he said, "The angels are around my bed. I want to soar away;" waving his hand towards her; and about an hour before he died he said, "The white robe; oh, the white robe!"

He died about ten o'clock on the morning of the 23d, passing away as in a sweet sleep.

During his illness, putting his arms round D. Hill with much affection, he said, "What shall I call you—mother, step-mother? No, mother!" and from that time he used no other designation to her.

In thus narrating the close of E. Warrulan's life, it is with no view to exalt the creature, but to exhibit that remarkable display of Divine grace which at times so brilliantly shines forth as through the weak of this world, strong in faith, and heirs of eternal blessedness. His early education and knowledge of Holy Scriptures were greatly blessed to him, and the encouraging language may be held forth to all instructors of youth, "In the morning sow the seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou canst not tell which will prosper, this or that, or whether both shall be alike good."

The following is the letter alluded to, announcing the death of Edward's father, who had often made inquiries respecting his absent son. The letter is from G. B. Scott, the official protector of the Aborigines.

"MY DEAR BURT,

"Morumdu, 12th April 1855.

"At your request I write to tell you, for the information of the native (Warru-loong), who is in England, that his father and eldest brother are dead, and so are all of his uncles, cousins, &c. &c., and every member of his (the Mool-yoob-koo) tribe, excepting his brother, Gum-oodj, and his two sisters who were born subsequent to his departure from Australia. I may also add, for your information, that the tribe beforementioned was once (thirteen years

since) a powerful one, and composed of many able warriors. You can also tell Warru loong that all the native tribes belonging to this portion of the Murray (say sixty miles up from Mooroodu) are reduced in numbers,

“GEORGE BURT, Esq.

“Believe me, yours faithfully,

“E. B. SCOTT.”

NEW ZEALAND.

INTERESTING intelligence of various descriptions has been received from this part of the globe, the particulars of which must be reserved for the next Number. In the meantime, however, we must inform our readers that a quarrel has arisen between some of the native tribes, on which occasion the bishop nobly came forward as a peacemaker. Nevertheless, it was feared that the military force, under the authority of the Government, would have to be called into action to quell the disorder. An occurrence of this kind is a strong confirmation of the views taken by the Aborigines' Protection Society, when the constitution of New Zealand was receiving the consideration of the British Parliament. Had those views been examined, and the suggestions offered in some small degree adopted, the recent evils, which we fear are but the beginning of greater, might have been averted.

ADDRESS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

WHEN the late Sir W. Molesworth was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society concluded, as on similar occasions, to address the new colonial minister. Two appointments were made by him for the reception of the deputation, both of which he was prevented from keeping.

When his death was announced, the Secretary took upon himself to forward the address, which had been prepared, to John Ball, Esq., the Under Secretary with whom Sir W. Molesworth had acted, and it is very gratifying to have to record, that the address was most politely acknowledged in a reply which conveyed the information that the address had been passed to Lord Palmerston.

TO SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

It has been the practice of the Aborigines' Protection Society to address each Secretary of State for the Colonial Department on his accession to office, in order to plead with him on behalf of the aboriginal inhabitants of the British Colonies, whose rights and interests have been too generally overlooked. When the name of Sir W. Molesworth has been mentioned in connexion with the affairs of the British Colonies, it has been associated with those

principles which would lead to the self government of these colonies under the most liberal system of constitutional law; and his accession to the high post which he now occupies has doubtless been hailed in Britain, as well as in her dependencies, as an undoubted evidence of the growth and prevalence of liberal principles. But it would be quite possible for these principles to be carried to their utmost limit, as practically understood by modern colonists, without any increase to the security, or any addition to the rights or privileges of those original inhabitants, at the expense of whose territories and means of subsistence the colonies have been founded.

The Christian religion, which as a nation we profess, and the practice of ancient pagan Rome, whose lenity, after conquest, spared for centuries the aboriginal inhabitants of these islands, should inculcate a policy more humane and salutary than that hitherto adopted by this country.

We would beg respectfully to refer Sir W. Molesworth to the abundant, important, and interesting documents preserved in the Colonial Office, either in manuscript or in print, for the evidence and illustration of the evils against which we remonstrate. This reference will render it needless for the Aborigines' Protection Society to trespass on Sir W. Molesworth's time by the production of any lengthened or numerous statements. But we would take the liberty of observing that the claims which we have to offer in behalf of the feebler families of mankind are not less strongly supported by the inalienable rights of our common humanity, than they are demanded for the maintenance of our consistency and honour as a nation, and for the promotion of the real prosperity and happiness of the important dependencies of the British empire.

Although no one spot can be pointed to as exhibiting the operation of those principles which we should rejoice to see carried out, yet we believe it may be stated, without fear of contradiction, that the safety and prosperity of our colonized British fellow subjects have been better promoted in the exact proportion in which the rights and welfare of pre-occupant natives have been kept in view and maintained. This fact well deserves the attention of every Colonial Minister, whatever may be the shade of his political opinions. Were the principles which we desire to advocate really adopted and carried into practice, peace and reciprocal benefits would flourish on the frontiers of our colonial territories, whilst unfeigned allegiance and advancing civilization would adorn and reward the harmony which would subsist within them.

In South Africa the policy of this country, with respect to the native tribes, has not only produced an incalculable amount of misery and loss of life to them, but has been the source of vast expense to this country; and, being accompanied with vacillation and error in relation to the colonists of Dutch extraction, has irreparably blighted the fair prospect which the Briton and the Philanthropist might most reasonably have formed of a South-African

British State, progressively advancing in extent, prosperity, and happiness. The extent of such a State is now effectually confined by limits which the British Government itself has placed, and which are marked with retrograde civilization and bloodshed. Thanks, however, to the appointment of a Governor who is not ashamed to be thought humane, and to the wise and liberal sentiments entertained by a considerable portion of the Colonists themselves, arrangements have been devised and approved, which promise mutual benefit to the several races within the limits to which British rule in that quarter is in future to be restricted. Nevertheless, we do not regard the settling military pensioners on the colonial borders as a part of the arrangements of which we can approve.

It is subject for congratulation and hope that the efforts which have been made to frustrate the plans of Sir George Grey, by withholding the pecuniary means which they require, have been defeated by the firmness of Sir W. Molesworth and his colleagues in supporting the enlightened and practical views of that Governor.

The state of the district of Natal has arrested the special attention of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and we would respectfully solicit the attention of Sir W. Molesworth to the present condition and future prospects of the native races in that part of South-Eastern Africa. Though constituting the very large majority of the population, they hold an anomalous position in the country. Many of these poor people were some years since driven from their homes by the disturbed state of the country, caused, as we believe, by the emigration of the disaffected Dutch Boers; and on their subsequent return to their native country, when British authority had restored some degree of tranquillity there, it has been found convenient to the colonial party to represent them as fugitive strangers escaping from the tyranny of a native chief, a description which, in reality, should be limited to a small number only. We would beg to refer to Sir W. Molesworth's careful perusal the evidence taken before a Colonial Commission at Natal, which, as it exhibits the feelings and wishes of the Colonists in their own words, will be far better than any epitome which he might offer in its place. It will be sufficient to observe, that, whilst the natives have contributed largely to the colonial revenue, they are deprived of political rights and of title to land. It is, moreover, the avowed wish of some Colonists to expel them from the territory, or to make their continuance in it dependent on their supply of labour, stimulated by the whip. Under these circumstances, they have received the kind regard and consideration of one or more Government officers, and of Dr. Colenso, the Colonial Bishop, and his clergy; but whilst all praise and encouragement are due to these worthy persons for the part which they have taken, there are valid reasons for doubting whether, unless conjoined with other measures on the part of the Government, their

plans may not prove injurious to the native interest, and strongly corroborative of the colonial prejudice against the native races.

The attention of the Aborigines' Protection Society has been called to the British settlements on the west coast of Africa; and of late the communications from that quarter have possessed more than ordinary interest. We trust that Sir W. Molesworth will do the Aborigines' Protection Society the justice to believe that especial care has been taken not to be misled by a too hasty credence of reports to the prejudice of any parties, whether connected with the government or not; but this very caution has made us, when convinced, only the more effectually persuaded that much requires to be done in that portion of the most injured quarter of the globe, in order to redress the faults both of omission and commission for which England has to answer. We have thus been brought to the absolute conviction that more would be done for the well-being, not only of Western Africa but of other parts of the globe in which different races are collected in the same district, by the correction of one great and prominent defect, namely, the absence of a definite system and legal code by which the peculiar social condition of such communities, including, as they must do, inhabitants widely differing from each other, not only in race, but also in moral, physical, and intellectual capabilities and endowments, may be governed. So much has been left to the will of a Governor, that uncertainty and dissatisfaction have been the inevitable results. The intentions and exertions of the best Governor may have been so completely defeated as even to produce evil rather than good. His clemency and generosity may have been regarded as weakness or partiality, whilst the strictness of his justice may have been reprobated as severity. From the same cause, those Governors and other officers whose faults should have been exposed to well-merited censure have found easy impunity; whilst the government to which they owed their appointment has allowed itself to be brought into discredit, and the unhappy people on whom wrong has been inflicted have been the unredressed sufferers. It has been the expression of the unanimous wish of the Aborigines' Protection Society that this great desideratum should be supplied by some special effort on the part of the government. In the case of Western Africa, whose peculiar situation at this time has called forth the remarks which have just been made, we would most respectfully observe, that, however desirable and important the enactment of a special legislation may be, it is not probable that the wants most practically felt can be adequately met without previous careful investigation by a well-selected and competent person, properly authorised to visit the British settlements, and confer, not only with the inhabitants, but with the heads of the neighbouring tribes.

This address would be extended to an unwarrantable length were we to enter into any details regarding other British depen-

dencies, in which the existence and welfare of native tribes are concerned. We will therefore merely allude to the remnants of North-American Indians in New Brunswick, where a commissioner, appointed by government, has long since demonstrated the violation of rights which have never been redressed, and in Canada and in the Hudson's-Bay territory, where reiterated complaints have been fruitlessly urged. We would likewise invite special attention to New Zealand, where the confiding natives are the uncomplaining sufferers from a constitution and laws against which we have pleaded in vain.

Signed, on behalf of the Society,

THOMAS HODGKIN, M.D., *Hon. Sec.*

The following note from the Secretary of the Society to the Under Secretary of State, which accompanied the address, will not merely announce to our readers the return of that very excellent French missionary, F. Daumas, and the pains which were taken that he might be heard in Downing Street, but will also furnish some of the facts which he communicated when he was in London—

Dr. Hodgkin, Honorary Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, presents his respects to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and having received information of the decease of Sir William Molesworth, takes the liberty of forwarding to him, by the earliest opportunity, the accompanying address of the Society to the late Secretary of State for his department, believing that, in taking this step, the objects of the Society in desiring to present it to Sir William Molesworth may now be best served. Dr. Hodgkin hopes that his anxiety not to omit taking a right step in time, will be admitted as his apology for intruding on the attention of the Under Secretary so early after the late melancholy event.

Dr. Hodgkin would also take this opportunity of expressing the great regret which was felt by members of the Society at losing the opportunity of presenting the address to Sir William Molesworth in person, some weeks ago, as at that time the deputation was accompanied by F. Daumas, a most worthy French Missionary from South Africa, who had some important facts to state, and who remained in London, at some expense and considerable inconvenience, to be present. He could more especially have adduced proofs of the anxiety of different native chiefs to remain at peace with the British Government, and of the very grievous wrongs which they have had to endure, and the privations to which their people have been subjected, and by which the difficulty of maintaining peace is increased.

He stated that, which was never clearly shown in the official despatches, that Moshesh took no part in the battle of Berea; he was using his best endeavours to raise the cattle demanded, though he knew the demand to be unjust. When General Cathcart ordered the seizure of the people's cattle, two subordinate chiefs resisted the attempt, and not only recovered a part of the captured cattle, but stopped the advance of the troops upon the station of Moshesh, who, as before stated, took no part in the affair. The British Missionaries and the Bassutos thought that a protracted general war with these people was inevitable, and it would have been worse than that with the Gaikas and the Tambookies. It was the prompt, spontaneous, vigorous effort of Moshesh, who dictated an able and pacific letter, encouraging the doubting Missionary to aid him, and found the means of accomplishing the difficult task of conveying the letter at that critical

juncture, which providentially stopped the war in that quarter, notwithstanding that the people were exasperated by our troops having killed men and violated women of the tribe who had fled for safety to a cave. Such facts despatches do not disclose, neither do they point to the consequences which must follow our policy on the frontier unless Governor Grey be supported.

The statements made by F. Daumas were equally touching regarding some other parties. Dr. Hodgkin would, however, more especially solicit attention to that part of the Aborigines' Protection Society's address which relates to the state of affairs on the west coast of Africa, where at this period the credit of this country, the development of a most important branch of British commerce, and the well-being of a numerous native population are incalculably interested in the reformation of existing circumstances.

Several written communications, and nearly all the publications of the Society, are in the Colonial Office, and will prove how completely the Society is exempt from political or sectarian motives; and they will likewise show that the suggestions which it has at times presumed to offer, founded on authentic information, would have tended to good had they been heeded.

Bedford Square, 23 .3. 1855.

